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World History

Volume 2

from 1400

World History, Volume 2: from 1400

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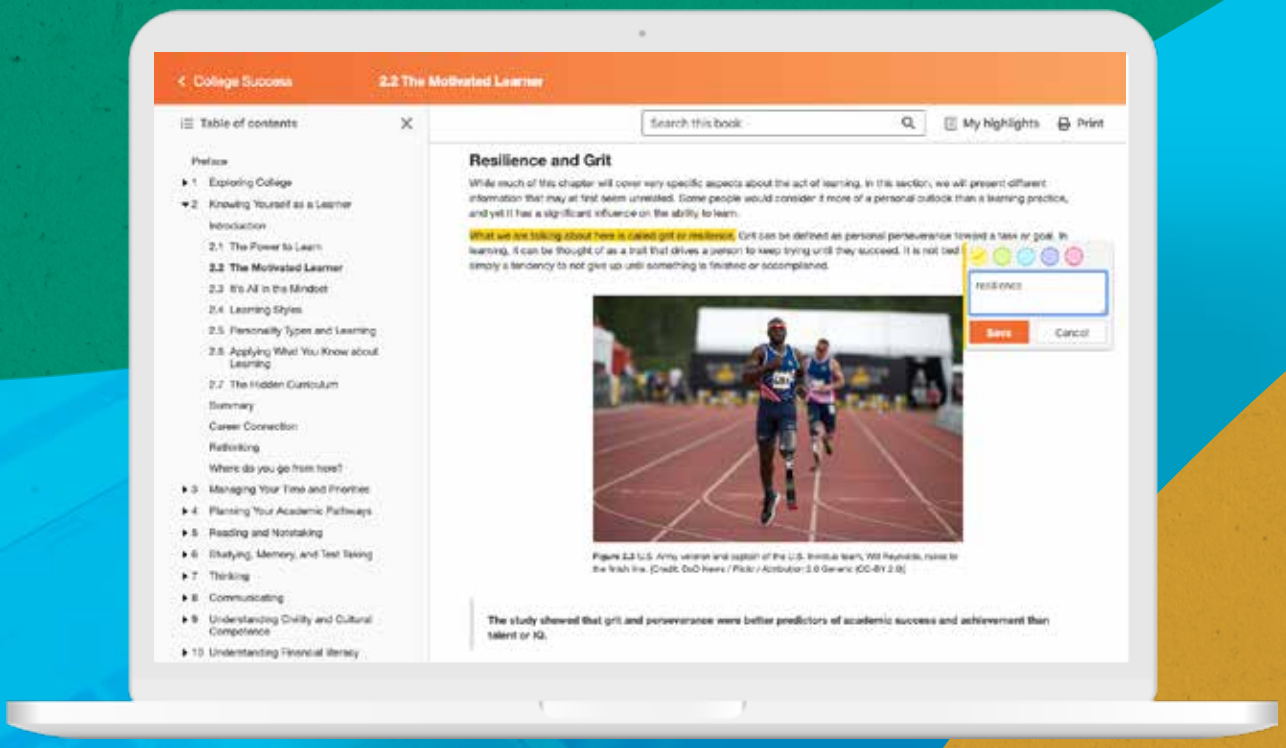
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CONTENTS

Preface 1

Unit 1 Connections Across Continents, 1500–1800

CHAPTER 1
Understanding the Past 9
Introduction 9
1.1 Developing a Global Perspective 10
1.2 Primary Sources 14
1.3 Causation and Interpretation in History 24
Key Terms 30
Section Summary 30
Assessments 31

CHAPTER 2
Exchange in East Asia and the Indian Ocean 33
Introduction 33
2.1 India and International Connections 35
2.2 The Malacca Sultanate 50
2.3 Exchange in East Asia 56
Key Terms 70
Section Summary 70
Assessments 71

CHAPTER 3
Early Modern Africa and the Wider World 75
Introduction 75
3.1 The Roots of African Trade 77
3.2 The Songhai Empire 84
3.3 The Swahili Coast 91
3.4 The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade 98
Key Terms 107
Section Summary 107
Assessments 108

CHAPTER 4
The Islamic World 111
Introduction 111
4.1 A Connected Islamic World 113
4.2 The Ottoman Empire 123
4.3 The Safavid Empire 138
Key Terms 150
Section Summary 150
Assessments 151

CHAPTER 5
Foundations of the Atlantic World **155**
Introduction 155
5.1 The Protestant Reformation 157
5.2 Crossing the Atlantic 164
5.3 The Mercantilist Economy 180
5.4 The Atlantic Slave Trade 187
Key Terms 198
Section Summary 198
Assessments 199

Unit 2 An Age Of Revolution, 1750–1914

CHAPTER 6
Colonization and Economic Expansion **205**
Introduction 205
6.1 European Colonization in the Americas 206
6.2 The Rise of a Global Economy 218
6.3 Capitalism and the First Industrial Revolution 233
Key Terms 242
Section Summary 242
Assessments 243

CHAPTER 7
Revolutions in Europe and North America **247**
Introduction 247
7.1 The Enlightenment 249
7.2 The Exchange of Ideas in the Public Sphere 256
7.3 Revolutions: America, France, and Haiti 262
7.4 Nationalism, Liberalism, Conservatism, and the Political Order 273
Key Terms 280
Section Summary 281
Assessments 282

CHAPTER 8
Revolutions in Latin America **287**
Introduction 287
8.1 Revolution for Whom? 289
8.2 Spanish North America 299
8.3 Spanish South America 306
8.4 Portuguese South America 314
Key Terms 322
Section Summary 322
Assessments 323

CHAPTER 9
Expansion in the Industrial Age **327**
Introduction 327
9.1 The Second Industrial Revolution 329
9.2 Motives and Means of Imperialism 345
9.3 Colonial Empires 351

9.4 Exploitation and Resistance 368
Key Terms 377
Section Summary 377
Assessments 378

CHAPTER 10
Life and Labor in the Industrial World **381**
Introduction 381
10.1 Inventions, Innovations, and Mechanization 382
10.2 Life in the Industrial City 392
10.3 Coerced and Semicoerced Labor 402
10.4 Communities in Diaspora 405
10.5 Regulation, Reform, and Revolutionary Ideologies 410
Key Terms 417
Section Summary 417
Assessments 418

Unit 3 The Modern World, 1914–Present

CHAPTER 11
The War to End All Wars **425**
Introduction 425
11.1 Alliances, Expansion, and Conflict 427
11.2 The Collapse of the Ottomans and the Coming of War 432
11.3 Total War 442
11.4 War on the Homefront 453
11.5 The War Ends 460
Key Terms 467
Section Summary 467
Assessments 468

CHAPTER 12
The Interwar Period **473**
Introduction 473
12.1 Recovering from World War I 474
12.2 The Formation of the Soviet Union 485
12.3 The Great Depression 491
12.4 Old Empires and New Colonies 498
12.5 Resistance, Civil Rights, and Democracy 505
Key Terms 516
Section Summary 516
Assessments 517

CHAPTER 13
The Causes and Consequences of World War II **523**
Introduction 523
13.1 An Unstable Peace 525
13.2 Theaters of War 537
13.3 Keeping the Home Fires Burning 546
13.4 Out of the Ashes 554
Key Terms 564

Section Summary 564
Assessments 565

CHAPTER 14
Cold War Conflicts **571**
Introduction 571
14.1 The Cold War Begins 573
14.2 The Spread of Communism 581
14.3 The Non-Aligned Movement 590
14.4 Global Tensions and Decolonization 598
14.5 A New World Order 610
Key Terms 616
Section Summary 616
Assessments 617

CHAPTER 15
The Contemporary World and Ongoing Challenges **621**
Introduction 621
15.1 A Global Economy 622
15.2 Debates about the Environment 635
15.3 Science and Technology for Today's World 642
15.4 Ongoing Problems and Solutions 653
Key Terms 668
Section Summary 668
Assessments 669

Appendix A Glossary 673
Appendix B *World History*, Volume 2, from 1400: Maps and Timelines 681
Appendix C World Maps 685
Appendix D Recommended Resources for the Study of World History 693
Index 695

Preface

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Format

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About *World History*

World History is designed to support both semesters of the world history course offered at both two-year and four-year institutions. Serving a student base of both majors and non-majors in the field, as well as an institutional variation in requirements of one or two semesters depending on the plan of study, the course introduces students to a global perspective of history conveyed within an engaging narrative. Concepts and assessments are presented in ways to help students think critically about the issues they encounter so they can broaden their perspective of global history and how the topics studied apply to their current life as citizens

of the world.

The text shows how historical content and the ways in which history is studied are relevant to modern-day needs and situations. The narrative shows readers the *why* of historical events and people, providing context and import to engage students. A primary goal of the book is to include content, scholarship, and activities that explore a variety of perspectives, including those traditionally underrepresented in this canon.

Being able to thoughtfully achieve a global approach requires explicit discussions about the challenge historians face in their work. Each instructor and student enters the classroom with a construct that informs their existing understanding as well as their ability to understand and to appreciate novel perspectives. *World History* works to present an honest and authentic view of history for students to explore. The authors and reviewers achieve balance by introducing and juxtaposing people's experiences of history for a rich and nuanced discussion. New resources and new voices are integrated into the text in a deep and meaningful manner. Primary source material represents the cultures being discussed from a firsthand perspective whenever possible, showing a variety of experiences and voices that stress the interconnected nature of people and societies throughout history. Moreover, the work of diverse and underrepresented scholars and scholarship bolsters the text's ability to embrace diversity of thought and interpretation while spotlighting parts of history and places that often receive less coverage in history textbooks. Students will be challenged to use empathy to understand others' ways of thinking in order to better understand, analyze, and evaluate today's changes in the world.

Pedagogical Foundation

Learning Objectives

Every module begins with a set of clear and concise learning objectives that have been designed to be both measurable and meaningful. These objectives closely align with current teaching practice and aim to help the instructor decide what content to include or assign, and to guide student expectations of learning. After completing the module and end-of-module exercises, students should be able to demonstrate mastery of the learning objectives.

Key Features

Various features throughout each chapter engage students with the content while having them practice some of the most essential skills in the study of history, such as the examination of primary sources, the analysis of multiple accounts of an event or period, the study of non-textual artifacts, and the exploration of how specific historical topics connect to today's world.

- **In Their Own Words:** Students are presented with a textual primary source for review and/or analysis, with discussion/reflection questions included. This feature bolsters the foundational importance of using primary sources in historical studies.
- **Dueling Voices:** Learners are given either a historiographical debate, or a side-by-side primary source reading that offers two different interpretations of the same event. Sometimes these are directly contrasting, and sometimes they help elucidate different perspectives. Discussion questions are included. This feature highlights that history is an interpretive discipline and that historians must regularly grapple with conflicting and at times contradictory information and approaches.
- **Beyond the Book:** Non-textual sources— such as art, physical objects, or architecture—are presented for study with the goal of helping students understand the value of these kinds of sources in historical work. Discussion questions open up conversations about how to understand these important artifacts.
- **The Past Meets the Present:** Students explore how an aspect of chapter content speaks to an issue in the present day, and have the opportunity to engage further in the topic with reflection/discussion questions.
- **Link to Learning:** This feature provides a very brief introduction to online resources—videos, interactives, collections, maps, and other engaging resources—that are pertinent to students' exploration of the topic at hand.

Section Summaries

Section summaries distill the information in each section for both students and instructors down to key, concise points addressed in the section.

Key Terms

Key terms are bold and are followed by a definition in context. Definitions of key terms are also listed in each end-of-chapter Glossary, as well as a book-level Glossary appendix.

Assessments

A variety of assessments allow instructors to confirm core conceptual understanding, elicit brief explanations that demonstrate student understanding, and offer more in-depth assignments that enable learners to dive more deeply into a topic or history-study skill.

- **Review Questions** test for conceptual apprehension of key concepts.
- **Check Your Understanding Questions** require students to explain concepts in words.
- **Application and Reflection Questions** dive deeply into the material to support longer reflection, group discussion, or written assignments.

Answers to Questions in the Book

The end-of-chapter Review, Check Your Understanding, and Reflection Questions are intended for homework assignments or classroom discussion; thus, student-facing answers are not provided in the book. Answers and sample answers are provided in the Instructor Answer Guide, for instructors to share with students at their discretion, as is standard for such resources.

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Additional Resources

Student and Instructor Resources

We've compiled additional resources for both students and instructors, including Getting Started Guides, an instructor's answer guide, test bank, and image slides. Instructor resources require a verified instructor account, which you can apply for when you log in or create your account on OpenStax.org. Take advantage of these resources to supplement your OpenStax book.

Instructor's answer guide. Each component of the instructor's guide is designed to provide maximum guidance for delivering the content in an interesting and dynamic manner.

Test bank. With nearly 1,300 assessments across both *World History* volumes, instructors can customize tests to support a variety of course objectives. The test bank includes review questions (multiple-choice, identification, fill-in-the-blank, true/false), short answer questions, and long answer questions to assess students on a variety of levels. The test bank is available in Word format.

PowerPoint lecture slides. The PowerPoint slides provide learning objectives, images and descriptions, feature focuses, and discussion questions as a starting place for instructors to build their lectures.

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Academic integrity builds trust, understanding, equity, and genuine learning. While students may encounter significant challenges in their courses and their lives, doing their own work and maintaining a high degree of authenticity will result in meaningful outcomes that will extend far beyond their college career. Faculty, administrators, resource providers, and students should work together to maintain a fair and positive experience.

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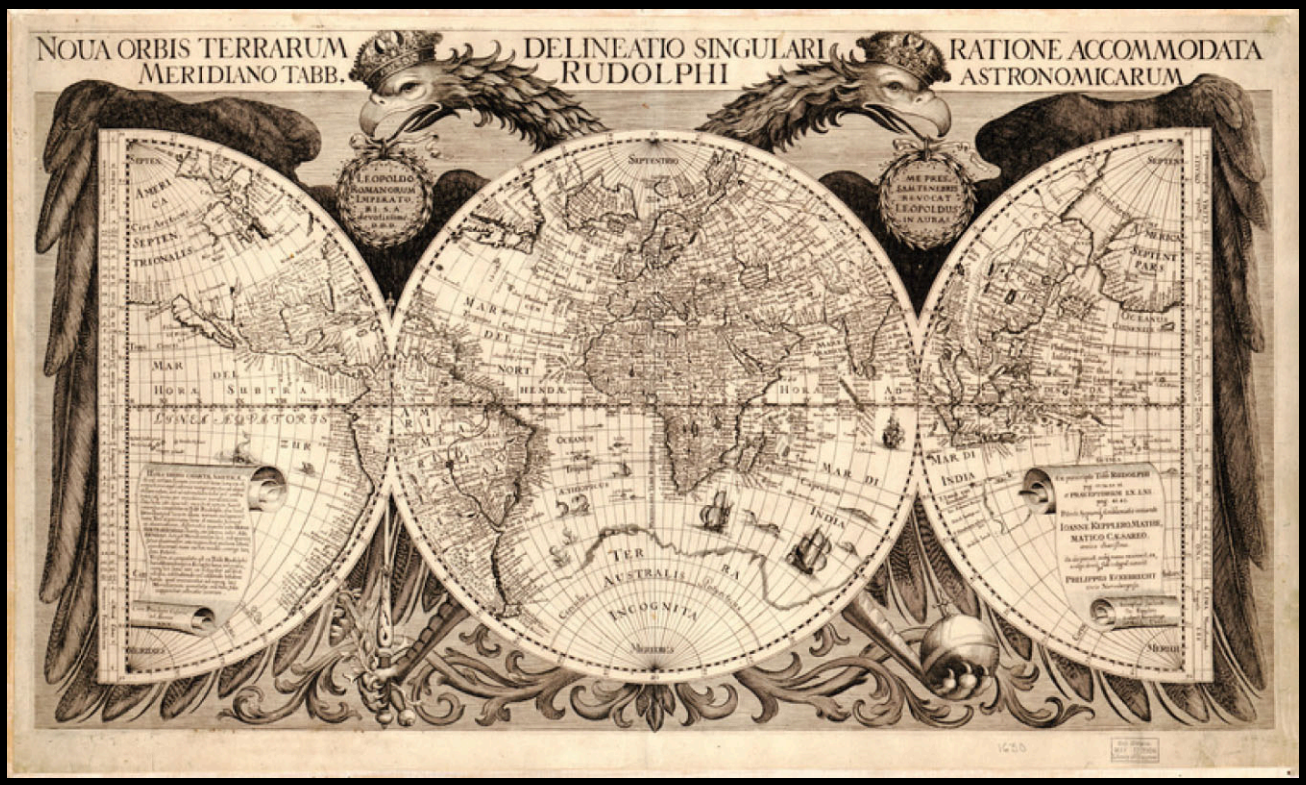


FIGURE 1.1 The Whole World. This seventeenth-century projection map of the world, prepared by cartographer Philip Eckebrecht for the noted German astronomer Johannes Kepler, gives a sense of the breadth of territory this text will cover. As we see later in this chapter, maps often reflect the maker's perception of geographical realities. (credit: modification of work "A Modern Depiction of the World" by Library of Congress/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

CHAPTER OUTLINE

1.1 Developing a Global Perspective
1.2 Primary Sources
1.3 Causation and Interpretation in History

INTRODUCTION What is history? Is it simply a record of things people have done? Is it what writer Maya Angelou suggested—a way to meet the pain of the past and overcome it? Or is it, as Winston Churchill said, a chronicle by the victors, an interpretation by those who write it? History is all this and more. Above all else, it is a path to knowing why we are the way we are—all our greatness, all our faults—and therefore a means for us to understand ourselves and change for the better.

But history serves this function only if it is a true reflection of the past. It cannot be a way to mask the darker parts of human nature, nor a way to justify acts of previous generations. It is the historian's task to paint as clear a picture as sources will allow.

Will history ever be a perfect telling of the human tale? No. There are voices we may never hear. Yet each new history book written and each new source uncovered reveal an ever more precise record of events around the world (Figure 1.1). You are about to take a journey into human history.

1.1 Developing a Global Perspective

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify the role history plays in higher education
- Discuss the ways in which the study of history can build skills for lifelong learning and success
- Explain how the features of this text will optimize your learning experience

From the legends of Troy heralded by Homer to the contents of digital archives accessed by modern students, the human story has fascinated and instructed those who have tried to understand its complexities. Knowing the past has long been considered a mark of civilization, and its study has never been more important. We have all heard the philosopher George Santayana's observation, "Those who do not learn from history are doomed to repeat it." Yet because history is an ever-changing collection of events influenced and shaped by a variety of causes and outcomes, it never truly repeats at all.

Santayana's comment rings true, however, in that we can discern patterns of human behavior by careful study of the past. To know history is to know ourselves, and understanding history's nuances opens our imaginations to the possibilities each new situation creates. It is this knowledge of possibilities that allows the student of history to see the present with more clarity and prescience.

World History as Preparation for Life After College

History is more than a series of names and dates; those are simply its building blocks, the pieces necessary for completing the whole picture. History is a story, the human story, that connects us both to each other and to the generations that lived before us. And today we study history in a way that grounds students in this shared past while also preparing them for their futures. The liberal arts are intended to help students find fulfillment, to better themselves and their communities through meaningful self-reflection and development. But they have also always prepared students to enter the workplace by honing career skills. To say that a world history class prepares students for the workplace is simply to acknowledge what has always been true.

This world history text has several key features that will help you understand the past in ways that are relevant to the present. Perhaps most important is its recognition that the study of world history prepares us to meet modern challenges. To cover the history of the whole world is daunting, perhaps, but a student must be prepared to engage with the globalization processes that have dominated history for the past few centuries. People around the globe are more integrated than ever by social and economic forces that transcend national boundaries. Both your private and public lives will require knowledge of the world and its people. Understanding the diversity of peoples and ideas and possessing cultural empathy and awareness will allow you to meet global complexities with competence.

The study of history will also enhance your critical-thinking and analytical ability, both of which consistently appear among the top ten skills desired by employers (Figure 1.2). Other skills that have become increasingly important include adaptive thinking, social intelligence, cross-cultural competency, and media literacy. This final skill is critical to modern workplaces. History teaches students how to assess and analyze the material they are reading, as well as how to develop and present content in a meaningful and persuasive way. It also hones a creative mindset that is flexible and open to interpretations and ideas outside our own worldview.

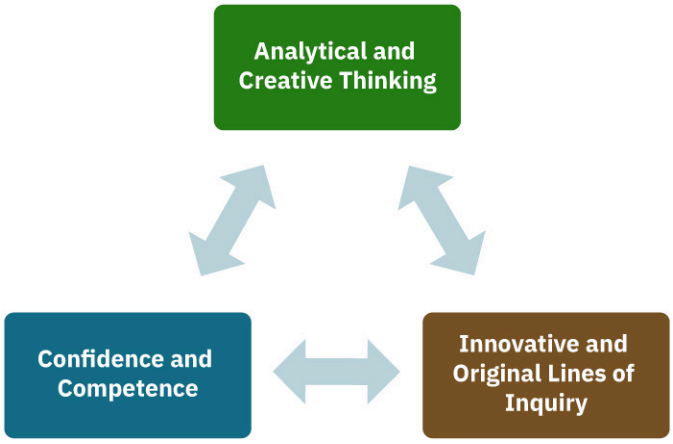


FIGURE 1.2 Do You Have These Skills? The top skills employers will value in 2025, according to the World Economic Forum, include innovative inquiry and creative thinking. You will develop and practice many of these skills in this course. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

Without question, skills such as critical thinking, analysis, and creativity are developed best through the study of history. Historians must be truly multidisciplinary in the sense that they observe and gather as much information as they can and then interpret that data with the aim of drawing conclusions. The historian also must be a creative thinker because the source material—the data—is human, making it the most complex data imaginable. Historical data is as diverse as the people who make it, and it might be everything from the edicts of kings to the tunes played by street musicians. Historians must also be effective communicators. Who cares about a story nobody reads or a product nobody buys? What company in the world could not use and value someone who can think critically and creatively and then explain and communicate effectively? Historical thinking also provides students with a stronger sense of self, with avenues to explore human existence, and with the skills necessary to navigate the complexity of their world and future workplaces.

This text and its assessment questions will encourage you to analyze large amounts of information, to understand a myriad of concepts, and to make connections across topics. Developing cultural awareness and empathy is also critically important, and studying world history is a way to ensure you have this necessary skill. The influential job site Indeed.com says, “In our workplaces, in our world, we are a diverse people. Cultural competence is increasingly important as our means of communication and collaboration in working environments evolve. Learning how to respect, communicate and collaborate with an increasingly diverse work culture is crucial to optimizing a company’s efficiency and productivity.”

World History and Global Citizenship

The study of world history recognizes the integrated nature of modern life and prepares students for diverse, global workplaces. Knowing about the world will prepare you to be a **global citizen**, someone who may reside in only one nation but who self-identifies as part of the larger world community. Issues in need of solutions, like climate change, social justice, and human rights, are global in scale. You must know the world to be the change it needs. How do you fit in the global environment? What is your story, and how is it linked to that of others?

In many ways, the idea of global citizenship emerged from the human wreckage of the two world wars. Beginning in 1948, the United Nations (UN) established a series of universal declarations that conceived of all people as deserving of human rights and dignity (Figure 1.3). Three such declarations further affirmed the rights of women (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, also known as CEDAW, 1979), of children (The Declaration of the Rights of the Child, 1959), and of people with disabilities (The Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons, 1975). The UN regularly requires that member nations report on progress in these areas. Words and declarations help to create an ethos, a set of guiding principles. So, in addition to participating in global economies that transcend lines on a map, many in our world recognize

that we have also agreed to a series of rights and obligations that do the same.



FIGURE 1.3 Human Rights, Codified. Eleanor Roosevelt is shown holding a poster of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights in November 1949. Roosevelt, the former First Lady of the United States, chaired the committee that drafted the declaration. (credit: "Eleanor Roosevelt UDHR" by FDR Presidential Library & Museum/Flickr, CC BY 2.0)

A BBC poll in 2015–2016 surveyed eighteen countries and found that more than half the respondents believed themselves to be "global citizens." It also found that in times of prosperity, sentiments favoring a world community grow, while in times of strife, people tend to revert to more local, national identities. Though no one can see the future, it is difficult to imagine turning the clock back on the processes of globalization. Whether you would like to be a global citizen of the world or not, understanding the world is essential.

LINK TO LEARNING

What does it mean to be a citizen of the world? Watch this TED Talk by Hugh Evans (https://openstax.org/l/77HughEvansB) and think about the ways this concept resonates with you. Do you see yourself as connected to the world? Is that a positive attribute? Why or why not?

Features of This Textbook

This text is a great place to begin your journey into the world's past. It has several features that will help you understand the history of world civilizations from the fifteenth century and the beginning of the early modern period until today. For the most part, it adopts a traditional **chronological approach**, studying events in roughly the order in which they took place. The first few chapters will explore changes that took place in particular regions of the world in the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries. In Exchange in East Asia and the Indian Ocean, you will learn about the civilizations that were connected through Indian and Pacific Ocean trade—India, Malaysia, Indonesia, China, and Japan. Early Modern Africa and the Wider World studies the civilizations of West and East Africa. The Islamic World explores two great Islamic empires, the Ottoman and the Safavid, in southwest Asia, which we commonly call the Middle East. Beginning with Foundations of the

Atlantic World, the chapters cover events that integrated the world's different regions, such as colonization, global trade, political revolutions, and wars and intellectual movements like the Enlightenment.

Each chapter features maps prominently and will help you frame world cultures in their geographic and historical context. You will engage with firsthand accounts of key people and events—including instances in which people's recollections of the same events might differ. And the text will highlight links between the past and the present to emphasize how earlier knowledge applies to our world.

Of particular note are the feature boxes within each chapter. These present documents and images from the eras you are studying. Sometimes you will be guided outside the text—such as in the Link to Learning boxes—to explore other digital resources that clarify content, expand on ideas, and highlight interesting new work happening in the field. Finally, where appropriate, the text will offer material relevant to your current experiences, to help you understand the links between the past and the present. Following is a quick reference to these features.

In Their Own Words

In Their Own Words feature boxes present a source composed in the period the chapter covers and allow you to examine it in context, learning how to critically analyze source material. A short series of questions will help to guide your analysis.

Dueling Voices

Dueling Voices feature boxes present either an ongoing historical debate or conflicting reports of the same event or idea that were written around the time it occurred or emerged.

Beyond the Book

In Beyond the Book feature boxes, you can explore the value of art, architecture, music, film, and other physical objects as sources in interpreting history. The goal is to demonstrate that the human story resides in a great deal more than just the written word itself. You may also have the opportunity to do some experiential learning.

The Past Meets the Present

The Past Meets the Present feature boxes ask you to understand the connections between the material in the chapter and the present. They will prompt you to think about the relevance of a particular historical issue in today's world.

Because this is a global history, we tried to be true to the essence of world cultures by presenting people's names in forms as close as possible to their language of origin. These spelling choices have been made by experts in their field based on current research. For example, the text uses the pinyin system of transliteration for writing Chinese names, as opposed to the older Wade-Giles system, because pinyin is the system adopted by the People's Republic of China and more closely approximates the sounds of Mandarin Chinese. In languages using the Latin alphabet, accents have been retained on all personal names (Hernán Cortés, Napoléon Bonaparte); however, in transliterated languages such as Chinese and Arabic, we have avoided accents and apostrophes whenever possible, unless they are necessary to aid pronunciation and enhance readability. In naming events, places, and other items of historical interest, we have generally chosen the most commonly encountered English variants. Finally, dates are given using the Gregorian calendar, the international standard for civil calendars, with "BCE" to indicate developments occurring before the Common Era and "CE" to mark events in our own era. However, since nearly all the events in this second volume of *World History* took place during the Common Era, these indicators are not generally used; you should assume all dates refer to the Common Era unless otherwise noted.

The study of world history also requires a strong understanding of geography. You might assume that maps are fairly cut and dried. After all, we can clearly demonstrate where things are, can't we? For most of history,

however, this was not actually the case. Maps are some of the most contested pieces of historical evidence we have because they were almost always made from the perspective of the one making the map, not as an objective practice. Most civilizations put themselves at the center of their known world, for instance. Maps have also been used to aid in the conquest and suppression of peoples. During the Age of Exploration, as you will learn in Foundations of the Atlantic World, the Pope arbitrarily divided inhabited territory that was new to Europeans and granted it to Spain and Portugal. Centuries later in Berlin, Germany, European diplomats drew lines on a map of Africa to apportion territory among colonial powers (discussed in Expansion in the Industrial Age). Think of how written history might change if our surviving maps were indigenous in origin. Even when humanity acquired knowledge of the size and space of things, maps remained inaccurate, often showing Europe as larger than it is and regions of the Global South—Latin America, Africa, and parts of Asia and Oceania—as smaller than their actual size.

Maps also present challenges because some territories are claimed by more than one political entity. There are many examples in the distant past, and even today, of contested regions, such as Crimea and Taiwan, that can make presenting regional geographies difficult. Crimea is claimed by both Russia and Ukraine, and Taiwan claims independence while China considers Taiwan part of its territory. The text will highlight these regions as they arise in the human story so you can explore geography's complexities.

LINK TO LEARNING

For a perspective on how Google Earth reflects the globalization of society, read "World Maps and the Dawn of Globalisation" (https://openstax.org/l/77GoogleEarthB) by Jerry Brotton, a cultural historian and author of *The History of the World in Twelve Maps*. This brief blog post comments on the precision of GPS map technology as used by Google Earth. As you read it, consider the possibilities and dangers of such technology.

1.2 Primary Sources

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify different types of primary sources
- Analyze primary sources in a historical context
- Interpret primary sources effectively

Historians develop interpretations of the past based on source material, and we do the same in this book. From ancient hieroglyphs to works of art to blog posts, from histories and biographies written by later scholars to Google Maps, sources help us build our interpretations of the human story.

Learning to Evaluate Documents and Images

There are two main kinds of historical sources, primary and secondary. A **primary source** is a gateway to the past because it is an object or document that comes directly from the time period to which it refers. Primary sources might be government documents, menus from restaurants, diaries, letters, musical instruments, photographs, portraits drawn from life, songs, and so on. If a historian is looking at Ancient Egypt, a statue of a pharaoh is a primary source for that time period, as are hieroglyphs that tell of the pharaoh's reign. Primary sources, when we have them, are considered more valuable than other sources because they are as close in time as we can get to the events being studied. Think, for example, of a court trial: The ideal is to have the trial quickly so that witness testimony is fresher and therefore more reliable. With the passage of time, people can forget, they might subconsciously add or take away parts of a memory, and they may be influenced to interpret events differently.

A **secondary source** is one written or created after the fact. A twentieth-century biography of an Egyptian pharaoh is a secondary source, as are a map drawn in the 1960s to identify the battle sites of World War II (1939–1945) and a museum curator's blog post about the artistic achievements of the Ming (1368–1644).

These types of scholarly sources are critical for the evolution of historical knowledge and are often the place students begin to form an understanding of past events. Secondary sources are useful for setting context and placing a topic in relationship to others of the same era. They also provide access to scholarly research based on primary sources for students whose access might be limited by language or geography. Good research requires both types of sources and some attention to **historiography**, which is the study of how other historians have already interpreted and written about the past.

All primary sources are not equal. History technically begins with the advent of writing, when humans began to deliberately make records and, after that, to develop the idea that preserving the past was a worthwhile endeavor. This is not to say that there isn't anything valuable to be found in the oral histories of preliterate societies, or in prehistoric cave paintings and archaeological artifacts. For historians, however, the written word is more accurate evidence for building narratives of the past. For example, imagine a modern magazine with a rock or pop star on the front, dressed for performance in a vibrant or provocative style. If that were the only piece of evidence that existed five hundred years from now, how would historians interpret our era? Without context, interpretation of the past is quite difficult. Studying artifacts is certainly worthwhile, but text offers us greater clarity. Even if the cover of the magazine bore only a caption, like "Pop star rising to the top of the charts," future historians would have significantly more information than from the photo alone. However, even textual sources must be met with a critical eye. "Fake news" is not new, but the speed at which it travels today is unprecedented. We must investigate the full context of any source and look for corroboration.

It takes time to develop the skills necessary to interpret primary sources. As an example, consider the act of reading a poem. You can read the surface of a poem, the literal meaning of the words presented. But that seldom reflects the true meaning the poet meant to convey. You must also look for nuances, hidden meanings, or repeated metaphors. We approach a primary source in a similar way.

There are four key areas to consider when interpreting sources: the author, the audience, the intent, and the context. Here are some key questions to ask yourself when exploring a new source:

1. What kind of source is it? Government documents have a different purpose than personal diaries. A former president commenting on a political issue has a different view from a comedian doing the same.
2. Who authored the source and why? Is the author responsible for simply recording the information, or was the author involved in the event? Is the author reliable, or does the author have an agenda?
3. What is the historical context? How does the source relate to the events covered in the chapter?

None of the answers disqualify a source from adding value, but precisely what that source brings to the overall picture depends heavily on those answers.

LINK TO LEARNING

This is a presentation on working with primary sources (https://openstax.org/l/77PrimarySB) produced by the Smithsonian. Pay particular attention to section 2, "Documents." Read through it and take note of the kinds of questions to ask as you critically assess primary sources. You may want to write them down or have them on hand for reference as you work your way through this text.

In a world where many sources are available in digital format, searching online, as many students do, is a convenient way of doing research. But the internet has just as much misinformation as it has legitimate sources. Historians evaluate the strength of both primary and secondary sources, especially online. How do we decide what a good source is? Some clues are more obvious than others. For example, it is unlikely any truly scholarly material will be found on the first page of a Google search, unless the search terms include key phrases or use targeted search engines such as Google Scholar. Online encyclopedias may be a good place to start your research, but they should be only a springboard to more refined study.

Your work is only as strong as the sources you use. Whether you are writing a paper, a discussion post online,

or even a creative writing piece, the better your sources, the more persuasive will be your writing. Sites like Wikipedia and Encyclopedia.com offer a quick view of content, but they will not give enough depth to allow for the critical thinking necessary to produce quality work. However, they are useful for introducing a topic with which you might not be familiar. And if you start with encyclopedic sources, you can often find pathways to better sources. They might spark new lines of inquiry, for instance, or have bibliographic information that can lead you to higher-quality material.

Always make sure you can tell who is producing the website. Is it a scholar, a museum, or a research organization? If so, there is a good chance the material is sound. Is the information cited? In other words, does the source tell you where it got the information? Are those sources in turn objective and reliable? Can you corroborate the site's information? This means doing some fact checking. You should see whether other sources present similar data and whether your source fits into the narrative developed by other scholars. Does your school library list the site as a resource? Finally, if you are not sure, ask. Librarians work in online spaces too, and you can generally reach out to these experts with any questions.

As you explore world history via this text, you will be asked many times to read and interpret primary sources. These will normally be set off as feature boxes, as noted earlier. Let's work through a few examples. The goal is to become more familiar with the types of questions you should ask of sources, as well as the variety of sources you will work with throughout the text.

First, an image exercise. The following images are exterior and interior views of the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, a wonder of the late antique world whose name means "Holy Wisdom" in Greek. Buildings and other material objects change as they are affected by historical events. Images of them can tell us much about those events and the people who enter or interact with them.

The first set of images (Figure 1.4 and Figure 1.5) provide a likeness of the famous church at the time it was built, during the reign of the Byzantine emperor Justinian I (483–565 CE). The domed structure was unique for its engineering and stunning in its effect. Decorated with Greek **iconography**, the visual images and symbols used in a work of art, the basilica stood as an emblem of Justinian's power, the awesome nature of the Christian God, and the surviving wealth and stability of the East. Churches at the time were meant to inspire awe; because most people could not read, stories of religious figures and events were told through highly decorative and symbolic images, and obedience and a desire to join a religious community could be motivated by the buildings' grandeur. As you study the renderings, reflect on the following questions: What are the key features of the building? What does it make you think about? What does it tell you about the period in which it was built? What would you think about it if you were a poor sixth-century farmer, an urban merchant of some wealth, or a foreign leader?

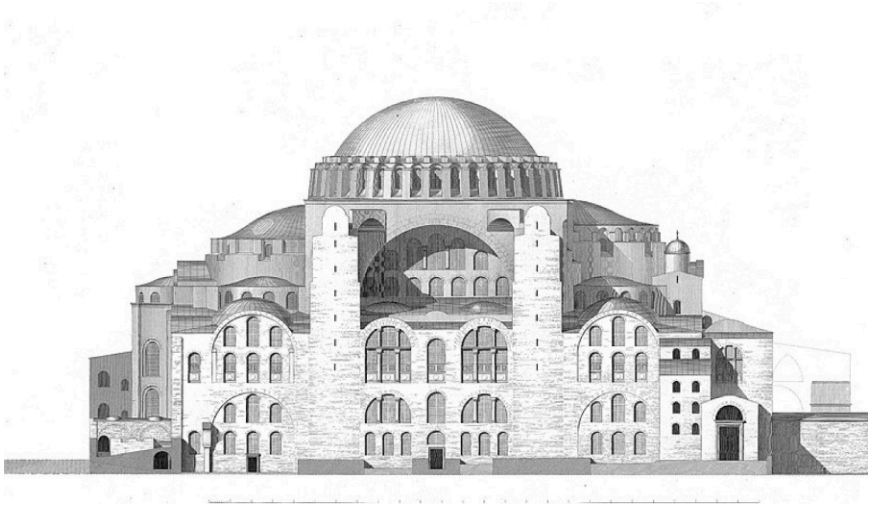


FIGURE 1.4 Exterior of Hagia Sophia. Note the domes and archways in this drawing of the exterior of the Hagia

Sophia. Such architectural features were particularly hard to build during the sixth century and often collapsed because the engineering was flawed. Thanks to their durability, those of Hagia Sophia were a marvel at the time it was built. (credit: “Saint Sophia, Constantinopolis” by ETH Library/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)



FIGURE 1.5 Interior of Hagia Sophia. The Greek Christian iconography found in the interior of the Hagia Sophia includes halos on the figures, signifying holiness. Also note the lavish use of precious gold in this tenth-century mosaic of Mary and the child Jesus (center), and the emperors Justinian (left), and Constantine (right). (credit: “Hagia Sophia Southwestern entrance mosaics 2” by “Myrabella”/Wikimedia Commons, CC0 1.0)

In 1453, nearly a thousand years after the reign of Justinian, the city of Constantinople (now called Istanbul in present-day Turkey) was conquered by Muslim Turks. According to contemporary accounts of the conquest, when the Ottoman leader Sultan Mehmed II came to the Hagia Sophia, he recognized its beauty and saved it from destruction. To Muslims, the Christian God and the Muslim God are the same, so Mehmed made the church a mosque—following a long tradition in the Middle East of continuing the use of sacred spaces. Minarets, towers from which the Muslim call to prayer is issued, were added at the four corners of the building, and Arabic writing was placed beside the ancient Greek iconography.

The second set of images (Figure 1.6 and Figure 1.7) show the Hagia Sophia as it stands today, having also been a museum and now serving as a mosque once again. The building tells a tale spanning hundreds of years and highlights many fascinating aspects of the region’s history. But without the context, its meaning would be far less clear.



FIGURE 1.6 Hagia Sophia's Minarets. Hagia Sophia has four tall minarets, which were added a thousand years after its initial construction. Minarets are towers from which the Muslim call to prayer goes out multiple times a day. (credit: "Hagia Sophia (Istanbul)" by Frank Mago/Flickr, CC BY 2.0)

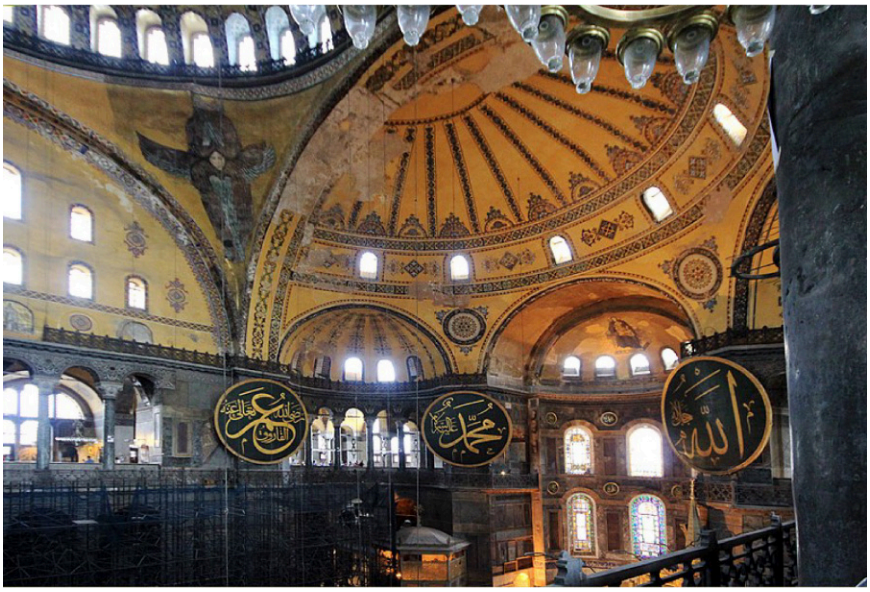


FIGURE 1.7 Hagia Sophia's Many Influences. Muslims consider themselves the heirs of Judaism and Christianity, and until recently, you could still see the early Greek iconography in the interior of Hagia Sophia. Now it is covered during prayer times by large medallions bearing Arabic writing. (credit: "Hagia Sophia Istanbul 2013 13" by Karelj/ Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Documentary Sources: Competing Narratives

Textual, or written, primary sources are considered the best possible resource for historians. They tend to offer both far more context and far more information than other types of sources, and sometimes clues about the writer's intent. But even they must be approached with method and scrutiny. We must evaluate the author, audience, intent, and context in order to accurately interpret a primary source document. Some questions you might ask about the author include the following: Who wrote the piece and what is their background? What was important to the author? Why might the author have written what they did? In some cases, the answers will be fairly obvious. In others, a deeper inspection might reveal hidden motives.

You must also take into account the planned audience for a document: For whom was it written? Was it meant to be public or private? Is it a letter to a friend or an essay submitted for publication? For a modern example, is it a text to a friend or to a mother? Texts will one day be a source for historians to use, but knowing who sent them, and to whom, will be essential to interpreting them correctly. (For fun, search online using the term "misinterpreted texts.")

In addition to considering the audience, you should think about the intent: Why was the document written? Was it intended to be a factual account of an event? Was it meant to persuade? Is it a complete falsification? Often people write things that present them in the best light rather than reveal weaknesses.

Finally, you should reflect on the circumstances of the document's creation. Some questions you may want to ask include the following: What is the general time period of the document, and what was that time like? What was happening when the individual wrote the document? Was there any sort of intimidation or distress? Is it a time of war or peace? Is there religious conflict? Is there an economic crisis? A health crisis? A natural disaster? Could the writer have been fending off an attack or lobbying for one? Are we missing other perspectives or voices we would like to hear?

The answers to these questions will shape your interpretation of the primary source and bring you closer to its true meaning. Most text-based sources have meanings beyond the obvious, and it is the historian's job to uncover these. Be sure to keep these questions in mind throughout this course and whenever you undertake historical research or are considering the accuracy of information you encounter (Figure 1.8).

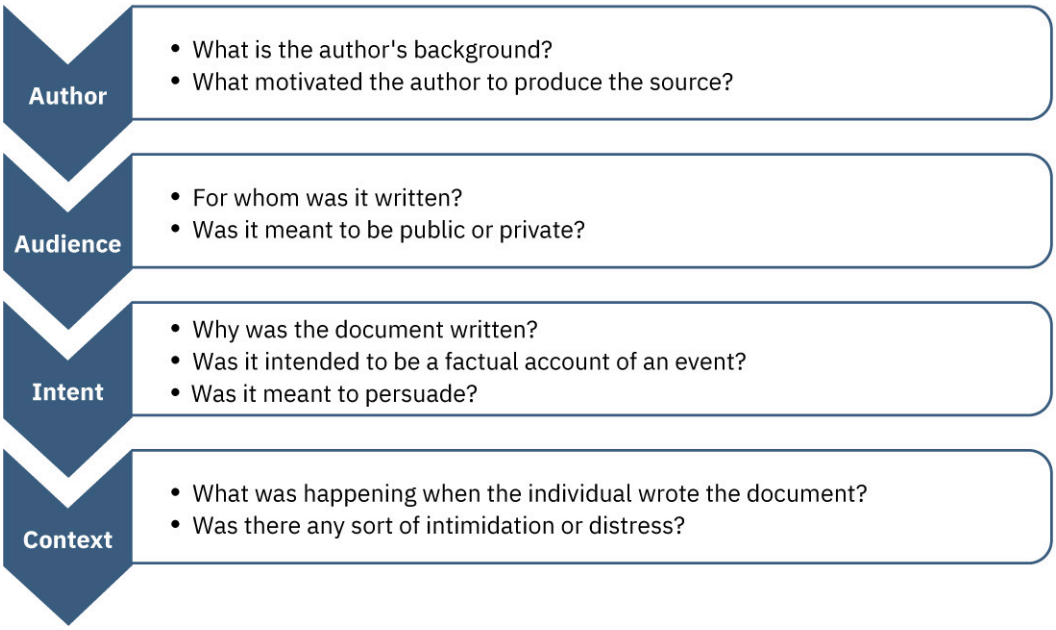


FIGURE 1.8 Evaluating Primary Sources. These key questions to ask about primary sources help us evaluate the author, audience, intent, and context. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

To gain experience using these questions, consider the two accounts in Child Labor in Great Britain, both recorded in the *Hansard*, the official report of debates in Parliament and dealing with the same subject from different perspectives. According to the first account, which is recorded as a direct speech delivered to Britain's House of Commons (one of the two chambers of Parliament) on March 16, 1832, by reformer Michael Sadler, children who worked in textile factories suffered terribly. The second account, which is a reporting of the speech delivered to the House of Commons by one of Sadler's opponents, John Thomas Hope, argues that child labor is not necessarily a bad thing. What should historians do with such competing texts? How do they decide what each one adds to the true story of child labor in the Industrial Revolution? If you were to read only one of these accounts, what important information or point of view would you miss? As you read, keep these

questions in mind.

DUELING VOICES

Child Labor in Great Britain

In the 1830s and 1840s, Great Britain was rapidly industrializing, and workers including children were laboring in factories and mines. Many British people pressed Parliament to limit child workers' time to no more than ten hours per day. In the first excerpt below, reformer Michael Sadler urged the House of Commons to regulate children's labor. In the second, one of Sadler's opponents, John Thomas Hope, argues that child labor in textile factories should not be regulated.

> The parents who surrender their children to this infantile slavery may be separated into two classes. The first of these, and, I trust, by far the most numerous, consists of those who are obliged, by extreme indigence, so to act, but who do so with great reluctance and with bitter regret: themselves, perhaps, out of employment, or working at very low wages, and their families, therefore, in a state of great destitution, what can they do? The Overseer, as is in evidence, refuses relief if they have children capable of working in factories whom they refuse to send there. They choose, therefore, what they deem, perhaps, the lesser evil, and reluctantly resign their offspring to the captivity and the pollution of the mill: they rouse them in the winter morning, which, as the poor father says before the Lords' Committee, they "feel very sorry" to do—they receive them fatigued and exhausted, many a weary hour after the day has closed—they see them droop and sicken, and, in many cases, become cripples and die, before they reach their prime: and they do all this, because they must otherwise suffer unrelieved, and starve.
>
> —Michael Sadler, speech to the House of Commons, March 16, 1832, as recorded in the Hansard
>
> [Mr. John T. Hope] doubted, in the first place, whether a case of necessity for parliamentary interference was fairly made out. . . . It was obvious, that if they limited the hours of labour, they would, to nearly the same extent, reduce the profits of the capital on which the labour was employed. Under these circumstances, the manufacturers must either raise the price of the manufactured article, or diminish the wages of their workmen. If they increased the price of the article, the foreigner would enter into competition with them. . . . [Hope] was informed that the foreign cotton manufacturers, and particularly the Americans, trod closely upon the heels of our manufacturers. If the latter were obliged to raise the price of their articles, the foreign markets would in a great measure be closed against them, and the increased price would also decrease the demand in the home market. To avoid these ruinous consequences the manufacturers would, in all cases where it was possible to dispense with their labour, cease to employ children at all, and employ a greater number of adults than before. [Michael Sadler] seemed to consider this an advantageous course; but [Hope] could not concur with that opinion, because the labour of children was a great resource to their parents and a great benefit to themselves. . . . It was, therefore, on these grounds, because, he doubted in the first place, whether Parliament could protect children as effectually as their parents; secondly, that he did not think a case for parliamentary interference had been made out; and thirdly, because he believed, the Bill would be productive of great inconvenience, not only to persons who had embarked large capital in the cotton manufacture, but even to workmen and children themselves, that he should feel it his duty to oppose the measure.
>
> —John Thomas Hope, speech to the House of Commons, March 16, 1832, as recorded in the Hansard

- According to Michael Sadler, why is it wrong to employ children in textile factories? How does he use language to convey to the other members of Parliament the difficult conditions of factory labor?
- What arguments does John Thomas Hope use to oppose limiting the number of hours children can work? How does he try to persuade other members of Parliament to support his position?

- Why may the reporter have chosen to present Hope's speech in the third person instead of in the first person, as he did for Sadler's? Does this make Hope's speech a less reliable source for a historian to rely upon for evidence?
- Records of parliamentary debate were available to the public to read. In what way might this have influenced what these politicians said and how they framed their arguments?

Textual Sources: The Importance of Language

The different types of language used in a source are clues to its interpretation. Linguists call the use of language **rhetoric**. Rhetorical choices, decisions about the way words are used and put together, are often deliberate and intended to achieve a certain outcome. For example, think about the way you talk to a professor versus the way you talk to a friend. We must closely examine the rhetorical choices in any primary document to correctly interpret it. To practice this skill, consider the 1887 speech given by Senator George G. Vest, a Democrat from Missouri, regarding whether women in the United States should be given the right to vote in Senator Vest on Women's Suffrage and the guiding questions that follow.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Senator Vest on Women's Suffrage

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, governments debated whether women should be given the right to vote. Opponents such as Senator George G. Vest, Democrat of Missouri, claimed they acted in women's and society's best interest by denying women suffrage. In 1887, when Vest delivered this speech to Congress, Democrats tended to be anti-Black and anti-immigrant, and they found their greatest support in the rural south. How does Vest depict himself as a supporter of women? Where is his anti-immigrant bias revealed?

> If this Government, which is based on the intelligence of the people, shall ever be destroyed it will be by injudicious, immature, or corrupt suffrage. If the ship of state launched by our fathers shall ever be destroyed, it will be by striking the rock of universal, unprepared suffrage. [. . .]
>
> The Senator who last spoke on this question refers to the successful experiment in regard to woman suffrage in the Territories of Wyoming and Washington. Mr. President, it is not upon the plains of the sparsely settled Territories of the West that woman suffrage can be tested. Suffrage in the rural districts and sparsely settled regions of this country must from the very nature of things remain pure when corrupt everywhere else. The danger of corrupt suffrage is in the cities, and those masses of population to which civilization tends everywhere in all history. Whilst the country has been pure and patriotic, cities have been the first cancers to appear upon the body-politic in all ages of the world. [. . .]
>
> I pity the man who can consider any question affecting the influence of woman with the cold, dry logic of business. What man can, without aversion, turn from the blessed memory of that dear old grandmother, or the gentle words and caressing hand of that dear blessed mother gone to the unknown world, to face in its stead the idea of a female justice of the peace or township constable? For my part I want when I go to my home— [. . .] the earnest, loving look and touch of a true woman. I want to go back to the jurisdiction of the wife, the mother; and instead of a lecture upon finance or the tariff, or upon the construction of the Constitution, I want those blessed, loving details of domestic life and domestic love. [. . .]
>
> I believe [women] are better than men, but I do not believe they are adapted to the political work of this world. I do not believe that the Great Intelligence ever intended them to invade the sphere of work given to men, tearing down and destroying all the best influences for which God has intended them. [. . .]

> Women are essentially emotional. It is no disparagement to them they are so. It is no more insulting to say that women are emotional than to say that they are delicately constructed physically and unfitted to become soldiers or workmen under the sterner, harder pursuits of life.
>
> What we want in this country is to avoid emotional suffrage, and what we need is to put more logic into public affairs and less feeling. There are spheres in which feeling should be paramount. There are kingdoms in which the heart should reign supreme. That kingdom belongs to woman. The realm of sentiment, the realm of love, the realm of the gentler and the holier and kindlier attributes that make the name of wife, mother, and sister next to that of God himself.
>
> I would not, and I say it deliberately, degrade woman by giving her the right of suffrage. I mean the word in its full signification, because I believe that woman as she is to-day, the queen of the home and of hearts, is above the political collisions of this world, and should always be kept above them.
>
> —George G. Vest, a speech to the 48th Congress, January 25, 1887

- According to Vest, why is he opposed to women's suffrage?
- What language does Vest use to flatter women? What stereotypes does he evoke?
- How does Vest use language to contrast the public world of men with the domestic world presided over by women?

Hidden in History

Historians begin their work with a research question and seek to find the sources necessary to build an authentic narrative that answers it. One challenge is that written sources are undeniably valuable but often leave out important details. For example, many speak only of the lives of elites. It is not terribly difficult to find information about kings, queens, and other rulers of the past, but what of their families? Their servants? What of the ordinary people who lived under their rule?

Some groups of people remain hidden in our account of history because few records talk about their lives and experiences. Historians of the 1960s began to revolutionize the discipline by studying history "from the bottom up." In other words, they began to focus on just those groups that had long been ignored. They used sources like church records, newspapers, and court hearings to illuminate the lives of the poor and illiterate. Court hearings were one venue in which the words of people from all backgrounds were recorded as they served as witnesses and as accused. Mothers and fathers also sought out those who could write letters for them to get pardons for loved ones convicted of crimes. These kinds of sources shed light on those whose voices were rarely heard, either while they lived or after they died. Great strides have been made in the field of social history, which looks beyond politics to the everyday aspects of life in the past. But it remains difficult, lacking records, to represent women, the poor, and minority communities on an equal footing with those who have traditionally held power.

These kinds of limitations can also apply to regions of the world. Civilizations with long-standing and abundant historical documents often have more complete histories than others. Much is known, for example, about European history and Chinese history, both of which have deep roots in the written word. Europe, after all, had Herodotus, and China had Sima Qian. Herodotus, who lived in the fifth century BCE, is called the father of history in the West; he wrote the history of the Greco-Persian wars. Sima Qian, born in the middle of the second century BCE, is referred to in China as the father of history for his work *Records of the Grand Historian*, a sweeping history of the Han dynasty. The Middle East and India also have rich textual histories. In Africa and Latin America, the historical record is less full.

In the case of Latin America, the historical record was significantly altered when the Europeans arrived. Believing that much of the writing of Indigenous people that they found spoke of a religion and culture they

meant to replace, the conquerors deliberately destroyed it. Writing Africa's history is complicated by both its size and its diversity, as well as its colonial past. Due to the extremes of climate, surviving written documents and even archaeological evidence are not easily found, and what exists of written history is often tainted by the bias of the colonial observers who wrote it. New scholarship is emerging in both regions, generated by historians who look with fresh eyes and seek to understand history as it was. To gain some insight into the way history is relevant to the present, read Chinua Achebe on the Value of Indigenous History and consider the questions posed.

THE PAST MEETS THE PRESENT

Chinua Achebe on the Value of Indigenous History

The following is an interview with the noted Nigerian novelist Chinua Achebe (1930–2013) in *The Atlantic.* Achebe, author of several important books including *Things Fall Apart*, which explores the impact of British missionary work in Nigeria, speaks to both the historic legacy of colonialism—the practice of controlling another people or area, usually for economic gain—and the need to first see ourselves independently and then in relation to others (Figure 1.9).

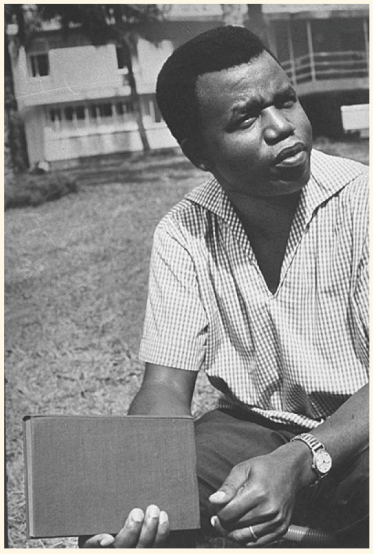


FIGURE 1.9 Chinua Achebe. This is a photo of the young Chinua Achebe in Lagos, Nigeria, in 1966. (credit: "Chinua Achebe, 1966" by *The New York Times*/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

> But, of course, something doesn't continue to surprise you every day. After a while I began to understand why the book [*Things Fall Apart*] had resonance. I began to understand my history even better. It wasn't as if when I wrote it I was an expert in the history of the world. I was a very young man. I knew I had a story, but how it fit into the story of the world—I really had no sense of that. Its meaning for my Igbo people was clear to me, but I didn't know how other people elsewhere would respond to it. Did it have any meaning or resonance for them? I realized that it did when, to give you just one example, the whole class of a girls' college in South Korea wrote to me, and each one expressed an opinion about the book. And then I learned something, which was that they had a history that was similar to the story of *Things Fall Apart*—the history of colonization. This I didn't know before. Their colonizer was Japan. So these people across the waters were able to relate to the story of dispossession in Africa. People from different parts of the world can respond to the same story, if it says something to them about their own history and their own experience.
>
> —Chinua Achebe in Katie Bacon, "An African Voice," *The Atlantic*

- Try to sum up Chinua Achebe's words in one sentence.
- In what ways do you think colonialism has influenced the writing of history?

1.3 Causation and Interpretation in History

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe causation as it is used in the study of history
- Identify the levels of causation
- Analyze the role of interpretation in producing an accurate historical record

The study of history has always been about more than giving a recounting of past events. It is about remembering our shared past, making human connections that traverse centuries, and helping us know more about ourselves. Once we know how to muster as many facts as we can, we must consider the next step—understanding causation. Causation is the *why* behind events; understanding it is the way historians get at the heart of the matter. The powerful and public forces that change society and government are also present when individuals make choices about their lives. What, then, are the forces that shape history, that shift it one way or another, that move people to change on both an individual and a societal level?

All of us see these historical causes through the lens of our own experiences, circumstances, and value systems. Historians, particularly those trained in recent times, work to eliminate as much bias as they can, but we cannot wholly disconnect ourselves from our environment and beliefs. Bias can even sometimes act as a positive force, allowing us to look at the past in new ways. For example, historians in the 1960s and 1970s began to question their discipline's traditional focus on elites and sought out new sources that highlight the lives of more ordinary people. Driven by a bias in favor of the counterculture and politics of the era, they wanted to know more about what *all* people experienced.

Levels of Causation

In their quest for the why of an event, historians look at both the immediate and the long-term circumstances of that event. Not all causes are equally significant; we need to rank them in importance. Let us begin with a thought exercise. At this moment in your history, you are reading this textbook. Why? Perhaps you would say, "Because the instructor told me to, and it will be on the test." Certainly that is a valid reason. But if you think a bit more deeply, you might also say, "I want to do well in my education so I can be successful." And at an even deeper level, "Society tells me that education is necessary to realize my full potential, find fulfillment, and participate in the community."

Think of all the other things that caused you to be here in this moment. There are no wrong answers; just explore the levels of causation behind your reading right now. Now rank them in order of importance. Which causes had the most influence on you, and which were more remote? Your response might look something like a pyramid (Figure 1.10). The **primary cause** is the most immediate. It is the spark. The secondary cause is once removed. The tertiary cause offers the broader context.

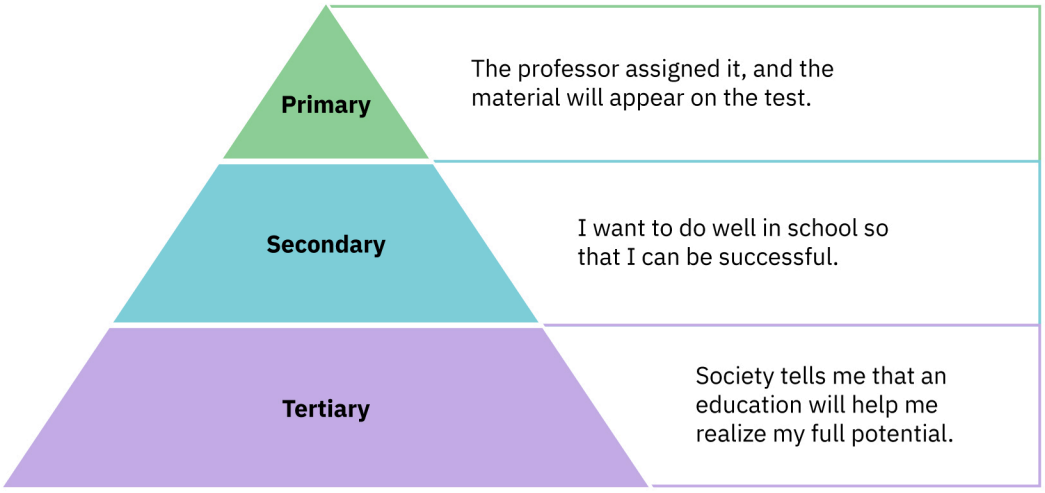


FIGURE 1.10 Causation Explained. This causation chart answers the question, "Why are you reading?" on three levels. The primary level is the most immediate. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

To reach a true understanding of why you are reading your text, you needed to know yourself well, understand the connection between education and career, and assess how social factors, such as the value employers place on education, influence your decision-making. The more aspects of causation historians can find, the closer they can get to the true nature of the event.

Let's try another example, this one from history. Why did the United States enter World War II in 1941? In this case, the immediate cause was Japan's attack on the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, but hostilities had been brewing for some time. The president of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, had been looking for ways to help the British fend off a potential German invasion, and Japan and the United States had long-standing issues over the use of power in the Pacific (Figure 1.11).

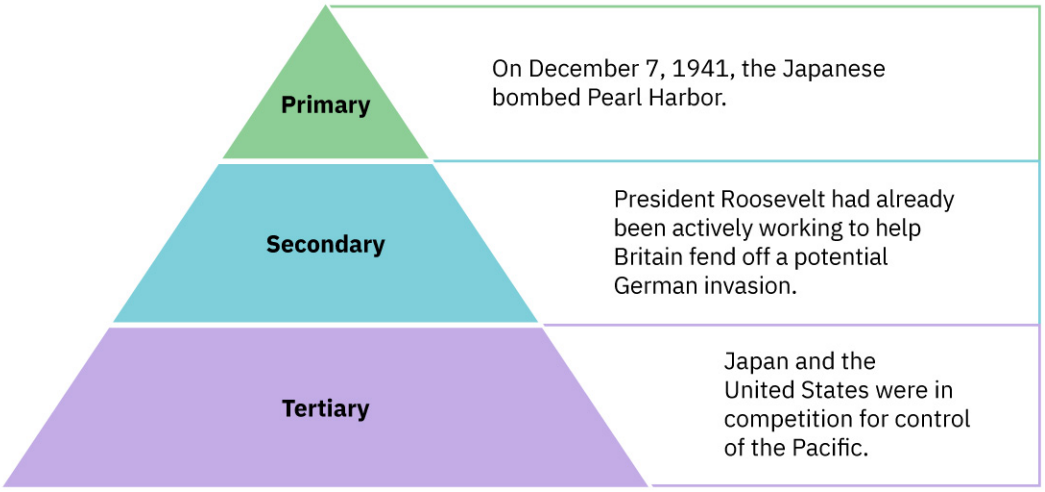


FIGURE 1.11 Causation Applied to World War II. This causation chart identifies and ranks the reasons for the entry of the United States into World War II. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

Here is one more example. In 1453, Mehmed II laid siege to the city of Constantinople. Why? Mehmed II was the leader of the Ottoman Empire, the sultan. He had been badly treated by his father, and when he ascended the throne, he felt he had something to prove. The Ottomans had tried several times to take Constantinople because it lay at the crossroads of many civilizations. Conquest had long been a reliable mechanism for

bringing new people and wealth into the Ottoman Empire and for keeping its economy prosperous. All these factors played a role in the siege undertaken by Mehmed II. Can you order them by importance? This is the point where historians usually disagree, even about events for which most of the facts are clear. A historian who believes powerful leaders are the most influential factor driving events would rank Mehmed's personal goals first (Figure 1.12). Base your ranking on the strongest arguments you can make.

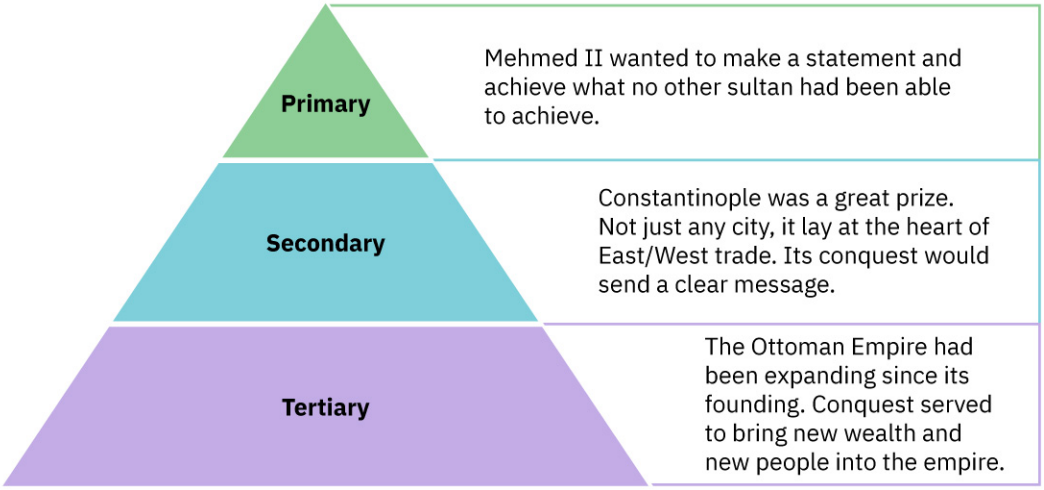


FIGURE 1.12 Causation Applied to the Conquest of Constantinople. This causation chart ranks the reasons for Mehmed II's 1453 Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

There can be more than three causes to any event, of course, and because human choice always plays a role, we sometimes cannot separate events on the big stage from the smallest of personal moments in history. The context of the Ottoman Empire's continuous expansion set the scene in this example, and Mehmed II's desire to prove his ability was the spark.

Before moving on, try one more example on your own. Pick a moment in history with which you are familiar and follow the same process.

Interpretation in History

Hand in hand with bringing causation to light is discovering what informed the choices people made in the past. What makes people act as they do? For much of history, we found the answer in the actions of elites—tsars, sultans, kings, and queens. The first historians largely concerned themselves with the study of wars and rulers, in accordance with the **great man theory** of history that credits leaders and heroes with triggering history's pivotal events. Although these historians gave some attention to historical detail, there was also an equal measure of bravado, exaggeration, and political spin in their work. This seemed reasonable in a world where the king's choice became everyone's choice and where sources rarely spoke about anyone other than noble lords and ladies. That this type of history remained the norm for so long was also a function of who was writing it.

In the West, Thomas Carlyle, a nineteenth-century Scottish historian, considered the study of the lives of "big men" enough to understand all of history. Higher education was the privilege of only the rich; it must have seemed quite natural to believe that only the elites could move history. These ideas began to change, however, if slowly. In the early nineteenth century, a new school of thought called Romanticism emerged. The Romantics believed there was greatness in everyday life. Even a small flower was worthy of a poem, and the plight of a lowly squire was as important as the worries of the great lord of the manor, for both were essential actors in the human experience. The advent of Romantic art, poetry, music, and novels paved the way for a broad reexamination of what was worth knowing and studying. Writing a little later, in 1860, the Russian novelist Leo Tolstoy argued that there is more to history than the actions of one person. In his novel *War and Peace*, he

contended that the "general mass of men" who participate in history are the ones who truly cause events.

DUELING VOICES

Great Men, or Everyone?

In an 1840 lecture on heroes, Thomas Carlyle coined the term "Great Men" to describe the kind of history he considered worthy, the study of elite men in positions of power. In his novel *War and Peace*, the Russian novelist Leo Tolstoy argued that there is far more to history than the actions of one person. In the following excerpts, consider the viewpoint of each writer.

> As I take it, Universal History, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the History of the Great Men who have worked here. They were the leaders of men, these great ones; the modellers, patterns, and in a wide sense creators, of whatsoever the general mass of men contrived to do or to attain; all things that we see standing accomplished in the world are properly the outer material result, the practical realization and embodiment, of Thoughts that dwelt in the Great Men sent into the world: the soul of the whole world's history, it may justly be considered, were the history of these. [. . .]
>
> We cannot look, however imperfectly, upon a great man, without gaining something by him. He is the living light-fountain, which it is good and pleasant to be near. The light which enlightens, which has enlightened the darkness of the world; and this not as a kindled lamp only, but rather as a natural luminary shining by the gift of Heaven; a flowing light-fountain, as I say, of native original insight, of manhood and heroic nobleness;—in whose radiance all souls feel that it is well with them.
>
> —Thomas Carlyle, "Lecture on Heroes"
>
> In historical events (where the actions of men are the subject of observation) the first and most primitive approximation to present itself was the will of the gods and, after that, the will of those who stood in the most prominent position—the heroes of history. But we need only penetrate to the essence of any historic event—which lies in the activity of the general mass of men who take part in it—to be convinced that the will of the historic hero does not control the actions of the mass but is itself continually controlled. It may seem to be a matter of indifference whether we understand the meaning of historical events this way or that; yet there is the same difference between a man who says that the people of the West moved on the East because Napoleon wished it and a man who says that this happened because it had to happen, as there is between those who declared that the earth was stationary and that the planets moved round it and those who admitted that they did not know what upheld the earth, but knew there were laws directing its movement and that of the other planets. There is, and can be, no cause of an historical event except the one cause of all causes. But there are laws directing events, and some of these laws are known to us while we are conscious of others we cannot comprehend. The discovery of these laws is only possible when we have quite abandoned the attempt to find the cause in the will of some one man, just as the discovery of the laws of the motion of the planets was possible only when men abandoned the conception of the fixity of the earth.
>
> —Leo Tolstoy, *War and Peace*

- Which kind of history do you prefer, the "great man" kind or what we might call the "everyone" kind? Why?
- Whose argument is more convincing, Carlyle's or Tolstoy's? Why?

While on one hand historians began to look at people of the lower classes as more integral to the human story, history as a discipline became dominated by the same set of colonial powers that were conquering much of the globe in the nineteenth century. Therefore, two divergent streams of thought were operating simultaneously, and the picture of history both expanded in terms of class and contracted in terms of diversity. One of the early

European schools of thought was **progressive history**, which viewed history as a straight line to a specific destination. Historians with this "progressive" view believed societies were becoming more democratic over time and that the advance of republican governments was inevitable. Their perspective might also be considered a form of *teleological* history, which proposes that history is moving to a particular end, a culmination of the human experience. Progressive historians believed in the betterment of people and of society, so long as it occurred on a European model. Progress looked only one way: the Western way. Consider what Chinua Achebe (quoted in Chinua Achebe on the Value of Indigenous History) would have said about European democracy and republicanism.

In the twentieth century, particularly after World War I, the idea of inevitable human progress seemed laughable. People grew more willing to question the authority of elites because these leaders were of little help once war began. Historians became more interested in the irrational aspects of the human condition, the psychology behind people's choices. This is one reason for the rise of contemporary **intellectual history**, which looks at the ideas that drive people to make certain choices and focuses on philosophical questions and the history of human thought.

The counterculture of the 1960s in the West deepened people's desire to challenge existing norms, such as the lack of rights for women and for racial minorities. The field of **social history**, guided by the concept that history is made by all people and not just elites, became much more important during this period (Figure 1.13). In this context, young historians and sociologists began to develop new ideas. In their 1966 book *The Social Construction of Reality*, for example, sociologists Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann argued that our belief systems are informed by **social constructs**, ideas that have been created and accepted by the people in a society, such as the concepts of class distinction and gender. Social constructs influence the ways people think and behave.

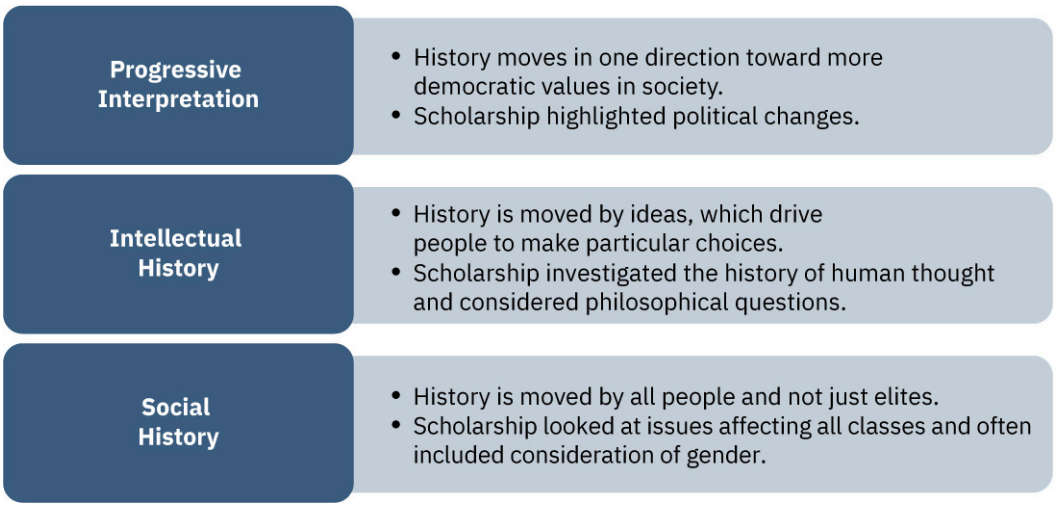


FIGURE 1.13 Trends in Historical Thought. Historians' thinking has led from the progressive school of interpretation to the more contemporary fields of intellectual and social history. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

To understand history, you must understand the social construction of reality, which is the way people define roles and perceive themselves within a social context. Consider our earlier thought exercise. You believe education is important. Why? Who has said that to you in the past? How did you come to believe it? In other words, what is your social construction of education, and where did it come from?

Social constructs exist everywhere and inform many decisions we make, often on a subconscious level. For example, consider the following questions:

1. What do you buy a five-year-old girl for her birthday? What do you buy for a boy the same age? What influenced your decision?

2. What would you wear to a job interview? What would you wear to a party? Why?
3. To which person standing at the front of a classroom would you give more respect: a woman dressed in a tailored suit, or a man wearing jeans and a t-shirt? Why?

In addition to examining reality as socially constructed, twentieth-century historians made interpretations through the lenses of Marxism, which considers history to be driven by class struggle, women's history (now usually referred to in the context of gender history), which sees history as driven by power differences between men and women, and postcolonialism, which focuses on the history of places formerly occupied by colonial powers. In the process we call **revisionism**, each additional lens revised the great man story of history, adding new key players and viewpoints.

Let us look at one more example. How would each school of historical thought approach the story of colonial Latin America between the Spanish conquest that began in 1493 and the independence movements of the 1820s? The progressive historian might explore the growth of democratic legal systems or people's increased interest in republican forms of government. The intellectual historian might consider the Indigenous literature and philosophy of the period. The social historian would look at what conquered people ate, how they worked, and what they looked for in marriage partners. A Marxist historian would examine unfair labor practices and moments of class conflict like rebellion or riot. The gender historian would focus on the role that social constructs of gender played in the lives of people in the past. And the postcolonialist would highlight why aspects of colonialism, such as racism and poverty, remain influential after independence. All these interpretative elements help us weave a more complete picture of the past.

The variety of interpretations open to historians also helps us put in the final piece, which is the practice of **historical empathy**, the ability to meet the past on its own terms and without judgment or the imposition of our own modern-day attitudes. To fully embrace the study of the past, the student of history must be able to set aside the assumptions of the modern era. Everyone has a set of biases, generated by the people who influence our lives and the experiences that shape who we become. Historians must spend the time necessary to investigate these biases and understand how they affect their interpretations. It is not the historian's job to pass judgment on the past, but to present it as clearly as possible and to preserve that clarity for future generations. This may mean reflecting impartially on historical positions, attitudes, or decisions we might find abhorrent as viewed from today's world. However, the more strands of history we can investigate and bring together, the more accurate the picture will be. And there is still much work to be done. For example, recent and ongoing research into LGBTQ+ studies, Indigenous studies, and the history of the Global South will continue to sharpen our image of the past.

The bottom line is that interpretation plays a central role in the field of history. And changes in our interpretation increase the number of ways we can get a clearer picture of those who lived before us. The danger lies in using only one lens. Yes, historians choose some causes as more important than others, but only after considering all the information available.

Key Terms

chronological approach an approach to history that follows a timeline from ancient to modern
global citizen a person who sees themselves as responsible to a world community rather than only a national one
great man theory the view that it is enough to study the deeds and impact of important leaders to paint an accurate picture of the past
historical empathy the ability to see the past on its own terms, without judgment or the imposition of our own modern-day attitudes
historiography the study of how historians have already interpreted the past
iconography the use of images and symbols in art
intellectual history the history of ideas, which looks at the philosophies that drive people to make certain choices
primary cause the most immediate reason an event occurred
primary source a document, object, or other source material from the time period under study
progressive history a school of thought that views history as a straight line to a specific and more democratic destination
revisionism the process of altering our interpretation of historical events by adding new elements and perspectives
rhetoric the way words are used and put together in speaking or writing
secondary source a document, object, or other source material written or created after the time period under study
social constructs ideas such as class and gender created and accepted by the people in a society that influence the way they think and behave
social history a field of history that looks at all classes and categories of people, not just elites

Section Summary

1.1 Developing a Global Perspective

Knowing the past, the human story, has long been considered a mark of civilization, and its study has never been more important. The study of world history provides the skills necessary to meet global workforce needs while at the same time developing a sense of self and place in our global community. You will gain critical-thinking and analysis skills that will help you fulfill the role of a global citizen in our interconnected world. This text will help you approach history with an open mind, and it will engage you in meaningful ways, often highlighting content that remains relevant in today's society.

1.2 Primary Sources

Primary sources are the first-hand evidence with which historians form a foundation of knowledge of the past. Interpreting them requires attention to four key areas: the author, the audience, the intent, and the context. Secondary sources offer valuable starting points for inquiry and context, but students must be aware of any bias they contain. Despite the efforts of generations of historians, there are still people and regions we do not know much about. We must hope that new generations of historians will continue to hone our interpretation of the past.

1.3 Causation and Interpretation in History

The historian's main job is to discover why history happened as it did. What caused the events that have shaped our shared human past? To answer this question, historians apply rigorous interpretative methodology rooted in the search for causation. They study events for both immediate causation and contributing factors, while avoiding judgment and remaining open to revision. You now have the tools you need to fully engage with the material in this text and begin your journey into the human past.

Assessments

Review Questions

1. What is an example of a primary source?
   a. a diary entry by a person who lived in the period under discussion
   b. a modern biography of a person in the period under discussion
   c. an account of a nineteenth-century battle in a twenty-first century textbook
   d. an article in an academic journal

2. Whom do the Chinese view as the father of history?
   a. Homer
   b. Santayana
   c. Herodotus
   d. Sima Qian

3. What interpretation of history assumes that history can be viewed primarily through the lives and choices of leaders?
   a. great man theory
   b. progressive interpretation
   c. gender interpretation
   d. Marxist interpretation

4. The belief that history is moved primarily by class struggle is the _____ of history.
   a. social interpretation theory
   b. revisionist view
   c. progressive interpretation
   d. Marxist interpretation

5. What is the most immediate motivator of a historical event?
   a. tertiary cause
   b. primary cause
   c. action of a great man
   d. social construct

6. Our perspectives are deeply rooted in _____, which we learn from our upbringing and environment.
   a. education
   b. social constructs
   c. historical empathy
   d. causation

Check Your Understanding Questions

1. What does it mean to be a global citizen?
2. What are the features of this textbook, and how will they enhance your learning experience?
3. What is a primary source, and what are some examples of primary sources?
4. What are the four types of questions we should ask about textual sources and why?
5. Define causation as it is used in the study of history.
6. Describe the process you would go through to establish the primary, secondary, and tertiary causes of a

historical event.

Application and Reflection Questions

1. How do you see your knowledge of world history helping you achieve life goals? What do you hope to learn from this text?
2. Why is it important to consider competing sources about the same topic?
3. What primary source materials do you think you will leave behind for later generations? How would you want them to be interpreted?
4. If you could suggest a revisionist addition to the history you have been taught so far, what would it be? Why?
5. Provide three examples of social constructs that affect the way you view the world and explain why.
6. Which historical interpretation interests you most? Why?
7. Choose a recent event you have followed in the news or on social media and establish a history of that event. In a few short paragraphs, tell the story and rank the causes in order of importance. Then write the history again, using one of the major interpretive theories in the chapter (progressive, intellectual, gender, etc.). Your goal is to produce a different viewpoint on the same story.

Exchange in East Asia and the Indian Ocean

2



FIGURE 2.1 Chinese Porcelain. This eighteenth-century moon-shaped porcelain flask adorned with a dragon (left) and the glazed porcelain saucer (right) were both made in Jingdezhen, in southeastern China, a center of porcelain manufacturing that created many such beautiful objects for sale in China and elsewhere. (credit left: modification of work "Chinese flask" by Walters Art Museum/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit right: modification of work "Saucer with motifs celebrating prosperity, China" by Asian Art Museum of San Francisco/Wikimedia Commons, CC0 1.0)

CHAPTER OUTLINE

2.1 India and International Connections
2.2 The Malacca Sultanate
2.3 Exchange in East Asia

INTRODUCTION The sixteenth century was a time of exploration and the beginning of global ocean trade. When European nations such as Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, England, and France were just setting out on voyages of exploration and beginning to forge maritime trade networks, a thriving oceangoing commerce was already being carried on in the Indian Ocean. From the coastal provinces of India to the Straits of Malacca and the ports of Southeast Asia, China, and Japan and back again, raw materials of great value and manufactured products of great beauty traveled (Figure 2.1). Along with them went religious beliefs, philosophies, technological developments, and other cultural influences.

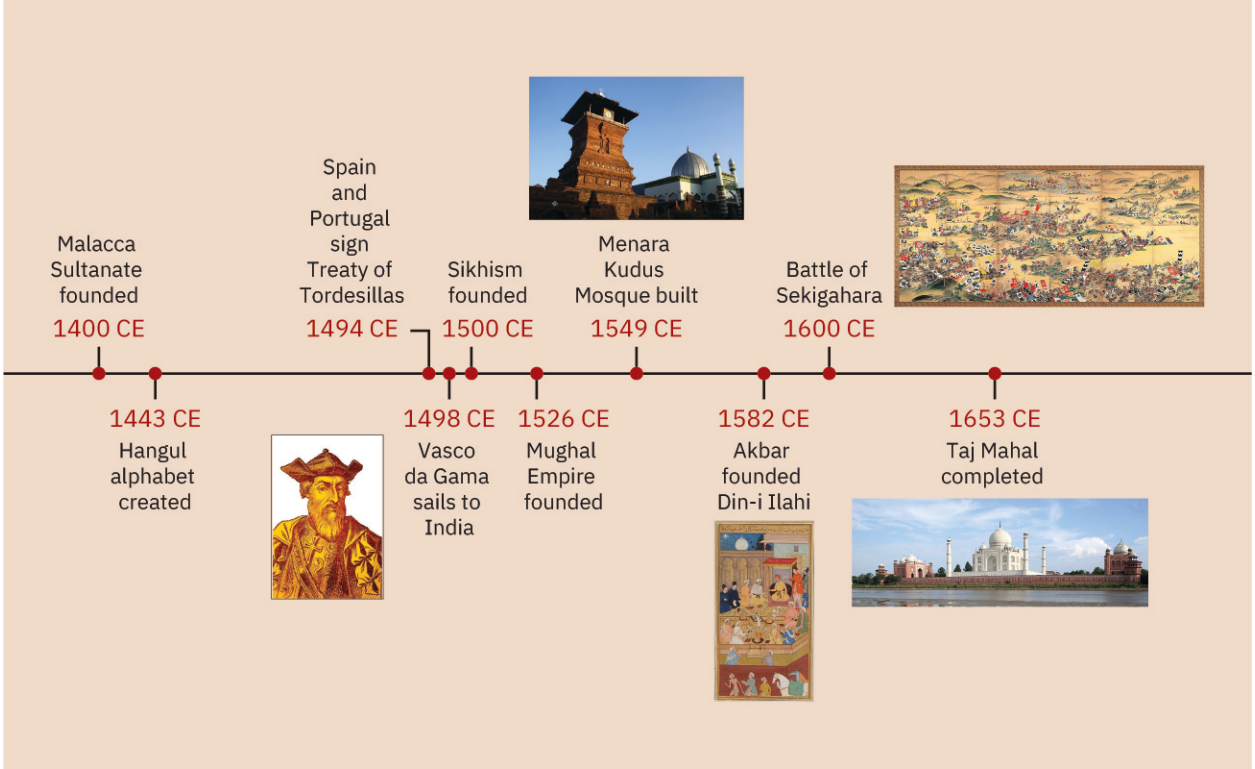


FIGURE 2.2 Timeline: Exchange in East Asia and the Indian Ocean. (credit "1498 CE": modification of work "Vasco de Gama" by E. Benjamin Andrews, Scribner's Sons/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1549 CE": modification of work "Masjid Menara Kudus" by "PL09Puryono"/Wikimedia Commons, CC0 1.0; credit "1582 CE": modification of work "Jesuits at Akbar's court" by Chester Beatty/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1600 CE": modification of work "Sekigahara Kassen Byōbu-z" by The City of Gifu Museum of History/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1653 CE": modification of work "Taj Mahal" by David Castor/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)



FIGURE 2.3 Locator Map: Exchange in East Asia and the Indian Ocean. (credit: modification of work "World map blank shorelines" by Maciej Jaros/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

2.1 India and International Connections

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Explain the roles of Babur and Akbar in the rise of the Mughal Empire
- Describe the distinctive aspects of the Mughal Empire's hybrid culture
- Analyze the effects of geography, conquest, and immigration on Gujarat's role in Indian Ocean trade networks
- Discuss the rise of the Maratha Empire
- Explain how internal conflicts in India contributed to the success of European colonization

At the center of world trade in the sixteenth century was India, especially the ports on its western coast, such as the cities in the Sultanate of Gujarat. Through these harbors came the wealth and the people of the Indian Ocean world, creating a society notable for its prosperity and diversity. The desire to control this wealth attracted both European explorers and Indian dynasties, such as the Mughals and Marathas, and eventually, it brought them into conflict.

The Mughal Empire

Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur had always dreamed of founding a great empire. His father, the ruler of a small central Asian state named Fergana in what is now Uzbekistan, was a descendant of the famous conqueror Timur. His mother came from the family of the Mongol leader Chinggis Khan. In 1494, at the age of eleven, Babur became ruler of Fergana following his father's unexpected death, and he set himself the task of gaining control of all the lands that had once fallen to his illustrious ancestor Timur. In 1504, he made a bold move. Striking out across the Hindu Kush mountains accompanied only by his family and two hundred fighting men, he conquered the city of Kabul in Afghanistan. In 1526, using tactics he had learned from the Persians, with whom he had allied in the past, including the use of artillery, Babur defeated the much larger army of the Delhi Sultanate, a Muslim state in northern India, and established the Mughal (the Persian pronunciation of Mongol) Empire.

Despite his desire to become ruler of India and his fascination with his new land, Babur did not adopt Indian culture. Although he was intrigued by the subcontinent's animals, plants, and climate, he had little interest in its people or in the Hindu religion. He described the people of India as lacking both personal beauty and manners. He admired the land's wealth but strove to re-create for himself and his family a taste of his homeland by designing gardens in the Persian style. He remained firmly oriented toward central Asia and maintained a post road and waystations connecting the Mughal capital of Agra to Kabul. When he died, he was interred at Agra, but to honor his wishes, his body was later taken home to Kabul for burial.

LINK TO LEARNING

The *Baburnama* (Book of Babur) is a sixteenth-century illustrated account of Emperor Babur's exploits. Among the illustrations in the *Baburnama* (https://openstax.org/l/77Baburnama) are pictures of his battles, travels, and life at court.

When Babur died in 1530, his eldest son Humayun inherited Mughal India. Humayun's reign was not a successful one. After only ten years, he was forced to flee after being defeated in battle by Sher Shah Suri, the ruler of the Indian state of Bihar. Humayun sought refuge at the court of the Safavid Shah Tahmasp in Persia, where he became deeply immersed in Persian culture. In 1555, he returned to India and won back his throne, but his victory was short-lived. Only a few months after retaking the Indian city of Delhi, Humayun died after tripping on a steep staircase.

Humayun's fourteen-year-old son Akbar inherited the throne. Although he was illiterate, possibly because of severe dyslexia, Akbar became the greatest of the Mughal emperors. Unlike his father and grandfather, who had remained oriented toward central Asia, Akbar embraced India. He actively sought to incorporate Indians, both Muslim and Hindu, into his kingdom. Although he was aggressive militarily and expanded the bounds of the Mughal Empire across the northern part of the subcontinent and into the central plains to the south, he allowed local rulers to retain control of their lands so long as they submitted to him.

To consolidate his hold on India, Akbar married the sisters and daughters of local rulers, both Muslim and Hindu. He did not force his Hindu wives to convert to Islam, and their marriage ceremonies included both Hindu and Muslim elements. Akbar, did, however, introduce to India an institution found elsewhere in the Muslim world: The women of the royal family were physically secluded in a harem. Women's separation from the men of the court did not mean they were not influential, and wives, mothers, and even nursemaids often played a role in important political decisions. Nevertheless, during Akbar's reign, efforts to remove women from public life also led to the disappearance of their names from official records, and the practice of segregating them spread from Mughal households to those of the Hindu ruling classes, who adopted the custom.

Although Hindus were undoubtedly influenced by Mughal customs, Akbar made no effort to enforce conformity to Islamic customs or to impose the Muslim religion on his subjects. In 1568, he abolished the *jizya*, a tax imposed on non-Muslims. He allowed new Hindu temples to be built, which had previously been prohibited, and provided several of them with money to support their activities. Sharia, the legal code of Islam, was applied only to Muslims, and a Hindu law code governed Hindus. Both Hindus and Muslims were welcomed into the army and Akbar's administration.

Akbar revolutionized his empire's bureaucratic apparatus. The realm was divided into provinces, and each province was assigned a governor, a chief judge, a military commander, and a financial administrator. Akbar appointed civil servants known as *mansabdars*. Promotion was based on effort: Acting in ways that displeased Akbar could result in demotion or transfer to a less desirable location. Each *mansabdar* was also responsible for recruiting cavalry to serve in the Mughal army.

Akbar ordered his empire to be surveyed and fields assessed to determine how much revenue they would yield. The *mansabdars* were then compensated for their labor with taxes collected on specific units of

farmland. As they rose higher in rank, more land was assigned to them. These lands were also periodically reassigned, however, and upon a *mansabdar*'s death, all his wealth reverted to Akbar. A *mansabdar*'s son might be allowed to inherit his father's property, should the emperor choose. These policies ensured that those charged with administering the empire remained loyal to Akbar.

Not only did Akbar marry Hindu women and welcome Hindus into his administration, but he also proved tolerant of other religions and their adherents. He erected a hall to serve as a venue for religious debate (Figure 2.4). At first, only Muslim scholars took part, arguing matters of law and theology among themselves and answering questions Akbar posed. Soon, however, Akbar grew dissatisfied and came to regard some of their positions as too rigid. He then invited representatives of other religions to participate, including Portuguese Jesuit missionaries. Akbar found Christianity interesting, but he rejected the Jesuits' teachings regarding the divinity of Jesus and reportedly found their insistence on monogamous marriage amusing.



(a) (b)

FIGURE 2.4 Emperor Akbar. In this miniature painting from 1605 (a), Emperor Akbar, shown in detail seated beneath a red canopy (b), listens to religious debates among members of many different faiths. The men in black attire are Portuguese Jesuits. (credit a and b: modification of work "Jesuits at Akbar's court" by Chester Beatty/ Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Akbar eventually abandoned all recognized religions, however, and created his own personal cult called Din-i Ilahi (the Divine Faith). This religion combined elements of many different faiths, and Akbar assumed a prominent role at its center. In 1579, he issued a decree proclaiming that all religious questions were to be decided by him. He was regarded by adherents of his cult as the agent of God who, in his role as representative of the divine, was bound to tolerate all religions. Akbar ceased performing the obligatory five prayers that Muslims must intone every day and began to worship "divine light." He also began the practice of appearing daily to his subjects on a balcony so they could view him, reminiscent of a Hindu practice in which worshippers receive blessings by viewing the image of a deity. All these changes greatly disturbed Muslims in Akbar's court.

For the most part, however, India prospered under Akbar. His conquests left much of the subcontinent united and peaceful. Although illiterate himself, he amassed a large library of books in many languages, employed large numbers of translators and scholars, and established schools for both Muslims and Hindus. Domestic

and international trade flourished. Gold and silver flowed into India in exchange for textiles, spices, and precious gems. Handicraft industries boomed, and merchants grew wealthy. The peasants were heavily taxed to pay for the empire's bureaucracy, but they were excused from paying in full in times of drought or other natural disasters.

Among those who benefited from the prosperity of Akbar's reign were wealthy Mughal women, who reinvested in commerce the revenues derived from landed estates, gifts of the emperor and his predecessors to female relatives. They used the profits they earned to endow mosques, build shelters for travelers, support artists and poets, and fund charitable endeavors. They also used their wealth to give gifts to the emperor and court officials, one of the ways in which they attempted to influence the workings of the Mughal government.

Akbar's successors could not equal his achievements. When he died in 1605, his son Jahangir assumed the throne. Jahangir wanted to outshine his father and employed a large studio of artists who portrayed him in countless images as superior to other rulers. The paintings produced in Jahangir's studio were influenced by European paintings, especially portraits, that were given to him by the English, with whom he had established a commercial relationship. Jahangir patronized Muslim scholars, who had been scandalized by Akbar's religious policies. But like his father, he established an imperial cult, and devotees claimed Jahangir appeared to them in dreams and could heal them. Also like Akbar, he welcomed people of many religions at his court and married both Muslim and Hindu women. Like his grandfather Humayun, Jahangir often drank heavily, which took a toll on his health. As he weakened physically, he allowed his favorite wife Nur Jahan, a Persian Muslim, to assume significant power in his government. She took part in public rituals, engaged in diplomacy, and issued imperial edicts. She also helped Jahangir choose a son to succeed him and arranged a marriage between this son, Shah Jahan, and her niece (Figure 2.5).



(a) (b)

FIGURE 2.5 Emperor Jahangir. In this painting from about 1640 to 1650 (a), Emperor Jahangir, shown in detail with his head framed by a golden disc (b), relaxes with his favorite wife Nur Jahan and his son Shah Jahan in a garden. Nur Jahan loved gardens and paid for many to be designed. (credit a and b: modification of work "Jahangir and Prince Khurram Entertained by Nur Jahan" by Smithsonian National Museum of Asian Art/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Following Jahangir's death, Shah Jahan assumed the throne in 1628. To impress his subjects and other rulers

with his importance, he commissioned the building of the Peacock Throne, an elevated platform covered by a vault ornamented with gold, semiprecious stones, and peacock sculptures, and he embarked upon numerous building projects. The most beautiful of these was the Taj Mahal, a tomb erected in 1631 for Shah Jahan's favorite wife Mumtaz Mahal, who had died the previous year giving birth to their fourteenth child (Figure 2.6). The tomb, in the city of Agra, perfectly reflects the hybridized Indo-Islamic culture of the Mughal dynasty and is considered an exemplary work of Persianate architecture. It was built in a garden at one end of a reflecting pool and features a large dome surrounded by four free-standing minarets, towers from which the Muslim faithful are called to prayer. While tombs in that part of India were normally made of common materials such as sandstone, the Taj Mahal is covered in white marble in a style befitting the resting place of a Muslim holy man. It is embellished with semiprecious stones and bears verses in elegant calligraphy, chosen from the Quran by Shah Jahan himself.



FIGURE 2.6 The Taj Mahal. The Taj Mahal, an opulent royal tomb built in 1631, sits on the banks of the Yamuna River in Agra. On either side of it are sandstone mosques. (credit: "Taj Mahal" by David Castor/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In 1648, Shah Jahan moved the capital of the Mughal Empire from Agra to Delhi, where he embarked on another massive building project, the Red Fort. Inside this red sandstone fortress, palaces and administrative buildings were constructed, many of white marble or stucco polished or adorned with glazed tiles to resemble marble. Canals and Persian water wheels supplied the city with water, and a sewage system carried it away. Perfumed water flowed in channels through the city. Within the city walls, officials erected grand houses of their own. Mosques and gardens were built, many paid for by wealthy Mughal women. These building projects, while they greatly enhanced the beauty of Agra and Delhi, drained the treasury and led to increases in the tax burden of India's peasants.

The Sultanate of Gujarat

Despite their power, the Mughals never controlled all of India, and several areas remained relatively free of their dominance. In the sixteenth century, one such area, the Sultanate of Gujarat on the northwestern coast of India, was an important center of Indian Ocean trade. Gujarat was located on the Arabian Sea, close to Persia and the Arabian Peninsula (Figure 2.7). From May through September monsoon winds blew, and the resulting ocean currents pushed sailing ships from East Africa and Arabia in the direction of Gujarat and other spots on the western coast of India, such as the province of Kerala to the south. In the winter months, the monsoon winds and currents reversed, helping sailors return home. In the period between these changes brought by the monsoons, foreign sailors and merchants made their home on India's western coast, and thriving commercial hubs developed with a year-round population of both Indians and non-Indians.



FIGURE 2.7 The Sultanate of Gujarat. Gujarat is located on the northwestern coast of India. Close to the Arabian Peninsula and bordering the Arabian Sea, the Sultanate of Gujarat was a hub for Indian Ocean trade. (credit: modification of work "Banda Sea" by Demis/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In 1573, Emperor Akbar incorporated Gujarat into the Mughal Empire. Through its harbors moved the wealth of India, and the port cities of Surat and Khambat were especially busy. Among the goods exported were fine cotton textiles purchased by buyers in East Africa, Europe, and the Middle East. In addition to warehouses and trading companies owned by Indians, Arabs, and Persians, the port cities contained rest houses for travelers, shops, and banking houses. In addition to being a commercial hub, Gujarat was a place of learning. Many Islamic scholars made it their home, and several cities had large mosques and religious schools, some of which were built with funds provided by Hindu rulers.

BEYOND THE BOOK

The Port of Surat

Surat was a prosperous port on the coast of Gujarat, the region conquered by the Mughal emperor Akbar in 1573. The sixteenth-century painting presented here, by court painter Farrukh Beg, commemorates this event, showing Akbar seated on a black horse greeting the town's residents (Figure 2.8). This painting is one of many such illustrations in the *Akbarnama* (*Book of Akbar*), a text written in Persian that was commissioned by Akbar to serve as the official chronicle of his reign.



(a) (b)

FIGURE 2.8 Emperor Akbar. This sixteenth-century image (a) by Mughal court painter Farrukh Beg was influenced by Persian artistic styles of the period. Emperor Akbar was a great lover of art and studied it himself. The elephant in the foreground (b) may have been included in deference to Akbar's desire for the images produced by his artists to include symbols of Mughal power. (credit a and b: modification of work "Farrukh Beg. Akbar's Triumphal Entry into Surat. Akbarnama, 1590-95" by Victoria and Albert Museum/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

- In what ways does this image indicate that Surat was a wealthy community?
- Where can you see the influence of Islam?
- How is the ethnic diversity of the city's residents indicated?

The populations of Gujarat's ports were diverse. Although most residents were Hindus, other religious communities were well represented. For the most part, these were **trade diaspora communities**, communities established by merchants from foreign lands who came to do business but often settled and married into the local population. The most significant of the trade diaspora communities in Gujarat were those founded by Muslims. Some of their inhabitants were the descendants of merchants who had arrived from Persia or the Arabian Peninsula as early as the eighth century, or descendants of Hindu merchants who had converted to Islam to better do business with Arab and Persian merchants. Sharing the faith of their business partners helped build the trust necessary for transacting business in distant lands, ventures that might take many years to become profitable.

Sufis, Islamic mystics, had arrived in India in the eleventh century, and a substantial number of Muslims had Sufi ancestors. Yet other Muslims were descended from soldiers who had arrived in India in the armies of central Asian or Afghan invaders from the tenth through the thirteenth centuries. There were also large numbers of Parsis in the cities of Gujarat. The Parsis were Zoroastrians, members of a religious sect that worshipped fire and whose ancestors had arrived in India from Persia in the seventh century. They may have fled Persia after the Islamic conquest for fear of religious persecution, or they may have settled in India before

the conquest and never returned home.

Also present in Gujarat were Jews and Nestorian Christians, who had split from the larger Christian Church in the fifth century over an argument regarding whether Jesus was of one nature—divine—or two—one human and one divine. The Nestorian Christians had come primarily from Syria and Persia. A larger Christian community lived in Kerala. Gujarat also housed small communities of Indian Jains (followers of Jainism) and Buddhists.

The great religious and ethnic diversity of Gujarat contributed to its commercial success because merchants there traded more easily with others of the same religion and ethnic background in other parts of the world. Arabs traded with Arabs and Persians with Persians. Jews in Gujarat maintained ties with Jewish communities elsewhere in India, North Africa, and the Middle East. The prominence of the Muslim merchant community in Gujarat was undoubtedly aided by the fact that the Mughal emperors were Muslim. By the middle of the seventeenth century, however, Mughal dominance in India was being threatened.

The Rise of the Maratha Empire

Aurangzeb I was the last of the exceptional Mughal rulers in India. In 1658, he seized control of the Mughal throne and set about attempting to conquer rulers of states on the Deccan Plateau in southcentral India. He also led an Islamic revival in the Mughal domains. A pious man who frequently stopped in the midst of battle to perform the required daily prayers, Aurangzeb sought to eliminate all non-Islamic practices from his court. He refused to hunt, which had been a traditional pastime of Mughal rulers, and did not listen to music, although members of his court continued to do so. He eliminated the debates of scholars of different religions that his predecessors had sponsored, as well as other practices such as weighing himself against an equivalent amount of gold on the anniversaries of his birth and coronation, because he considered it an inappropriate display of excess. Aurangzeb patronized Muslim scholars and had them compile a collection of Islamic law written in the Persian language.

A skilled commander in battle, Aurangzeb expanded the bounds of the Mughal state. However, he proved unable to easily incorporate non-Muslims into his empire. Although at times he gave money to Hindu temples as previous Mughal emperors had done, at other times he ordered the destruction of the temples of Hindus who resisted his rule. He also imposed a special tax on Hindu pilgrims and, eventually, a tax on all non-Muslims. Hindus who served in his administration did not have to pay this tax; nevertheless, they often received less compensation than did Muslim administrators. Muslim immigrants to India were also favored over Indian-born Hindus for important positions in Aurangzeb's administration.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Wifely Devotion

One Hindu custom Aurangzeb I sought to stamp out was the practice of *sati* (or *suttee*), the self-immolation of a Hindu widow following her husband's death. The practice seems to have arisen sometime after 500 CE and was practiced primarily by members of aristocratic Hindu warrior families, who might choose to burn themselves alive to honor their husbands or might be pressured to do so by the husband's family. Despite Aurangzeb's prohibition, *sati* continued among many pious Hindus. An excerpt from the autobiography of the seventeenth-century Hindu poet Bahina Bai demonstrates the extreme devotion a Hindu woman was to have for her husband.

> I want my thought concentrated on my husband. The supreme spiritual riches are to be attained through service to my husband. I shall reach the highest purpose of my life through my husband. If I have any other God but my husband, I shall have committed . . . a sin. . . . My husband is my means of salvation . . .
>
> Without a husband, one does not keep God in mind. Blessed is she who knows herself as a dutiful wife.

> She carries along at the same time her household duties, and her religious duties. Such an one bears the heavens in her hands. . . .
>
> She who in everything accepts her husband's wishes in a noble spirit, and though it might mean even death will not violate his command, blessed is she in this present world, blessed is . . . her family. For her comes the summons to heaven. In body, speech and mind she submits herself to her husband. . . . Without enquiring the right or the wrong of it, she is willing to give her very life to fulfill his wish. She serves her husband as prescribed by religious rites, and is ever at his side like a slave.
>
> —Bahina Bai, *Bahina Bai: A Translation of Her Autobiography and Verses*, translated by Justine E. Abbot

- According to Bai, why should a woman obey her husband? What benefits does she derive from obedience?
- Why might a woman have been willing to engage in an act as extreme as *sati*?

Aurangzeb clashed with Sikhs in northern India. The religion of **Sikhism**, a monotheistic faith that combines elements of Hinduism and Islam, was established in the Punjab region of northwestern India in the fifteenth century. The Mughals persecuted the Sikhs, and Aurangzeb sought to control the succession of Sikh gurus, the community's religious and political leaders. His execution of the guru Tegh Bahadur inspired even greater resistance to Mughal authority.

Among the many Hindus who opposed Aurangzeb were the Marathas, a group from the western uplands of the Deccan Plateau. Many Marathas had gained experience as soldiers in the armies of both the Muslim and Hindu rulers. The most powerful of their leaders, Shivaji, had acquired his military experience in this way (Figure 2.9). When he led his own armies into battle against Mughal forces, he proved a formidable opponent, defeating Aurangzeb's commanders time after time. Shivaji's success on the field of battle and the rich spoils that fell to his troops attracted many followers. In 1663, he defeated a much larger Mughal army after withstanding a siege for more than two years. Less than a year after this victory, Shivaji's forces invaded Gujarat and seized control of the port of Surat.



FIGURE 2.9 Emperor Shivaji of the Maratha. This portrait, painted in the 1680s, depicts the Maratha emperor Shivaji dressed for battle. (credit: "Portrait of Shivaji" by The British Museum/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Aurangzeb attempted to make an ally of Shivaji, summoning him to the Mughal court in 1666 and awarding his son, who was still a child, a royal title. Shivaji was treated with contempt by his Mughal hosts, however, and following Aurangzeb's attempts to detain him, he escaped and resumed war against the Mughals. Eight years later, Shivaji had himself declared an emperor on par with Aurangzeb, in effect declaring his right to rule his own territory and placing himself in a position of authority above other Maratha leaders.

Shivaji sought to eliminate Mughal influence by making the local language of Marathi the vernacular of his court instead of Persian, the language of the Mughals. He ran his court according to Hindu tradition and replaced Persian political terminology with terms from Sanskrit, the sacred language of Hinduism. All educated Hindus were familiar with Sanskrit, unlike Marathi, which Hindus in other parts of India could not be expected to speak. Sanskrit served a function in Shivaji's kingdom similar to that served by Latin in medieval Europe or Chinese in East Asia: It was the language of the educated elite. Shivaji led processions to local Hindu holy sites and also patronized Sanskrit scholars. Despite his dedication to Hinduism, however, he gave money to Islamic institutions and did not discriminate against Muslims. When Aurangzeb imposed a tax on non-Muslims in the Mughal Empire, Shivaji wrote to inform him that he could not be a good Muslim if he did not understand that God had created all people, not only Muslims.

Beginning in 1674, Shivaji embarked on a campaign to subdue the southern and central parts of the Indian subcontinent and bring them under the control of the Maratha Empire (Figure 2.10). Although he died in 1680, the war between the Mughals and the Marathas continued. Years of fighting emptied Mughal coffers, and in 1705 Maratha armies gained control of the Gujarat coast. Stretched too thin, the Mughals began their retreat from Maratha territory.

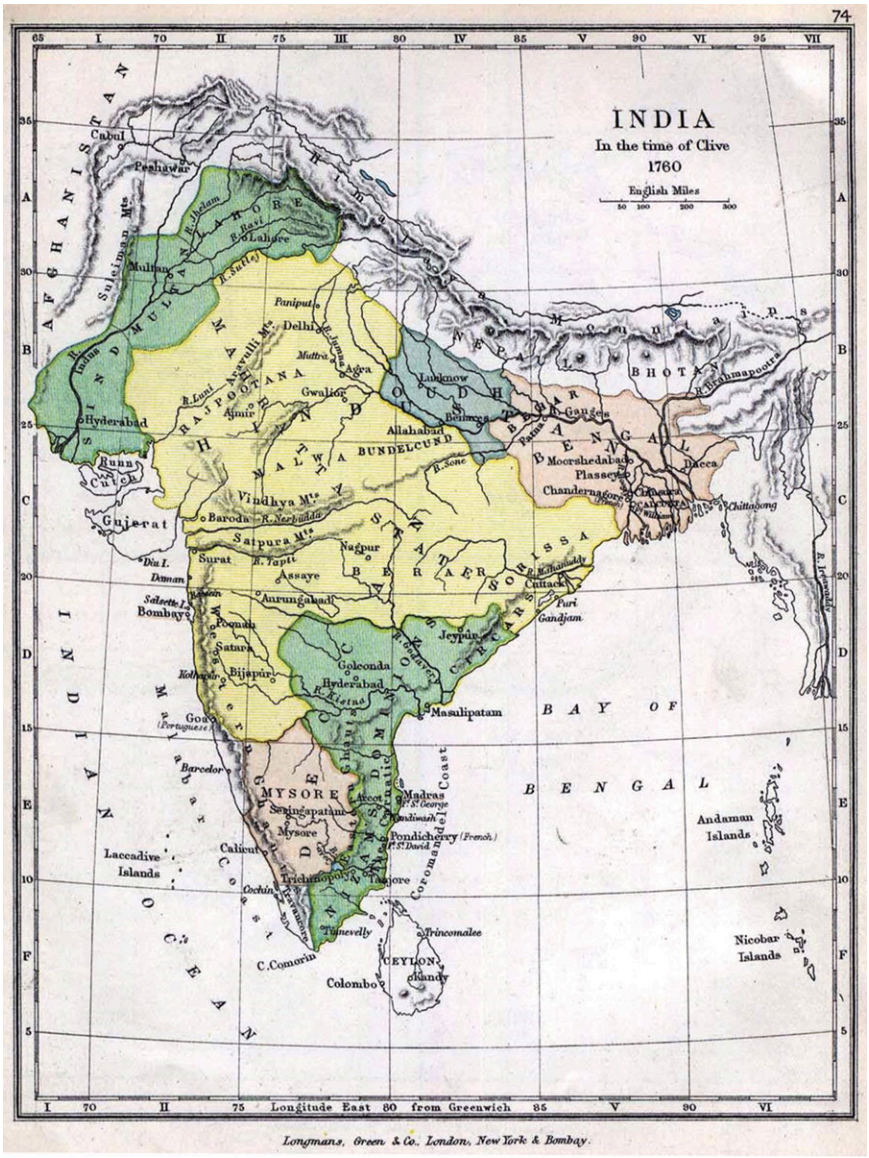


FIGURE 2.10 The Maratha Empire. This illustration from a 1760 English schoolbook shows, in yellow, the extent of the Maratha Empire after its defeat of the Mughals. (credit: modification of work "The India subcontinent in 1760" by Charles Colbeck/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

As the Mughals grew weaker, the Marathas grew stronger. Over the course of the next twenty years, Maratha armies gained control of roughly one-third of India. The Maratha bid to dominate all of India was brought to a halt, however, when Ahmad Shah Durrani, the king of Afghanistan, marched eastward against both the Mughal and Maratha empires, seeking to expand his domain. As Indians and Afghans made war on one another, European colonizers steadily gained control of India.

European Colonialism

In 1488, a Portuguese ship's captain, Bartolomeu Dias, had sailed around the Cape of Good Hope at the southern tip of Africa, but his restless crew made him turn back before he could further explore the Indian Ocean. Dias was one of many Portuguese explorers who had ventured out into the Atlantic Ocean in the fifteenth century following Portugal's capture of the Muslim port of Ceuta on the Moroccan coast in 1415. Ceuta lay at the end of caravan routes that brought the gold of West Africa across the Sahara Desert. After he assumed the throne in 1433, King Edward of Portugal granted to his younger brother Henry (nicknamed "the Navigator" by historians in the nineteenth century) the right to authorize exploration south of Cape Bojador on the

northwest coast of Morocco. Edward also gave Henry the rights to any profits derived from trade with regions that these explorers discovered.

Eager to find the source of West Africa's gold, Henry sponsored voyages down the African coast. Gradually, the Portuguese advanced southward, establishing trading posts as they went. Although gold was the main object of trade, enslaved people were also purchased and sold in Lisbon. Henry collected a 20 percent tax on the trade and used the money to fund yet more voyages.

After the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Empire in 1453, access to the known routes to spices and other Asian goods that Europeans desired lay entirely in Muslim hands. Other Europeans had long resented the monopolization of the spice trade by the Venetians and Genoese, who had been granted trading concessions by the Ottomans. Now there was an even greater incentive to find new routes to the lands of the East. It was for this reason that, in 1492, Christopher Columbus, in the employ of Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand of Spain, ventured out into the Atlantic in search of an oceanic route to India.

In 1494, following Columbus's landing in the Caribbean, Spain and Portugal signed the Treaty of Tordesillas, ratifying Pope Alexander VI's decision that all non-Christian lands west of a line drawn one hundred leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands off the coast of Africa, which Portugal already claimed, were to belong to Spain. Non-Christian lands east of the line were given to Portugal (Figure 2.11). Four years later, another Portuguese sailor, Vasco da Gama, became the first European to sail all the way to India after rounding the Cape of Good Hope.



FIGURE 2.11 The Treaty of Tordesillas. Without reference to the sovereignty of the people who lived there, the Treaty of Tordesillas granted all lands in Africa and Asia to Portugal. Spain received the Americas except the easternmost portion of South America, which eventually became the Portuguese colony of Brazil. (credit: "Treaty of Tordesillas, 1494" by "Ultimadesigns"/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In 1498, da Gama sailed north along the east coast of Africa and from there across the Indian Ocean to the southwestern coast of India, where he landed in the port of Calicut (Kozhikode) in what is today the state of Kerala (Figure 2.12). Da Gama had come to India on a quest to find an all-water route to Southeast and East Asia, the source of spices, silks, porcelains, and other Asian goods. Europeans had had access to such luxuries for centuries, but they were expensive. They had to be carried overland, which limited the amounts that could be brought to Europe, and they also passed through the hands of many intermediaries between their point of origin and their European consumers. Finding an all-water route to the source was intended to eliminate these

problems, and the nation that did so stood to become very wealthy. Before the voyages of the Portuguese, trade with Asia had been monopolized by northern Italian merchants, especially the Venetians, to the envy of merchants in other countries. Da Gama hoped to change this.

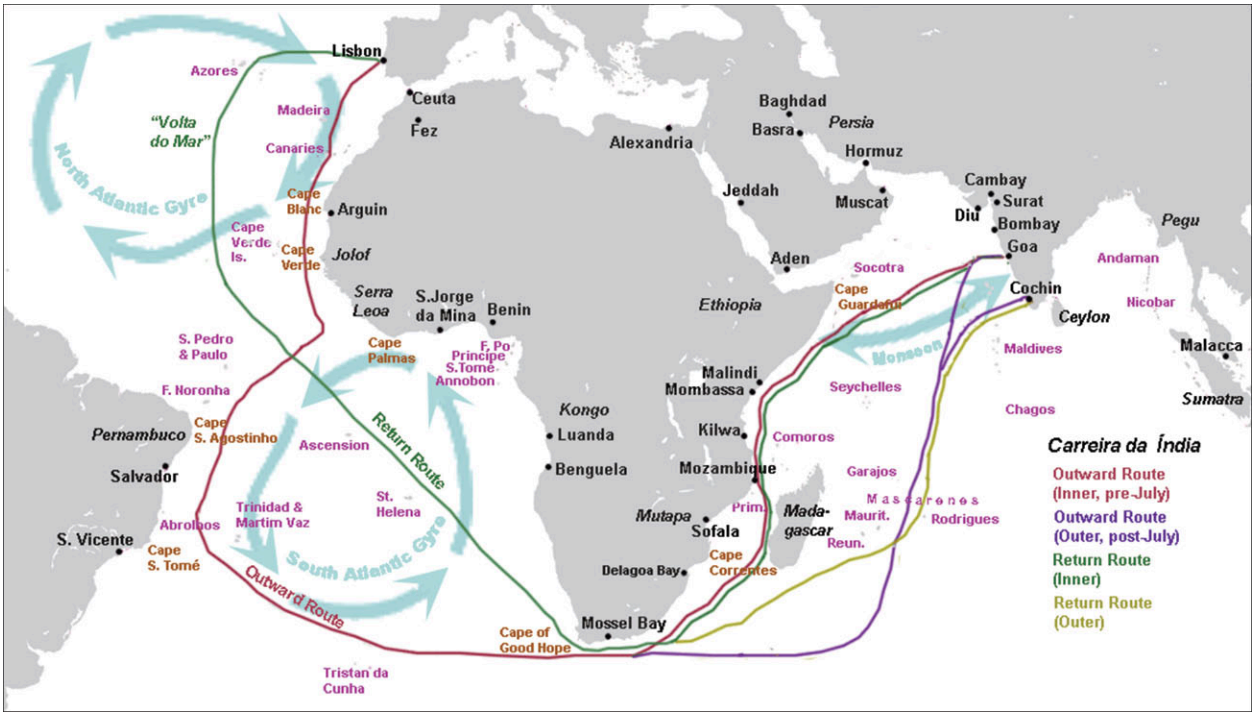


FIGURE 2.12 The "India Run." Working for Portugal, Vasco da Gama sailed north along the east coast of Africa and across the Indian Ocean to Calicut, in the southern Indian province of Kerala, establishing what became the typical sea route to India, the *carreira da Índia*, or "India Run." (credit: modification of work "Map of Portuguese Carreira da India" by "Walrasiad"/Wikimedia Commons, CC BY 3.0)

Of all the goods da Gama sought, spices were the most desirable. They were used not only in cooking but also as ingredients in medicines, and their scents were employed to mask less pleasant odors. While this type of Portuguese ship, called a **caravel**, had relatively little space for cargo, a small amount of pepper and other spices would fit in the hold and still earn substantial profits in Europe.

Caravels did have certain advantages. They were larger and sturdier than most craft that sailed in the Indian Ocean, and they were heavily armed, as well as relatively fast and stable in heavy seas. If merchants in India proved unwilling to sell to the Portuguese at the low prices the Europeans set, the caravels' captains blocked access to Indian ports so that Arab and Persian merchants were unable to trade.

Da Gama's success in reaching India and the value of the goods with which he returned led to future expeditions. In 1500, Pedro Alvares Cabral established a **factory**, a trading post with offices and warehouses, at Calicut to trade for pepper, and he also secured trade agreements from local rulers in Cochin (Kochi) and Kannur, both in Kerala. To eliminate competition, Cabral had his men seize Muslim merchant ships in the harbor, strip them of their cargoes, and burn them, and he then bombarded the port. Approximately six hundred Muslim sailors were killed. Indians attacked the Portuguese factory in Calicut to avenge the assault on the Muslim traders.

Relations between local rulers and the Portuguese did not improve when da Gama returned in 1502. He demanded that all Arabs be expelled from Calicut, and when this order was refused, he bombarded the city as Cabral had done. Establishing a pattern that they and other Europeans later replicated throughout India, the Portuguese sought to divide and conquer by entering into alliance with some local rulers to the disadvantage of others, a strategy made easier in later decades by the weakening of the Mughal Empire. When the Portuguese

allied with the ruler of Cochin, the hereditary ruler of Calicut, called the *zamorin*, invaded Cochin in response. In retaliation, the Portuguese destroyed the fleet that sailed once a year from Calicut to Egypt to sell spices for the *zamorin*.

Beginning in 1502, the Portuguese also attempted to increase their revenues by demanding that ships trading in the Indian Ocean carry a *cartaz*, a document bearing the Christian cross. The money paid for this document went into the Portuguese royal coffers, and by forcing ships to sail to a Portuguese post in India to purchase one, the Portuguese government hoped also to increase commerce for its merchants in the ports it controlled. Ships that did not carry the *cartaz* had their cargoes seized and were sunk. Muslim, Jewish, and Hindu captains objected to having to bear a document with the Christian cross, and all non-Portuguese resented Portugal's attempts to dominate Indian Ocean trade.

To protect their economic interests, a diverse and formidable group of opponents assembled to thwart these Portuguese efforts. Following the destruction of his spice fleet, the Hindu *zamorin* of Calicut and Calicut's Muslim merchants turned to Egypt for help. At the time, the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt controlled not only that land but also the Levant (greater Syria) and much of the Arabian Peninsula as well. (The Mamluks were an elite group of formerly enslaved warriors who ruled Egypt following the defeat of the Abbasid caliphate.) In the early sixteenth century, this area was the center of the spice trade with Europe that, before the arrival of the Portuguese in India, had been carried out by Venetian merchants in the port of Alexandria. Egypt's Sultan Al-Ashraf Qansuh al-Ghawri thus asked Venice for assistance, which the city-state provided in the form of ships and gunners (Figure 2.13). At the same time, spurred by a desire to combat the Muslims of the Indian Ocean, the king of Portugal sent a fleet to India.



FIGURE 2.13 Al-Ashraf Qansuh al-Gahwri. Shown in a woodcut portrait by his near-contemporary the Italian historian Paolo Giovio, Al-Ashraf Qansuh al-Gahwri was the second-to-last Mamluk sultan of Egypt. In 1516, he was defeated in battle and killed by Ottoman forces. (credit: "Portrait of Al-Ashraf Qansuh al-Ghawri" by Paolo Giovio/ Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In 1508, the Mamluk sultan's Egyptian fleet, together with ships belonging to the Sultanate of Gujarat, clashed with Portuguese ships in the harbor of Chaul on the west coast of India. Although the Portuguese commander and his flagship were lost in the battle, the remainder of the Portuguese fleet escaped to the port of Cochin, and the Mamluk's fleet was too badly damaged to give pursuit. In 1509, the Portuguese decisively defeated a combined Egyptian-Gujarati-Calicut fleet in the port of Diu, one of the main ports of the Sultanate of Gujarat. The Portuguese did not take control of Diu, but they received the right to establish a trading post there and a substantial payment in gold from the city's Muslim merchants.

The Portuguese took possession of additional territory in India in subsequent years, including the city of Goa on the subcontinent's western coast. Goa became the base of the Portuguese State of India, the name Portugal gave to its holdings in the Indian Ocean. Jesuit priests accompanied Portuguese sailors, merchants, and soldiers to these ports and began in earnest to convert Indians to Roman Catholicism. Although most Indians remained Hindu or Muslim, the Portuguese gained converts among lower-status Hindus who hoped that by adopting the Portuguese religion, they might improve their social position. Some may also have believed that becoming Roman Catholics would enable them to do business with the Portuguese, just as converting to Islam may have seemed a wise business move for members of earlier generations of merchants.

The Portuguese also won both converts and allies on the island known to them as Ceilão, or Ceylon in English (modern-day Sri Lanka), after once again taking advantage of divisions among local rulers. In 1551, the king of Kotte was assassinated, and his Buddhist successor turned to the Portuguese for assistance in maintaining his hold on the throne amid a struggle with his brother, the king of Sitawaka, an ally of Calicut. The Portuguese erected a fortress on Ceylon and also proceeded to convert some of the population to Roman Catholicism, including Kotte's new ruler. As a result, upon his death, the ruler of Kotte left his kingdom to the king of Portugal.

In 1565, Muslim rulers on the Deccan Plateau joined forces with the *zamorin* of Calicut, the king of Sitawaka, and the sultan of Aceh (Indonesia) to again attempt to expel the Portuguese in the War of the League of the Indies. They also sought help from the Ottoman Empire. The assistance of the Ottoman Fleet would have helped counter Portuguese dominance of the seas, but the Ottomans' need to suppress revolts on the Arabian Peninsula and do battle with the city-state of Venice kept them from participating.

Reports of the marvelous wealth of India and the riches amassed by Portuguese merchants encouraged the Europeans of other nations to seek their fortunes in the Indian Ocean. In 1600, Queen Elizabeth I of England granted a monopoly on trade in the Indian Ocean to the British East India Company (also known as the English East India Company or the East India Company).[1] The British East India Company was a **joint stock company** in which numerous merchants pooled their money to fund trading voyages and share the profits. An expedition to India required an enormous outlay of money that few individuals could afford, and if they could, they might lose their entire fortunes if the expedition were unsuccessful. By pooling funds, none had to risk all they owned.

Dutch and French merchants also formed joint stock East India companies. While the Dutch focused most of their attention on the islands of Indonesia, France competed with England and Portugal to harvest the wealth of India. In 1661, Charles II of England received Bombay (Mumbai) as part of the dowry of his Portuguese wife, Catherine of Braganza, and leased it to the British East India Company. France, in turn, established a trading post at Surat in 1668 and founded others in the years that followed. Europeans often partnered with Indian merchants who sought new investment opportunities outside the subcontinent.

In 1685, the Mughal governor of Bengal increased taxes on English trade in the region. The British East India Company refused to pay and sought to wrest control of the territory from the Mughals. English ships blockaded Mughal ports on India's west coast, interfering with both Mughal trade and the passage of Muslim pilgrims on

1 The political entity of Britain was formed after the union of England and Scotland following the death of Elizabeth I. The kingdom of Great Britain was officially formed in 1707. It is a bit anachronistic to refer to the British East India Company before the nation of Great Britain existed, but that is the name by which the company is most commonly known.

their way to Mecca. In response, the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb seized control of company possessions and, in 1689, began a blockade of Bombay, starving the English into submission. Company representatives were forced to pay a substantial fine before their trading privileges were returned to them.

In their attempt to resist English expansion, the Mughals turned to the French for assistance. Already rivals in trade, beginning in 1754 France and Britain found themselves enmeshed in a war in North America for control of that continent. This conflict, called the French and Indian War, soon spread to Europe where fighting broke out in 1756. As part of this now-global conflict, called the Seven Years' War, French and British armies and navies engaged in battle in India as well. France allied itself with the Mughal Empire. In 1756, the French, who had greatly expanded their commercial activity in Bengal, pressured the region's ruler to attack the British Fort William near Calcutta (Kolkata). The following year, the British struck back, defeating Bengali and French forces at the Battle of Plassey, allowing the British to trade unopposed in Bengal. In 1761, the British destroyed the French post of Pondicherry (Puducherry).

With both the Mughals and the Marathas weakened after years of combat with one another as well as with invading Afghans and encroaching Europeans, small states in northern India broke away from their control and recognized British authority in exchange for acknowledgment of their claims to rule. The chaos that ensued helped the British in their quest to gain control of India. In this way, through a combination of alliances and military victories and the use they made of existing divisions between its kingdoms and rulers, the British gradually gained control of India.

2.2 The Malacca Sultanate

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify the factors that led the rise of the Malacca Sultanate
- Discuss the significance of Malacca as a center of trade
- Analyze the Portuguese invasion of Malacca and its consequences

Like the Sultanate of Gujarat, the Malacca Sultanate was blessed by its geography. Located on the northern part of the Indonesian island of Sumatra and the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, it controlled access to the narrow Malaccan Straits, the most direct route between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, a branch of the Pacific Ocean. All trade moving between India, Southeast Asia, and China went through these waters.

The Rise of the Malacca Sultanate

When the remnants of the Srivijaya Empire on the island of Sumatra were destroyed by the Majapahit Empire in the thirteenth century, a refugee named Sang Nila Utama, who claimed to be a descendant of Alexander the Great, founded the Kingdom of Singapura on the island of Singapore. Singapura developed into a prosperous center of trade. However, its wealth led to attacks by both the Majapahit and the Ayutthaya Kingdom in Siam (now Thailand). In 1398, Singapura too was destroyed, and Parameswara, its last king and a prince of the Srivijaya Empire, fled with his followers. He made his way to a fishing village at the mouth of the Malacca River on the Malay Peninsula that belonged to a tribe called the Orang Laut ("sea people"). The Orang Laut had already given refuge to others fleeing from Majapahit, and a mixed population of Hindus, Buddhists, and Muslims had taken up residence there. Parameswara, supposedly inspired by the courage of a small deer that did not fear his hunting dogs, decided this was the spot on which to build a new kingdom.

The city Parameswara and his followers founded in around 1400, called Malacca (Melaka), became a thriving trading port that grew to occupy both the northern coast of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, on either side of the Malaccan Straits (Figure 2.14). The Orang Laut kept the seas in the area free of pirates, and Arab, Persian, Indian, and Chinese merchants came to do business. Many decided to stay. Parameswara married the daughter of an Indonesian Muslim ruler and converted to Islam, changing his name to Iskander (Persian for Alexander) and taking the title of sultan. This enabled Malacca to form close relationships with other Muslim states on

Sumatra that traded with Gujarat. Through the Malaccan Straits flowed silks, spices, and porcelain, as well as Malaccan products such as tin that was mined to the north of the city. The Malaccans also planted orchards of sago palms, which provided an important foodstuff, a starchy ingredient of bread and noodles that was traded throughout the region.



FIGURE 2.14 The Malacca Sultanate. The heart of the Malacca Sultanate was Malacca, a port city located on the narrow Straits of Malacca, the most direct route between India, the islands of Indonesia, and the Pacific Ocean. (credit: modification of work "Banda Sea" by Demis/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Malacca also established relations with China's Ming dynasty, whose Admiral Zheng He visited Malacca six times during the voyages he undertook in the service of the Yongle emperor. When the growing power of Siam's Ayutthaya Kingdom threatened Malacca, Ming envoys let the Siamese know that Malacca was a vassal state of China and thus not to be interfered with. By the time the Ming dynasty had turned inward in the mid-fifteenth century and ceased to trouble itself with matters involving foreign states, Malacca had grown strong enough to fend off Ayutthaya and repulsed two attacks made by that kingdom in 1446 and 1456. With Ayutthaya no longer a threat, the Sultanate of Malacca was free to spread its influence, and the religion of Islam, throughout Southeast Asia.

From Malacca, religious teachers, many of them Sufis, brought Islam across the Malay Peninsula, and people on nearby islands also became converts. The sultans of Malacca and other Muslim rulers paid generously for the construction of mosques and religious schools (Figure 2.15). By the early 1600s, Islam had become the dominant religion in the Indian Ocean, and only on the island of Bali was Hindu influence still substantial. On Java, the home of the Hindu-Buddhist Majapahit Empire, the adoption of Islam was marked by warfare between Muslims living on the coast and Hindus and animists (people who worship the supernatural power they believe exists in all things in the universe) in the interior. For the most part, however, conversion was peaceful. Merchants were especially eager to convert in order to connect themselves with the established network of merchants in India, Persia, Arabia, and Africa who followed the same faith. They could then also count on the protections of Islamic law. Sufi religious teachers were amenable to adapting Islam to local religious traditions, allowing people in some regions to continue worshipping nature spirits and permitting women to retain an active role in local commerce, as was common in Southeast Asia.



FIGURE 2.15 The Menara Kudus Mosque. The Menara Kudus Mosque on the island of Java was built in 1549. One of the oldest mosques in Indonesia, it was among many erected by pious Muslim rulers. (credit: "Masjid Menara Kudus" by "PL09Puryono"/Wikimedia Commons, CC0 1.0)

Malacca reached the height of its power in the late fifteenth century under the reigns of Sultan Mansur Shah and his son Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah. During this period, often thought of as "the golden age" of Malacca, Mansur Shah pursued an expansionist policy, adding the gold-rich state of Pahang on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula to his kingdom. The ruler of Majapahit, fearing Malacca's strength, sought peace by marrying his daughter to Mansur Shah and conceding to him a number of Majapahit territories. States throughout the Malaysian archipelago acknowledged the ruler of Malacca as their overlord.

LINK TO LEARNING

Read about the Malay legend of Puteri Gunung Ledang (https://openstax.org/l/77MalayLegend) or the Fairy Princess of Mount Ophir. Note how different features of the story are related to historical incidents and real people. What does this legend indicate about the wealth and power of the Malaccan sultans?

Assisting the sultans of Malacca to maintain control over the city were nine elite knights. Preeminent among them was Hang Tuah, who spoke multiple languages including Arabic, Persian, and Mandarin and was adept in the use of numerous weapons. It was his responsibility to guard the seas surrounding the Straits of Malacca and keep them free of pirates. Order was also maintained by the establishment of the office of *shahbandar*. Foreign traders were divided among four separate districts in the city, and each district was assigned an official known as the *shahbandar* to supervise them and collect taxes.

A legal code called the *Undang-Undang Melaka* ("law of Melaka") governed conduct in the port. Influenced by Islamic law, it punished behavior such as robbery, adultery, and drunkenness. One of the most important parts of the legal code for merchants was the section on maritime law called the ***Undang-Undang Laut Melaka***. This code governed everything from the behavior of sailors and traveling merchants toward the captain of the merchant vessel, to the order in which trade was to take place when the ship put into port (the captain was allowed to trade his goods first), to rules specifying how those who quarreled or stole other passengers' property should be treated.

The Malaccan rulers' ability to regulate the conduct of sailors and merchants both in their city and aboard their ships made the port a more desirable place in which to do business. Merchants need not fear that Malacca was a lawless place, as many ports were. The city quickly became the main port for trading Indian cloth and Chinese porcelain as well as goods such as spices from the Malay Archipelago. This growth in the

wealth and prominence of Malacca helped make the fifteenth century a golden age.

The dominance of Malacca in the Indian Ocean trade spread the *Undang-Undang Melaka* throughout the islands of Indonesia. It also made the Malay language the premier language of trade throughout the coastal regions of Southeast Asia. In the fourteenth century, a special script for writing it was developed, based on Arabic script. In the fifteenth century, Malaysian literature, which had been transmitted only orally before, flourished, another characteristic of this golden age in the Malaccan Sultanate.

European Malacca

In 1509, a Portuguese fleet arrived in Malacca, bringing Diogo Lopes de Sequeira with orders from the king of Portugal to establish trade with Malacca, which would allow Portugal to replace Venice as the center of the spice trade in Europe. According to Tomé Pires, the apothecary to the king of Portugal who traveled to Southeast Asia in search of spices, "Whoever is Lord of Malacca has his hand on the throat of Venice." The reigning sultan Mahmud Shah and others at his court were intrigued by the possibility of becoming trading partners with the Portuguese and possibly putting Portugal's warships to use against rival kingdoms, as some Indian rulers had done. Many Indian Muslims in Malacca, however, especially Gujaratis, were aware of Portuguese attacks on Muslim merchants in India and opposed any dealings with the Europeans. Initially, Mahmud Shah gave the Portuguese permission to establish a factory (a trading post), but then, on the advice of Indian and Javanese Muslim merchants, he sent ships to attack them in 1510. Sequeira and his ships managed to escape, but several Portuguese were taken captive.

In 1511, the Portuguese military commander Alfonso de Albuquerque arrived from India at the head of a large fleet bearing more than one thousand armed troops and demanded the return of those Portuguese who had been taken prisoner the year before. The sultan delayed as he attempted to assemble an army to defeat the Portuguese, but after a week of waiting, Albuquerque bombarded the city. The prisoners were promptly released, but the sultan refused Albuquerque's demands for reparations and the right to build a fortress. Albuquerque then landed his troops in the city with the help of Hindu, Chinese, and Burmese merchants, who hoped to use Portuguese influence to gain dominance over their Muslim rivals. Within a month, the Portuguese had gained control of Malacca, and Mahmud Shah had fled. Albuquerque erected a fortress to guard the city's entrance and made Nina Chatu, a Hindu merchant who had helped free the Portuguese prisoners, the city's chief administrator. Newly minted coins were distributed, and people were informed that trade would go on as before.

Things did not go quite as the Portuguese planned, however. The deposed sultan established a new base in the Riau Islands of Indonesia and from there launched attacks on the Portuguese in Malacca. Following his death in 1528, Mahmud Shah's sons continued to attack the Portuguese from their kingdoms in Johor and Perak. Unwilling to do business in Portuguese Malacca, many Muslim merchants avoided the port and conducted trade in either Johor or the Sultanate of Aceh on the northern coast of Sumatra.

In 1606, the government of the Netherlands, eager to gain an advantage over its European competitors, signed a treaty with the sultan of Johor. In exchange for help destroying the Portuguese in Malacca and freeing Johor from Aceh's domination, the sultan promised the Dutch control of the port with the understanding that they would make no further territorial conquests in the region or attack Johor. In 1629, with Dutch assistance, forces from Johor destroyed Aceh's navy and killed nearly twenty thousand Aceh troops. In 1641, the Dutch and troops from Johor defeated the Portuguese, and the Dutch East India Company took control of Malacca.

The Portuguese had not been satisfied to take just Malacca. They had a greater prize in mind—the legendary Spice Islands, the source of the nutmeg, mace, and cloves they coveted.[2] Having learned of the location of the Banda Islands in the Indonesian archipelago where nutmeg and cloves grew in abundance, Afonso de Albuquerque dispatched three ships with Malay pilots to find them, believing them to be the Spice Islands. The hostility of the Bandanese, however, dissuaded the Portuguese from attempting to establish a factory there. One of the original three ships sailed on in search of another spice-rich island group, the Moluccas (Malaku) (Figure 2.16). Here, the Portuguese were able to establish trade relationships with the Sultanate of Ternate, a city-state in the Moluccas.



FIGURE 2.16 The Banda Islands. The Banda Islands, a spice-rich island group, lie in the center of the Moluccas, an archipelago in the east of Indonesia. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

The primary interest of Sultan Hairun of Ternate was in using Portuguese military power in his contests with rival states. The Portuguese, meanwhile, had nervously noted that visitors from Mecca, the Ottoman Empire, and other Southeast Asian Islamic sultanates frequented Ternate. As Catholics who sought to convert the people of the Indian Ocean to their religion and who considered Muslims enemies, they feared the growth of Islam in the region would interfere with both their commercial and evangelical efforts and might endanger their safety. Eventually, Portuguese efforts to convert people to Christianity angered Muslim inhabitants and strengthened their devotion to Islam. After Hairun's death, his son and heir Sultan Babullah declared a holy war against the Portuguese and drove them from the Moluccas in 1575.

Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese veteran of Albuquerque's attack on Malacca, also dreamed of finding a route to the Spice Islands. He planned, however, to discover a westward route by sailing west from Portugal, instead of taking the long route eastward around the tip of Africa and through the Indian Ocean. When the Portuguese king declined to fund the exploratory voyage, Magellan approached the king of Spain, who provided him with the funds and ships he needed. The crew came from many countries, which was common aboard ships at that time.

In 1519, with a fleet of five ships and a crew of two hundred seventy, Magellan departed from Spain. He crossed the Atlantic and sailed around the southern tip of South America, where the fleet spent the winter. On March 6, 1521, with their fresh water nearly exhausted after three months spent crossing the Pacific, they sighted Guam, and not long after, they made landfall in the Philippines. At the port of Sugbu on the island of Cebu, Magellan and the Spanish were welcomed by the ruler, Rajah Humabon, whose ancestor, a prince of the south

2 Many different islands were known as the Spice Islands, including Zanzibar. The Spice Islands referred to here are in the Indian Ocean.

India Chola dynasty, had come to the Philippines from Sumatra.

As other Portuguese had done, Magellan attempted to convert the people he encountered to Christianity. Humabon, his wives, and many of his subjects agreed. By converting, Humabon hoped to secure Magellan's assistance in defeating Lapulapu, a rival ruler. Magellan consented to the plan, and at the Battle of Mactan on April 27, 1521, he was killed. Humabon, for unknown reasons, attacked Magellan's remaining men. The survivors fled to the Moluccas and from there sailed home to Spain. Only eighteen men survived the voyage, and Spanish ships did not return to the Philippines until 1565, when they conquered Cebu. Then in 1570, the Spanish attacked the Muslim trading center of Maynila when one of its rulers refused to become an ally of Spain. The Filipinos were defeated, and in 1571, the Spanish established the city of Manila, which became their capital in the East Indies.

THE PAST MEETS THE PRESENT

Lapulapu: A Filipino Folk Hero

Lapulapu, the indigenous leader who defied and defeated Ferdinand Magellan, has been a folk hero in the Philippines for hundreds of years, representing the spirit of the Filipino people and their unwillingness to be dictated to by non-Filipinos. He is referred to as Cali Pulaco in the 1614 poem "Que Dios le perdone" ("May God pardon him") by Filipino poet Carlos Calao. Another spelling of his name, Kalipulaku, was used by the Filipino activist Mariano Ponce when he agitated for the Philippines' independence from Spain in the nineteenth century. Lapulapu is also mentioned in the 1898 Declaration of Independence.

In the twentieth century, statues of him were erected in Manila, the capital of the Philippines (Figure 2.17), and on Mactan Island, the site of Magellan's defeat. His image has appeared on Filipino currency, and he is shown in silhouette holding his weapons on the seal of the Philippine National Police. He is invoked in songs and has appeared as a character in films and television shows. Filipino Muslims have tried to claim him as a hero of Islam, even though he was most likely not Muslim. In 2017, Rodrigo Duterte, then president of the Philippines, proclaimed April 27, the anniversary of the Battle of Mactan, to be Lapulapu Day.



FIGURE 2.17 Lapulapu. This bronze monument to Lapulapu was designed by Juan Sajid Imao and erected in Manila in 2004. Forty feet high, it is called the Statue of the Sentinel of Freedom. (credit: "Lapu-lapu" by Jason Audrey Licerio/Flickr , CC BY 2.0)

- Why do you think Filipinos still revere Lapulapu?
- Why are Muslims eager to claim him as a member of their faith?
- Who might be the U.S. equivalent of Lapulapu? Why?

In 1609, the Dutch East India Company attempted to establish a fortress in the Banda Islands. The men sent to negotiate the agreement with the Bandanese were killed, however. In 1621, the Dutch returned and forced the inhabitants to sign a treaty. When the Bandanese violated the treaty's terms, Dutch soldiers and Japanese mercenaries killed many of the community's most important leaders and burned their villages. The surviving islanders were forced to cut down sago palm trees, a valuable source of food, and plant spice trees in their place.

The islands' land was divided up and given to Dutch colonists, and enslaved Southeast Asians, European indentured servants, and convict laborers were set to work raising nutmeg, which was sold to the Dutch East India Company. The exception was Ambon Island, which the Dutch set aside to grow cloves. Clove trees on all other islands were destroyed, and anyone attempting to grow or sell cloves without permission was given the death penalty. To maintain a monopoly on the spices and thus keep prices high, the Dutch had already driven out English settlers attempting to colonize some of the outlying islands, and then, realizing they might be unable to control these islands, they destroyed all the nutmeg trees that grew there. In 1619, the Dutch also sent enslaved Bandanese to Java to build the Dutch settlement of Batavia (Jakarta).

The Dutch attempt to maintain their spice monopoly was destined to fail, however. Winds and seabirds spread seeds to other islands. Ships' captains from other countries managed to return to Europe with holds filled with spices purchased from Southeast Asian kingdoms that had not fallen under the control of European powers. The English captain Sir Francis Drake, for example, purchased cloves from Sultan Babullah of Ternate. As ships grew larger, the volume of spices shipped to European ports increased, driving down prices and profits. The Dutch were not solely reliant on the spice trade, however, for they were able to take advantage of an opportunity not available to the Portuguese and Spanish, dedicated as they were to the propagation of Roman Catholicism. That opportunity was trade with Japan.

2.3 Exchange in East Asia

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify the factors that affected exchanges between Japan, its East Asian neighbors, and Europeans
- Analyze how interactions with Europe influenced China during the Ming and Qing dynasties
- Describe China's relationship with its neighbors during the Ming and Qing dynasties
- Discuss the importance of education, culture, and science to Korean national identity

Indian Ocean societies welcomed cultural and economic exchanges among people of many different ethnicities and religions. East Asian societies, however, had a different response to such exchanges. While Japan, China, and Korea were members of the same economic networks as the societies of the Indian Ocean and participated in some of the same cultural trades, they attempted, with varying degrees of success, to limit the effects at home of contact with outsiders and their ideas.

Japan

In the 1400s, Japan was locked in what seemed to be unending internal strife. The Ashikaga shoguns (military overlords) who supposedly ruled the country were too weak to prevent their vassals from fighting one another or to deal with pirate bands that attacked the coasts of Japan, Korea, and China (Figure 2.18). Powerful samurai began to style themselves *daimyos* ("great lords") and ruled their territories as if they were independent kingdoms; they imposed their own laws, collected tolls from those who entered, and recruited warriors loyal

only to them, instead of to the shogun or the emperor. From this period of chaos emerged a succession of three powerful samurai who came to be known as "the three unifiers." Beginning in the 1560s, Oda Nobunaga began to unite Japan under his rule. He was succeeded by Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu. These men ended the incessant violence, united Japan under a strong central government, and defined the relationship their nation had with the West.



FIGURE 2.18 East Asian Societies. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, China, Japan, and Korea all attempted to limit the effects of contact with outsiders and their ideas. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

In 1543, Portuguese ships arrived in Japan. It was the logical end point of a route that had taken them around the coast of Africa, eastward through the Indian Ocean, and into the Pacific. They wished to trade. They also wished to win converts for the Roman Catholic Church, as they had done elsewhere in Asia. The Portuguese were soon followed by the Spanish in 1549, and on the heels of the Portuguese and Spanish came the Dutch and the English. These last two nations, however, were less interested in religion than in profit.

The Jesuit priests brought by the Spanish and Portuguese proved quite successful at winning souls. Those like Gaspar Vilela, who arrived in Japan in 1556, often learned the Japanese language so they could communicate directly with converts. By 1600, more than 100,000 Japanese had become Roman Catholics, and half the Jesuits serving in Japan were Japanese. Nagasaki, on the southern island of Kyushu, was the most Christianized community in Japan and had ten churches. Although most samurai were not interested in becoming Roman Catholics, they were nevertheless interested in something else the Europeans had to offer—guns. Many *daimyos* became Christian or offered the missionaries support in an effort to obtain weapons and gunpowder to assist them in their battles with rival samurai.

Guns had a great impact on Japanese warfare even though they were difficult to aim and slow to reload. One gun did not give its possessor an advantage in battle over opponents armed with swords, pikes, or lances.

However, when soldiers massed together and groups of them fired in succession, as Europeans fought, they could easily defeat those armed with traditional Japanese weapons. Oda Nobunaga made use of this new style of fighting. In 1575, at the Battle of Nagashino, he and his vassal Tokugawa Ieyasu used companies of samurai armed with European guns to defeat the warriors of the Takeda clan. By 1582, the year he was assassinated by one of his vassals, Oda had unified the central portion of the main Japanese island of Honshu, including the area surrounding Kyoto, the seat of the emperor.

Upon Oda's death, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, a vassal of his, succeeded to his position after defeating the army of Oda's assassin. By 1590, Hideyoshi had defeated all the *daimyos* in Japan and required that they declare their loyalty to him. He disarmed non-samurai and forbade peasants to leave the land or become soldiers, while also forbidding samurai to take up any occupation other than war.

Unlike Oda Nobunaga, who had been relatively unconcerned with the activities of Christians, Hideyoshi was more suspicious of them. A devout Buddhist, he disapproved of Christians' eating of cattle and horses and was horrified by the destruction of Buddhist temples and objects of worship by some overly zealous converts, acts in which Gaspar Vilela had participated. In 1587, Hideyoshi ordered Christian missionaries to leave Japan. The edict was not enforced, but the Jesuits, alarmed, asked Christian *daimyos* to help them attack the shogun, which they refused to do. In 1590, the Jesuits in Japan resolved instead to refrain from intervening in Japanese affairs, but they secretly continued to provide funds for Christian *daimyos*.

Neither approach was completely successful in avoiding Hideyoshi's ire. In 1596 the *San Felipe*, a Spanish ship sailing from the Philippines to Mexico, was caught in typhoons in the Pacific and wrecked on a sandbar in the harbor of Urado, on the Japanese island of Shikoku. The local *daimyo* confiscated the vessel's cargo, which Japanese law allowed, and when the ship's captain protested, the *daimyo* suggested he approach Mashita Nagamori, one of the shogun's officials, for assistance. Accordingly, the Spanish captain sent two men to the capital of Kyoto to meet with Nagamori.

There they produced a map of Spain's empire in the Americas and explained how converting the Indigenous population to Christianity had helped Spain to gain control of this vast territory. Nagamori reported this information to Hideyoshi, perhaps with the intent of providing an excuse for retaining hold of the ship's cargo. Fearing that the Spanish intended to conquer Japan and planned to seek assistance from Japanese Christians, Hideyoshi ordered the arrest of the missionaries who had remained in Japan in violation of his 1587 decree. The Jesuits, however, had deliberately made their proselytizing efforts less public since 1587, and they were largely being ignored. Thus, of the twenty-six Christians arrested, most were Japanese, and twenty-three were of the Franciscan order. In February 1597, all were crucified in Nagasaki. They became known as the Twenty-Six Martyrs of Japan.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

The Expulsion of the Missionaries

In 1587, Toyotomi Hideyoshi ordered Christian missionaries to leave Japan. He had not always been opposed to Christianity. Some of his loyal *daimyos* were Christians, and Christians had offered prayers for his success when he invaded Korea. Like his predecessor Oda Nobunaga, Hideyoshi was willing to tolerate Christianity if it did not disrupt traditional Japanese practices or interfere with his plans to consolidate his power over other samurai. By 1587, however, he had become convinced that it posed too many threats. Following are the edicts he issued in 1587. As you read, note the various reasons he gives for expelling the missionaries.

1. Japan is the country of the gods, but has been receiving false teachings from Christian countries. This cannot be tolerated any further.

2. The [missionaries] approach people in provinces and districts to make them their followers, and let them destroy shrines and temples. This is an unheard of outrage. When a vassal receives a province, a

district, a village, or another form of a fief, he must consider it as a property entrusted to him on a temporary basis. He must follow the laws of this country, and abide by their intent. However, some vassals illegally [commend part of their fiefs to the church]. This is a culpable offense.

3. The padres [Catholic priests], by their special knowledge [in the sciences and medicine], feel that they can at will entice people to become their believers. In doing so they commit the illegal act of destroying the teachings of Buddha prevailing in Japan. These padres cannot be permitted to remain in Japan. They must prepare to leave the country within twenty days of the issuance of this notice.

4. The black [Portuguese and Spanish] ships come to Japan to engage in trade. Thus the matter is a separate one. They can continue to engage in trade.

5. Hereafter, anyone who does not hinder the teachings of the Buddha, whether he be a merchant or not, may come and go freely from Christian countries to Japan.

—Toyotomi Hideyoshi, "Edict: Expulsion of Missionaries"

- How tolerant was Toyotomi Hideyoshi of European Christians? What specific actions angered him? Why?
- Does Hideyoshi object to the Christian faith itself? Explain your answer.

In 1592, Hideyoshi invaded Korea, a vassal state of the Ming dynasty, but Chinese troops stopped the Japanese advance. In 1597, he attacked again and was again defeated, this time by Chinese and Korean troops and Korea's navy. In 1598 he died, leaving his five-year-old son Hideyori to inherit his position. However, the five-member council that was to rule until Hideyori came of age was soon divided, and the two sides made war upon each other. In 1600, Tokugawa Ieyasu, a vassal of Hideyoshi, defeated his opponents at the Battle of Sekigahara (Figure 2.19), and he became shogun in 1603.



FIGURE 2.19 The Battle of Sekigahara. This illustration on a nineteenth-century Japanese screen shows the 1600 Battle of Sekigahara. Approximately 160,000 samurai clashed over a period of six hours. (credit: "Sekigahara Kassen Byōbu-z" by The City of Gifu Museum of History/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

LINK TO LEARNING

Visit My Modern Met to see an animation of the Battle of Sekigahara (https://openstax.org/l/77Sekigahara) through the work of videographer Yusuke Shigeta, who reconstructed the battle by animating a painted folded

screen.

To consolidate power, Tokugawa Ieyasu rewarded loyal *daimyos* with gifts of land. He allocated 15 percent of Japan's richest rice-producing land to himself and his heirs. The next-best land, about half of that available, was given to his "inside *daimyos*," samurai who were related to him or who had declared their loyalty before the Battle of Sekigahara. The remaining land, less fertile or farthest away from the new capital of Edo (modern-day Tokyo), was given to the "outside *daimyos*," samurai clans that had proclaimed loyalty only after his victory or that had fought against him. Ieyasu prohibited *daimyos* from forming alliances, including marriages, without his approval. He also required them to spend every other year in Edo, where it would be more difficult for them to formulate rebellion.

The peace and unity that Tokugawa Ieyasu's rule brought to Japan ushered in a period of prosperity and cultural blossoming. The *daimyos* took control of the lands that had belonged to their samurai, and the samurai moved to the cities in which their lords' castles were located. The *daimyos* established schools where the sons of their vassals studied Chinese characters, learned the Confucian classics, and were instructed in military skills. Temple schools taught the children of artisans and merchants. Tokugawa Japan boasted a high level of literacy, which supported a thriving publishing industry. In Edo alone, there were hundreds of shops in which people could buy or rent novels and other types of books. People visited restaurants and theaters in their leisure time, and those who could afford to do so traveled to Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines, often at festival time.

Like Hideyoshi, Ieyasu also feared that Christians posed a threat to Japan, a belief Dutch and English merchants seeking trade advantages encouraged. Ieyasu was aware of hostile Portuguese and Spanish actions in India and the Philippines and did not intend to surrender control of Japan. He also feared that by adopting the foreign faith, he would give disloyal *daimyos* opportunities to conspire against him. He was encouraged in this belief when a Christian samurai forged a document to help another Christian samurai claim land he desired and a scandal erupted. The forger, caught, also claimed that a plan existed to kill an official of the shogun's government.

In 1614, Ieyasu outlawed the practice of Christianity and ordered missionaries to leave the country. Japanese Christians were warned that if they did not renounce their faith, they would be killed. It was clear to Ieyasu that the best way to keep Christian influence—and other dangerous forces—out of the country was to ban the entry of foreigners and forbid Japanese to leave. Preventing Japanese from leaving the country would also keep *daimyos* from conspiring against him in foreign lands.

In 1624, the Spanish were banned from entering Japan. In 1639, Ieyasu prohibited the entry of the Portuguese. The Dutch, who had refrained from missionary activity, were still allowed to enter Japan to trade. However, to limit any harmful influence on their part, Dutch merchants were confined to a settlement on Dejima Island in the harbor of Nagasaki, in a walled compound they were not allowed to leave. Only licensed trade officials and translators (a position that became hereditary) could have contact with them. The English might have been extended the same rights, but finding trade with Japan not as profitable as they had hoped, they no longer sent ships. Chinese merchants were also still allowed to enter the country, but their trade was confined to Nagasaki, and they were forced to live in a special Chinese enclave. In 1635, Japanese were forbidden to leave the country except on special missions, like transacting trade with Korea, China, and Russia.

Despite efforts of the shogun's government to prevent Japanese contact with Europeans, "Dutch learning," knowledge gained from the Dutch on Dejima, played an important part in Japanese life in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1640, European books were banned with the exception of medical treatises and books on sailing. In subsequent years, the bans intended to isolate Japanese from Western knowledge relaxed. Ailing Japanese who could not find relief from Japanese doctors visited physicians on Dejima. Trade in Western goods was allowed to some extent in Nagasaki, and government officials were allowed to purchase maps, clocks, medical instruments, telescopes, and novelties like European seeds and birds. In the early eighteenth

century, prohibitions on books were relaxed, and works on medicine, science, and geography were translated. Thus, "Dutch learning" provided a foundation for Japanese scientific and technological development and kept people informed of what was happening in Europe, even though most could not leave the country.

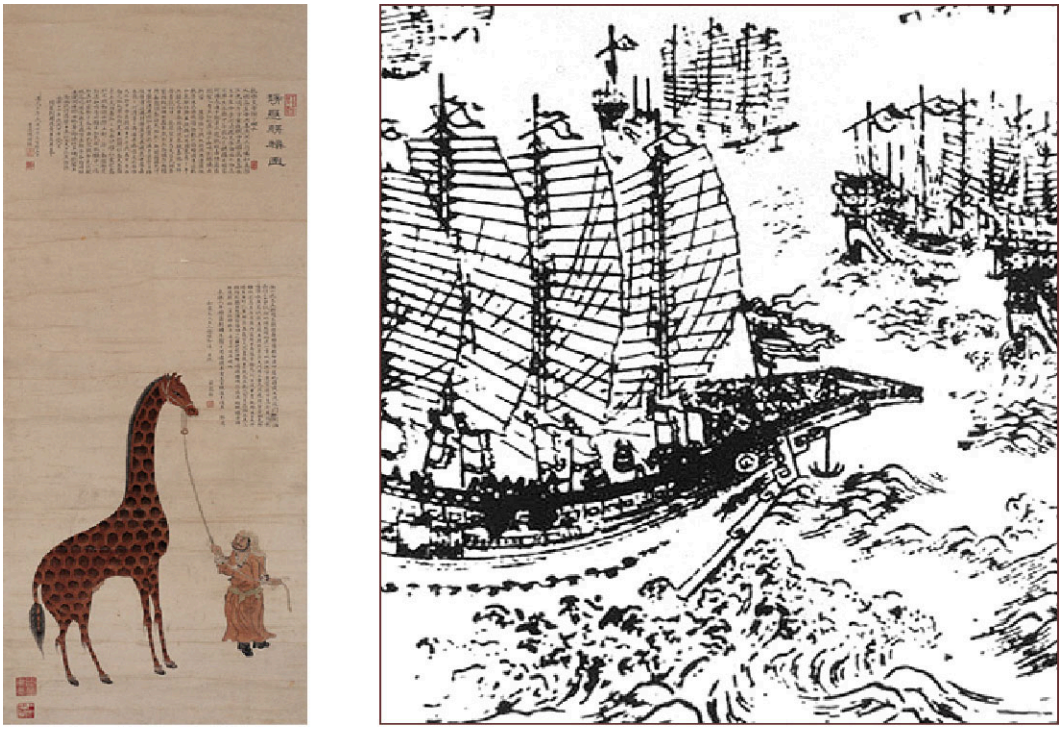
China's Dynastic Exchanges

Japan was not the only nation that turned inward in the seventeenth century. China did so as well when the Hongwu emperor, the first Ming dynasty emperor, attempted to reverse the effects of foreign occupation after defeating the Mongols in 1368. To prevent the dangerous effect of outside ideas and potential challenges to his rule, Hongwu decided that Chinese contact with foreign lands would consist primarily of visits by vassals from tributary states. By limiting trade to the exchange of tribute goods, China also hoped to pressure other nations, which greatly desired its products, to accede to its demands. One of the strongest of these demands was that the Ashikaga shoguns prevent Japanese pirates from preying on China and its vassal state of Korea, which the Japanese rulers were unable to do. In 1371, all private foreign trade was forbidden. Several years later, all foreign trade officially came to an end when the Maritime Trade Intendancies' offices in the port cities of Ningbo, Guangzhou, and Quanzhou, through which all tribute goods were to flow, were closed. Harbors were filled with rocks and wooden stakes to prevent ships from using them. Ships were destroyed or left to rot in their docks. A shore patrol was instituted to catch anyone attempting to engage in trade. Though the punishment was death, smugglers widely violated the rule.

By cutting off access to foreign trade outside the tribute system, the Ming government greatly reduced its tax revenue, which left it constantly short of funds. To reduce the cost of government, Hongwu made wealthier peasant families responsible for collecting taxes and maintaining order in their villages, saving the expense of paying officials to do so. Soldiers' families were given land to farm in order to make the army self-supporting. High taxes were imposed on merchants and scholarly elites. These reforms were largely unsuccessful. Soldiers often could not raise enough food to support themselves and either sold the land they had been given or deserted. Even wealthy peasants could not always afford to provide the services the government expected of them. Local officials lacked necessary funds, and they began to impose additional fees on peasants.

Hongwu's son, the Yongle emperor, the third emperor of the Ming dynasty, was a bit more curious about the world outside China and more desirous of tribute than his father. Between 1405 and 1421, he dispatched Zheng He, a trusted palace eunuch, on a series of six voyages throughout the Indian Ocean. The purpose of these voyages was to demonstrate the wealth and power of China by distributing gifts to foreign rulers, thus prompting them to pledge themselves as vassals and offer tribute to the Ming emperor.

The first fleet departed in 1405. It consisted of 317 ships and 27,000 people, including sailors, soldiers, scholars, craftspeople, and fortune-tellers. It rode the monsoon winds from the coast of Fujian in southeast China to the Kingdom of Champa in southern Vietnam, where the crew traded silks and porcelain for lacquer wood, rhinoceros horn, and elephant ivory. The ships then visited Aceh, Majapahit, and several other city-states in Indonesia, where many Chinese merchants lived. From there, they moved on to Sri Lanka and Calicut. In Calicut, the crew traded for pearls, peppers, gems, and coral. On the return leg, Zheng He brought diplomats from the states he had visited to meet the emperor. On later voyages, the ships visited Persia, Arabia, and East Africa, and on one return trip, a ship carried a giraffe as a gift for the Ming emperor (Figure 2.20).



(a) (b)

FIGURE 2.20 The Voyages of Zheng He. Originally sent from the Somali Ajuran Empire in Africa, (a) the giraffe shown in this copy of a fifteenth-century painting was later given to the Yongle emperor by the sultan of Bengal. Zheng He's historic fleet (b), which carried such treasures back to China, is depicted in a Chinese woodblock print of the early seventeenth century. (credit a: modification of work "Chen Zhang's painting of a giraffe and its attendant" by China National Museum/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit b: modification of work "Chinese woodblock print, representing Zheng He's ships" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In 1430, the Xuande Emperor, the Yongle emperor's grandson, ordered Zheng He to undertake his seventh and final voyage. These forays were China's last significant effort to make contact with overseas lands for many decades, however. Factions at court worried about the effect of outsiders and their ideas on the empire, as well as the cost of the trips. Following Zheng He's death, his charts and records were destroyed, and the ships of the fleet were left to rot.

China continued to interest itself in the affairs of territories it bordered, however. In 1406–1407, China invaded Vietnam to restore the Tran emperor to his throne after it had been usurped. A Vietnamese revolt ended China's occupation of the country in 1427. The victorious Lê dynasty then pledged loyalty to China as a vassal state. In 1449, a Chinese military expedition into Mongol territory ended in the slaughter of the Chinese at the Battle of Tumu. In 1592 and 1597, Ming armies helped Korean troops repel a Japanese invasion. At other times, though, the Ming attempted to avoid conflict whenever possible. After the 1449 defeat of the Chinese by western Mongols (known as the Oirat) at the Battle of Tumu, construction began on a new Great Wall to supplement the original Great Wall, the earthen fortifications erected by the Qin in the third century BCE. It was hoped that the new fortification would protect China from the outside world.

China needed money to pay for this massive project, however, as well as such other projects as the extension of the Grand Canal to Beijing, which the Yongle emperor had made his capital, and the building of a massive complex of palaces and imperial offices in Beijing known as the Forbidden City. In 1567, the Ming dynasty reversed the policy that had prohibited foreign trade, and soon European merchant ships began arriving again. In 1577, Portuguese merchants, who had already been trading in China in violation of the law, were given permission to establish a factory at Macao. Of even greater interest to the Chinese, though, were Spanish galleons from Manila, carrying silver from mines in the Americas. When they left China, these ships took with

them Chinese silks, satins, taffetas, velvets, damasks, and brocades, as well as ready-made clothing. One ship carried fifty thousand pairs of silk stockings. The Spanish also carried out the blue and white Chinese porcelain that had become the rage in Europe, along with ginger, cotton cloth, pearls, musk, saltpeter to make gunpowder, sapphires, rubies, and cages of songbirds along with other exotic goods.

China's economy boomed, and many Chinese peasants began to focus on producing goods for the foreign market. Some specialized in raising cotton and weaving cotton textiles. Others raised mulberry trees and harvested their leaves to sell to families that raised silkworms (which feed on the leaves). Peasants who specialized in the raising of silkworms in turn sold their cocoons to others, who boiled them to kill the larvae and unreeled them to make silk thread. This thread was sold to households that wove silk cloth, which might then be passed on to those who specialized in embroidery. In Jingdezhen in Jiangxi province, people mass-produced porcelain.

As the Ming economy grew, so too did its population. Crops from the Americas such as sweet potatoes and maize were adopted by many peasants, especially those who lived in hilly, dry regions like Sichuan. These crops grew well and provided abundant calories for farm families. Hot and sweet peppers from the Americas were added to regional cuisines, transforming them, and peanuts added not only variety but an important source of fat in diets lacking meat. These new crops ultimately proved harmful, however. As hillsides were cleared to plant corn, for example, regions became deforested and lost their valuable topsoil. Population growth was also not accompanied by an increase in cultivated land sufficient to support the added numbers of people, and in many regions, farmers found themselves tilling smaller fields as the generations passed.

New wealth led many commoners to imitate the nobility, building large homes with courtyards and gardens, purchasing fine rosewood furniture, collecting art and antiques, and hiring tutors to educate their children and prepare their sons for the examinations that would earn them jobs in the imperial bureaucracy. Restaurants, inns, and taverns sprang up in market towns and cities across the country as people became able to afford leisure activities. A flourishing printing industry produced not only agricultural manuals and copies of the Confucian classics but also plays and novels, some with erotic scenes and storylines. Guidebooks advised people traveling on business about where to stay and eat and also provided information about sites of historical interest. Increasingly, people began to travel for pleasure as well. In the cities prostitution boomed, and at the very top of a complex hierarchy, courtesans hired themselves out to wealthy merchants to entertain male guests at parties by playing music or competing with them in poetry contests.

Not all members of Ming society were pleased by the changes taking place in China. The burst of commercial activity made many prosperous, but not everyone benefited. As income disparities grew, resentments did as well. Members of noble families were appalled by the fact that many commoners could now dress and live as they did. Greater opportunities for commoners and changes in the structure of society were reflected even in the interpretation of the teachings of Confucius. Zhu Xi, a Confucian scholar of the Southern Song dynasty whose works were influential at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, had agreed with Confucius that all people possessed the ability to lead moral lives, but he believed this inner morality could become evident only through a process of intensive education. In the middle of the Ming dynasty, however, the scholar Wang Yangming rejected Zhu Xi's teachings. According to Wang, morality was intuitive, and people could cultivate their moral natures while still participating in the mundane affairs of everyday life. Even the uneducated could understand moral truths. Other writers of the Ming era criticized the traditional structure of the family, which Confucius had considered the basis of an orderly society, and preached that it was not necessary to conform to what society considered "proper" modes of behavior. These doctrines frightened the more conservative members of society.

DUELING VOICES

Proper Behavior for Women

In East Asia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, public concern for the morals of a rapidly changing society was reflected in a focus on women's behavior. Chinese and Japanese scholars wrote works admonishing elite women about how to behave so as to protect their reputations and those of their families. Following are excerpts from treatises of advice for women from both of these countries, the first from China and the second from Japan.

> With the decline of education today, women in the inner quarters have really ceased to be governed by rites and laws. Those born in villages are accustomed to hearing coarse words and those [born] in rich households have loose, proud, and extravagant natures. Their heads are covered with gold and pearls and their entire bodies with fine silks. They affect lightheartedness in behavior and cleverness in speech, but they mouth no beneficial words and perform no good deeds. . . .
>
> At the high end are those [women] who wield their writing brushes and aspire to [develop] their talents in . . . poetry so as to brag that they are superb scholars. At the low end are those who strum vulgar [tunes] on their stringed instruments and sing lascivious words, almost like prostitutes.
>
> —Lü Kun, *Models for the Inner Quarters*
>
> A woman must always be on the alert and keep a strict watch over her own conduct. In the morning she must rise early and at night go late to rest. Instead of sleeping in the middle of the day, she must be intent on the duties of her household; she must not grow tired of weaving, sewing, and spinning. She must not drink too much tea and wine, nor must she feed her eyes and ears on theatrical performances . . . ditties, and ballads . . . . In her capacity as a wife, she must keep her husband's household in proper order. If the wife is evil and profligate, the house will be ruined. In everything she must avoid extravagance, and in regard to both food and clothes, she must act according to her station in life and never give in to luxury and pride.
>
> —Kaibara Ekken, *The Great Learning for Women*

- What kinds of behavior were these writers trying to encourage in women? Why were these behaviors important?
- What evidence do you see in these excerpts that women's lives had been affected by what we would call consumer culture?
- Where do you see evidence of women's freedom? Where do you see the influence of Confucian values?

The days of the Ming were numbered. In the early seventeenth century, the onset of one of the intervals of the Little Ice Age, a period of cooling in the northern hemisphere, brought low temperatures and droughts in many parts of the country, leading to famine in some areas. Floods devastated other regions. Farmers whose crops had failed or who had inherited plots of land too small to support their families were unable to pay their taxes or their rents. Even those who could pay had difficulty finding the silver with which the law said taxes must be paid.

The government needed silver more than ever. The cost of supporting the imperial family had grown astronomically; over the years, court officials had used their positions to amass great wealth, often through corruption, and the war in Korea had been tremendously costly. With silver in short supply, the emperor sent court officials to the provinces, supposedly to inspect mines. In reality, the job of the officials was to confiscate silver held by merchants. When a group of Chinese officials arrived in Manila in 1603 to take silver from Chinese merchants there, the Spanish, believing China was planning to attack the city, killed twenty thousand

Chinese residents and were no longer willing to trade with China. With the imperial government lacking sufficient funds to pay the army, Chinese soldiers were laid off. In 1627–1628, hungry, impoverished, and angry soldiers and peasants rose up in revolt in northern China. By 1632, violence had spread to other provinces. This made it even harder for government officials to collect taxes, which Beijing had raised in 1639, angering people even more.

North of the Yellow River, discontented peasants formed an army led by Li Zicheng. In the area between the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers, other rebels were led by Zhang Xianzhong. Province after province erupted in violence. In April 1644, Li Zicheng's peasant army seized Beijing. In desperation, the last Ming emperor hanged himself in the palace garden after killing most of his family. Li declared himself the ruler of China and the founder of a new dynasty. He did not rule long enough to establish his dynasty, however. The next rulers of China were the Manchus.

The Manchus were members of an ethnic group that lived northeast of the Great Wall in southern Manchuria. They were descended from Jurchen pastoralists who had established the Jin dynasty that ruled northern China from 1115 to 1234 until their defeat by the Mongols. The Manchus had then settled down and become farmers. In the late sixteenth century, the Manchu leader Nurhaci formed the Manchu tribes into a state that paid tribute to the Ming emperor. In 1616, as the Ming dynasty began to collapse, the Manchus attacked Chinese settlements on the Liaodong Peninsula. They forced artisans to provide weapons for their army and farmers to provide food. Officials and army officers who were willing to submit to them were given positions in the Manchu administration. Those who rebelled were massacred.

Following Nurhaci's death in 1626, his son Hong Taiji proclaimed himself the leader of the Qing ("pure," "clear") dynasty. As he expanded Manchu control over Chinese territory, he adopted Chinese forms of administration and incorporated greater numbers of Chinese officials in his government. Chinese bureaucrats and army officers, disgusted with the corruption of the Ming government and its inability to respond to the country's problems, began to defect to the Manchus in large numbers. Fearing ongoing chaos following Li Zicheng's capture of Beijing, Ming general Wu Sangui, who was charged with guarding the eastern end of the Great Wall, allowed the Manchu armies through. On May 27, 1644, Wu Sangui's troops and Manchu forces defeated Li Zicheng's army and took control of Beijing. The Manchu armies swept south, but Ming resistance there was fierce, and it was not until 1683 that all of China was brought under Manchu control.

Despite what many Chinese had feared, the early Qing emperors proved good rulers. They strove to preserve their identity as Manchus, but they also embraced Chinese culture. The first Qing emperor, Kangxi, toured China to acquaint himself with his new domain. He adopted the Chinese bureaucratic apparatus and ordered that each of the government's six major ministries be led by Manchu and Han Chinese co-administrators. Kangxi governed according to Confucian principles and maintained the system of imperial examinations for government jobs.

The Manchu were careful to maintain their superior positions, however, and demanded loyalty from the Chinese. For example, local positions in government were usually given to Han Chinese bureaucrats, but supervisory positions were given to Manchus. All males were also required to demonstrate their acceptance of Manchu rule by wearing the distinctive Manchu hairstyle; the front part of the head was shaved, and the hair in the back was grown long and braided into a single queue. After 1645, men who did not wear their hair in this fashion were subject to execution.

LINK TO LEARNING

Read about the tours Kangxi took through China (https://openstax.org/l/77KangxiTours) to learn about his empire. Click on the links on the page to see the painted scrolls that were made to depict the regions he visited.

Like other Chinese rulers, Kangxi also supported Buddhism. He tolerated other religions, including Christianity, which was permitted so long as Chinese Christians continued to be filial sons and daughters who

venerated their ancestors, a practice the Jesuits supported. The Jesuits' efforts to learn the Chinese language and their respect for Chinese culture made them more successful at winning converts than the Dominicans and Franciscans. But members of these other orders grew jealous and complained to the Pope about the Jesuits' willingness to accommodate Chinese practices. When the Vatican ruled that all church services must be conducted in Latin and that Chinese Christians must be ordered to abandon their ancestral rites, Kangxi decreed that missionaries who complied would have to leave China.

Kangxi and his successors Yongzheng and Qianlong attempted to redress the problems that had seemed to lead to the downfall of the Ming. They placed China on secure financial footing, and fearing that the Ming had succumbed to lax moral standards brought on by wealth and luxury, Qing scholars returned to the teachings of Zhu Xi. Morally suspect plays and novels were banned, and great emphasis was placed on traditional Confucian values. For example, Qianlong visited his mother every day to display his devotion to her (Figure 2.21). Female chastity was encouraged, and so many memorial arches were erected by communities to commemorate "chaste widows," women who had refused to remarry after the death of their husbands, that the government attempted to bring an end to the practice in the nineteenth century by declaring that only women who committed suicide upon becoming widows could be so memorialized.



FIGURE 2.21 Emperor Qianlong. Although he was a Manchu, Emperor Qianlong embraced Confucian values and tried to live the life of a Confucian scholar. Every day he spent hours working on affairs of state, visited his mother, and then dedicated himself to writing poetry and admiring works of art. This eighteenth-century painting of him in his study was made by Giuseppe Castiglione, an Italian Jesuit at Qianlong's court. (credit: "Qianlong in his studies" by Chiumei Ho/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The Qing, however, continued the Ming policy of interacting with other countries as little as possible. Like the Ming, they did intervene in Asia where it seemed their interests were at stake. For example, in 1683, the island of Taiwan, a base for pirates and a refuge for fleeing Ming loyalists, was made part of China. In 1720, Qing

armies took control of the city of Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. In the 1750s, they fought Mongols and Uighurs in central Asia and incorporated the province of Xinjiang ("new province") into China.

During the Qing dynasty, China continued to rely on foreign trade income, and European demand for Chinese products did not cease. The Qing remained wary of Europeans, however, and wished to minimize contact with foreigners as the Japanese had done. Non-Chinese were allowed to reside in Macao, but after 1759 they could conduct trade only through the port of Guangzhou and trade only with the Co-hong, the official Chinese merchant guild. While in the city on business, they had to stay in a special quarter for Europeans. When they had finished their transactions, they had to depart.

In the eyes of the Chinese, Europe was an inferior place that possessed nothing of interest. Although European scientific knowledge was impressive to some, most Chinese merchants and officials maintained a disdainful attitude toward the West that was reflected in the way in which Qianlong received Lord George Macartney, who visited China in 1793 on behalf of the British king. Qianlong demanded that Macartney, as the representative of an inferior monarch, demonstrate his respect by kneeling and knocking his head on the ground, the traditional way in which vassals greeted the emperor. Macartney refused to do so, and Qianlong announced that he was willing to accept the British monarch as a vassal but did not consider him an equal. He also refused Britain's request to establish a permanent embassy in China. China, he noted, already had everything it needed, and Britain had nothing of value to offer.

Korea and Its Neighbors

After the fall of the Mongols in China, Koreans were divided regarding the nature of their relationship with the Ming dynasty. In the 1380s, Yi Seong-gye and his fellow general Choe Yeong won fame for themselves when they defeated Japanese pirates who were raiding Korea. When the Ming dynasty attempted to annex Korean territory, Choe Yeong declared himself in opposition to the Ming and advised an invasion of China's Liaodong Peninsula. Yi Seong-gye was chosen to lead the army but instead took the opportunity to seize Korea's capital and gain control of the government in 1388. In 1392, after ruling for four years through puppet kings, Yi Seong-gye proclaimed himself the head of a new dynasty, the Joseon, named for an earlier Korean dynasty. Ruling as King Taejo, he declared himself a vassal of the far more powerful Ming dynasty and established friendly relations with China.

Taejo embraced Confucian principles, which, unlike Buddhism, focus on the maintenance of the family and of social hierarchies instead of the well-being of the individual. Korean society was divided into rigidly defined classes. At the top was a ruling class of civil bureaucrats and military officials called the *yangban*, who ruled the country along with the king. Membership in this class depended on doing well on the imperial exams, which were based on knowledge of the Confucian classics, like similar exams in China. As in China, wealthy families and nobility of the former dynasty dominated the exams, because only the men in these families had the time and money to acquire the education necessary to do well. Membership in a *yangban* family also conferred the right to serve on local ruling councils and thus control their affairs. Eventually, membership in the *yangban* became hereditary when only the sons of these families were allowed to take the imperial exams. The *yangban* were supported by the labor of the *sangmin*, indentured servants who worked the land.

Unlike the *yangban*, the *seonbi* were scholarly, highly educated men who devoted themselves to lives of study and served the public without financial reward. They did not covet riches and preferred scholarly pursuits, believing their role was to serve as moral exemplars for the rest of society. They valued integrity above all else and served as advocates of the common people even if that meant risking the displeasure of the king. Even though they came from the same class as the *yangban*, their lack of interest in attaining wealth and power set them apart.

The love of study and learning that characterized the *seonbi* flourished in the reign of King Sejong, the fourth king of Korea. In 1442, Korean scholars developed a device to accurately gauge rainfall. Scholars also developed a means of measuring the direction and velocity of the wind. An astronomical observatory was

constructed, and a variety of sundials and water clocks were invented to measure time (Figure 2.22). Triangulation devices and surveying rods were used to measure the elevation of land. Sejong recruited scholars from the institution of research he had founded, known as the Hall of Worthies, to help him develop ***hangul***, an alphabet that could capture the sounds of Korean speech. *Hangul,* which Sejong introduced in 1446, was intended to be used by common people instead of the Chinese characters with which the elite *yangban* wrote.



FIGURE 2.22 A Map of the Heavens. This fifteenth-century celestial globe, used to make astronomical observations, was invented by Jang Yeong-Sil during the reign of Korea's King Sejong. (credit: "Korean armillary sphere" by Wikimachine/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

After the reign of Sejong, the Joseon dynasty encountered numerous difficulties. In 1592 and again in 1597, Japan invaded Korea. In the following century, the Manchus attacked Korea several times between 1627 and 1636. In addition to problems caused by attacks from without, great division was created by fights between factions of the *yangban* class. These factions, the Easterners and the Westerners, engaged in violent conflict that persisted from generation to generation.

Beginning in the late seventeenth century, disgust at the conflict among the *yangban* elites led many scholars, officials, and common people to support the **Silhak** movement, which promoted the study of the physical sciences and technology in order to solve practical problems instead of focusing narrowly on the Confucian classics (*silhak* means "practical learning"). Silhak proponents also advocated numerous social reforms, including land reform and revision of Korea's rigid social structure. These reformers argued that learning should promote the welfare of the people. They stressed social equality and the importance of Korean culture.

Concern for the preservation of Korean culture was undoubtedly influenced by Korea's relationship to the countries that surrounded it. Buddhism and Confucianism, the philosophy on which the Joseon dynasty was based, were both introduced by the Chinese. Korean writing, painting, architecture, and pottery were also influenced by China. For centuries, Korean scholars wrote with Chinese characters. Over the centuries, Korea had been invaded by Chinese, Khitans, Mongols, Japanese, and Manchus. Nevertheless, the constant influx of

foreign ideas and material goods helped to reinforce in Koreans the separate sense of a distinctive Korean identity. Trying to differentiate themselves from Chinese, Mongols, and Japanese, Koreans like the Silhak reformers emphasized the importance of maintaining a Korean identity based on Korean history and culture.

Key Terms

caravel a fifteenth-century Portuguese sailing ship
factory in the context of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a trading post with offices and warehouses
hangul the Korean alphabet, introduced by King Sejong in 1446
joint stock company a company in which numerous merchants pooled their money to fund a business venture like a trading voyage and shared both risk and profit
Sikhism a monotheistic faith that combines elements of Hinduism and Islam, established in the Punjab region of northwestern India in the fifteenth century
Silhak a late seventeenth-century Korean reform movement that promoted the study of the physical sciences and technology in order to solve practical problems
Sufi an Islamic mystic; practitioner of Sufism, the mystical expression of Islamic faith
trade diaspora community society established by merchants who initially traveled to a foreign country to do business and then settled there
Undang-Undang Laut Melaka a Malaccan maritime law code, part of the *Undang-Undang Melaka,* governing the conduct of sailors and traveling merchants

Section Summary

2.1 India and International Connections

Although Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur, a Muslim who founded the Mughal Empire, made little effort to assimilate to Indian culture, his grandson Akbar forged a culture that incorporated Indian and Persian, Hindu and Muslim elements. Under him, the Mughal Empire grew to encompass most of northern and much of central India, including the Sultanate of Gujarat, the heart of a rich Indian Ocean trade. Under Aurangzeb, who attempted an Islamic revival and was largely intolerant of the Hindu population, the empire weakened as it battled the Maratha Empire for dominance over the states of seventeenth-century India.

Europeans sought to control India's wealth. First the Portuguese attempted to establish trading posts in India while forcing out Arab and other merchants. Indian rulers and the Mamluk sultan tried to force them from India, but unsuccessfully. The Portuguese were assisted by alliances with some Indian rulers but soon found themselves competing with the English and French, who also formed alliances with Indian rulers and took advantage of their disputes with one another. As the Mughals and Marathas battled each other and the invading Afghan forces, states in northern India broke free of their rule and allied themselves instead with the British, allowing Britain to gradually consolidate its power in India.

2.2 The Malacca Sultanate

The Malaccan Sultanate was established around 1400 by Parameswara, the last king of Singapura. The city's location on both sides of the Malaccan Straits destined it for success, because the straits were the route taken by trading ships between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. The city grew wealthy and attracted a diverse population of merchants from many countries, and the sultanate thrived under the leadership of Mansur Shah, who expanded its territory. Its prosperity was also aided by its support for Islam and the formulation of a legal code to regulate the conduct of foreign sailors.

In 1511, the Portuguese attacked Malacca and took over the city, but their insistence on converting the people to Christianity resulted in their being expelled from both Malacca and the Sultanate of Ternate in Indonesia. In the end, the Spanish took control of the Philippines, and the Dutch, who had no interest in spreading Roman Catholicism, became the main European power in Indonesia.

2.3 Exchange in East Asia

East Asia was drawn into the network of global maritime trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Portuguese and Spanish arrived in Japan when powerful *daimyos* were each fighting to unify the country and bring it under their rule. Guns brought by Europeans began to play an important role in Japanese warfare.

Many Japanese also began to convert to Christianity. In 1603, Tokugawa Ieyasu became the shogun of a united Japan, and wishing to control the samurai and fearing Christian subjects would not be loyal, he prohibited Christianity, banned the entry of the Portuguese and Spanish, and prohibited Japanese from leaving the country except on government missions.

Following the expulsion of the Mongols, China also turned inward. The first Ming emperor, Hongwu, forbade foreign trade. Needing money, however, the government permitted trade with Europeans in the second half of the sixteenth century. Trade brought prosperity for Chinese farmers, artisans, and merchants, though changes in their lifestyle alarmed conservatives. However, famines, floods, and the inability of the Ming government to solve China's problems led to the dynasty's overthrow in 1644. The Manchu Qing dynasty attempted to reassert traditional Confucian values while still trading with Europe.

Korea's Joseon dynasty, a vassal of China, also tried to structure its society on a Confucian model. The seventeenth-century Silhak movement in Korea advocated the study of science and technology in order to solve social problems.

Assessments

Review Questions

1. Who founded the Mughal Empire?
   a. Babur
   b. Humayun
   c. Akbar
   d. Shah Jahan

2. What was Din-i Ilahi?
   a. a palace built by Jahangir
   b. a law code written by Babur
   c. a religion created by Akbar
   d. a ceremony for Hindu brides who married Mughal rulers

3. Which group was not found in large numbers in Gujarat before the arrival of Europeans?
   a. Jewish people
   b. Parsis
   c. Muslims
   d. Roman Catholics

4. Aurangzeb executed the guru Tegh Bahadur. What religion was Bahadur a leader of?
   a. Sikh
   b. Muslim
   c. Hindu
   d. Buddhist

5. Which port city was the base of the Portuguese State of India?
   a. Surat
   b. Goa
   c. Diu
   d. Mumbai

6. In which region did the British compete intensely with the French?
   a. the Sultanate of Gujarat

b. Kerala
c. the Deccan Plateau
d. Bengal

7. Parameswara, the founder of the Malaccan Sultanate, descended from the rulers of what empire?
a. Chola Empire
b. Majapahit Empire
c. Srivijayan Empire
d. Ayutthaya Empire

8. What was the *Undang-Undang Laut Melaka?*
a. an elite order of knights who served the sultan of Melaka
b. a Malaccan maritime law code that governed the conduct of sailors and traveling merchants
c. a codification of Islamic law produced in the Malaccan Sultanate
d. a famous poem about a Malaccan folk hero

9. What was the result of Portugal's effort to Christianize the subjects of the Sultanate of Ternate?
a. The Muslims of Ternate began a holy war against the Portuguese and drew closer to the Muslim world.
b. The Portuguese successfully converted the majority of the population, who drove out their Muslim rulers.
c. The people of Ternate allied with the Muslims in Majapahit and Ayutthaya to drive out the Portuguese.
d. The Spanish allied with the Portuguese to kill all the residents of Ternate who refused to become Christian.

10. For what reason did China go to war with Japan in the sixteenth century?
a. Japan invaded China's vassal state of Korea.
b. Japan refused to stop Japanese pirates from raiding the coast of China.
c. Japan invaded Taiwan, which was claimed by China.
d. Japan allied with the Portuguese in their plans to interfere with China's trade with Spain.

11. The Qing dynasty incorporated all the following areas into China except _____.
a. Xinjiang
b. Taiwan
c. Tibet
d. Cambodia

12. What was the goal of the Silhak movement?
a. to improve trade with Japan
b. to convert Chinese to Christianity
c. to solve social problems by studying science and technology
d. to overthrow King Sejong

Check Your Understanding Questions

1. How did geography contribute to the wealth of the Sultanate of Gujarat?

2. What actions of Aurangzeb may have led Hindus to support the Marathas instead of the Mughal Empire?

3. How did internal conflict help Europeans to gain control of Ceylon?

4. How did the geographic location of the Malaccan Sultanate contribute to its prosperity?

5. What effect did the Portuguese attack on Malacca have on trade?

6. How did the wreck of the *San Felipe* affect Japanese attitudes toward Christians?
7. What did the samurai Tokugawa Ieyasu do to protect Japan from the effects of what he considered dangerous foreign ideas?
8. How did foreign trade affect the Chinese economy during the Ming dynasty China?
9. During the reign of Hongwu, how did the Ming dynasty try to prevent foreign trade?
10. What was the difference between the Ming dynasty's interactions with Asian lands that bordered China and its interactions with other countries?
11. What scientific and technological advances were made in Korea during the fifteenth century?

Application and Reflection Questions

1. How did Akbar transform the Mughal Empire? What steps did he take to create a hybrid Indo-Islamic culture in his realm?
2. How ethnically and religiously diverse was the Sultanate of Gujarat, and how did diversity contribute to its success?
3. Why was the late fifteenth century known as the Golden Age of Malacca? What contributed to making it a golden age?
4. If the Portuguese and Spanish had not been interested in converting people to Christianity, do you believe they would have been more successful in achieving their commercial goals? Why or why not?
5. What cultures interacted in the Malaccan Sultanate and elsewhere in the Indian Ocean? Why did Islam become a dominant cultural influence?
6. How did interactions with Europe affect the lives of Chinese of different social classes during the Ming and Qing dynasties?
7. To what extent did Tokugawa Japan and Ming and Qing dynasty China attempt to close themselves off to foreign influences? Why did they do this? To what extent were they successful at eliminating foreign influences?
8. What types of economic, political, and cultural exchanges took place in Tokugawa Japan and Qing dynasty China? How did these societies respond to those changes?

Early Modern Africa and the Wider World

3



FIGURE 3.1 St. George of the Mine. The castle of St. George of the Mine overlooks the coast of Ghana. Built in the fifteenth century, it guarded Portugal's trading post at El Mina. From here, the Portuguese traded for enslaved people brought from the interior of the African continent. (credit: modification of work "St Jago fort in Elmina Ghana" by Edward Kamau/Wikimedia Commons, CC BY 3.0)

CHAPTER OUTLINE

3.1 The Roots of African Trade
3.2 The Songhai Empire
3.3 The Swahili Coast
3.4 The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade

INTRODUCTION The Portuguese built the castle of St. George of the Mine (later called Elmina) in the fifteenth century, which many historians characterize as the beginning of the early modern period (Figure 3.1). Located on the coast of present-day Ghana, the fortress gave the Portuguese a foothold in the West African gold trade, which was by then largely in the hands of the kingdom of Songhai (Songhay). The economic health and longevity of the Songhai Empire depended on the secure and smooth operation of the trans-Saharan trade in goods across North Africa. Gold was then unquestionably the most prized of all West African commodities, and in time, the trade in human cargo became equally important. With an eye toward their profit margins, the Portuguese traders at Elmina combined the flows of trade in these two highly valued commodities, becoming intermediaries who provided enslaved people from Benin to the Akan mines in modern-day Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. By the sixteenth century, Elmina had become one of the earliest direct links between European slavers and the slave markets of the African interior.

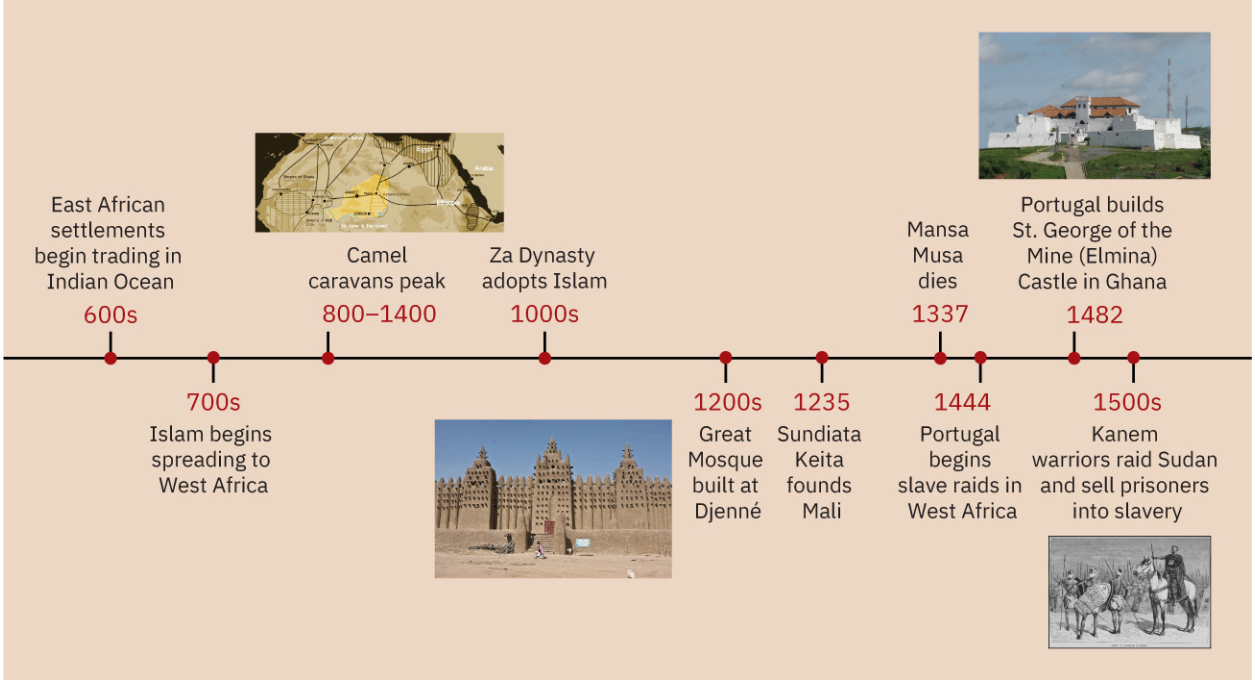


FIGURE 3.2 Timeline: Early Modern Africa and the Wider World. (credit "800–1400": modification of work "Map showing the main trans-Saharan caravan routes circa 1400" by T L Miles/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1200s": modification of work "Great Mosque of Djenné" by JM/Flickr, CC BY 2.0; credit "1482": modification of work "St Jago fort in Elmina Ghana" by Edward Kamau/Wikimedia Commons, CC BY 3.0; credit "1500s": modification of work "Group of Kanem-Bu warriors" by New York Public Library Digital Gallery/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)



FIGURE 3.3 Locator Map: Early Modern Africa and the Wider World. (credit: modification of work "World map blank shorelines" by Maciej Jaros/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

3.1 The Roots of African Trade

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify the main trade routes across the Sahara in the sixteenth century
- Analyze the ways in which Islam facilitated the development of trans-Saharan trade
- Identify the factors that contributed to the decline of the Mali Empire

Beginning in ancient times, trans-Saharan trade routes united many markets and products, linking the commodities, buyers, and sellers of North and West Africa, the Middle East, and Europe. Trade networks spanned thousands of miles of sea and land and connected the distant trading centers and cities at their far ends. In the Sahara, such cosmopolitan settlements as Awdaghost, Sijilmasa, and Djenné, all part of the Mali Empire, linked desert trade routes. These trading centers made possible not only the widespread distribution of raw materials and finished products necessary for commerce to thrive but also the diffusion of cultural influences, including religion, to other civilizations.

Saharan Trade Routes

Camel caravans from North Africa began trekking across the Sahara Desert in antiquity (the period Before the Common Era, or BCE). The trade reached a peak during the ninth to the fifteenth centuries of the Common Era (CE), when lines of thousands of camels traveled a web-like network of trade routes that spanned the whole of North and West Africa. They moved a variety of goods, including copper, salt, ivory, enslaved people, textiles, and gold, northward from sub-Saharan West Africa to the Mediterranean coast, eastward to the Horn of Africa and Egypt, and southward into the Sahel, the semiarid region between the Sahara Desert and the Sudanian savanna to the south (Figure 3.4).



FIGURE 3.4 Trans-Saharan Trade Routes. The trans-Saharan trade routes of the ninth to fifteenth centuries (red dotted lines) stretched like a web across the vast expanse of North Africa. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

Long before the trans-Saharan trade route's golden age, commerce in the Sahara was relatively localized and consisted of the exchange of agricultural products like rice, sorghum, and millet for the products of new technologies such as iron goods or rare commodities such as salt. These early inter- and intraregional exchanges were made possible by pack animals like mules, horses, and donkeys, but trade was limited because these animals were biologically ill-suited for the extremes of the Saharan environment. When the Romans conquered North Africa in the second century BCE, they introduced the camel, which was already a beast of

burden in Egypt. Capable of lasting days without water and having feet and eyelashes adapted for travel in sandy environments, camels enabled the people of North Africa to carry on regular long-distance trade across the Sahara for the first time beginning in the eighth century CE. The camel saddle, invented by the Tuareg people of North Africa, enabled camels to be ridden, which furthered their usefulness to trans-Saharan trade. The introduction of the date palm also helped make systematic long-distance trade possible. The fruit of the date palm is high in sugar, a natural preservative, and when dried it provided a high-calorie, easily transportable food supply to fortify traders on long journeys.

Trans-Saharan trade was also critically dependent on highly paid nomadic North African Berber (Amazigh)[1] intermediaries and the string of oasis towns that connected distant parts of the network in an otherwise unforgiving landscape (Figure 3.5). Oasis towns provided traveling merchants with places to rest, water their animals, and acquire provisions for the next leg of their journey. They served the same function as the caravanserais, inns for travelers that existed throughout the Islamic world, including along the Silk Roads in Asia, in the Middle East, and in Egypt and Morocco. The Imazighen's skills as caravan leaders and go-betweens facilitated the movement of everything from gold ingots to ostrich feathers across thousands of square miles of desert. Yet Amazigh traders were responsible for much more than the movement of goods and commodities. They were also devout believers in Islam who spread Islamic culture, law, custom, and tradition and helped to fuse a network of local and regional trade routes into a truly continent-spanning enterprise.



FIGURE 3.5 A Saharan Oasis. This photo shows the Saharan oasis city of Taghit, ringed by sand hills in modern-day Algeria. (credit: "Mountains of sand loom over the oasis village of Taghit in the Sahara" by The Central Intelligence Agency: The World Factbook/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

A principal commodity exchanged during this early stage of trade was salt, which acted as a sort of currency. Not only is salt necessary to human and animal life, but it also helps to preserve foods, an important concern of people in an age before refrigeration technology existed. Communities on the edges of the desert acted as intermediaries in this trade, trading salt to forest tribes to the south that had access to goldfields. Only over time were other highly valuable trading goods introduced, such as gold and copper, which were then passed across the desert from tropical West Africa to the far reaches of the North African coast and beyond.

1 There is a growing awareness about the use of the term *Berber* to describe indigenous North Africans, many of whom self-identify as Amazigh, or Imazighen (plural). With this understanding, although we have introduced the term *Berber* as the most commonly used name in English, we have generally preferred to use the term *Amazigh* in this text.

Trade across the Sahara gradually intensified between the fifth and seventh centuries CE, and in the eighth and ninth centuries, a series of main links became established. These developments were made possible primarily as the result of two important changes. First, the Ghana Empire of West Africa emerged as the earliest large-scale political entity in the region, and second, the Islamic conquest of North Africa led to the rise of Muslim states and a general cultural unification of the region. Combined, these developments brought people with shared interests and similar characteristics together in conditions that enabled them to consolidate and expand their economic interests, particularly as demand increased for gold from the Sudan.

As trade grew, Arab merchants in Morocco and in Islamic states in North Africa began to buy sub-Saharan gold. By the eleventh century, the gold trade was so successful that it was influencing commerce and society in the Mediterranean (Figure 3.6). For the first time, West African gold was used to mint European coins. This growth in the market for gold spurred the expansion of new links in the trans-Saharan trade route and resulted in the opening of a major trade artery between the towns of Sijilmasa, north of the Sahara, and Awdaghost to the south.

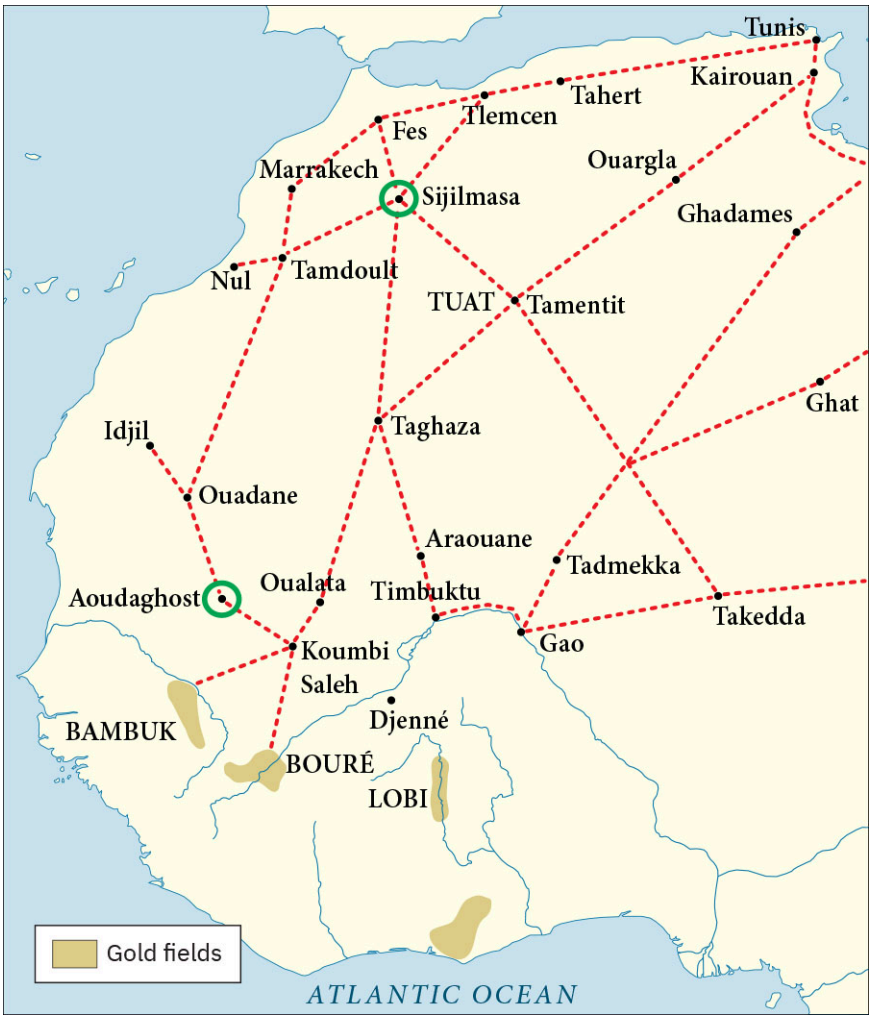


FIGURE 3.6 West African Trade Routes. The network of medieval trade routes in West Africa (red dotted lines) as mapped in the 1960s by French historian Raymond Mauny. Although they were not connected directly, Sijilmasa in present-day Morocco and Awdaghost in Mauritania were indirectly linked by routes that united other trading cities in the surrounding region. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

One of the greatest early **Sudanic** empires, the powerful states that emerged in the region of West Africa south of the Sahara Desert, was Mali. Mali brought together the key components that had contributed to the earlier expansion of trans-Saharan trade. On the one hand, its rulers were Muslim, and the fact that they shared the

same religion with many trans-Saharan traders strengthened the ties between these groups. On the other hand, these rulers exerted direct control over the goldfields at Bure. The vitally important trade centers of Timbuktu and Gao were part of the empire, as were the trading centers of Awdaghost, Oualata (Walata), and Tadmekka. Although both gold and salt remained the principal commodities of exchange, other commodities such as textiles, enslaved people, ivory, precious stones, and shea butter (a vegetable fat from the shea tree nut) were also regular exports.

During the ninth to fifteenth centuries, caravans routinely plied the sands of the Sahara, moving goods from distant West Africa to Egypt and centers of trade in North Africa, and from there onward, either across the Mediterranean to southern Europe or overland by way of the Sinai Peninsula to the region of the Levant in the Near East (modern Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Israel). From there, West African commodities could arrive at one of the land-based western terminals of the Silk Roads in such trade centers as the coastal city of Tyre in Lebanon, and farther inland, at Aleppo in Syria. Africa at this time was a key player in the vast commercial enterprise that laid the foundation for the first global economies.

The Spread of Islam

The Arab conquests of North Africa and the gradual advance of Islam into West Africa from the eighth century did much to unify what had been largely regional trade into a truly cross-desert system of commerce. The spread and adoption of Islam by nomads, such as the Tuareg and Sanhaja of the Niger region, helped expand the networks of exchange. Shared values and rules established by Islamic tradition and law engendered a sense of mutual trust and respect among devout Muslim traders and caravanners. African traders and merchants recognized other benefits of conversion beyond the spiritual, which included guarantees afforded by contract law that was based on Islamic law and made possible by widespread Arabic literacy. They also enjoyed the extension of credit and promissory notes between multiple parties, who were all investors in a caravan, and an increasingly extensive information network in which oasis towns acted as centers of communication and exchange.

Africans may also have been led to convert to Islam by other factors. A significant motivation was likely the harsh terms the conquering Muslims imposed on non-Muslims, which included exorbitant taxation as well as demands for hundreds (according to some sources, thousands) of enslaved people. These people, the majority of whom were probably Amazigh, were then shipped to markets in Damascus or Baghdad to be sold or transported onward to other market towns in the east. Since Islamic law forbade the enslavement of fellow Muslims, countless Amazigh people decided to convert to avoid being taken captive.

Once Islam reached the savanna south of the Sahara, ruling African elites adopted it, and in some cases they blended it with their traditional beliefs, a process called syncretism. Muslims, who could read and write Arabic script, were sought after as administrators by rulers whose languages did not have their own alphabets. The tendency of non-Muslim kingdoms to employ Muslim merchant-scholars as advisers and scribes (as, for example, in the kingdom of Ghana) in turn helped raise the profile of Islam among Africans and further encouraged conversion.

As commerce expanded, Islam gradually spread along the trans-Saharan trade routes and created a network of believers who trusted each other, thanks to a common language—Arabic—and shared values, traditions, and customs such as regular daily prayer. These shared social bonds and trust allowed trade to increase among peoples at some considerable distance who were otherwise unknown to one another. Another social interaction crucial to the widespread diffusion of Islam was intermarriage between Muslim traders and local women, who raised their children as Muslims. By the thirteenth century, Islam had spread into the region of Lake Chad and the Kingdom of Kanem by way of trans-Saharan trade (Figure 3.7).

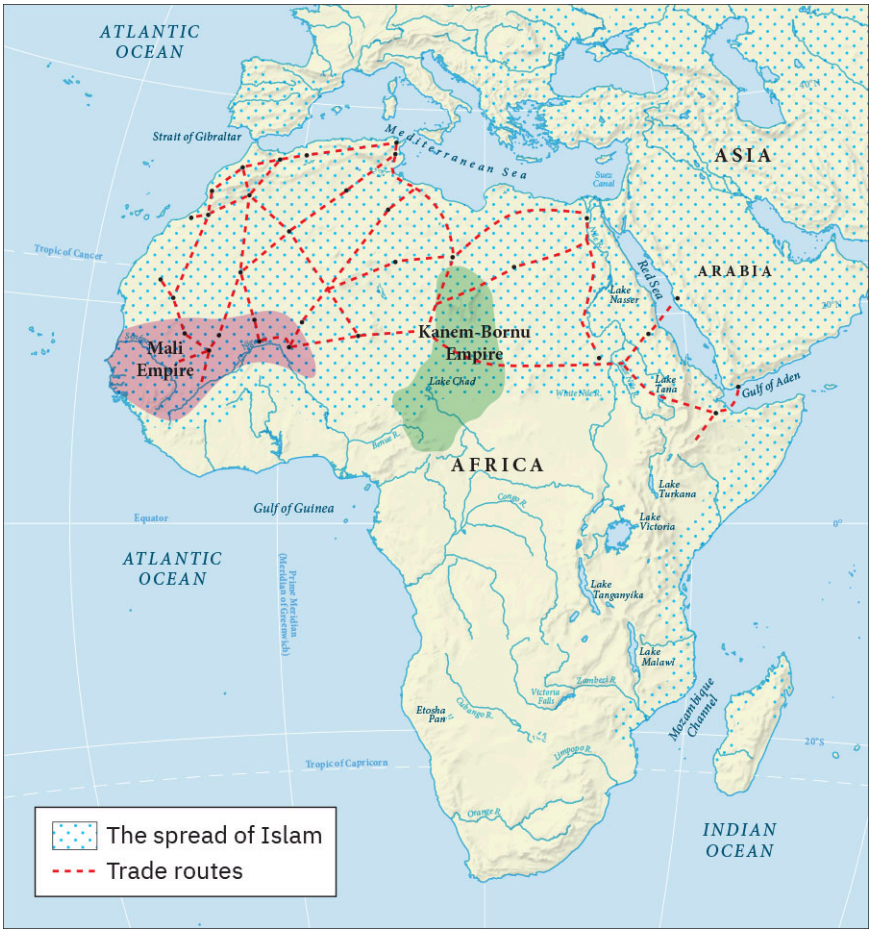


FIGURE 3.7 The Spread of Islam. By the fourteenth century, Islam had spread throughout North and West Africa, including Kanem-Bornu (green area), and had become the state religion in the kingdom of Mali (pink area) and, in time, in Songhai, Mali's successor. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

The Mali Empire

Larger political entities emerged in Sudanic West Africa, beginning with the Mali Empire in the early thirteenth century. Around 1235, Sundiata Keita, the founder of Mali, set about consolidating his control over the heartland of the Mande people, a region centered on the well-watered grasslands of the upper reaches of the Senegal and Niger Rivers. Sundiata convinced the other Malinke (also known as Mandinke) kings to surrender their title, *mansa* (which means "ruler" in the Malinke language), to him. He thus became the sole *mansa*, the religious and secular leader of all the Malinke people.

Sundiata then moved to expand the Mali kingdom by taking control of all the Soninke peoples (Figure 3.8). This territory took in much of the former kingdom of Ghana and its nominally independent peripheral vassal states, including Mema and Wagadu. These newly conquered territories were often administered indirectly, leaving in place friendly puppet regimes to do the bidding of the Malian monarch, a political strategy that bred resentment among certain of the Malian vassal states, including Takrur and Songhai. In a few short years, the empire extended from the forested margins of the southwest through the grassland savanna country of the Malinke and the southern Soninke to the Sahel of former Ghana. The kings of Mali were less interested in conquering the various small kingdoms and chiefdoms of the grasslands than in taking the trading towns of the Sahel that linked the regional economy to the vast trans-Saharan trade. These towns were key prizes to the Malian monarchs and included Djenné, Timbuktu, and Gao. Throughout history, economic considerations have often driven political decisions, like conquering neighboring people, made by rulers on all continents.

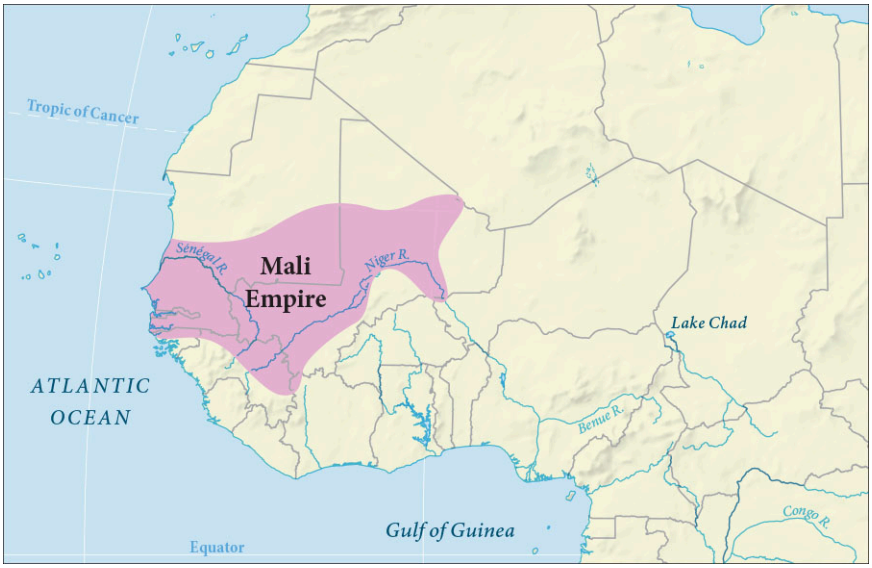


FIGURE 3.8 The Mali Empire. The Mali Empire reached its maximum geographic extent in the fourteenth century, stretching from the mouth of the Senegal River in the west to the borders of present-day Algeria and Niger in the east, encompassing some 478,000 square miles and about four hundred cities. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

When Sundiata's successors converted to Islam, Mali became the largest Islamic kingdom in West Africa. Although its heartland was the Niger floodplain, Mali's capital Niani was located at the Bure goldfields, enabling its rulers to exert direct control over the most valuable of all the raw materials transported along the trans-Saharan trade routes. Mali's fabulous wealth made it famous, and its rulers used that wealth to attract scholars and jurists from all over the Islamic world. For example, Mali's most famous ruler, the fourteenth-century Mansa Musa, transformed the trading center of Timbuktu by establishing mosques and schools there that became repositories of Islamic scholarship and learning.

LINK TO LEARNING

An introduction to the spread of Islam to West Africa (https://openstax.org/l/77IslamWAfr) is provided by the Lowcountry Digital History Initiative.

Trans-Saharan commerce also promoted the development of public works in Mali, including the building of social and religious structures. Travelers to West Africa were impressed by the palaces, walled cities, and mosques they saw there and often remarked on them. In the sixteenth century, Leo Africanus, a formerly enslaved Amazigh diplomat and writer (born al-Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Wazzan), visited Songhai and praised the fine architecture of the city of Timbuktu, particularly the walled palace of the king and the temple of "stone and mortar" that dominated the center of the city. While these buildings awed many visitors, none were quite as striking as Timbuktu's mosques. With its sunbaked brick walls and spiky pyramidal shape, for example, the Sankore mosque presented onlookers with a unique example of West African architecture at this time (Figure 3.9).

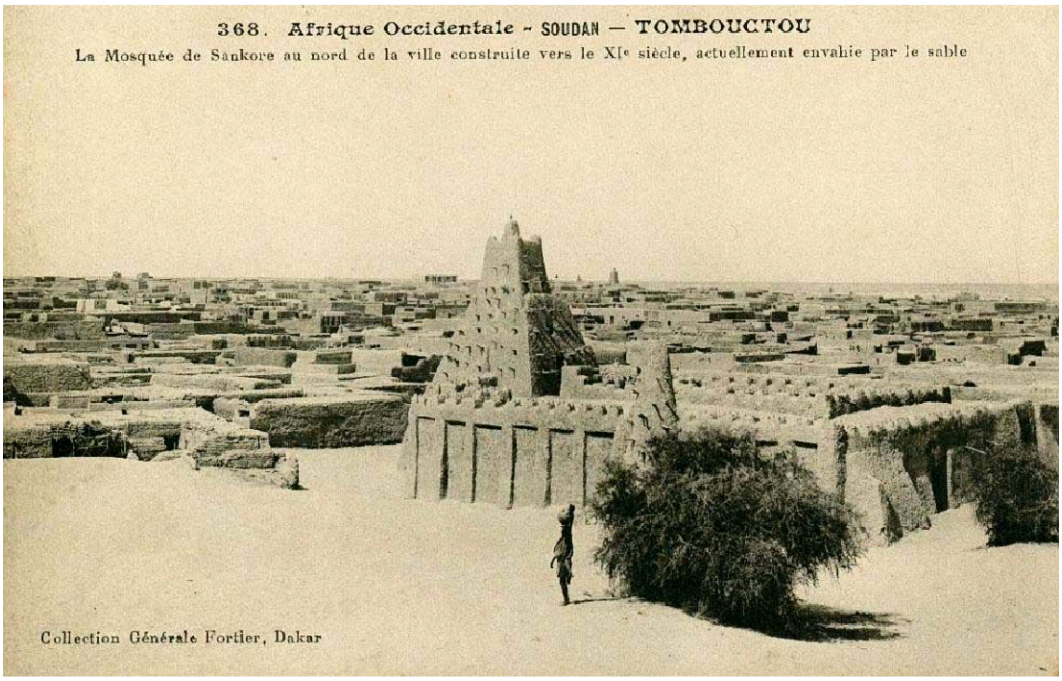


FIGURE 3.9 The Sankore Mosque. The fourteenth-century Sankore mosque, shown in this postcard from about 1905, was one of the leading centers of Islamic learning and scholarship in Timbuktu. It is also an example of Sudanese West Africa's unique architectural style and has long dominated the city's skyline. (credit: "Fortier 368 Timbuktu Sankore Mosque" by Dogon/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

LINK TO LEARNING

Click this link to read an excerpt in which the sixteenth-century traveler Leo Africanus describes the town of Timbuktu (https://openstax.org/l/77Timbuktu) and his experiences while there.

The fortunes of the Mali Empire were transformed in the fifteenth century, when a host of internal and external challenges combined to fatally undermine the Sudanic kingdom, including rebellions, dynastic disputes, the rise of powerful new neighbors, and the arrival of the Portuguese. These factors, which are explained next, had the effect of weakening Mali economically and politically, setting it up for instability and collapse.

The successors of Mansa Musa, who died circa 1337, tended to be weaker and less influential than their famous predecessor. During the brief reign of his son, Mansa Maghan, Timbuktu was raided and burned by the Mossi, a people who lived to the south of the Niger bend. Although the Malians returned to the city and ruled it for another hundred years, the Mossi raid demonstrated to others that the empire had been diminished. Later, Tuareg nomads raided and caused havoc. They occupied and governed Timbuktu for the next forty years.

The attacks by the Mossi and Tuareg squeezed the enfeebled Malian Empire from the north and east. These raids were followed by rebellions in towns, signaling a more dramatic shift in the region's geopolitics whereby many of the empire's most important cities sought to break free of Malian rule. Between 1374 and 1387, uprisings occurred in the salt-producing center of Takedda and in the major trading center of Gao. While Mansa Musa II managed to subdue the Tuareg rebellion at Takedda, he was unable to control the Songhai of Gao, who asserted their independence from Mali. By the 1430s, Mali had lost control not only of Timbuktu but also of vassal kingdoms such as Mema to the north, and critical trading towns such as Djenné had also regained their independence.

THE PAST MEETS THE PRESENT

Preserving Mali's Past

Who owns a nation's history? Who decides what constitutes an appropriate expression of religious faith? In Mali, such issues have occasioned much debate in the recent past. Many of the Malian Empire's most important historical and religious sites are in danger as a result of political conflict. In 2012, members of the Tuareg separatist group, the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad, which seeks independence for northern Mali, and members of Ansar Dine, a group linked to al-Qaeda, attacked mosques in the city of Timbuktu. Members of these groups believe the mosques violate Islamic prescriptions for religious buildings and are "idolatrous."

In Djenné, to the south, the preservation of Mali's Islamic heritage has encountered other problems. Each year since the Great Mosque was built, the residents of Djenné have applied a new layer of mud to replace the coat washed away during the rainy season. As time has passed, the layers have accumulated, damaging the structure. For several years, the practice had to cease while reconstruction of the building took place, angering the worshippers, who believe they acquire religious merit by repairing the mosque. Some residents also have cause to dislike the mosque's designation as part of a UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) World Heritage site in 1988; the designation protects not only the mosque but also the surrounding mud-brick houses from alteration. This has prevented those who live there from modernizing their homes.

- Do you agree with UNESCO's position that "World Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located"?
- Who has the right to decide how historical and religious sites should be treated? Why?

As a result of weak rulers, rebellions, and attacks by the Mossi and Tuareg, the trading towns and routes on which the *mansas* depended for their wealth and power were gradually being stripped away from the Malian Empire when the arrival of the Portuguese in the fifteenth century complicated matters. The first Portuguese slave raids in West Africa took place on the Senegambian coast, the Atlantic coastline of Senegal and the Gambia in West Africa, in 1444. Initially, the raids caught Malian vassal territories off guard, but they soon recovered and effectively resisted further European encroachment. In 1462, the Portuguese were forced to negotiate a peace treaty, which limited them to trading along the Senegambian coast. This new, direct trade between a European power and Mande merchants along the coast was the first of several steps that ultimately rerouted much commerce away from the trans-Saharan trade routes of the West African interior.

As the European threat gradually faded, pressure mounted on the Mali Empire's eastern and northern frontiers. There, the emergent Songhai Empire under the leadership of Sunni Ali was expanding, and in a series of conquests, it managed to annex the former Malian territory of Mema (1465), capture Timbuktu (1468), and seize Djenné (1473). By the end of the century, nearly all the lands the Mali Empire once ruled had been lost. What remained was little more than the Mande-speaking heartland and surrounding grassland. Mali continued in this diminished state until the late seventeenth century, by which time most non-Malinke people had asserted their independence and reverted to rule by individual *mansas*.

3.2 The Songhai Empire

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe the characteristics that defined imperial Songhai
- Discuss the ways in which internal conflict led to the decline of the Songhai Empire

The Sudanic kingdom of Songhai was the largest fifteenth-century African state in West Africa. At its height, it

stretched from Senegal-Gambia on the Atlantic coast in the west all the way to Kano in the Hausaland region of present-day Nigeria in the southeast, and to the salt-mining trade center of Taghaza in the north. Founded by Sunni Ali in the late fifteenth century, Songhai reached its imperial height under the founder of the Askia dynasty, Muhammad Ture, a general and provisional governor who overthrew Sunni Ali's legitimate successor.

The Rise of Imperial Songhai

The earliest dynasty of kings of the Songhai state was the Za , which tradition and later historical records suggest ruled the kingdom during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Tradition also holds that the first fourteen rulers of the Songhai state, which was initially centered on Kukiya, approximately eighty miles southeast of Gao, were *jahiliyyah* ("ignorant of God"); *jahiliyyah* is a word used by Muslims to describe the ignorance of people before gaining knowledge of Islam. Sometime in the 1000s, the dynasty converted to Islam, possibly under Za Kusay. It was also at some point during this period that the political focus of the kingdom shifted from Kukiya to Gao.

As kola nuts, dates, ivory, salt, leather, enslaved people, and gold passed through the capital, traders and merchants prospered. While a boon locally, the prosperity of Gao drew the attention of the new and expansionistic West African kingdom of Mali, which annexed Gao around 1325. This was the heyday of imperial Mali, and for the next century, its rulers profited from Gao's trade and collected taxes from its kings.

LINK TO LEARNING

To learn more about the Songhai Empire, watch *The Songhai Empire: Africa's Age of Gold* (https://openstax.org/l/77AgeofGold) and consider why it is called a cosmopolitan empire. What was unique about Timbuktu?

The annexation of Gao greatly expanded the Malian Empire, but it did not last. Periodic rebellions by the peoples of Timbuktu, Takedda, and Gao, coupled with invasions from the north, civil war, and a struggling economy, caused Gao's Malian rulers to withdraw from the region in the 1430s. The leader of the Songhai rebels at Gao, Sunni Ali, became the first king of the new Songhai Empire. From his capital at Gao, Sunni Ali engaged in a war of conquest against his Muslim neighbors. Marshalling his massive cavalry and fleet of war canoes, the king extended his empire into the desert in the north and as far as Djenné in the southwest. In the late fifteenth century, his army pushed southward beyond the Niger and raided deep into the Volta River Basin, encroaching on the territory of the Mossi, multiple linguistic groups whose cultures differed but who were loosely connected politically.

In 1468, Sunni Ali sacked Timbuktu. He drove its Amazigh governor from the city, killed many of its scholars, and forced others into exile. Sunni Ali's conquest of Timbuktu earned him a reputation as a butcher and a tyrant. "He perpetuated terrible wickedness in the city, putting it to flame, sacking it, and killing large numbers of people," one chronicler from Timbuktu recorded. Sunni Ali's assault on the scholarly community at Timbuktu prompted the survivors' exodus to Oualata, leading to a significant decline in Islamic scholarship at Timbuktu. Many of the merchants who had thrived under the city's Tuareg overlords also fled. As a result, the city slipped into a period of economic decline and did not recover until after Sunni Ali's death.

It was not enough for Sunni Ali to capture Timbuktu. Securing the vital corridor of trade along the growing Songhai Empire's western frontier also required capturing the southern trading center of Djenné, a long-standing point of exchange for caravans carrying salt, gold, and enslaved Africans bound for the Atlantic or trans-Saharan slave trades. Sunni Ali attempted to capture Djenné for several years, but the fact that the city was surrounded by water during the annual flooding of the Bani River made the task impossible. Only after a seven-month siege was he finally able to subdue the city, which surrendered in 1473.

In contrast to his harsh actions at Timbuktu, Sunni Ali accommodated the community of Muslim scholars at Djenné, where they remained great preservers of Islamic learning and continued to produce work on Islamic

philosophy and the sciences through the seventeenth century. The mosque and university had thousands of teachers and students who mastered a wide range of subjects, including Islamic law, astronomy, math, and philosophy (Figure 3.10).



FIGURE 3.10 The Great Mosque at Djenné. The earliest version of the Great Mosque at Djenné was built in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Founded as a center of religious learning and scholarship, the Great Mosque continues to serve these functions today, although it is now at least the third version of the structure. (credit: "Great Mosque of Djenné" by JM/Flickr, CC BY 2.0)

The Reign of Askia the Great

On the death of Sunni Ali in 1492, his son Sonni Baru came to the throne but reigned less than a year. Muhammad Ture, one of Sunni Ali's generals and provincial governors, challenged Sonni Baru, and when the two met in battle in April 1493, Sonni Baru was defeated. Muhammad Ture then usurped the throne and took power as Askia Muhammad, later known as Askia the Great. His reign marked the beginning of the Askia dynasty.

Askia the Great strengthened the Songhai Empire and made it the largest in West Africa's history by adding tributary lands to the east and to the west. At its height, the Songhai Empire stretched from Kano in Hausaland in the southeast (present-day Nigeria) to Taghaza with its valuable salt mines in the north, and modern-day Senegal on the Atlantic coast (Figure 3.11). One of Askia's primary objectives was to control access to the major trade routes across the Sahara. His success in doing so was rapid: by 1512, it is chronicled that even the *mansa* of Mali was paying tribute to Askia.

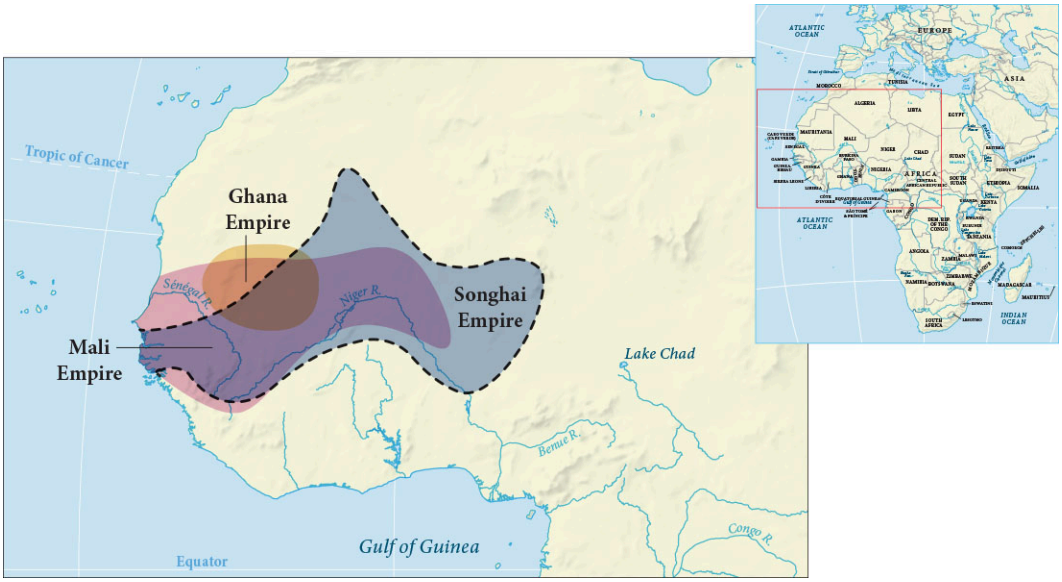


FIGURE 3.11 West Africa's Early Empires. This map shows the different polities of medieval West Africa. The Songhai Empire was the largest and wealthiest of the three great Sudanic empires; the other two were Ghana and Mali. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

Askia the Great also transformed the nature of Songhai rulership. Under Sunni Ali, Songhai administration at the provincial level had been left in the hands of traditional rulers. Askia abandoned this model in favor of designating royal family members or trusted servants. As appointees of the king, these provincial governors were entirely dependent on the ruler and had to remain in his favor. The governors were invested with a great deal of authority, however; they could, for example, raise their own armies to collect local taxes. Abandoning the use of traditional rulers had the effect of strengthening the centralizing tendency of the state under Sunni Ali. Whereas before such provincial officials might take advantage of dynastic struggles to assert their authority and form a breakaway region or state, the placement of royally appointed officials closely aligned with the king dramatically curtailed this risk. That the state remained intact despite frequent dynastic struggles during Askia's later reign speaks to the success of this policy.

Islam was crucial to Askia the Great's consolidation of control. Not ethnically Songhai and thus unable to rely on traditional institutions and rituals to legitimate his rule, Askia instead based his authority on Islam and quickly set out to establish Songhai as a Muslim kingdom. In 1498, he declared a holy war against the non-Muslim Mossi to justify his incursions into their territory. He also recognized the importance of Islam to trans-Saharan trade and used his post-accession pilgrimage to Mecca to advertise his concern for the faith. During his stopover in Cairo, Askia convinced Egypt's **caliph**, its spiritual and secular leader, to recognize him as caliph of the whole of Sudan. While in Mecca he spent lavishly, contributing some 100,000 gold pieces to charity and related almsgiving programs. He did not force his subjects to convert, however, and most retained their traditional religious beliefs.

DUELING VOICES

The Great Ruler of Songhai: Askia Muhammad

The following sources were written by observers of the Songhai Empire. The first, called the *Epic of Askia Muhammad*, is a written rendition of a tale told by a griot (a West African oral historian, poet, musician, storyteller, and praise-singer) and describes how Askia the Great established his empire. In the excerpt, Askia Muhammed is told how he can repent for having killed his uncle. The second excerpt is from Leo Africanus's *Description of Africa*, which he wrote in the sixteenth century and describes the city of Gao and the tactics of Askia Muhammad.

Go home and start a holy war,
So that you can make them submit until you reach the Red Sea. [. . .]
[Askiya Muhammed] went home to Gao.
It is at this time he gathered together all the horses.
He took all the horses.
He began by the west. [. . .]
Early in the morning, they pillage and they go on to the next village . . .
The cavalryman who goes there,
He traces on the ground for the people the plan for the mosque. . . .
The people build the mosque.
It is at that time,
Mamar Kassaye [Askiya Muhammed] comes to dismount from his horse.
He makes the people—
They teach them verses from the Koran relating to prayer.
They teach them prayers from the Koran.
Any villages that refuse, he destroys the village, burns it, and moves on. [. . .]
Until that day [. . .] he arrived at the Red Sea.

—Nouhou Malio, "The Epic of Askia Mohammed"

The Town and Kingdom [Songhay] of Gao

Here are very rich merchants and to here journey continually large numbers of blacks who purchase here cloth from Barbary [North Africa] and Europe. . . . Here also is a certain place where slaves are sold, especially upon those days when merchants assemble. A young slave of fifteen years of age is sold for six ducats [gold coins] and children are also sold.

The king of this region has a certain private palace in which he keeps a large number of concubines and slaves, who are watched by eunuchs. To guard his person he maintains a sufficient troop of horsemen and foot soldiers. Between the first gate of the palace and the inner part, there is a walled enclosure wherein the king personally decides all of his subjects' controversies. Although the king is most diligent in this regard and conducts all business in these matters, he has in his company counsellors and such other officers as his secretaries, treasurers, stewards and auditors.

It is a wonder to see the quality of merchandise that is daily brought here and how costly and sumptuous everything is. . . .

The rest of this kingdom contains nothing but villages and hamlets inhabited by herdsmen and shepherds, who in winter cover their bodies with the skins of animals, but in summer they go naked, save for their private parts. . . . They are continually burdened by heavy taxes; to the point that they scarcely have anything left on which to live.

Of the Province of Kano

The great province of Kano stands eastward of the river Niger almost five hundred miles . . . . [Their king] had mighty troops of horsemen at his command; but he has since been constrained to pay tribute unto the kings of Zegzeg and Casena. Afterward Askiya the king of Timbuktu [Songhay] feigning friendship treacherously slew them both. And then he waged war against the king of Kano, whom after a long siege he took, and compelled him to marry one of his daughters, restoring him again to his kingdom, conditionally that he should pay unto him the third part of all his tribute [taxes]: and the said king of Timbuktu has some of his courtiers perpetually residing at Kano for the receit [receiving] thereof.

—Leo Africanus, *Description of Africa (1550)*

- How do the two accounts differ in their description of Askia the Great?
- According to these accounts, how did Askia establish and maintain power in his empire?
- Would you consider Askia the Great to have been a strong ruler? Would you consider him to have been a benevolent ruler? Why or why not?

Askia the Great extended his territory deeper into the desert through military conquest. The advance of Songhai's army forced the Tuareg nomads to flee, which allowed the Songhai to capture the salt-producing center of Taghaza in the north. Askia did more to regulate trans-Saharan trade than any of his predecessors. He not only introduced the use of standardized weights and measures but also employed trade inspectors at each of the empire's major trade centers. The Hausaland kingdoms recognized the revival of trade under the Songhai and its benefits and so came into the orbit of the Songhai Empire's broader trading network.

The primary sources of the Songhai Empire's wealth continued to be agricultural production centered on the Niger floodplain and taxes on trade goods, especially gold and salt, both of which had also been key to the economy of the Mali Empire. Salt remained Songhai's currency for external trade, while cowrie shells were used for internal trade (Figure 3.12). Cowrie shells were imported from the Indian Ocean. They were thus relatively scarce and could not be counterfeited. Gold remained the primary good transported along the trans-Saharan trade routes, but enslaved captives and kola nuts were also exported. The empire imported a variety of goods, including Saharan salt, luxury goods, horses, and cloth.



FIGURE 3.12 Cowrie Shell. Cowrie shells were used as currency and to adorn religious objects in several African societies. Cowrie shells served a similar function in South Asia and East Asia. This shell was found with an Egyptian mummy from the fourth century BCE. (credit: modification of work "Cowrie shell" by Metropolitan Museum of Art/ Wikimedia Commons, CC0 1.0)

Timbuktu, which had been destroyed by Sunni Ali, revived during the rule of Askia the Great. Leo Africanus observed that the city was a prosperous one filled with artisans and wealthy merchants as well as many enslaved people. According to his sixteenth-century account, in Timbuktu there were "great numbers of religious teachers, judges, scholars and other learned persons, who are bountifully maintained at the king's expense. Here too are brought various manuscripts or written books from Barbary, which are sold for more money than any other merchandise." By the mid-sixteenth century, public libraries had been established, and scribes and calligraphers had been hired to copy books (Figure 3.13). As Islamic scholarship once again flourished at Timbuktu, so too did higher learning. Students engaged in multiple tutorials in various fields of study with Islamic scholars and, when they achieved mastery of these subjects, went on to become teachers

themselves.



FIGURE 3.13 A Revival of Learning in Timbuktu. Handwritten and illuminated (containing painted decoration) manuscripts preserved at Timbuktu are among the great cultural treasures of Islam. Many thousands of these graced the shelves of the mosques and private libraries throughout the revitalized Timbuktu of the sixteenth century. (credit: "Timbuktu manuscripts" by EurAstro/Elias Altmimi/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

LINK TO LEARNING

Learn about and see pictures of the tomb of Askia the Great (https://openstax.org/l/77AskiaTomb) in Gao, Mali. You can follow links on the same page to learn about other items of historical interest in Mali.

The Decline of Songhai

Under Askia the Great, the Songhai Empire flourished. Religious scholars and poets flocked to cities like Timbuktu and Djenné. Islam became more widely practiced. The state embarked on an ambitious infrastructure development scheme, including the construction of canals to enhance agricultural production. Trans-Saharan trade thrived. However, as Askia grew older, his personal power declined, and he relied heavily on his palace officials to manage the affairs of the empire. This alienated his family members, who grew resentful of the power of Askia's head chamberlain, Ali Fulan.

In 1528 Askia's sons revolted, deposed him, and declared one of the brothers, Musa, king. Askia Musa's accession was not smooth, however, and civil war erupted. As Askia Musa waged battle against his kin to retain his position, dozens of his relatives were killed. Musa himself fell victim to this strife and was killed by his brothers in 1531, deepening the crisis and further destabilizing the state. As successive rulers' attempts at governing the empire failed, political chaos consumed the ruling class and military as they vied for control. Without effective administration from the center, Songhai weakened, and external groups began eyeing an opportunity to intervene and seize control of the lucrative trans-Saharan trade in salt and gold. This was

particularly the case for the Saadi dynasty of Morocco.

In 1578, the Saadi had repulsed an invasion by the Portuguese, but only at an enormous cost, draining the imperial coffers. To stave off bankruptcy, Sultan Ahmad I al-Mansur Saadi cast about for new resources. All this unfolded just as a sense of stability and calm had returned to Songhai under the reign of Askia Ishaq II, which began in 1588. However, this revival of Songhai's fortunes proved short-lived; the Saadi invaded in 1591. Although it was greatly outnumbered by the forces of Songhai, the Saadi army had an insurmountable advantage: a stockpile of guns, ammunition, and cannon supplied by Queen Elizabeth I of England, who hoped to make Morocco an ally against Spain. The Saadi army also contained many Spanish Muslims. In 1502, the Spanish monarchs had ordered all Muslims in Spain to convert to Christianity, and many Muslims had fled the country. Outmatched, the larger Songhai army was defeated at the Battle of Tondibi, and Askia Ishaq II was killed.

Following their victory on the battlefield, the commander of the Saadi army, an enslaved Spanish eunuch named Judar Pasha, moved on the key cities and trading centers of the empire. The Saadi sacked and pillaged Djenné, Gao, and Timbuktu, burning them to the ground. To seal their victory, the invaders filled in water wells and destroyed fields of crops. They spared few, not even women and children. The Songhai Empire's power was rendered ineffective after the looting and destruction of these cities. A decade later, the empire was shattered, its provinces divided into several smaller kingdoms and territories.

3.3 The Swahili Coast

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Explain how geography and climate contributed to the growth of trade along the Swahili coast
- Identify the major commodities traded along the Swahili coast
- Analyze the role of the slave trade in city-states along the Swahili coast
- Describe the significance of Kilwa and Zanzibar to Indian Ocean trade

Not all of Africa's trade traversed the Sahara. The east coast of Africa was home to wealthy city-states that engaged in oceanic trade with the Arabian Peninsula, India, and places farther east. Just as the cities of Songhai linked sub-Saharan Africa to North Africa and the Mediterranean by means of trade, the African ports on the Indian Ocean connected Africa to South and East Asia. These city-states were important hubs in the trade between East and West and made some of the world's most desirable products available to people on three continents.

The Rise of the Swahili City-States

Starting in the seventh century, settlements on the coast of East Africa began to participate in Indian Ocean trade. Geographically, the area was well suited for oceanic trade. In the summer, the prevailing winds blew sailing ships northeast toward the coast of India, and winter winds blew them in the opposite direction. A seasonal trade thus developed, and trading ports grew. The standard ship of the region, called a **dhow**, was a vessel made of coconut-wood planks sewn together with coconut fiber. It bore a triangular-shaped **lateen sail**, which was perfectly designed to enable ships to sail both with and into the wind (Figure 3.14). However, dhows were unable to ride the rougher waves near the southern tip of the African continent, and this limitation, together with the fact that the monsoon winds grew weaker the farther south they went, kept trading ports from extending the full length of the African coast.



FIGURE 3.14 Lateen Sails. An early twentieth-century postage stamp from Aden, a city of the Arabian Peninsula, shows a dhow with lateen sails. Ships of this type carried the trade of the Swahili coast. (credit: "Aden half-anna stamp of 1937" by Unknown/Stan Shebs/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In the eighth century, Arab Muslim merchants began to settle permanently in the region and often intermarried with the African Bantu peoples who lived in the area. Marrying Bantu women enabled Arab merchants to sink roots in African coastal communities, and their wives' families helped them both establish commercial contacts and transact trade while they were away. In the twelfth century, large numbers of Persians settled on the East African coast as well. Their city-states, inhabited primarily by merchants and artisans, grew in size until a number of large port cities extended southward along the coast from what is now Somalia: Mogadishu, Barawa, Mombasa, Malindi, Pemba, Zanzibar, Kilwa, Sofala, and others (Figure 3.15). Some of the cities were built on islands, which made it easier for them to engage in maritime trade. The people of the coast came to speak **Swahili**, which combined the grammar of African Bantu languages with a Bantu and Arabic vocabulary. This common language enabled people from a wide variety of ethnic groups to trade with one another.



FIGURE 3.15 City-States of the Indian Ocean Trade. The coastal region immediately south of the Horn of Africa was home to a number of city-states that prospered in the Indian Ocean trade before the arrival of the Portuguese in the late fifteenth century. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

LINK TO LEARNING

This webpage contains interesting facts about the Swahili language (https://openstax.org/l/77Swahili) along with the Swahili alphabet, Swahili numbers and phrases, recordings of people reading texts in Swahili, and videos of Swahili being used in everyday life.

The Bantu people who lived along the coast of East Africa converted to Islam over the course of a few centuries. Sharing a religion made it easier for them to interact with the Arab and Persian merchants and sailors who inhabited cities on the coast of East Africa, as well as with Muslim merchants in North Africa, on the Arabian Peninsula, and in India. Mosques and religious schools were built. The first mosques were built in the ninth century. The version of Islam practiced by the people of the Swahili coast, however, made concessions to the pre-Islamic practices of several of the area's African societies. In this syncretic version of Islam, ancestor veneration continued, for example, as did the use of magical rituals to drive away spirits believed to cause illness. Women also retained a higher status than they did in other Muslim societies, such as Persia.

A large variety of products were traded in the cities of the Swahili coast: gold, iron, copper, salt, valuable hardwoods such as ebony and sandalwood, ivory, tortoise shells for making decorative objects like combs, and animal hides. These goods were brought overland across trade routes from the African interior and then were either purchased by the cities' inhabitants for their own use or resold elsewhere in Africa or in Arabia, Persia, and India. From these places, the goods might travel even farther to Southeast Asia or China. Artisans in the cities crafted pottery and wove cloth that became part of the trade too and were sold in Africa or overseas. The goods of Asia also flowed into these cities, and the elites of the Swahili coast adorned themselves with glass

beads from India, dressed in Chinese silks, and ate from Chinese porcelain. Some merchants embedded pieces of porcelain in the walls of their homes for decoration.

Slavery on the Swahili Coast

Enslaved people were also traded in the markets of East Africa, especially on the island of Zanzibar. East African societies such as the Yao, the Marava, and the Makua regularly made war upon one another and seized captives for sale. People captured in the interior were marched to the Swahili coast and held there until buyers for them could be found, although starvation, exhaustion, and disease killed nearly three-quarters before they could be sold. The primary buyers were Arab Muslims who wanted laborers but were not allowed to enslave fellow Muslims. Most of the enslaved Africans were destined for the Arabian Peninsula and elsewhere in the Middle East or North Africa, there to work as domestic servants or perform other types of labor. Some were sold as far away from their homes as India or China. Women and children were preferred for household service, but men might find themselves forced into service as soldiers, sailors, or agricultural workers.

By the seventeenth century, the slave trade on the Swahili coast had assumed enormous proportions, with an influx of traders from Oman on the Arabian Peninsula. This growth was due partly to the rise in power of European states, which prevented Muslims from capturing and enslaving people from Eastern Europe as they had often done in earlier centuries. Between the beginning and the end of the seventeenth century, the number of enslaved people sold on the Swahili coast quadrupled from roughly one thousand to four thousand per year. Some scholars report that twice that number were sold.

The activities of European slave traders, who arrived in the region beginning in the seventeenth century, quickly dwarfed those of the Muslim slavers. The Dutch East India Company purchased approximately half a million enslaved people in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to work in Dutch colonies in the Indian Ocean. The Portuguese purchased enslaved people from the island of Mozambique from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries (Figure 3.16). The French enslaved more than one hundred thousand people in their Indian Ocean colonies of Réunion, Mauritius, and the Mascarene Islands, of which they took control in the eighteenth century. Even after Britain abolished the slave trade in 1807 and sent its ships to patrol the Indian Ocean to halt other countries' participation in the trade, the sale of enslaved people continued. People from East Africa were also sold into slavery in the Americas.



FIGURE 3.16 The Enslaved in Zanzibar. This *London News* illustration by the British artist William A. Churchill,

brother of the British consul in Zanzibar, shows a group of enslaved people in Zanzibar in 1889, a common sight on the Swahili coast where the slave trade flourished from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries. (credit: modification of work "'A Slave Gang in Zanzibar' by W.A. Churchill" by *London News*/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The Contest for the Swahili Coast

Kilwa, located on an island off the coast of what is now Tanzania, was the most powerful of the city-states of the Swahili coast. According to legend, it was founded in the tenth century by Ali ibn al-Hassan Shirazi, the son of a Persian noble and an enslaved Ethiopian woman. Ali supposedly settled the island after purchasing it from a local Bantu king. Kilwa's location on an island made it better suited to engaging in the Indian Ocean trade than its rival city to the north, Mogadishu in today's Somalia, and numerous Arab and Persian merchants came to settle in it.

In the 1180s, the ruler of Kilwa gained control of the port city of Sofala, on the African mainland in what is now Mozambique. Gold from the mines of the Kingdom of Mutapa flowed through Sofala, making it both wealthy and powerful. Control of Sofala enabled the sultan of Kilwa to escape the dominance of Mogadishu, formerly the most powerful city on the East African coast. The gold also allowed Kilwa to establish or assume control of other cities and island states in East Africa, including Mombasa, Pemba, Mafia, Mozambique, Malindi, Imhambane, Comoro, and Zanzibar.

BEYOND THE BOOK

European Views of Sofala

Following are two European views of Sofala on the Swahili coast, the port through which the gold of Mutapa flowed. The first image, made by Portuguese historian Manuel Faria e Sousa, shows seventeenth-century Sofala in the estuary of the Buzi River (Figure 3.17).



FIGURE 3.17 Sofala and Its Environs. This seventeenth-century Portuguese drawing of Sofala shows it, in the upper right, as located at the mouth of the Buzi River. (credit: "Depiction of Sofala (Mozambique)" by *Asia Portuguesa*, volume 1/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The second image, created a few years after the first for a world atlas by French cartographer Alain Manesson Mallet, shows a close-up of Sofala (Figure 3.18). By the time these images were made, very few Portuguese actually lived in Sofala. The city's marshy environment provided an ideal breeding ground for mosquitoes, and many Portuguese contracted malaria.

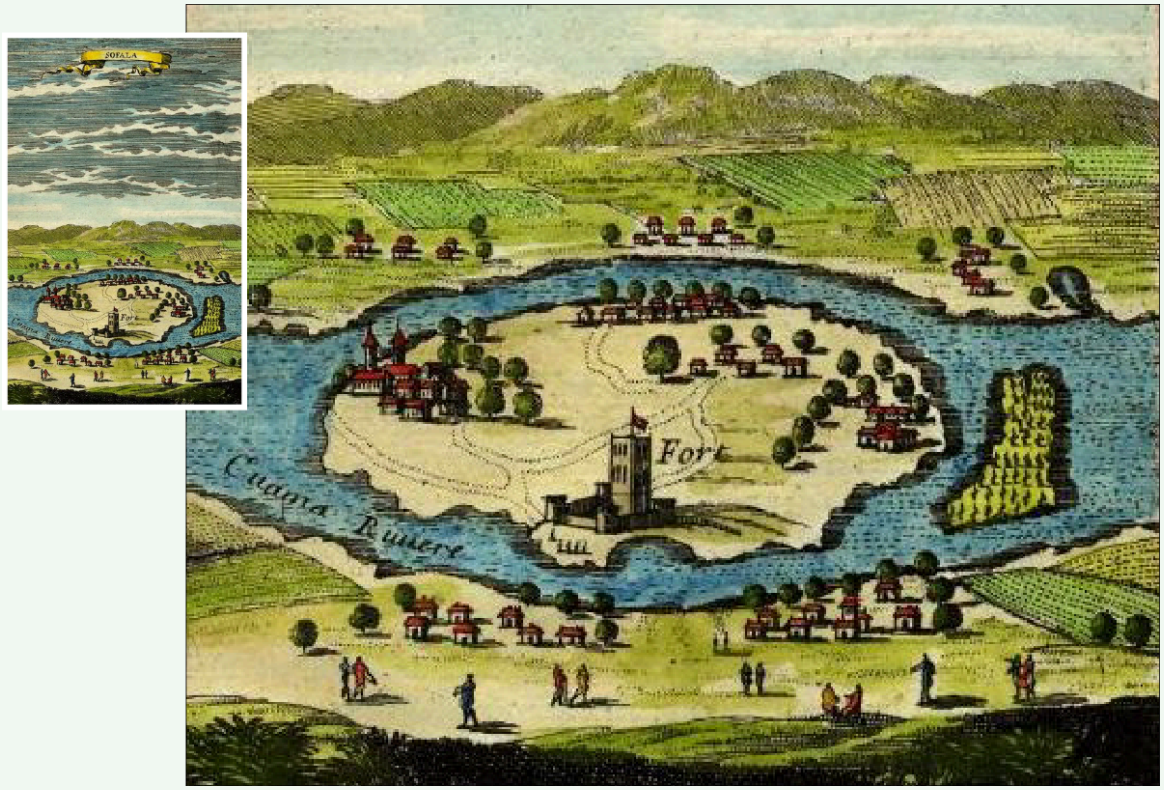


FIGURE 3.18 Sofala Up Close. This French cartographer's copperplate engraving of a view of Sofala, also from the seventeenth century, shows a close-up look at the city. (credit: modification of work "View of Sofala, Mozambique, in 1683" by "Mallet"/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

- How have the two European artists chosen to depict Sofala?
- Do these images indicate that it was a wealthy city of prosperous merchants? Do they indicate that it was a dangerous place for Portuguese to live? Explain your answers.
- Why do you think the artists chose to depict it as they have?

In the early sixteenth century, Portugal attempted to seize the wealth of the Swahili coast, aided by internal dissent within the Sultanate of Kilwa. In 1495, Kilwa's Emir Muhammad, the chief administrator of the city-state, had placed al-Fudail ibn Suleiman on the sultan's throne. Shortly thereafter, Emir Muhammad died, and his successor Emir Ibrahim engineered the assassination of al-Fudail ibn Suleiman. Emir Ibrahim then seized power for himself, claiming to rule on behalf of an absent prince. The rulers of several cities within the Kilwa Sultanate were not willing to accept Ibrahim as their overlord, however, and regarded the Portuguese as potential allies in their attempts to claim their independence. The Sheikh of Malindi had already signed a trade agreement with Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese explorer, in 1498 in order to compete in trade with both Kilwa and the rival city of Mombasa. Sheikh Isuf, the ruler of Sofala, also signed an agreement with the Portuguese in 1502 in hopes of breaking free of Kilwa's dominance. The Swahili coast city-states had long been trade rivals, and their history of competition with one another prevented them from unifying in the face of the threat of Portuguese domination.

Although counselors had encouraged Emir Ibrahim to agree to trade with the Portuguese, he initially rebuffed them. In 1505, Francisco de Almeida, another Portuguese explorer, landed five hundred Portuguese soldiers on the island of Kilwa and replaced Emir Ibrahim with a Kilwan aristocrat called Muhammad Arcone, who was more amenable to dealing with the Portuguese. The following year, Muhammad Arcone was assassinated by supporters of Emir Ibrahim and succeeded by a ruler whom they favored. Fearing that the new Sultan Micante would not be easy to control, the Portuguese removed him from power and gave the throne to Arcone's son, Hussein ibn Muhammad.

Many Kilwans resented Portuguese interference in the governing of their city-state. They also disliked Portugal's requirement that Kilwans ship goods only on Portuguese-owned ships, a practice that financially harmed many Kilwan merchants. Supporters of Sultan Micante and embittered merchants rose up and did battle in the streets with Portuguese soldiers and followers of Sultan Hussein. Residents fled the city as gangs set fire to buildings. The Portuguese supported Hussein but also wisely chose to change the policy regarding shipping, and gradually merchants returned to the city.

Portugal extended its control along the rest of the Swahili coast as well, establishing trading posts. Because the coastal city-states had never before experienced attacks from the sea, their ports were not fortified and could not easily defend against the Portuguese. The Portuguese were not interested in trading with East African merchants on equal terms, and as they had in India, they looted and sank the ships of rival traders, most of whom were Muslims. Many merchants left the region and moved northward, resulting in a decline in trade. On the southern part of the coast, the Portuguese hoped to exploit the wealth of Mutapa and took control of the kingdom in 1633, but the gold deposits were largely exhausted by this point, and their efforts to convert the population to Roman Catholicism resulted in conflict. Some individual Portuguese did well, marrying African women and receiving land and the right to trade from local African chiefs. For the most part, though, constant conflict with city-states and the effects of tropical diseases such as malaria made it difficult for Portugal to exploit the area.

Both the Ottomans and Somalis from the region of Mogadishu feared and resented Portuguese intrusion in East Africa. Joint Somali-Ottoman attacks beginning in the second half of the 1500s wreaked havoc on Portuguese efforts to control the region (Figure 3.19). These assaults were followed in the 1650s by attacks by the Omani Sultanate. Portugal had established control over the coast of Oman in 1507. However, in the 1650s, the Omani tribes united to drive the Portuguese out, and soon they began to challenge the Portuguese in East Africa as well. In 1698, Fort Jesus, the Portuguese garrison at Mombasa, fell to Omani forces. (Fort Jesus is now a UNESCO World Heritage site.) Soon thereafter, Portugal lost control of all its remaining colonies on the Swahili coast except Mozambique. The Omani Sultanate had brought the Portuguese attempt to dominate the region to an end.



FIGURE 3.19 Ottoman Fleet at Aden. An Ottoman fleet patrols the Gulf of Aden between Somalia and the Arabian Peninsula in this sixteenth-century Turkish painting, which shows Aden as the three hills in the lower left. The Somali inhabitants of cities on the northern Swahili coast turned to the Ottomans for help against the Portuguese. (credit: "Ottoman fleet Indian Ocean 16th century" by *Aramco World*/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

With the arrival of the Omanis, the city-state of Zanzibar grew to even greater prominence. The Omanis continued the profitable slave trade as well as the thriving trade in elephant ivory that had long been part of Zanzibar's economy. Land on the island was redistributed to Omani Arabs, and spice plantations growing primarily cloves were established, earning Zanzibar and the surrounding islands the nickname of Africa's Spice Islands.

3.4 The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe the emergence of Kanem-Bornu as a major slave-trading society
- Explain the effect of the arrival of Europeans on the trans-Saharan slave trade
- Analyze how the slave trade affected the trans-Saharan trade network in West Africa

The sale of enslaved people had been a constant feature of African trade since its earliest days, and over time it became a key component in the continent-spanning network. For some kingdoms, economic well-being depended on the traffic in human cargo. But this trade also required a near-constant state of warfare and conflict, which had the effect of destabilizing certain regions, particularly around the Central Sudan. Then the advent of Europe's age of discovery and exploration in the fifteenth century transformed the nature of the slave trade in Africa. The wealth of Portugal, Spain, England, France, and the Netherlands—along with their firearms and manufactured goods—appealed to many West African polities, particularly those that emerged along the Gulf of Guinea and the Atlantic coast following the decline of Songhai. These new states, such as Whydah and Dahomey, enriched themselves by providing the Europeans with captives, the vast majority of whom went to the Americas, in exchange for goods like guns. These developments altered the nature of society in Africa, militarizing states and reorienting African trade.

The Role of Kanem-Bornu

In about 900 CE, an empire called Kanem arose in the Central Sudan, located to the east of Ghana, Mali, and Songhai, and confined initially to the northeast of Lake Chad. The accession of Humai I to the throne of Kanem in 1087 marked the beginning of the Muslim Sefuwa dynasty. Around the same time, a fixed capital was established at Njimi, east of Lake Chad. Over the course of the next century and a half, the *mais* (kings) of Kanem established their control over the region. As in Ghana, the key to establishing and exercising this power was control over the desert caravan routes (Figure 3.20).

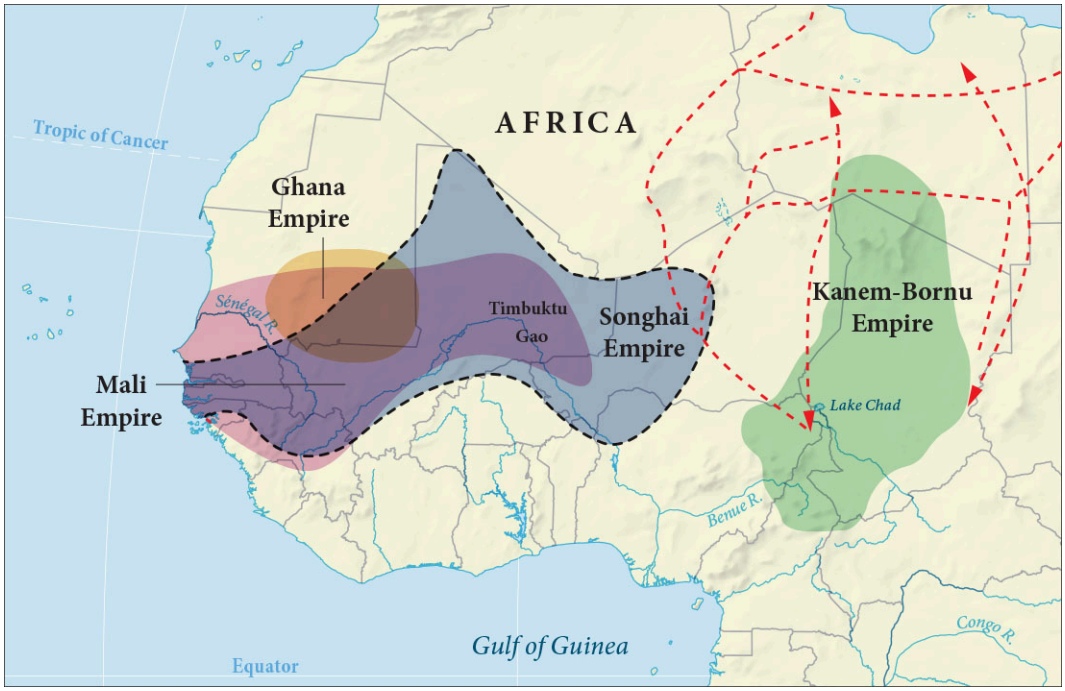


FIGURE 3.20 Trans-Saharan Trade. Trans-Saharan trade routes (red dotted lines) were a key factor in the development of the Kanem-Bornu Empire, which resulted from the expansion of the Kanem Empire south into Bornu along the western shore of Lake Chad. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

It was under Dunama Dibbalemi in the thirteenth century that Kanem reached the height of its power and influence. Commanding a cavalry force of some forty thousand, Mai Dunama II gained control of the Lake Chad basin and extended the state's control over the trans-Saharan trade northward as far as the Fezzan (southern Libya). Before the end of his reign, he established diplomatic relations with the kings of North Africa, especially in Tunis, thus ensuring the safety of caravans journeying to the distant south from the Mediterranean coast. This achievement guaranteed an increase in cross-Saharan traffic.

Although the Kanuri, the people of Kanem, mainly exported ivory and ostrich feathers, they also specialized in the selling of captives to the Muslims of North Africa and later to Europeans, notably the Portuguese who paid in guns and horses. The raids that produced these captives were justified in the name of *jihad* or holy war against unbelievers, a practice that led to conflict between Kanem and its neighbors.

By the mid-thirteenth century, Kanem dominated the Central Sudan. The empire extended as far west as the Niger River, as far east as the Wadai Sultanate (in eastern Chad), and north to the Sahara Desert. Crowning the Kanuris' achievement during this period was the establishment of a tributary state in Bornu, southwest of Lake Chad. Over the course of the next century, however, Kanem became overstretched and weakened by wars and quarrels over succession, notably between the ruling Muslim Sefuwa dynasty, its sons, and the non-Muslim Bulala pastoralists east of Lake Chad.

Between 1376 and 1400, the rebellious Bulala, who opposed the imposition of strict Islamic rule under the

Sefuwa, managed to assassinate five of the six Sefuwa kings. The result of this strife was a destabilized empire, which forced Mai Umar ibn Idris to abandon the capital at Njimi altogether. He led many of the empire's Kanuri to Bornu, in the savanna region on the western shore of Lake Chad, where they permanently settled (Figure 3.21). Bornu was better situated to give the kings of the Sefuwa dynasty access to a wider trading network, and it already had established vital trading links with the Hausa kingdoms to the west.



FIGURE 3.21 Kanem-Bornu. The kingdom of Kanem-Bornu was less a kingdom than the conjoining of two city-states, Kanem and Bornu. The longest-lived of all the African kingdoms, Kanem-Bornu depended primarily on trade in the enslaved, whom it acquired by raiding neighboring states. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

The early decades of the sixteenth century witnessed a revitalization of the Sefuwa dynasty. Under Mai Idris Katakarmabe, who ruled from 1507 to 1529, the Sefuwa were able to defeat the Bulala. The Sefuwa also strengthened their grip on the people of Bornu as they entrenched their rule, prompting a series of internal revolts by the non-Muslim peasant population that they ruthlessly suppressed. The dynasty established firm control over the peasants of Bornu who, once they submitted to Islam, were no longer subjected to raids.

The prosperity of Kanem-Bornu was tied to the trans-Saharan trade in enslaved people destined for the markets of North Africa and the Atlantic coast. By the end of the fifteenth century, Kanem-Bornu was trading about five thousand captives annually. During the second half of the sixteenth century, Mai Idris Aloma strengthened his army by importing firearms from North Africa. While the Songhai army failed to modernize, the rulers of Kanem-Bornu established strong relations with the Ottoman Empire in North Africa and gained access to Turkish mercenaries and advisers, who were brought in to train their new army (Figure 3.22). These changes, combined with the empire's position on the frontier of Islam in Central Sudan, enabled it to make deeper slave-raiding incursions against its non-Muslim neighbors.

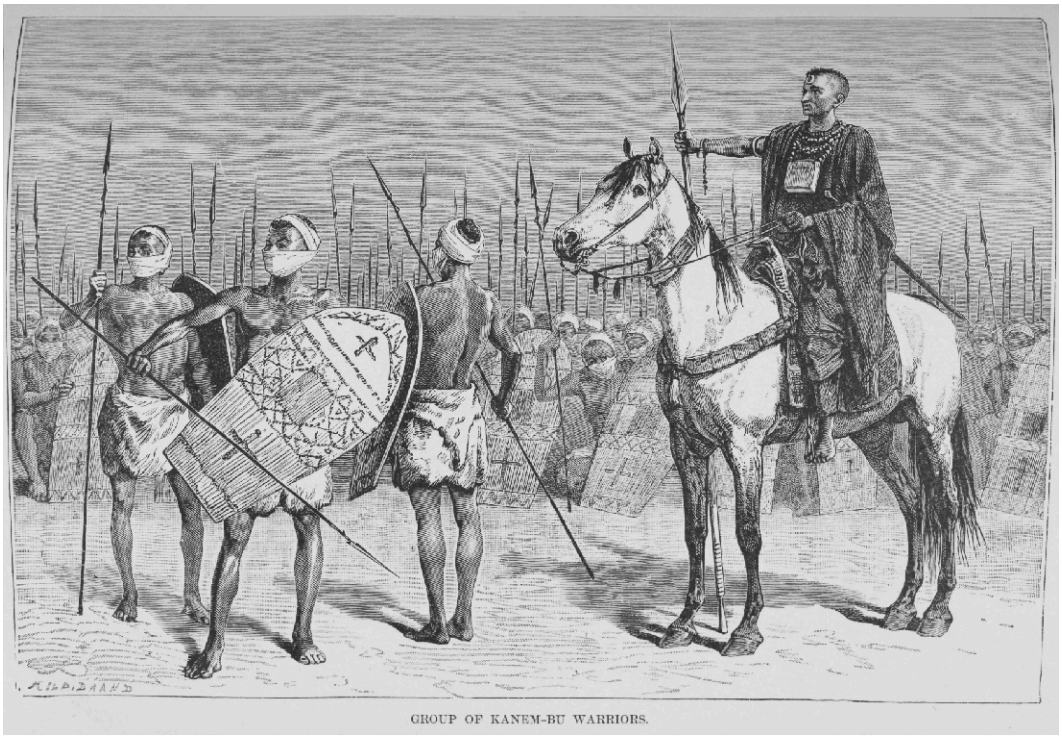


FIGURE 3.22 The Military Might of Kanem-Bornu. Kanem warriors in the sixteenth century routinely raided nearby communities in Central Sudan to capture prisoners they sold to European slave traders. This image comes from *The Earth and Its Inhabitants,* published in Europe in the 1890s. (credit: "Group of Kanem-Bu warriors" by New York Public Library Digital Gallery/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Kanem-Bornu peaked under Aloma, whose administrative and military reforms survived to sustain the empire for more than one hundred years. By the end of the sixteenth century, however, the empire's power had begun to fade. A century later, the state's capacity to maintain its territorial integrity had diminished so severely that the king's rule extended effectively only westward, into Hausaland (present-day northern Nigeria). In the space of a hundred years, Fulani from West Africa had made significant inroads against Bornu, and in 1808, they seized the capital of Ngazargamu. The last Sefuwa king was killed in 1846, but Africa's longest-lived empire managed to continue under new rulers until nearly the end of the nineteenth century.

The Arrival of Europeans

Europeans had long known that there were three ancient trade routes through the Saharan Desert. In the western Sahara, the route ran from Taghaza to Timbuktu. Farther east, a second route connected the oasis town of Ghadames with trade centers in Hausaland. Finally, there was a route connecting the major Mediterranean port city of Tripoli with Bornu in the Central African interior. Centuries of caravan trade along these routes had not, however, made them any less hazardous. Thus, those who knew the routes and the location of key cities and oases, and who appreciated the inherent risks of Saharan weather patterns, were in the best position to control and profit from trans-Saharan trade. It was therefore in the best interest of the Muslim and Arab travelers and caravanners who possessed this knowledge to monopolize it. To share it would undercut their profits. Consequently, European maps of the African interior remained sketchy; distances were mere estimates, and the locations of important cities such as Timbuktu and Kano were a matter of guesswork. Add to this the threat of raids and the possibility of a hostile merchant population, and to Europeans the undertaking of a trans-Saharan journey by themselves seemed likely to be disastrous.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, pressures mounted on European powers to boost their sources of national wealth—an urgency inflamed by the discovery of the Americas and the expense of traveling and setting up competing colonies there. Increasingly, European states desired to circumvent the

intermediaries who controlled the trade in exotic luxury goods and vital raw materials, such as Chinese silk, Indonesian spices, and African gold. It was no easy matter to wrest control from these merchants, whose monopolies were often supported by kingdoms and states that benefited from it. The challenge was quite severe for poorer European states, such as Portugal.

When the Portuguese began their voyages along the West African coast, their immediate goal was not to discover a new trading route to India; rather, it was to secure West African gold. Europeans had been aware of the region's goldfields since the fourteenth century, when Sudanic gold had been imported as a raw material to mint European coins. By the mid-fifteenth century, the Portuguese had made inroads along the Senegambian coast, raiding Amazigh settlements on the island of Arguin (an extension of the trans-Saharan trade routes), taking captives to be enslaved on Iberian plantations, and exploring along the Senegal and Gambia Rivers in search of sources of gold. These ventures mark some of the earliest attempts at direct European involvement in trans-Saharan trade.

The Portuguese monarchy also hired explorers such as Alvise Cadamosto, a Venetian slaver sent to scout the region of Senegambia. These efforts gave the Portuguese an opportunity to develop a clearer sense of the scope of trans-Saharan trade, including interactions with the Wolof, who sold enslaved people along the interior trade routes in West Africa. A few decades after Cadamosto had met the vassal kings of Mali in the Gambia region, the Portuguese established Elmina ("the mine"), a fort on the African coast south of the Akan goldfields. Located in present-day Ghana, Elmina was a fortified trading post from which the Portuguese traded copper, brass, and cloth with Africans for Akan gold. The mines at Akan also relied on enslaved workers, whom the Portuguese bought from Benin and then sold to Mande-speaking Dyula traders. By the turn of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese had also entered West Africa's cowrie-shell currency market, providing shells along with luxury goods to the regional market in exchange for still more gold. Progressively, they diverted traffic away from the centuries-old trans-Saharan trade routes and along the West African coast.

The Portuguese first laid eyes on São Tomé and Príncipe, a pair of islands in the Gulf of Guinea, in the 1470s. By 1500, they had successfully settled both, which were prized for their strategic location off the West African coast and for their tropical climate and volcanic soil, ideal for planting and harvesting sugar. It was not long before large-scale sugar plantations sprang up on the islands and the Portuguese entrenched themselves in the Gulf of Guinea. The production of sugar is a notoriously labor-intensive process and requires a huge workforce. African chiefdoms and coastal intermediaries had demonstrated to the Portuguese their willingness to sell captives whom the Europeans could enslave as laborers where needed. Indeed, as the plantation economy on São Tomé expanded, its need for slave labor grew. By the early sixteenth century, the island was Europe's single largest sugar supplier and home to a vast enslaved workforce, which the settlers obtained from Elmina.

Less than forty years elapsed between the Portuguese settlement of São Tomé and Príncipe and the first trans-Atlantic voyages of African captives who were sold into slavery in the Americas. Recognizing an opportunity to profit, chiefs on the African mainland engaged in raids against their neighbors to generate captives they could sell to the Europeans—first to the Portuguese and later to the Dutch, Spanish, French, and English. As competition rose among the European powers to establish trading posts along the West African coast, tensions flared among African polities as they either engaged in or resisted the growing trade in enslaved people.

Then, when Songhai, the largest and most powerful of the Sudanic kingdoms in the sixteenth century, was shattered by the Moroccan army at the Battle of Tondibi (1591), the situation in West Africa was permanently altered. Without a powerful central authority, a host of small states emerged whose chiefs saw the benefits of dealing directly with wealthy Europeans rather than through the centuries-old system of caravan trade. These developments resulted in a dramatic change in the size and scope of the trade in enslaved Africans, from a few thousand people in the sixteenth century to tens of thousands in the seventeenth, and for much of the next century, an average of about forty-five thousand people per year.

LINK TO LEARNING

Learn more about the trans-Atlantic slave trade (https://openstax.org/l/77SlaveTrade) as presented by National Museums Liverpool. Also learn about the role played by Europeans in the trade and life in West Africa before the trade.

The Later Trans-Saharan Slave Trade

Africa was transformed during the eighteenth century. This period witnessed the emergence of expansionist new states in West Africa, such as Dahomey and Segou, whose wars of conquest generated captives for European slavers. It also saw a sharp rise in conflict between African states and related growth in the trade in enslaved captives. Such growth came at the expense of the historical trans-Saharan trade network, which was disrupted and reoriented to prioritize the traffic in captive human cargo destined for coastal slave markets. While the overall numbers varied by location, the general trend was an increase in the number of captives being moved along the trans-Saharan corridors during the eighteenth century. This trade did more than benefit merchants; in many instances, it provided a boon to businesses and firms related to the slave trade that were located at trans-Saharan trading centers. The societies as a whole did not benefit, however, nor did the people who were enslaved. As a result of this altered state of affairs, the scope of the trans-Saharan trade in enslaved people doubled between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to an estimated 900,000 enslaved people.

The development of the trading state of Whydah provides a unique window into these dynamics. Situated in the Bight of Benin on the Gulf of Guinea, along what came to be called the **Slave Coast**, Whydah was transformed with the arrival of the Europeans in West Africa in the fifteenth century (Figure 3.23). By the seventeenth century, the French West India Company had moved its main trading site to Whydah, making it one of the region's most important slave ports, second only to Luanda in Angola. By the end of the century, the Dutch West India Company, the English Royal African Company, and the Portuguese all had moved their slave markets to Whydah. Several of these European powers went on to establish coastal trading forts there. Between 1650 and 1690, the number of captives brought to Whydah in caravans increased dramatically, from about one thousand people per year to about ten thousand. It is estimated that in the quarter-century between 1700 and 1725, fully a third of all captives coming from Africa—approximately 378,000 of them—were taken out of Whydah.

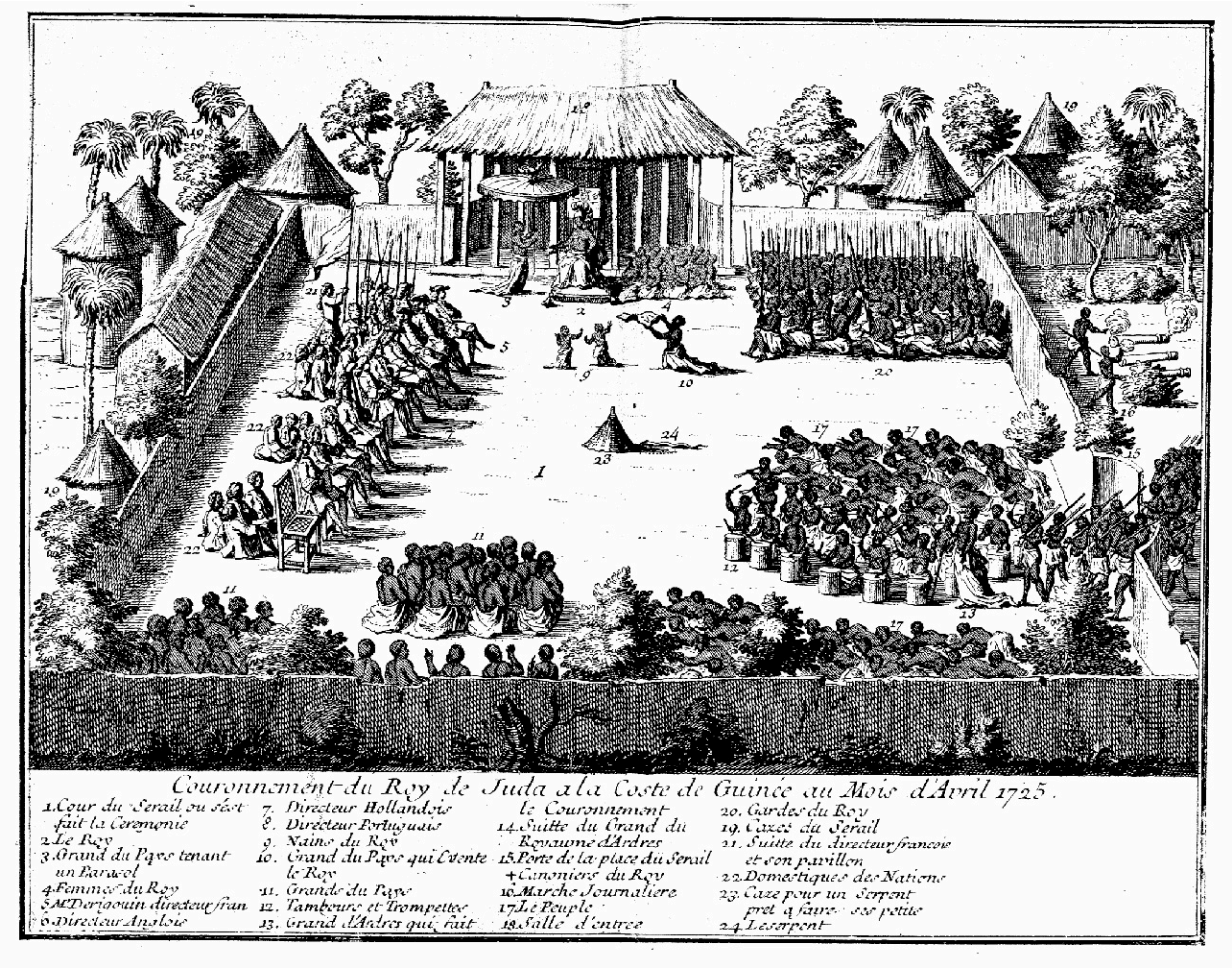


FIGURE 3.23 Crowning a King on the Slave Coast. The kings of Whydah had a very close relationship with the European slavers who established trading centers along the Gulf of Guinea. In this French etching from about 1725, a new king is crowned before an audience that includes Europeans. (credit: "Coronation ceremony for the King of Whydah" by Gallica/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Whydah's flourishing trade in enslaved people did not result from wars waged by its own rulers, but from its location at the end point of trade routes between battling factions. One route originated from the former Mali Empire. Some captives from there wore Muslim clothing and had been in transit for three months before arriving in Whydah. Another route originated in the Yoruba kingdom of Oyo, which was engaged in a series of wars against the neighboring kingdoms of Nupe and Borgu. The value of enslaved captives passing through Whydah was enormous, and the slave trade benefited both the African slave merchants and the state, which was entitled to customs duties and taxes. From providing porterage services to supplying food and other necessities that made the trade possible, local businesses also profited from the sale of enslaved people. As elsewhere, the transport and sale of captives into slavery produced a profitable economy for virtually everyone involved, except for the enslaved people.

In 1727, King Agaja of Dahomey conquered the kingdom of Whydah and incorporated it into his own (Figure 3.24). The fall of Whydah was part of a larger campaign by Agaja to restore traditional social and political controls over the region, which was then home to several smaller Aja kingdoms including Dahomey. By 1737, Agaja had conquered the entire Slave Coast and brought it under Dahomey's control. However, initially Dahomey was reluctant to continue the practice of selling Africans to Europeans. This was not to the liking of the kingdom of Oyo, whose foreign trade depended on it. By the middle of the century, near-constant warfare against Oyo, which disrupted interior trade routes and hurt both kingdoms economically, convinced the rulers

of Dahomey to abandon their reluctance. They opted instead to exercise strict royal control over the Slave Coast trade. Dahomey went on to become one of the major exporters of enslaved captives, which the state traded in exchange for firearms. By the end of the century, Dahomey had become one of the most heavily armed and militarized states in West Africa.

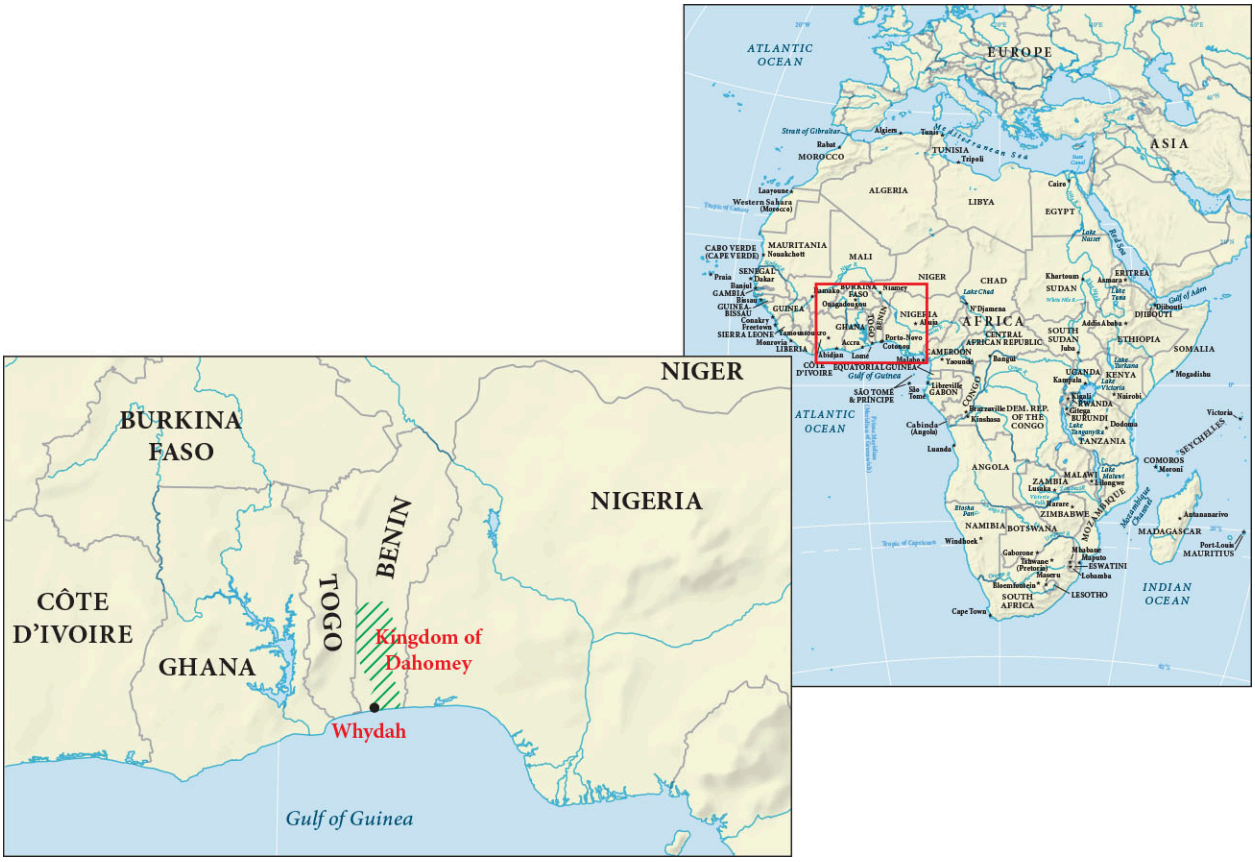


FIGURE 3.24 The Slave Coast. New states like Whydah and Dahomey emerged along the Gulf of Guinea coast in the eighteenth century. These states were formed primarily as a result of the European slave trade, which is why this coastal region was known as the Slave Coast. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

As Agaja and his successors extended their control over the Gulf of Guinea, the frontier of the slave trade on the West African coast was pushed deeper into the African interior, beyond the kingdoms that ranged along the Senegambia. It is estimated that well over half the captives taken and sold during the eighteenth century came from the far interior, many from the Kingdom of Segou, located southwest of Djenné on the Middle Niger in Mali.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Olaudah Equiano Describes the Slave Trade

Olaudah Equiano was born in the eighteenth century in what is now Nigeria. When he was a child, he and his sister were kidnapped and sold to European slave traders. After many years of enslavement in the Caribbean and the southern British mainland colonies, he obtained his freedom, settled in London where he advocated for abolition, and wrote an account of his life. In the excerpts that follow, he describes what he knew of slavery as a child in Africa. As you read, note how people came to be enslaved and the place of enslaved people in Equiano's society.

> [The markets] are sometimes visited by stout, mahogany-colored men from the southwest of us; we call them Oye-Eboe, which term signifies red men living at a distance. They generally bring us fire-arms, gunpowder, hats, beads, and dried fish . . . . These articles they barter with us for odoriferous woods and earth, and our salt of wood-ashes. They always carry slaves through our land but the strictest account is exacted of their manner of procuring them before they are suffered to pass. Sometimes indeed we sold slaves to them but they were only prisoners of war, or such among us as had been convicted of kidnapping, or adultery, and some other crimes which we esteemed heinous . . . .
>
> When our people go out to till their land they not only go in a body but generally take their arms with them for fear of a surprise, and when they apprehend an invasion they guard the avenues to their dwellings by driving sticks into the ground which are so sharp at one end as to pierce the foot and are generally [dipped] in poison. From what I can recollect of these battles, they appear to have been irruptions of one little state or district on the other, to obtain prisoners or booty. Perhaps they were incited to this by those traders who brought the European goods I mentioned among us . . . . Those prisoners which were not sold or redeemed we kept as slaves but how different was their condition from that of the slaves in the West Indies! With us they do no more work than other members of the community, even their master. Their food, clothing, and lodging were nearly the same as theirs, except that they were not permitted to eat with those who were free born, . . . Some of these slaves have even slaves under them as their own property and for their own use . . . .
>
> Generally, when the grown people in the neighborhood were gone far in the fields to labor, the children assembled together in some of the neighbors' premises to play, and commonly some of us used to get up a tree to look out for any assailant or kidnapper that might come upon us, for they sometimes took these opportunities of our parents' absence to attack and carry off as many as they could seize . . . .
>
> —Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African: Written by Himself*

- According to Equiano, how did Africans come to be enslaved?
- How common was it for Africans to enslave other Africans? How did Africans treat the people they enslaved?
- What role did Europeans play in the trade?

Founded by Mamari Kulubali in 1712, Segou made warfare a way of life. The Segou kingdom's economy was trade based, and its essential trade good was enslaved people the state acquired through raiding and warfare waged against its neighbors. These incursions reached as far as north as the Niger Bend and Timbuktu, which the Segou briefly occupied. Once captured, those seized by the Segou military faced two possible fates: they could be sold to desert nomads as part of the trans-Saharan slave trade, or they could be sold to caravan merchants who dealt with European slave traders on the Slave Coast.

Although perhaps most pronounced in West Africa, the altered dynamics of trans-Saharan trade in enslaved people in the eighteenth century were also apparent in North Africa. Scholars have estimated that the Maghreb, encompassing Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya, received an average of six thousand enslaved Africans every year between 1700 and 1799. About fourteen hundred enslaved people a year passed through Ghadames and the oases center of the Fezzan in Libya, both historically vital to the trans-Saharan trade between Central Sudan and Tripoli. But by midcentury, these centers—also the destination points for some caravans from West African trade centers such as Timbuktu—were sending larger caravans of captives to the markets at Tripoli. By the end of the eighteenth century, the numbers of the enslaved bound for market along the Mediterranean coast had increased by as much as a quarter, making the trade in enslaved Africans through Tripoli a key component of the region's economy.

Key Terms

caliph an Islamic title designating a spiritual and secular leader
dhow a ship made of coconut-wood planks sewn together with coconut fiber and equipped with lateen sails
lateen sail a triangular-shaped sail that allows a boat to sail both with and into the wind
Slave Coast a section of African coast along the Bight of Benin, centered on the port city of Whydah and a major source of African people sold into slavery
Sudanic a term describing the region of West Africa south of the Sahara Desert
Swahili a language that combines the grammar of African Bantu languages with a Bantu and Arabic vocabulary and is spoken in East Africa

Section Summary

3.1 The Roots of African Trade

Until the sixteenth century, caravans routinely plied the sands of the Sahara, moving goods, especially gold, from distant West Africa to centers of trade in North Africa and Egypt. Towns in West Africa became cosmopolitan stopping points, and as merchants, rulers, and caravan leaders converted to Islam for both spiritual and financial reasons, Islam flourished alongside the caravan business. In the thirteenth century, Sundiata Keita gained dominance over the Malinke and Soninke people, establishing the Malian Empire. Mali's control of the Bure goldfields enabled it to prosper, and cities such as Timbuktu and Djenné became centers of Islamic scholarship. The empire grew weaker following the death of Mansa Musa. It was unable to withstand raids by the Mossi and Tuareg nomads or revolts by some of its subject cities. Although the rulers of Mali were able to negotiate peace terms with Portuguese slave traders in the mid-fifteenth century, they were unable to retain such vital trade centers as Gao, Timbuktu, and Djenné.

3.2 The Songhai Empire

The basis of the Songhai Empire's wealth was much the same as for the kingdoms that preceded it: salt, cloth, and gold. Sunni Ali's program of annexation greatly expanded Songhai. Growth continued under his successors, especially Askia the Great, who used Islam to further his control and brought Songhai into its golden age. Not only did its rulers consolidate state control over trans-Saharan trade, but they also made the empire an unparalleled center of Islamic learning and study in West Africa. The great cities of Timbuktu and Djenné drew merchants and traders engaged in the caravan trade from across Africa, while their grand mosques and schools made them magnets for pilgrims and scholars from across the Islamic world. Askia the Great's successors could not maintain control of the empire, however, and in the sixteenth century, Songhai was defeated by Saadi forces from Morocco seeking to gain control of the trans-Saharan caravan routes.

3.3 The Swahili Coast

City-states on the east coast of Africa grew in size and prosperity as they took advantage of wind patterns to participate in Indian Ocean trade. Their people were united by a shared religion, Islam, and a shared language, Swahili. Products from the interior of the African continent were sold by the Swahili traders to merchants from Arabia, Persia, and India. In exchange, they purchased goods from India, Southeast Asia, and China. Enslaved Africans were also sold in the Swahili city-states.

The most powerful of the states was Kilwa, which had grown wealthy through its control of the gold-rich city of Sofala. When the Portuguese arrived in the late fifteenth century, they attempted to leverage the cities' discontent with Kilwa's dominance to gain control of the region's trade, but a Somali-Ottoman alliance and the Omani Sultanate ultimately drove them from all the city-states except Mozambique.

3.4 The Trans-Saharan Slave Trade

Kanem-Bornu, which dominated Central Sudan and maintained an active caravan trade with the states of North Africa in the thirteenth century, was destabilized by revolts and rebellions in the fourteenth century. Although it regained preeminence in the sixteenth century, by the end of that century, its power was at an end.

The collapse of both Songhai and Kanem-Bornu allowed emergent polities like Dahomey, Oyo, and Segou to flourish, but tensions soon arose among them as competition for trade escalated. As warfare became commonplace, trans-Saharan trade was severely disrupted.

At the same time, European powers such as Portugal began making steady inroads into African trade, establishing trading posts along the coasts in regions like Whydah. By the eighteenth century, the European demand for enslaved captives and the desire of African chiefs to exploit opportunities for financial gain reoriented trans-Saharan trade away from traditional markets, such as those along the Mediterranean coast, to coastal West Africa, with new emphasis on the acquisition and transport of captives. Many of the coastal states became little more than arteries through which passed the caravans of captives destined for the markets of European slavers.

Assessments

Review Questions

1. Why was the camel important to trans-Saharan trade?
   a. Its obstinate nature makes it hard for handlers to control.
   b. It produces a fine wool that can be spun into luxurious textiles.
   c. Its milk is used to produce cheese, an important source of protein.
   d. Its biological advantages made regular long-distance trade in the Sahara possible.

2. How did the widespread adoption of Islam help facilitate trans-Saharan trade?
   a. by giving Muslim merchants, traders, and caravanners a shared set of customs, laws, traditions, and language
   b. by making the caravan trade the exclusive vocation of Tuareg Berber nomads
   c. by opening the markets of the pilgrimage route between Niani and Kilwa
   d. by causing conflict between dissident Muslim groups, thereby opening competing markets for new manufactured goods

3. In addition to gold and salt, what two other types of goods were regularly exported from Africa?
   a. obsidian and cobalt
   b. hides and cotton
   c. textiles and enslaved people
   d. ivory and sugar

4. In the mid-fifteenth century, who purchased enslaved people from Mali on the Senegambia coast?
   a. French
   b. Portuguese
   c. British
   d. Dutch

5. What were some of the key exports from Songhai?
   a. kola nuts, salt, and gold
   b. hides, jewels, and enslaved people
   c. ceramics, cloth, and horses
   d. enslaved people, pottery, and weapons

6. What were Timbuktu and Djenné renowned as?
   a. centers of religious pilgrimage
   b. river port cities at the confluence of the Senegal and Gambia Rivers
   c. types of calligraphy used by Islamic clerics

d. centers of Islamic learning and religious scholarship, as well as trans-Saharan trade

7. What was the capital of the Songhai Empire?
a. Kano
b. Djenné
c. Gao
d. Taghaza

8. Why didn't the trading ports of the Swahili coast extend along the full length of the coast of Africa?
a. Hostile tribes in the south kept merchants from establishing cities.
b. Tropical diseases in the south made it too dangerous for people to live there.
c. The southern part of the coast had been colonized by the French.
d. The seas there were too rough for the dhows and the monsoon winds too weak.

9. What trade item was produced in the Swahili city-states?
a. glassware
b. gold
c. pottery
d. silverware

10. What was the source of most of the enslaved people who were traded on the Swahili coast?
a. the interior of the African continent
b. Eastern Europe
c. the Arabian Peninsula
d. the Swahili city-states

11. Which Swahili city-state came to dominate the southern part of the coast, trading in gold with Sofala?
a. Mogadishu
b. Kilwa
c. Mombasa
d. Zanzibar

12. The Kanem-Bornu Empire was able to maintain its control over the slave trade partly through military innovations, including weapons imported from _____.
a. North Africa
b. Portugal
c. the Slave Coast
d. the Songhai Empire

13. By the eighteenth century, what was the main slave trading center on the West African coast?
a. Timbuktu
b. Bornu
c. Whydah
d. Gao

14. Located in modern-day Ghana, _____ was a flourishing center of the _____ trade beginning in the sixteenth century.
a. Benin, sugar
b. Togo, salt
c. Elmina, slave

d. São Tomé, copper

Check Your Understanding Questions

1. In what way(s) did Islam provide a sense of cultural unity and protection to caravans?
2. How did sub-Saharan African rulers respond to the arrival of Islam?
3. What role did Islam play in helping the rulers of Songhai consolidate their control?
4. In what ways did civil war affect the Songhai Empire after the reign of Askia the Great?
5. How did the Swahili coast city-states take advantage of wind patterns in the Indian Ocean?
6. What African commodities entered the Indian Ocean trade through the Swahili city-states?
7. Where did enslaved Africans sold in the Swahili coast city-states primarily go, and for what kinds of labor were they used?
8. In what ways did Islam shape the slave trade?
9. What position did the kingdom of Dahomey take regarding the slave trade with Europe, and how and why did it change?
10. To what extent did Africans benefit from the slave trade with Europe?

Application and Reflection Questions

1. In what ways might trans-Saharan trade have actually benefited from the physical environment of the Sahara?
2. Of all the factors that led to the collapse of the Empire of Mali, which would you argue was the most important? Why?
3. Consider the responsibility of political leaders toward intellectual centers like Timbuktu and Djenné. Do governments have an obligation to promote culture and learning or just to ensure economic and political stability? Explain your answer.
4. What factors led to the collapse of the Songhai Empire? What role did external forces play in its collapse?
5. How did the Islamic identity of the Swahili coast connect it to other parts of the Islamic world? In what ways was the practice of Islam on the Swahili coast different from the practice of Islam elsewhere?
6. How did the mixed African-Arab ancestry of most merchants in the Swahili city-states facilitate trade?
7. In what ways did trade in West Africa change as a result of the arrival of European traders in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries?
8. What might have been some of the effects of the trade in enslaved Africans on the communities from which they were taken?

The Islamic World

4



FIGURE 4.1 Vienna in 1529. Sultan Suleiman I's attempted conquest of Vienna in 1529, the year before this panoramic map of the city was made, sent shockwaves across Europe. The building in the center of this detail view is St. Stephen's Cathedral, which served as an informal headquarters for the defense of the city. (credit: modification of work "Panoramic view of Vienna during the first Turkish siege, 1529" by Vienna Museum/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

CHAPTER OUTLINE

4.1 A Connected Islamic World
4.2 The Ottoman Empire
4.3 The Safavid Empire

INTRODUCTION In 1526, the Ottoman armies of Sultan Suleiman "the Magnificent" defeated the Hungarians at the Battle of Mohacs, setting the stage for a showdown with the Habsburgs, the rulers of Austria, at Vienna. In May 1529, Suleiman's army of approximately 100,000 soldiers set out from the Black Sea through the spring rains for the culmination of Ottoman expansion into central Europe under his reign. Though somewhat weakened by the loss of equipment to heavier-than-expected rain, they reached the walls of Vienna in September and began the siege. Despite being greatly outnumbered, however, the Viennese defenders were able to repulse each of the Ottoman advances (Figure 4.1).

Eventually, Suleiman was forced to admit defeat and retreat to Constantinople, the former capital of the Byzantine Empire that was also commonly referred to as Istanbul (Greek for "to the city"). Although the 1529 siege of Vienna was a failure for the Ottomans, their bold move greatly alarmed kingdoms across Europe. It also led Suleiman to direct his attention east toward Iran and control of Mesopotamia, areas he thought more important for the security of his existing territory. By the end of his life in 1566, the Ottoman Empire was near

the height of its power and territorial control. However, it was not the only large Muslim state to dominate Eurasia. The Safavids in Iran also expanded Islamic military, political, and economic power in the region we call the Middle East.

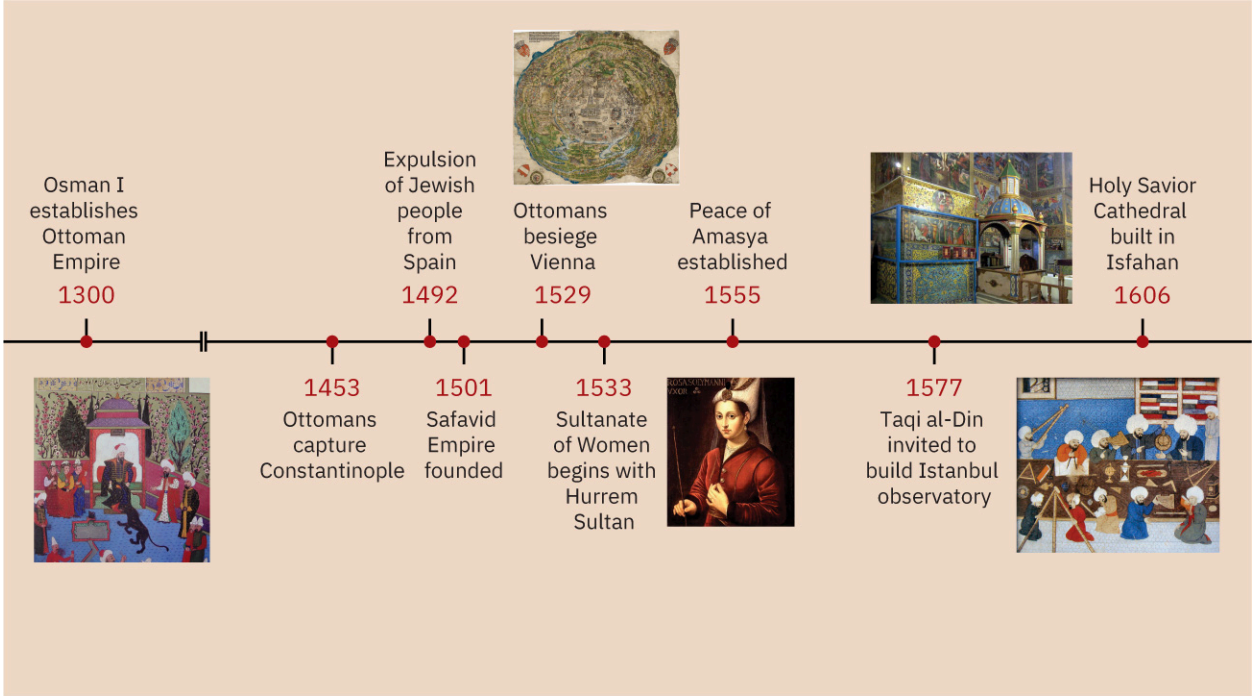


FIGURE 4.2 Timeline: The Islamic World. (credit "1300": modification of work "Osman Gazi (I)" by Seyid Lockman/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1529": modification of work "Panoramic view of Vienna during the first Turkish siege, 1529" by Vienna Museum/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1533": modification of work "Portrait of Roxelana, Khourrem" by Jak Amran Collection, Istanbul/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1577" modification of work "Istambul observatory in 1577" by Cahiers de Science et Vie No114/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1606" modification of work "Armenian Frescoes" by David Stanley/Flickr, CC BY 2.0)



FIGURE 4.3 Locator Map: The Islamic World. (credit: modification of work "World map blank shorelines" by Maciej Jaros/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

4.1 A Connected Islamic World

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify the factors that characterized and often united the Muslim *ummah* after 1500
- Explain the relationships among politics, religion, technology, and trade in the Islamic world after 1500
- Analyze the impact of Islamic political and legal institutions on the larger Muslim community

Beginning with its emergence during the life of the prophet Muhammad at the beginning of the seventh century CE, the religion of Islam spread far and wide for several centuries and led to the establishment of several **caliphates**, areas under the control of Muslim rulers called caliphs. Early expansion occurred largely through conquests, such as those undertaken by the Prophet himself, the Rashidun Caliphate (the name given to the rule of the four caliphs who succeeded Muhammad), and the Umayyad Caliphate, which emerged decades after Muhammad's death and was ruled by the Umayyad dynasty based in Syria. These conquests expanded the ***ummah***, or the community of Muslims, into Iran, Spain, and the vast lands in between.

In 750, the Umayyad Caliphate succumbed to rebellion and gave way to the Abbasid Caliphate. This dynastic transformation not only led to the elevation of Baghdad as the capital of the Abbasid world, but it also brought with it a larger political division in the Islamic world. The Umayyads in Spain refused to recognize the new Abbasid rulers and eventually established their own rival caliphate. In the centuries that followed, other parts of the Islamic world did the same. By the year 1000, there were three rival caliphates: the Sunni Abbasids ruling from Baghdad, the Shi'ite Fatimids ruling from Cairo, and a rival Sunni caliphate, the Umayyads, ruling from Cordoba in Spain.

Over the next few centuries, a combination of trade and conquest expanded the *ummah* into West Africa and India. The arrival of the Mongols in the thirteenth century resulted in increased expansion but also the end of the Abbasid Caliphate in 1258. During the following few hundred years, the rise of the Ottoman Empire brought a larger Islamic presence to southeastern Europe, and the Safavids came to power in Iran. (The land

once called Persia became known as Iran during the Abbasid era, although foreigners still commonly referred to it as Persia until the twentieth century.) Steady Islamic trade in the Indian Ocean also expanded Islam into Southeast Asia. By 1500, the Islamic world was geographically expansive and politically, ethnically, and linguistically very diverse.

Politics and Religion in the *Ummah*

In the sixteenth century, the *ummah* was composed of a number of large and small Islamic empires and states. Among the large empires were the Mughal Empire of India (discussed in India and International Connections), the Safavid Empire of Iran, and the Ottoman Empire of the Mediterranean. There were many more small kingdoms in places like Morocco, Indonesia, the Swahili Coast, and parts of central Asia. However, despite this political fragmentation, the various parts of the larger Islamic world maintained an element of cohesiveness derived largely from their religion. Rival Islamic kingdoms might disagree with each other on issues of official doctrine or politics, but members of the ***ulama***, a class of religious clerics and scholars who act as the primary interpreters of Islamic law, engaged in scholarly debates and collaborated with each other through correspondence. Shared basic beliefs and a reverence for the teachings of Muhammad united all Muslims. Religious and political institutions tended to maintain a similar structure and function in different locations: judges oversaw legal and religious disputes, and the *ulama* advised political rulers and ordinary citizens alike on policy by issuing nonbinding legal opinions called *fatwas*. In this way, the *ulama* helped unify the increasingly diverse Islamic world.

Also helping to expand and unify Islam were communities of Islamic mystics called Sufis. Like mystics in other religions, Sufis engaged in ascetic practices, meditation, and ritual prayer in order to have a personal experience with God and directly gain access to divine love and wisdom. Often they used music, poetry, and dancing to transcend their connection to the world and enter a trance-like state in which they could experience the divine presence. Sufism began in the seventh century, during the Umayyad Caliphate. By the sixteenth century, Sufi orders had been established throughout the Islamic world. These orders, often described as "brotherhoods" even though some admitted women, formed around a leader who also served as the group's religious teacher. Sufis who achieved a special closeness with God were revered as saints, and their graves became sites of pilgrimage. Because Sufi practices often attracted the attention of ordinary people for whom complex theological treatises and abstruse legal debates held little interest, Sufis helped introduce Islam to places as far-flung as North and West Africa, central Asia, and India and served as missionaries of the expanding religion.

Through a combination of imperial conquest, trade, Sufi missionary work, and migration, by 1500 the religion of Islam had expanded far and wide. As Muslims migrated to other lands, they usually established familiar Islamic religious institutions in their new communities. This provided a level of consistency for local people as well as for travelers, traders, and visitors. It also facilitated movement and exchange within the Islamic world and helped to unify Muslims as individual polities rose, fell, and were replaced. The result was a great geographic and ethnic diversity of the faith, and in places like India and Indonesia, new converts blended Islamic practices with indigenous traditions (Figure 4.4). Throughout the Islamic world, Arabic script was also adapted to write the local languages, such as Kurdish, Pashto, Urdu, and Punjabi.



FIGURE 4.4 Blended Architecture. Islamic architecture in Southeast Asia blended earlier religious architectural traditions with those of Islam. For example, at the Menara Kudus Mosque in Java, the red brick of this minaret (the tower from which the call to prayer is made) reflects the local Hindu-Buddhist architectural style. (credit: "Masjid Menara Kudus" by "PL09Puryono"/Wikimedia Commons, CC0 1.0)

Not everyone exposed to Islam or incorporated into the Islamic world adopted Islam. Many Christians in southeastern Europe and southwest Asia continued to practice their religion within the larger Islamic environment. The expansion of Islam into India occasionally invigorated Hinduism and other religions there. While allowed to practice their religions, people in these non-Muslim communities granted protection by Muslim rulers, called ***dhimmis***, were required to acknowledge the sovereignty of Muslim leadership. The *dhimmi* system was intended to provide religious minorities with official standing within the Muslim community and grant them legal protection, but it usually also included some restrictions on their public lives, such as their clothing choices, and it limited the jobs they could hold and thus their social mobility. The most common hardship was the *jizya*, or poll tax (Figure 4.5).

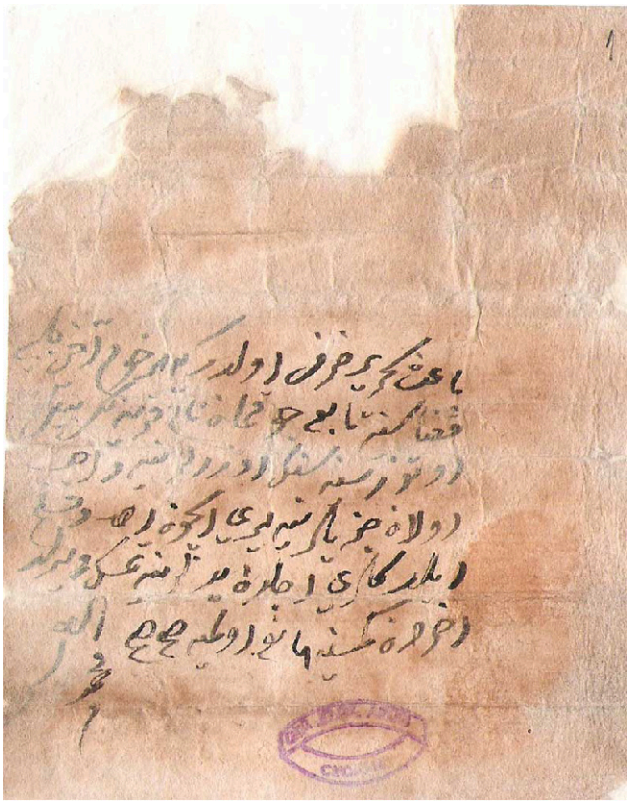


FIGURE 4.5 A Muslim Tax Receipt. This receipt issued in 1615 confirms that the inhabitants of an Ottoman village in Bulgaria have paid the *jizya* tax. (credit: "Jizya document Chokmanovo 1615" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Life was often harder for *dhimmis* than for Muslims of the same social class, and non-Muslims in many places converted to improve their social standing and chances for upward mobility. Merchants often converted to Islam to gain access to Islamic trading networks and potential business partners. Non-Muslim men seeking to marry Muslim women, whether for love or to gain connections to a prominent family, were required to convert. Christian and Jewish women could marry Muslim men without converting, but a Muslim woman could marry only a Muslim man.

Islamic Trade Networks

Islam had arisen in a region defined by trade and travel. Many prominent early Muslims, including Muhammad himself, were traders or members of trading families. And thanks to the institutional continuity specified under **sharia**, Islamic religious law, trade soon became closely regulated, the taxes levied on imported goods were systematized, and markets were inspected and administered in the same way throughout the Islamic world. By the sixteenth century, the flags of Islam flew from Spain and Morocco in the west to the gates of China in the east. However, these territories were not unified under one political leader. Instead, what brought them together into one collective *ummah* despite their political, ethnic, and linguistic differences was a network based on trade and travel, which carried Islam farther than its armies ever could.

Trade routes crisscrossed the larger Islamic world, connecting far-flung regions. By sea, Muslim merchants traded from India and Southeast Asia (especially the country of Indonesia) to East Africa, Egypt, and the Arabian Peninsula. Muslims in central Asia and China traded overland with merchants in Iran, East and North Africa, and the Balkans. Caravans crossing the Sahara extended trade into West Africa. Along these trade routes traveled merchants, missionaries, scholars, and many others. Their movement facilitated not only the expansion of Islam but also the spread of languages like Arabic and Persian, which became the languages of commerce, scholarship, and literary expression. It also allowed for the flow and exchange of new technologies,

ideas, precious metals, writing and numerical systems, and a great variety of agricultural products once available only in small corners of the world (Figure 4.6).

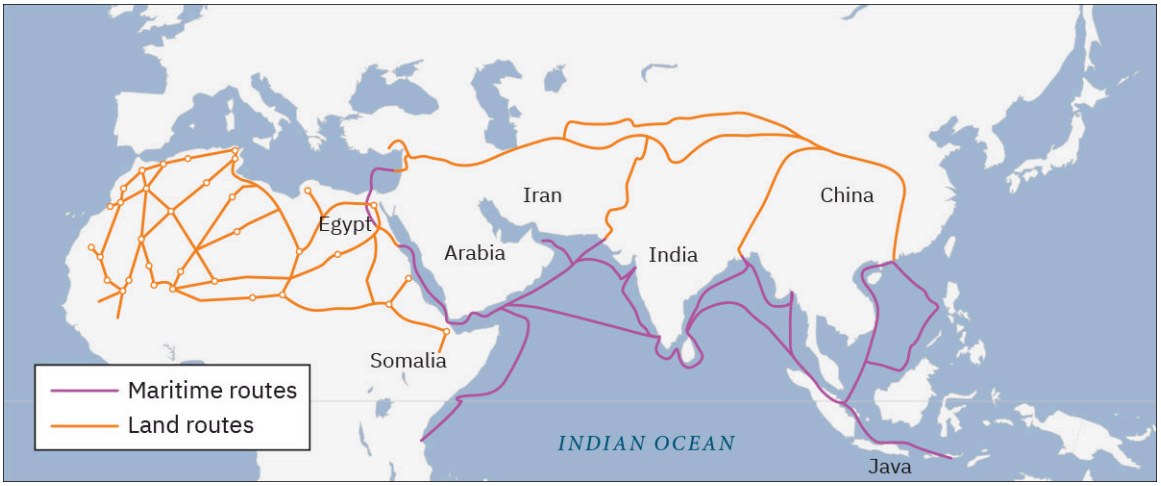


FIGURE 4.6 Muslim Trade Routes. Muslim merchants conducted trade over a vast territory, dominating land routes in central Asia, Iran, and the Ottoman Empire. Sailors from India, Yemen, and Iran participated in a thriving Indian Ocean trade. (credit: modification of work "World map blank shorelines" by Maciej Jaros/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Dhimmi and other non-Muslim populations were frequently encouraged to participate in trade because of their specializations and contacts in distant areas. Armenian Christians, for example, were heavily involved in the silk trade, and their presence was welcomed in major trade centers. Jewish communities were linked by a trade network they had established between Europe, North Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia. Being exempt from the financial provisions of sharia, which forbade charging interest on loans, Jewish people rose to prominence as moneylenders and bankers, usually serving both Muslim and Christian clients. (Jewish law forbade them to loan money at interest to other Jewish people.) And Muslims traveled and traded widely, guided by Muhammad's often-cited *hadith*, or saying, "Seek knowledge, even unto China."

Islamic communities sprang up along the Silk Roads, the land routes between the Middle East and China, and in other places where Muslim merchants traveled, such as East Africa, West Africa, and India. When merchants established themselves in non-Muslim communities, they often intermarried with the local population, and the children resulting from these marriages were usually raised as Muslims. Members of the existing merchant community often converted to Islam to forge closer relationships with Muslim traders. Once a Muslim community had been established, religious scholars often followed to found mosques, schools, and charitable organizations. In this way, Islam spread throughout Asia, Africa, and the Balkans.

When merchants arrived in a new city, they usually selected a prayer leader, often a member of the *ulama* who also served as a judge. A Muslim market inspector vouched for the accuracy of weights and measures, verified business contracts between Muslim merchants, certified the sizes of loads being shipped out, and ensured that businesses adhered to sharia. The consistency with which Muslim merchants and traders operated was a key advantage of contracting with them to transport goods long distances. Another benefit was the widespread use of letters of credit, which were recognized in other Islamic lands and allowed merchants to travel without carrying large amounts of gold.

Trade earned profits for participating states in two ways. The first was by bringing in direct income from importing and selling goods, including spices, ivory, salt, silks, and other luxury items, as well as enslaved people. Given their central location at the crossroads of Europe, Africa, and Asia, Muslim merchants frequently acted as intermediaries who purchased goods from one area and sold them to merchants from another. The second financial benefit of trade was the receipt of taxes that states levied on goods being transported through their territory.

Given the profit potential of the goods traded, robbers and bandits were a constant threat. Governments thus sponsored inns called **caravansaries** at regular intervals on major trade routes, usually one day's journey apart, where traders could rest and store their goods securely (Figure 4.7). Wealthy individuals might also build caravansaries, providing shelter for travelers as an act of piety. Weak states that could not guarantee security for traders and travelers often found trade routes shifting out of their territory if they became too risky.



FIGURE 4.7 A Medieval Caravansary. This caravansary in Iran was built in the twelfth century and served as a fortified place for travelers to rest. Caravansaries were usually located far from urban centers in areas that were (and still are) quite remote. (credit: modification of work "Ribat-i Sharaf (or Robat-e Sharaf)" by "Rezamosh"/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

LINK TO LEARNING

The influence of caravansaries on trade (https://openstax.org/l/77CaravanTrade) and images of architectural elements of caravansaries (https://openstax.org/l/77CaravanArch) and floor plans are available.

Some caravansaries are still in existence. Check out caravansaries of the Silk Road (https://openstax.org/l/77CaravanSilk) and caravansaries in Turkey (https://openstax.org/l/77CaravanTurk) to learn more.

In addition to the shipment of material goods like agricultural products, precious metals, and spices, the transportation of enslaved people was also facilitated along Islamic trading routes. Since sharia forbids Muslims from enslaving other Muslims, it became common practice to enslave non-Muslims from regions within reach of Islamic slavers. Common sources included North and sub-Saharan Africa, central and eastern Europe, India, and Indonesia. Enslaved people being moved around the Islamic world were traded for a great variety of goods like cloth, pottery, glassware, and precious metals. Muslim traders also acted as intermediaries, passing enslaved people from Africa to merchants in central Asia and Europe, and they were the primary traders engaged in transporting enslaved people across the Sahara Desert (Figure 4.8).



FIGURE 4.8 A Slave Market. This page from the *Maqamat al-Hariri*, a thirteenth-century manuscript illustrated by Yahya ibn Mahmud al-Wasiti, depicts the Zabid slave market in Yemen. (credit: "Slaves Zadib Yemen 13th century" by Bibliothèque Nationale de France/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Within the Islamic world, women outnumbered men among the enslaved two to one. Men were primarily employed in domestic work or service within the estates of the rich, laboring on irrigation projects and in mines or taking care of animals. Most women were kept in wealthy households, where they became domestic servants such as nursemaids or were kept for sexual purposes. Although enslaved people did have legal recourse if mistreated or abused, it was difficult for them to access the courts without the aid of a sympathetic free person. There was no social stigma to prevent a slave owner from recognizing his children with an enslaved woman; the children were born free, and the mother gained her freedom upon the death of her owner.

Muhammad encouraged the freeing of enslaved people, and many Muslims did so. Enslaved men and women were also allowed to purchase their own freedom. This, together with the fact that the children of enslaved women and their owners were born free, meant that it was difficult to maintain a permanently enslaved population in the Islamic world or to make the enslaved population self-reproducing. Those who sought to use enslaved workers thus frequently needed to replenish their labor force by making new purchases, ensuring

that the trade in enslaved people remained important in the Islamic world until the nineteenth century.

Technology in the Islamic World

Despite the absence of centralized political authority, communication across long distances was possible in the Islamic world because Arabic, the language of the Quran, also served for most scholarly and administrative purposes as well as religious ones. Scholars were widely scattered but rarely were they isolated, and most traders carried letters across long distances as part of their cargo. Scientists were thus able to compare their observations, students learned from advisers and mentors in far-off lands, and members of the *ulama* sought counsel from colleagues they might never meet.

Because of the dominance of trade and travel in the Islamic world, scientific and technological innovations that supported these endeavors were especially prized. Mapmaking, for example, was particularly valued. Maps were created by geographers who collected information about the known world through either their own observations or knowledge disseminated by others. For example, in 1513, the Ottoman admiral and cartographer Piri Reis completed a map of the known world (Figure 4.9). To do so, he relied on observations made by Christopher Columbus, Portuguese explorers in India, and several Arab sources. Unfortunately, only about one-third of his map has survived.



FIGURE 4.9 Piri Reis's Map of the World. The only remaining portion of the world map created in 1513 by the Ottoman cartographer Piri Reis shows the Atlantic Ocean bordered by Europe, Africa, and Brazil. (credit: "Map of the world by Ottoman admiral Piri Reis, drawn in 1513" by Library of Topkapi Palace Museum/Wikipedia, Public Domain)

One of the travelers who produced a wealth of geographic information for Islamic mapmakers was Ibn Battuta, a fourteenth-century Moroccan reputed to have traveled more than seventy-three thousand miles during his lifetime. He initially journeyed to Mecca to perform the **hajj**, the Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca, but then decided to continue exploring north and east of Arabia instead of going home. He eventually made his way to China, returning via East Africa and crossing the Sahara to Mali as an envoy of the king of Morocco. Toward the end of his life, Ibn Battuta dictated his memoirs of his travels, which not only were important for mapmakers of his time but also remain a valuable primary source for historians today. Other travelers also produced hajj narratives that pilgrims often used as guides to the lands they passed through.

Beyond developing devices useful for trade and travel, Islamic innovators also devised systems for using location and compass headings to calculate the *qibla*, the direction toward Mecca that Muslims must face while praying. Early methods relied on crude directions ("Mecca is east"), but by the ninth century, mathematical calculations were being used. By the fourteenth century, mathematics had progressed to the degree that Shams al-Din al-Khalili, the official timekeeper of Damascus, applied advanced trigonometry to calculate the

qibla for a range of locations with such precision that today's satellite technology is barely able to improve on it. These and other efforts to fix a person's location on the globe led to advancements in astronomical measurements, as did the need to calculate prayer times each day based on the sun's position in the sky.

Military technology, especially the use of gunpowder, also greatly advanced in this period. Originally developed in China, gunpowder was transmitted to the Islamic world in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, possibly first introduced by the Mongols. By the fifteenth century, the Janissary corps of the Ottoman Empire were using firearms like the arquebus, an early long gun, in battle. And it was the Ottomans who famously used artillery in the siege of Constantinople in 1453. The Ottoman Empire was not the only Islamic state to use and improve upon gunpowder arms. Both the Safavids in Iran and the Mughals in India were famous for their ability to arm their soldiers with firearms like the powerful matchlock rifle (Figure 4.10).



FIGURE 4.10 The Matchlock Rifle. The matchlock, shown here in the arms of a Mughal officer in the sixteenth century, was a powerful and portable firearm used by Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal armies. (credit: "Officer of the Mughal Army, c.1585 (colour litho)" by The Bridgeman Art Library/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In 1974, historians Marshall G. S. Hodgson and William H. McNeill theorized that the adoption of gunpowder technology was what led to the rise of the Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal realms, coining the term "gunpowder empires" as a description of them. Today that theory is largely disputed, but the name has remained. What these empires had in common was their conception of the entire state as a military force, in which all political, economic, and cultural resources were coordinated by the central government to strengthen the army and maintain internal and external security. Their view of the state and their ability to consolidate resources in order to pay for technological advances also enabled these three empires to research, develop, and deploy new military technologies, including firearms and cannon, much more quickly than their enemies did. For more than two centuries, they were among the strongest and most stable economies in the world, and their patronage of art and culture produced works of visual art, architecture, and literature that are still considered among the best ever produced. Collectively, the so-called gunpowder empires earned the awe, envy, respect, and fear of their contemporaries in Europe, Africa, and Asia.

DUELING VOICES

Perspectives on Trade in the Muslim World

An emphasis on how Muslims should conduct business affairs is found in some of the *hadith* or sayings of the prophet Muhammad, himself a trader. Sunni Muslims consider hadiths collected by al-Bukhari, Abu Dawud, and Ibn Majah among the most authentic guides to behavior. Shi'ites place more faith in stories narrated by Muhammad's daughter Fatima and her husband, Muhammad's cousin Ali ibn Abi Talib, whom they recognize as the Prophet's direct successor as leader of the Muslim community.

> There will be three types of people whom Allah will neither speak to them on the Day of Resurrection nor will purify them from sins, and they will have a painful punishment: They are, (1) a man who possesses superfluous water along the road who withholds it from travelers. . . . (3) a man who sells something to another man . . . and swears a false oath that he has been offered so much for it whereupon the buyer believes him and buys it although in fact, the seller has not been offered such a price.
>
> —Sahih al-Bukhari 7212
>
> Hakim asked [Muhammad]: "A man comes to me and wants me to sell him something which is not in my possession. Should I buy it for him from the market?" [Muhammad] replied: "Do not sell what you do not possess."
>
> —Sunan Abi Dawud 3503
>
> Transactions may only be done by mutual consent.
>
> —Ibn Majah Vol. 3, Book 12, Hadith 2185

Almost a millennium later, the philosopher and historian Ibn Khaldun wrote about the importance of governments allowing trade:

> As we have stated, the dynasty is the greatest market, the mother and base of all trade. [It is the market that provides] the substance of income and expenditures [for trade]. If government business slumps and the volume of trade is small, the dependent markets will naturally show the same symptoms, and to a greater degree. Furthermore, money circulates between subjects and ruler, moving back and forth. Now, if the ruler keeps it to himself, it is lost to the subjects. This is how God proceeds with His servants.
>
> —*Muqaddimah*, Chapter 3, section 40

- According to the hadith, what are some of the ethical standards that should govern business? Why do you think these were made part of religious law?
- According to Ibn Khaldun, why is allowing trade important for a government? What would happen if governments restricted it?

4.2 The Ottoman Empire

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Analyze the significance of the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, including the rise of the Sultanate of Women
- Describe the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the nations of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries
- Identify scientific and technological innovations of the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire was the foremost and longest-lived of the Islamic empires of the early modern world. It was formed by a small group of Turkic-speaking warriors assisted by Anatolian and Balkan Christian warlords and their followers at the end of the thirteenth century. For nearly seven hundred years, the Ottoman state lay at the crossroads of Europe, Asia, and Africa, ruling over a population diverse in ethnicity, language, and religion. In 1453, the Ottomans conquered Constantinople. A century later, the city, then called Istanbul, was one of the largest in the world, occupying a prize position on the Bosporus, the sea passage between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and facilitating trade between the Silk Roads and Europe. At its height under Sultan Suleiman I in the sixteenth century, the Ottoman military was the most technologically advanced in the Mediterranean world, threatening the gates of Vienna to the west, reaching the Persian Gulf to the east, and conquering Yemen and the Islamic holy cities of Mecca and Medina to the south (Figure 4.11). In the seventeenth century, as its enemies grew stronger, the empire became more inward-looking, focusing less on external expansion and more on resolving domestic affairs, professionalizing its bureaucracy, and conducting internal reforms.



FIGURE 4.11 Area of Ottoman Control. At its height, the Ottoman Empire (orange) stretched from the Balkans to the Caspian Sea. It also laid claim to the coast of North Africa, Egypt, and portions of the Arabian Peninsula. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

Culture and Society

The Ottoman state originated in the fertile plains of Anatolia (also known as Asia Minor, roughly modern-day Turkey), which lies between the Aegean Sea to its west, the Black Sea to its north, the Mediterranean Sea to its south, and the Zagros Mountains to its east. The lands of Anatolia were attractive to the nomadic Turkic peoples who lived in the semifertile Eurasian steppe, a band of grassland that runs from east to west between western China and Hungary. As the Turkic peoples extended their control over northern Iran in the tenth and eleventh centuries, a group of Turkic warriors established their own state, ruled by the Seljuk dynasty.

Over the next century and a half, this Seljuk state grew to control much of central and southern Anatolia. The

Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century transformed the political landscape in Anatolia, however, and a number of small Turkic principalities emerged in the region in the wake of these disruptive invasions. The Turkic principality in the northeastern corner of Anatolia rose to prominence around 1300, under the leadership of Osman I (Figure 4.12). Osman raised an army and began to take territory from the neighboring Byzantines.

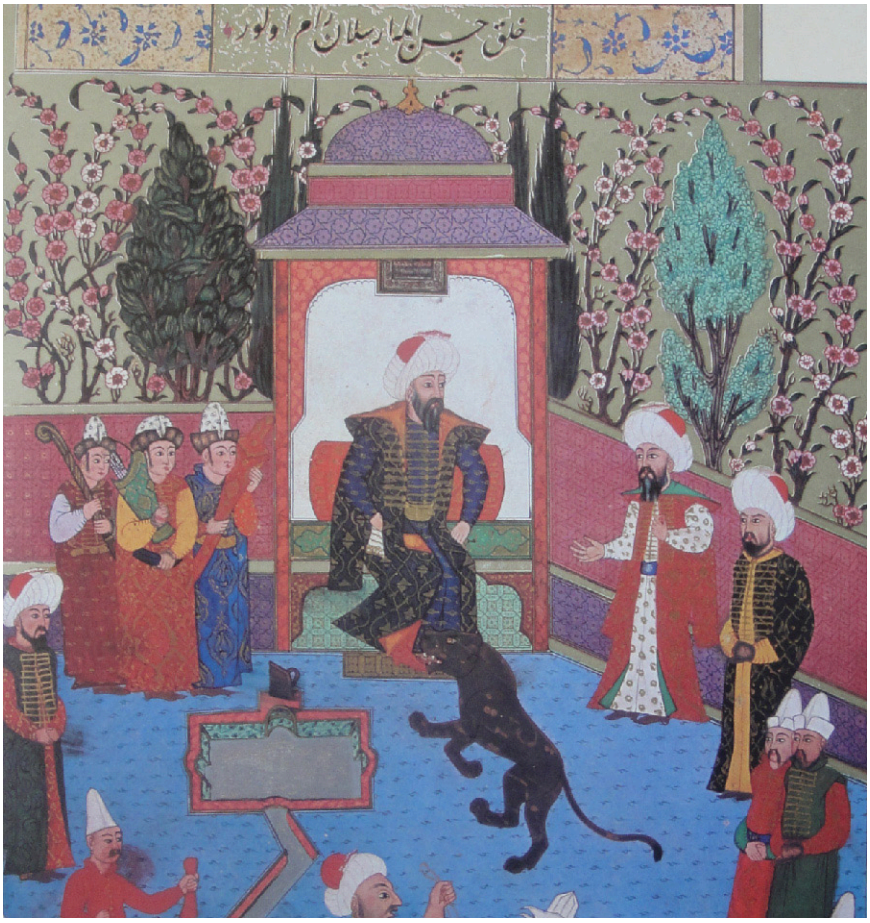


FIGURE 4.12 Osman I. This detail of a miniature painted in 1584 shows Osman I seated (at center) amid courtiers and attendants. (credit: modification of work "Osman Gazi (I)" by Seyid Lockman/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Osman's son Orhan continued the campaign upon his father's death, expanding the territory under his control to encompass much of northwestern Anatolia. The state Orhan established became the Ottoman Empire, named for his father Osman. By the fourteenth century, the Ottoman Empire had expanded into southeastern Europe, effectively surrounding the Byzantine city of Constantinople. In 1453, Ottoman armies marched into the city and made it the capital of their expanding realm. Over the next century, successive rulers expanded the empire deeper into Europe, down through Syria and Palestine, and across North Africa.

At the height of the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century, the Muslim-controlled state exerted dominance over a vast expanse of territory that included not only Muslims but also many *dhimmis*: Christians, Jewish people, and others. For example, the Ottoman-controlled areas of the Balkans in southeastern Europe were not only much more densely populated than Anatolia but were also overwhelmingly Christian. The Christian populations in southeastern Europe were some of the oldest in the Christian world and unlikely to convert to Islam in any large numbers. This reality led the Ottomans to implement a system under which *dhimmis* were able to govern their own affairs according to their own religious laws. This became known as the **millet system**, a term that comes from the Arabic word *millah*, meaning nation.

Millets were organized around religious identity: Orthodox Christians comprised one millet under the Orthodox patriarch in Istanbul, Armenian Christians were a second, and Jewish people a third. Other groups, such as the Syriac-speaking Christians and the Coptic Christians of Egypt, were later given their own millets. Millets had their own courts to settle their affairs; a *dhimmi* would appear in a sharia court only if dealing with a Muslim in a legal or business matter, or with the state itself. The millet system was intended to give non-Muslims a degree of autonomy and the ability to conduct their affairs according to their own customs and norms.

Among the most striking measures imposed on Christian communities in the Balkans and Caucasus was the ***devshirme*** ("gathering"), the enslavement of youth for state and military service. Conceived as a form of taxation on the Christian territories of Ottoman-controlled Europe, this system gathered boys between eight and ten years of age from specified villages, converted them to Islam, and gave them an education designed to create an elite military force in the service of the sultan. They were selected for both their physical attributes and their intelligence. The training was harsh and emphasized discipline, endurance, and loyalty to the sultan. Most became part of an elite corps of soldiers known as the Janissaries (from the Turkish words *yeni cheri*, meaning "new soldier"). Janissaries were expected to serve as bodyguards to the sultan, to whom they were fiercely loyal and who paid them directly.

A small number of young men who demonstrated exceptional intellect were sent to the palace school to receive language and other training in preparation for becoming the empire's trusted administrative elite. The idea was to create a self-perpetuating system of administrators and military leaders who had been raised by the Ottoman state, and whose loyalty was not to their families, whom (in theory) they never saw again, but to the sultan and the system of which they were a part. In this way, political infighting within the government could be avoided because personal identity, ethnicity, and religion were suppressed and nepotism eliminated. The *devshirme* system lasted until the late 1600s.

The Ottomans brought knowledge of horses, military organization, and statecraft to their early empire. They followed their Seljuk predecessors in holding Persian culture and style in high esteem. While Arabic was considered the language of learning and religion, Persian was often the language of poetry and literature, even in the otherwise Arabic-speaking court of the Abbasid caliphs. The Ottoman Empire is often described as *Persianate*, meaning its culture, including visual art and architecture, was heavily influenced by that of Persia, but it was not Persian itself (Figure 4.13). Turkish was the language of administration and education; it was written in an adapted version of the Perso-Arabic script, and it incorporated numerous loan words from both Persian and Arabic. A parallel tradition of high poetry in Turkish called *divan* poetry also developed, which used the rhyme schemes and poetic meters of Persian poetry. In the seventeenth century, during the long conflict between the Ottomans and the Safavids in Iran, Turkish replaced Persian as a literary language, to emphasize the Turkish nature of the Ottoman state and distinguish its culture from that of its rival.



FIGURE 4.13 ***The Suleymanname***. Persian literary and artistic styles greatly influenced the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century. This illustration, made in the style of a Persian miniature, is part of the *Suleymanname* (*The Book of Suleiman*), created at the court of Suleiman the Magnificent in 1561. It includes verses written in Persian by the poet Fethullah Çelebi. (credit: "Sueleymanname nahcevan" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Most people in the Ottoman Empire could not read or write. As in most of the early modern world, primary education was considered the domain of religious institutions, not the state, although schools were often endowed by members of the sultan's family. Basic schools called *mekteps* taught young Muslims to recite the Quran, and each millet was allowed to coordinate education for its own children. Schools tended to provide education in the preferred local language, since Turkish was required only of those who interacted directly with the state. This is one of the main reasons that Turkish did not eventually replace local languages like Arabic, Bulgarian, Greek, and Serbo-Croatian-Bosnian, although in some places people who were not ethnically Turkish did speak only Turkish. Local languages like Bosnian also incorporated many loan words from Ottoman Turkish. Multilingualism was valued for trade and commerce and let European traders communicate easily with local agents and business partners. It also allowed new immigrant groups to retain their languages. For example, after Jewish people were expelled from Spain in 1492, many resettled in the Ottoman Empire, particularly in Izmir, Salonica, and Istanbul, where they continued to speak Judeo-Spanish

(often called Ladino).

Education past the basic primary level was generally accessible mainly to the wealthy. Some boys from average and poor families managed to attend local schools, but most people needed their children to help with agricultural work or assist in their father's business. Boys from elite families went to private schools, and girls from similar families were educated at home by a private tutor. This was also the case among the millets. Millets provided schools for members of their community; a private school for Greek Christians opened in Istanbul in 1454, for example. The further education of exceptionally bright children from the lower classes might be sponsored by a wealthy local patron or landowner, often with the condition that the children go to work for the patron's business after finishing school.

Following the construction of a lavish palace complex in Istanbul in the early 1460s, important changes took place in the royal court and the Ottoman style of government. Over the next century, successive Ottoman sultans ruled less frequently from constantly moving military encampments—as had been their practice—and took up longer periods of residence at the new palace, later given the name Topkapi. One result of this change to a more stable home was the reentry of women into the public and political life of the Ottoman court, which had once been more usual in the Seljuk state.

After Sultan Bayezid I's wife had been captured and held hostage by the Mongol conqueror Timur in the 1400s, it became the practice for sultans not to marry but to simply take concubines, women who did not have the same legal status as an official wife and whose chief purpose was to bear children for the sultan. Suleiman I defied this tradition to marry Hurrem, a young woman from Ruthenia (now western Ukraine) who had been captured and enslaved by Crimean Tatars. While a captive, Hurrem was eventually taken to Istanbul and purchased by Suleiman's mother as a gift for her son. As Hurrem Sultan, she became one of the most important and influential women in Ottoman history, setting a precedent for the powerful wives and chief concubines who followed her in what became known as the **Sultanate of Women** (Figure 4.14).



(a) (b)

FIGURE 4.14 Hurrem Sultan. This sixteenth-century oil painting of Hurrem Sultan (a), who was known as Roxelana in Europe, identifies her with the Latin words for "Suleiman's wife." In this mid-sixteenth-century woodcut (b),

Sultan Suleiman wears a four-tiered helmet encrusted with diamonds and pearls. The design was modeled on the three-tiered tiara of the pope. (credit a: modification of work "Portrait of Roxelana, Khourrem" by Jak Amran Collection, Istanbul/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit b: modification of work "Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent Wearing the Jewel-Studded Helmet" by Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1942/The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Public Domain)

The wife or mother of the reigning sultan had unequaled power over the imperial family and frequently gained popularity by funding public monuments and buildings for use by the public, including soup kitchens, bath houses, fountains, and schools. Many of these were *vaqfs*, charitable endowments intended to help the poor or to serve religious purposes. Wealthy women (and men as well) often donated land or buildings along with funds to assist the public.

Outsiders who sought favor often wrote letters to or sent female relatives to plead their case with the sultan's wife or mother. She in turn might transform her popular influence into political power by conspiring with palace administrators like the palace's chief eunuch, becoming one of the most powerful people in the empire. The chief wife and the sultan's mother were often rivals for political prominence; clashes could occur between them and also with the sultan's chief (male) advisers at court. The Sultanate of Women lasted more than a century, ending in the late seventeenth century when a number of sultans died unexpectedly in a short period. The result was instability in the palace and a weakening of the interpersonal relationships between the imperial family and outside advisers upon whom the Sultanate of Women had relied.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

A Visit to Hurrem Sultan by a Genoese Noblewoman

During the reign of Sultan Suleiman, high-ranking delegations were often sent between Istanbul and its trading partners in Genoa and Venice. It then became customary for the chief delegate's wife to visit Hurrem Sultan in the harem. One of them later described the event as follows.

> I was received by many eunuchs in splendid costume blazing with jewels, and carrying scimitars in their hands. They led me to an inner vestibule, where I was divested of my cloak and shoes and regaled with refreshments. Presently an elderly woman, very richly dressed, accompanied by a number of young girls, approached me, and after the usual salutation, informed me that the Sultana Asseki [*the sultan's chief wife*] was ready to see me. All the walls of the kiosk in which she lives are covered with the most beautiful Persian tiles and the floors are of cedar and sandalwood, which give out the most delicious odor. I advanced through an endless row of bending female slaves, who stood on either side of my path. [. . .] The Sultana, who is a stout but beautiful young woman, sat upon silk cushions striped with silver, near a latticed window overlooking the sea. Numerous slave women, blazing with jewels, attended upon her, holding fans, pipes for smoking, and many objects of value.
>
> When we had selected from these, the great lady, who rose to receive me, extended her hand and kissed me on the brow, and made me sit at the edge of the divan on which she reclined. She asked many questions concerning our country and our religion, of which she knew nothing whatever, and which I answered as modestly and discreetly as I could. I was surprised to notice, when I had finished my narrative, that the room was full of women, who, impelled by curiosity, had come to see me, and to hear what I had to say.
>
> The Sultana now entertained me with an exhibition of dancing girls and music, which was very delectable. When the dancing and music were over, refreshments were served upon trays of solid gold sparkling with jewels. As it was growing late, and I felt afraid to remain longer, lest I should vex her, I made a motion of rising to leave. She immediately clapped her hands, and several slaves came forward, in obedience to her whispered commands, carrying trays heaped up with beautiful stuffs, and some

> silver articles of fine workmanship, which she pressed me to accept. [. . .] I was led from the room in precisely the same manner in which I had entered it, down to the foot of the staircase, where my own attendants awaited me.
>
> —Eva March Tappan, *The World's Story: A History of the World in Story, Song, and Art*

- How does the narrator describe her visit to the harem? Does she seem impressed? What kinds of details are important to her?
- How are Hurrem Sultan's power and position reflected in the way people behave toward her and around her?

Other than the sultan's mother or wife, women in the Ottoman Empire played no role in politics. They were active in other areas of life, however. Unlike European women before the nineteenth century, married and unmarried Ottoman women could buy, inherit, and own property and bequeath their wealth to others upon their death. They could borrow and lend money and sue to protect their rights in court. Marriages were usually arranged by parents, but at least in theory, women had to consent to the match and could later obtain a divorce. Elite and middle-class women's time was occupied in raising their children and supervising their households. If they lived in towns or cities, they socialized with other women, often meeting them at bathhouses. On their rare ventures out in public, they wore veils as a sign of their status.

Women from the working class might manufacture goods in their homes and peddle them in the streets. Although they could invest in businesses, they were largely excluded from the official guild system, which admitted only male artisans. There were a number of female-dominated trades, however, such as nursing and dancing, and women often made a living doing laundry. They also belonged to the various Sufi orders. Of course, the lives of both Muslim and non-Muslim women differed depending on where in the Ottoman Empire they lived. The lives of peasant women were different from those of city dwellers, and besides caring for the home and children, they might assist their male relatives with chores on the farm.

The synthesis of the Ottoman Empire's diverse cultural base is perhaps most evident in its cuisine, which incorporated cooking styles and ingredients from places all over the world including Greece, Iran, the Balkans, the Arabian Peninsula, and central Asia. Following the discovery of the Americas, Ottoman cooks were among the first to incorporate ingredients from there, such as maize, peppers, tomatoes, and pumpkins, into their dishes. The Ottomans also likely introduced foods from elsewhere in Asia, like sesame, into the kitchens of the Middle East. Many dishes, such as rice pilafs from Egypt, Iran, and central Asia and Indian tandoori casseroles, were elegantly re-created for the imperial court in the kitchens of Topkapi Palace and then adopted in less extravagant versions by people throughout the empire. Food was an important symbol of power and generosity, and Topkapi could host up to four thousand people for a banquet. Each year, the sultan provided a lavish feast for the Janissary corps, the Ottoman Empire's most elite troops. At one point in the eighteenth century, ten thousand troops were fed at once (Figure 4.15).

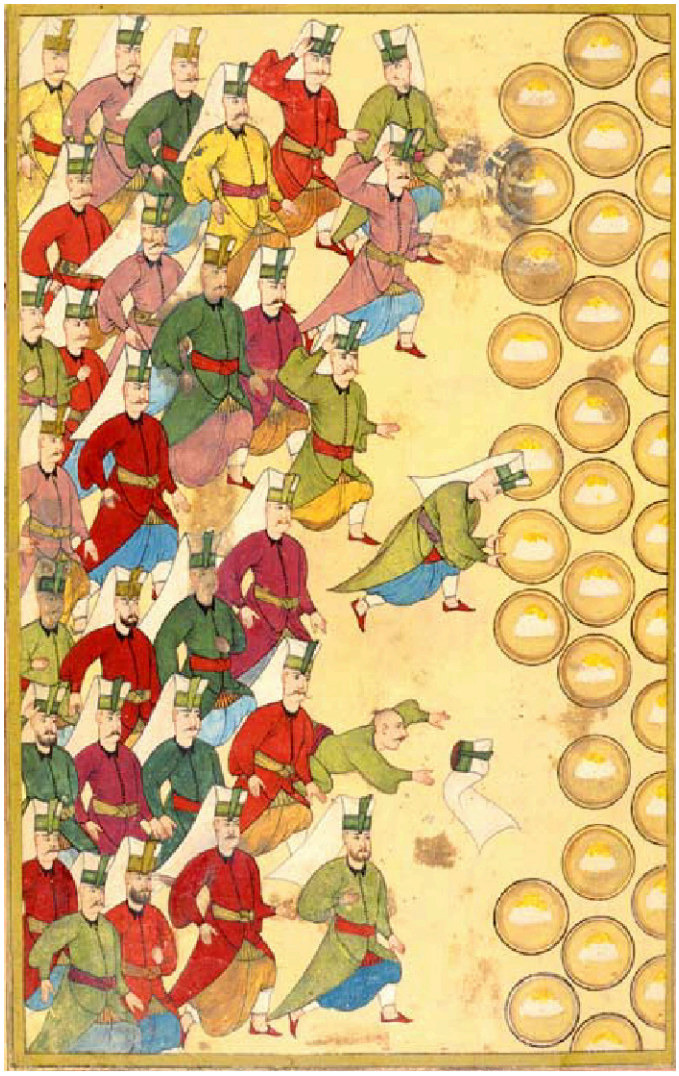


FIGURE 4.15 The Janissaries' Banquet. A miniature painting from 1720 by the artist Abdulcelil Levni contained in *Surname-i Vehbi* (*The Book of Festival*) depicts the Janissaries rushing toward their plates at a banquet given by the sultan. (credit: "Banquet (Safranpilav) for the Janissaries, given by the Sultan" by Badisches Landesmuseum/ Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The birth of an heir, a royal wedding, and the funeral of the sultan (or his wife or mother) were all occasions upon which the palace was expected to hold public banquets. Soup kitchens fed thousands of people each day in major cities throughout the empire, as did the caravansaries. At the same time, public refusal to partake of the sultan's food also conveyed a powerful message. When upset with imperial policies, the Janissaries symbolically turned their metal soup bowls upside down and beat them like drums. The sound reverberated around the capital, signaling their displeasure for all to hear.

THE PAST MEETS THE PRESENT

Cuisine at the Topkapi Palace

One item often found in contemporary Eastern Mediterranean cuisines is baklava, a confection of pastry layers and nuts drenched in syrup. Recipes in cookbooks from the Abbasid era use flatbreads soaked in sugar syrup and tossed with toasted nuts; the kitchens at the Topkapi Palace introduced very thin layers of pastry called filo. Throughout the empire, wealthy estates replicated the technique; a woman who could produce filo thin enough

to read through was a worthy bride. Today, cultures from Greece to Afghanistan argue over where baklava originated, which nuts to use, and whose method for producing filo is best.

The palace cooks also elevated traditional methods from the steppes and flatlands of Central and West Asia, such as grilling small pieces of meat on skewers for a dish known as kebab. They experimented with different cuts and kinds of meat, richly spiced and served atop mountains of rice seasoned with saffron, still one of the world's most expensive spices. Today, shops selling kebabs are common in Europe and the Middle East, and shish (a Turkish word meaning "skewer") kebabs are popular in the United States.

Dumplings called *manti*, believed to have originated in Xinjiang among the Uyghurs, are found in variations from China to the Balkans. The Topkapi chefs learned to produce these dumplings, smaller than a teaspoon and delicately flavored. Recipes appeared in an English-language Ottoman cookbook in 1880.

The Ottomans also used their location on the spice-trading network to incorporate Asian spices into their cuisine. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, wife of Britain's eighteenth-century ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, complained that the flavors were too intense. In a letter home, she reported commanding her chef to prepare blander dishes the English preferred.

Today the food of the Ottoman Empire is consumed around the world. Sherbet—originally a chilled Iranian drink—was introduced to Italy in the seventeenth century by way of the empire, and soon consumers in France and England were delighting in it as people do today. In the twentieth century, yogurt (from the Turkish "to knead" or "to be curdled") was first mass-produced in western Europe by Isaac Carasso, an immigrant from the Ottoman Empire. Named for his son Daniel, it is sold in the United States as Dannon.

- How did Ottoman cuisine reflect the diversity of the Empire's demographic and geographic makeup?
- How has "Middle Eastern" cuisine influenced the cuisines of western Europe and of the United States?

Coffee drinking occupied a position in Ottoman life that was on par with—indeed, perhaps more important than—feasting, and the Ottomans first introduced it to Europe. The practice began in Arabia and spread to other places in the Islamic world. The first coffeehouses were established in the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, where they provided spaces for men to socialize, do business, and exchange news. Men of all social classes frequented coffeehouses, and men of little education could listen to literate men reading aloud from books, hear poets recite their newest works, and watch scholars engage in debates. Political discussions were common, and the Ottoman government often sent spies to listen for signs of dissent or potential rebellion. Talk of politics was especially frequent at coffeehouses favored by Janissaries. While many Muslim clerics had no objection to coffee because it was not forbidden by sharia, some clerics disapproved of it because of its stimulating qualities, and unsuccessful attempts to ban it were made in the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century, Sultan Murad IV, fearful that rebellion might be plotted in coffeehouses, banned them, and citizens who persisted in drinking coffee risked being sentenced to death.

Many Muslim clerics and scholars also objected to the smoking of tobacco, which had been introduced from the Americas in the sixteenth century and become popular in the Ottoman Empire by the seventeenth century. They saw tobacco as an intoxicant that affected people in the way wine or coffee did, and also as bad for health. Some denounced it as a foreign practice introduced by European Christians for the purpose of harming Muslims. Tobacco was also damned by its association with the coffeehouse, where much smoking took place, and when Murad IV closed the coffeehouses, he also outlawed tobacco smoking with the death penalty for violators.

Expansion, Revolutions, and Reform

The Ottoman state's geographic position was an important advantage from its beginning well into the height of

its power in the seventeenth century. The early empire was born on the dividing line between Europe and Asia and balanced between them for nearly its entire existence. The collapse of the Byzantine Empire allowed the Ottoman sultan to rule from a capital city situated between the two continents. After establishing his new capital in Istanbul, Mehmed II issued a call for citizens of the empire to come and settle there to restore its economic vitality (Figure 4.16). This was necessary because the city had experienced steady demographic decline over the previous few centuries. At first, Mehmed offered free housing to anyone who moved there voluntarily; later, he ordered thousands of Serbs, Armenians, Greeks, Jewish people, and Turks to settle in the city. Although he would not live to see it, within a century Istanbul was by far the largest city in Europe, with nearly a half million residents, and it dominated the land and sea trade between Europe and Asia.



FIGURE 4.16 Mehmed II and Gennadios II. This eighteenth-century mosaic shows Mehmed II (left) handing Gennadios II a document officially recognizing Gennadios's position as the Greek Orthodox patriarch of the new capital of Istanbul. (credit: modification of work "Gennadios II and Mehmed II" by Ecumenical Patriarchate/ Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Over the next century, the Ottoman Empire extended its influence into Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa. Under Ottoman control, the Egyptian Red Sea fleet battled the Portuguese for dominance in the Indian Ocean, sending troops and armaments to aid allied rulers in India and ships to the straits of Malacca. The Ottoman Empire is generally considered to have reached its pinnacle by the rise of Sultan Suleiman I in 1520. During his reign, Ottoman armies continued their Balkan expansion by conquering Serbia and Hungary, and in 1529 they laid siege to Vienna, then the seat of the Habsburg Empire.

Although Vienna was never conquered, the threat of military conquest by the Ottomans was a constant worry for the Habsburgs. Queen Elizabeth I of England, also a rival of the Habsburgs, sent an embassy and military advisers to Istanbul to propose an anti-Habsburg alliance. Despite the Ottoman alliance with England, the Ottoman's war with the Habsburgs quickly reached a stalemate, where it remained for several decades. Ottoman territorial expansion in North Africa found its farthest limit to the west in modern Algeria; to the east, it reached the shores of the Persian Gulf and established official borders with Safavid Iran. In Europe,

Suleiman's strength and military dominance of the Mediterranean world, along with the splendor of his capital city and the riches flowing through the empire, earned him the title "the Magnificent."

To most Ottomans, however, Suleiman was known as "the lawgiver." Most Ottoman subjects were unaware of their legal rights until Suleiman's rule. Although Ottoman law was based on sharia, a certain amount of interpretation was required in matters such as criminal law, management of lands, and tax law. These laws were thus usually established by decree. Over the course of two and a half centuries, different parts of the empire were subject to decrees issued by many sultans, often substantially different from one another and sometimes contradictory. Suleiman reviewed the laws, ensured their compliance with Islamic principles, and issued a single unified law code for the empire that remained in force for three centuries. He also ordered the new law code to be publicized widely, so every Ottoman subject knew they had the right to have disputes heard in a court of law and judged fairly. These reforms won Suleiman wide acclaim and popularity as a ruler who cared about his people. Suleiman died in 1566 while commanding an expedition into Hungary. His death was kept secret for two months so as not to demoralize the troops; it was not until they returned to Istanbul that his death was made public in time for the coronation of his son as Selim II.

The period of Ottoman history after Suleiman's rule has often been described by historians as a time of slow decline, leading to the empire's disintegration beginning in the nineteenth century. This largely European interpretation attributes the ebbing of Ottoman power to two factors: the rise of European military might and Ottoman territorial overextension. In this view, the winds of change began to blow in 1571 when the Ottoman navy was destroyed in a naval battle at Lepanto in Greece by the Holy League—a confederation of the Spanish Empire, the Papal States, Venice, and Genoa, among others. The battle effectively ended Ottoman naval supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean, as well as Ottoman enthusiasm for continuing its naval rivalry with Portugal, the Netherlands, and France in the Indian Ocean.

With this loss, the curtain was drawn back on the legend of Ottoman invincibility. European military technology caught up to and then surpassed Ottoman capabilities over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Ottoman territory was then gradually lost to European kingdoms, particularly in the western part of North Africa and in the Balkans. While the empire's land wars against the Habsburgs in Europe continued for another century, culminating in yet another failed siege of Vienna in 1683, it was also recognized at court that foreign wars were becoming more expensive but leading to far less economic and territorial gain.

From the north, the growing power of Russia became another threat. Beginning in the seventeenth century, Russian forces pushed south across the steppes toward Ottoman territory. Under Tsar Peter the Great, Russian armies temporarily captured the Ottoman-held territory of Azov in the Crimea along the Black Sea in 1696. In the late eighteenth century, Russia's expansion ramped up again, eventually leading it deep into Ottoman territory with control over the northern coast of the Black Sea. Often aided by Austria, Russia steadily undermined Ottoman control over the Balkans, and over the nineteenth century, its influence came to replace Ottoman sway in the region.

More recently, historians have refined this older interpretation of Ottoman decline. According to the newer view, the threats from Europe in the west and the Safavids in the east convinced the Ottoman rulers to try making their control over their core territory more efficient. They sent delegations to several countries in Europe and to Mughal India to observe local systems and make recommendations for improvements at home. Several European military advisers were brought to Istanbul to train soldiers, and Ottoman scientists and engineers were sent to European universities to learn more about engineering, history, and military modernization and the ways in which they could be applied at home. Although the Ottoman Empire had become weaker by the nineteenth century, these reforms nevertheless helped it to survive into the twentieth century.

Science and Technology

As the Ottoman state grew in prestige and size, its sultans deliberately set out to become patrons of science

and learning, following the examples set by the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs and other prominent Muslim leaders. The core of all education was religious; there was no separation between what today would be considered religious philosophy or doctrinal study and the "hard sciences" such as astronomy, chemistry, mathematics, and physics. On the contrary, scientific investigation was considered an act of devotion because of its exploration and discovery of the intricacies of the divinely created universe.

From the very beginning of the state, institutions of higher learning—*madrasas*—were established in major cities. Patronage of science, art, and culture reached a new level under Sultan Mehmed II. Mehmed founded the first institution of higher learning in the new capital, the Fatih complex, which included a hospital, public kitchens, a library, and schools. The Fatih hospital remained operational into the nineteenth century.

As Istanbul developed as the imperial capital, many other such institutions came to be established there. Another complex of charitable institutions, the first one designed and built in Istanbul by Mimar Sinan, the master architect and engineer of Armenian origin, was a teaching hospital endowed by Hurrem Sultan, the wife of Sultan Suleiman. It was also common for wealthy Jewish and Christian patrons to establish their own *vaqfs* to fund projects that benefited their communities, because these trusts were exempt from inheritance taxes. Teaching hospitals were considered important recipients of *vaqf* funds given that hospital care was provided free of charge.

The geographic diversity of the empire was an advantage to the development of medical science because it was now possible to compare the results of medical treatments and experiments in several different geographic and climate zones. For this reason, many important medical treatises of the day were written in the Ottoman Empire. The tradition of medical writing built upon the foundation established by such famous Muslim scholars and physicians as Ibn Sina, who composed *The Canon of Medicine* in the tenth century. The works produced by physicians who made their home in the Ottoman Empire included one of the first treatises dedicated to dentistry, written by the Spanish Jewish scholar Musa bin Hamun, who made his home in the Ottoman Empire after the Jewish people were expelled from Spain.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

The Architect of an Empire

Mimar Sinan was the chief architect of the Ottoman Empire. Of Armenian origin, he was a member of the *devshirme* as a youth and began his career as a military engineer in the Janissary Corps. He first came to the attention of the sultan Suleiman after he was able to construct a bridge over marshland that was impeding the progress of the Ottoman Army. Sinan lived to be nearly one hundred years old and designed more than three hundred structures (Figure 4.17).



FIGURE 4.17 The Mehmed Paša Sokolović Bridge. The Mehmed Paša Sokolović bridge in Višegrad, Bosnia and Herzegovina, was built by Mimar Sinan in 1577 and placed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2007. (credit: modification of work "Višegrad, Bosnia, Austro-Hungary" by Library of Congress/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In writing his autobiography toward the end of his life, Sinan had this to say about the start of his illustrious career:

> When Sultan Süleyman set out for Moldavia and arrived on the banks of the River Pruth, a bridge was needed for the army to cross. . . . Since it was a marshy place, they were bewildered as to how to build a bridge. His Excellency the late Lutfi Pasha said, "My felicitous *padishah*, the construction of this bridge can be achieved with the skill and ability of your servant Sinan. . . . He is a master of the world and a skilled architect." . . . In ten days I built a noble bridge and the army of Islam and the shah of humankind crossed it. . . .
>
> By the grace of God, . . . the office of [chief] architect fell vacant. . . . Lutfi Pasha said, "The architect must be Sinan. There is no one capable of this work other than him." . . . It was true that the thought of abandoning my career [as a Janissary] gave me pain, but in the end I accepted, seeing it as an opportunity to build many mosques and thereby fulfill many desires in this world and the next.
>
> —Howard Crane and Esra Akin, *Sinan's autobiographies: Five sixteenth-century texts*. Translated and adapted from Mimar Sinan, *Tezkiretu ʾl-bunyan*

- What is the military role of an architect? How did Sinan come to fill it?
- Why was Sinan convinced to abandon his role as a Janissary and pursue architecture?

LINK TO LEARNING

Take this virtual tour of the Suleymaniye Mosque (https://openstax.org/l/77Suleymaniye) in Istanbul, Turkey, one of Mimar Sinan's greatest monuments. Rotate your view of the mosque by dragging your mouse or using the wheel on the left of your screen.

Among the great scientists of the Ottoman Empire was Taqi al-Din, who was invited by Sultan Murad III to

build an observatory in Istanbul (Figure 4.18). Taqi al-Din's method of calculating the coordinates of stars is said to have been better than those of Tycho Brahe and Nicolas Copernicus, noted astronomers working in northern Europe around the same time. Taqi al-Din also developed steam turbines and mechanical clocks and conducted research into the optical refraction of light. His work illustrates the way scientific discoveries transcended religious and national divisions; he himself had set out to improve on astronomical techniques devised by Ulugh Beg at Samarkand (in today's Uzbekistan), and in turn his own research was consulted by Tycho Brahe in Denmark when Brahe was developing his ideas about astronomy. Taqi al-Din's works were also collected by the Dutch mathematician Jacob Golius, who brought them to the library of Leiden University in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century.

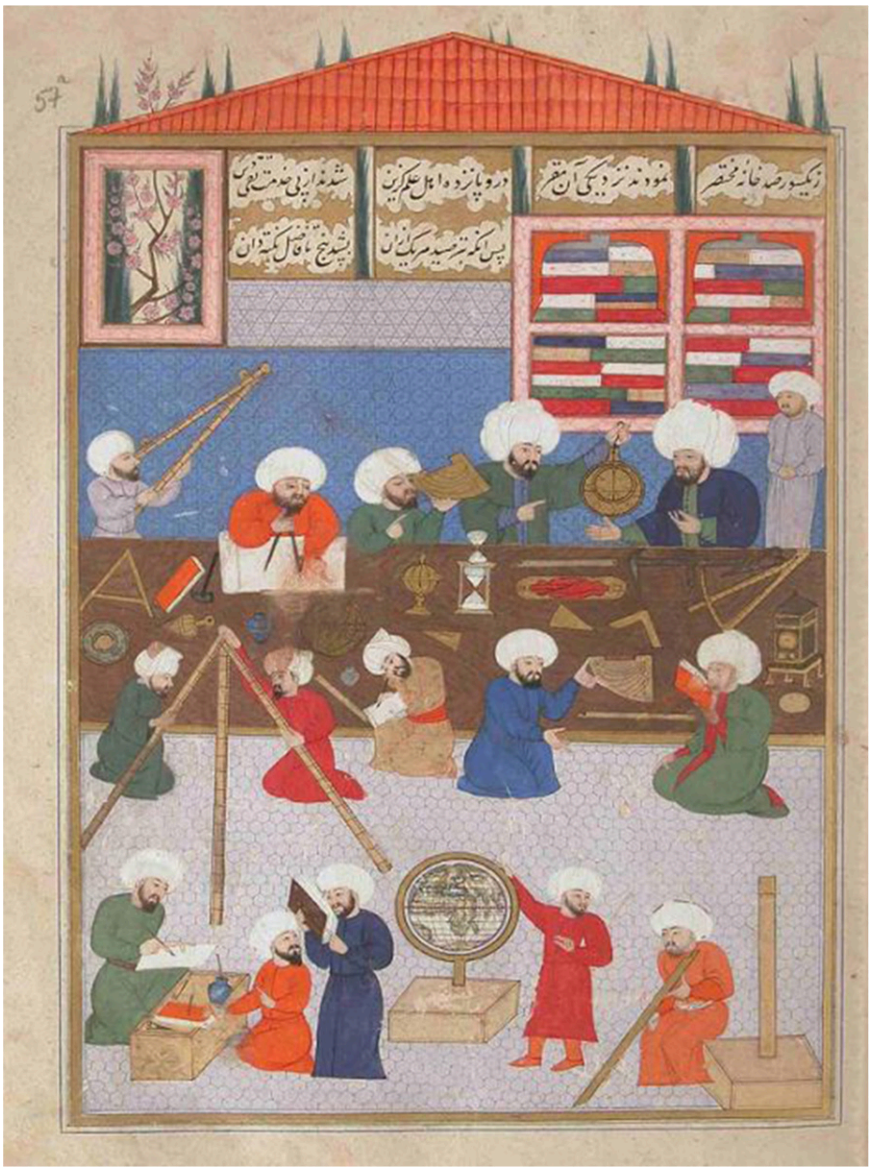


FIGURE 4.18 The Scientific Work of Taqi al-Din. Scientists and their astronomical instruments are depicted in Taqi al-Din's Istanbul observatory in this 1581 miniature by an unknown painter. (credit: "Ottoman astronomers at work around Taqī al-Dīn at the Istanbul Observatory" by *Shahinshahnāme* Istanbul University Library /Muslim Heritage, Public Domain)

4.3 The Safavid Empire

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify the factors that contributed to the rise of the Safavid Empire
- Discuss the similarities and differences between Twelver Islam and Sunni Islam
- Describe the political structure of the Safavid Empire

To the east of the lands of the Ottomans, another Islamic empire emerged at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Based in Iran, the Safavid Empire at its height ruled over much of what is now Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Georgia, and Iraq, as well as parts of several neighboring countries including Turkey, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan (Figure 4.19). Like the Ottomans and Mughals, the Safavids developed a powerful military, ran a strong and well-organized central state, and fostered a climate in which artistic and intellectual culture flourished. The Safavids also introduced Shi'ism as the state religion at a time when Iran's population was mostly Sunni, and in doing so they fostered the deep divisions between Shi'ism and Sunnism that continue to characterize relations between Iran and other Islamic nations today.



FIGURE 4.19 The Safavid Empire. This map shows the Safavid Empire (green) at its greatest extent, including disputed territories (dots) where the Safavids found themselves in conflict with the Ottoman Empire (orange) and the Uzbek rulers of the Khanate of Bukhara (purple). (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

The Rise of the Safavid Empire

The Safavids began not as a political dynasty, but as the hereditary leaders of a Sufi order based in the city of Ardabil, located in today's northwestern Iran. The order in Ardabil was founded in the thirteenth century by the Sufi master Zahed Gilani, and little is known about its beliefs and practices in its earliest stages. We do know that Zahed appointed his son-in-law and disciple Safi al-Din Ardabili to succeed him, which angered his family and some of his followers.

Safi al-Din renamed the order after himself—*Safaviyya*—and made a number of reforms that reshaped it from a local order to a religious movement that sought followers from around Iran and neighboring countries. While Safi al-Din's origins are lost to history, it is generally believed that he came from a family of Azeri-speaking Kurds, although even this is uncertain. (Azeri is a Turkic language.) The Safavid family later claimed that Safi al-Din was descended from the Prophet through Muhammad's daughter Fatima and son-in-law Ali ibn Abi Talib. This genealogy was most likely invented by court historians during the sixteenth-century reign of Shah Ismail I. However, several scholars went one step further and extended the family's history back to the biblical Adam.

Initially, like most of Iran's population, the Safavids were primarily Sunni Muslims. Like that of many Sufi orders, their ideology incorporated elements of both Sunni and Shia doctrines to proclaim a universal message and attract followers from both sects. However, Safi al-Din's great-grandson Junayd made several changes to the order's doctrine, adopting specifically Shia ideas. Junayd believed the Safavids should use their popular religious mandate to seek military and political power for themselves, and he found Shia doctrine more appropriate for his vision.

Junayd's son Haydar created a solid political and military framework by establishing a Safavid military order known as the Qizilbash, after their distinctive red hats (*qizil* means "red" in Azeri). Haydar declared a religious war against the Christian residents of the Caucasus, but in order to reach them, he had to pass through the territory of the Shirvanshahs, who were allied with his enemies. Although at first he was able to negotiate safe passage for his army, the Shirvanshahs, already uneasy about Haydar's growing power, used his eventual attack on one of their cities as an excuse to declare war on the Safavids. Haydar was killed in battle in 1488. His son Ali Mirza took his place, but within a few years his capital at Ardabil was conquered by his enemies. Ali Mirza was also killed, and his infant brother Ismail was sent into exile.

After being sheltered by allies, the twelve-year-old Ismail emerged from exile in 1499 claiming to be the *Mahdi* or messiah and began rallying the Qizilbash troops who had fought for his father and brother. They embarked on a military campaign, winning victory after victory until, in July 1501, Ismail entered the Shirvanshah capital of Tabriz and declared himself shah, or emperor, of all Iran (Figure 4.20). At the time, he governed only Azerbaijan and part of the Caucasus. By 1511, however, Ismail's troops had driven the Uzbek people across the Oxus River, establishing the eastern borders of modern Iran. The Safavids also staged incursions into eastern Anatolia; these triggered a conflict with the Ottoman Empire that continued for the length of the Safavids' reign. Not only had Ismail's forces occupied the empire's border cities, but he had begun recruiting for his army among the ethnic Turkish tribes of eastern Anatolia and encouraging the Shia Muslims in Ottoman lands to revolt against their Sunni rulers.



FIGURE 4.20 Shah Ismail. The Safavid Empire was as ethnically diverse as the Ottoman Empire. In this portrait of Shah Ismail by an Italian painter of the sixteenth century, for example, the shah's reddish hair, possibly an inheritance from his Greek grandmother, is clearly visible. (credit: "Portrait of Shah Ismail I of Persia" by Uffizi Gallery/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In response, the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II deported the Shi'ites of his empire from Anatolia to other regions where they would be unable to heed the Safavid call. As the Safavids continued to push westward into Ottoman territory, Bayezid's son Selim I responded by invading Iranian Azerbaijan, laying waste to Tabriz in 1514 and attempting to destroy the Qizilbash. The loss of his capital Tabriz to the enemy—and to a Sunni Muslim at that—was a huge blow to Shah Ismail's standing among his own armies, made worse by the fact that he had declared himself invincible based on his fictionalized semidivine ancestry.

After Ismail's death in 1524, ten years of internal strife followed as rival Qizilbash factions fought for dominance and the right to be regent to Ismail's ten-year-old heir Tahmasp. Tahmasp went on to become the longest-reigning Safavid shah. Disappointed by his experience navigating the rivalries within the Qizilbash, he began using enslaved Christians from Circassia and Georgia in the palace administration and civil services instead of members of the Qizilbash. Tahmasp faced several challenges at home and abroad, however. Although he successfully repelled an attempt by the Uzbeks to invade northeastern Iran, they remained a threat to the east, and war with the Ottomans flared up soon afterward when Suleiman's armies invaded Iran in the mid-1530s. Tahmasp's desire to fend off the Turkish threat led him to ally himself with a rising European power, the Habsburg Empire.

The Habsburg emperor Charles V, concerned by the Ottomans' progression toward Vienna, approached first Ismail and then Tahmasp about an alliance. By agreement, the Safavids would attack the Ottomans whenever the Ottomans attacked the Habsburgs to divide the Ottoman army between two fronts of battle and thereby weaken it. In 1536, the Ottomans formalized their own alliance with the king of France, an enemy of the Habsburgs, who sent a military adviser to counsel Sultan Suleiman about his war with Iran in 1547.

Two decades of warfare severely strained the Iranian economy, however, and Tahmasp sought peace with the Ottomans. Under the Peace of Amasya, concluded in 1555, Armenia and Georgia were divided between the two empires; the Ottomans gained control over Iraq and access to the Persian Gulf, while Iran's control over Azerbaijan was guaranteed. Tahmasp also moved his capital from Tabriz to Qazvin, closer to the Caspian Sea and at less risk of capture or siege by Ottoman forces. The two states finally laid down arms and declared a peace that lasted more than thirty years.

It did not last forever, however. The borders of Iran were secure at the end of Tahmasp's reign, but his son and grandson were ineffective leaders who failed to keep the Qizilbash rivalries from once again destabilizing the country, which led to yet more incursions by Ottoman and Uzbek forces. Tahmasp's grandson Abbas I, generally considered the strongest Safavid shah as well as one of the greatest rulers in Iranian history, found himself compelled to take up arms once again (Figure 4.21). During his reign, the Safavid state reached the height of its military, political, and economic power. Abbas I reformed the military and civil service and built a showpiece capital city, Isfahan, which remains one of the masterworks of Persian Islamic art and architecture.

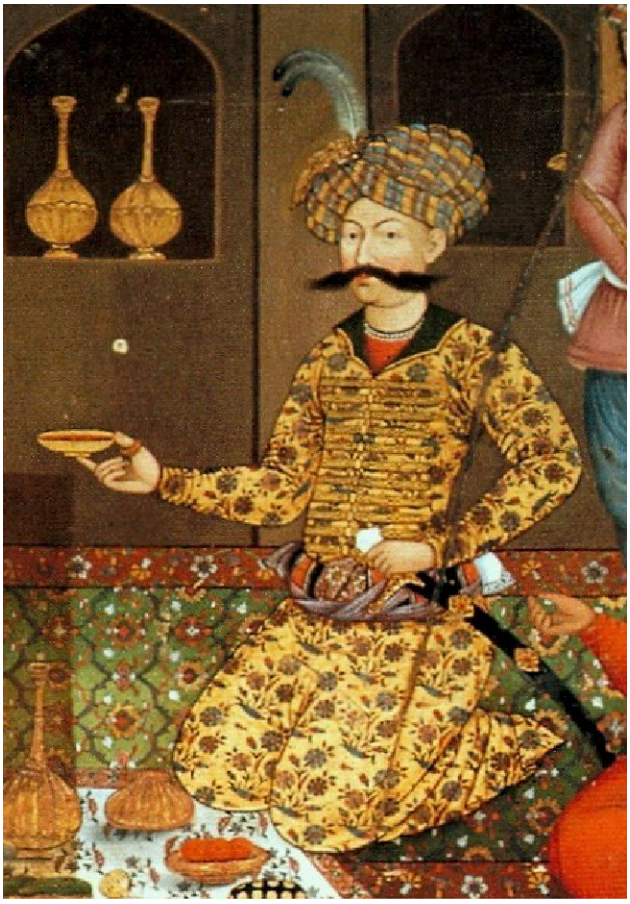


FIGURE 4.21 Shah Abbas I. This detail from a series of seventeenth-century paintings decorating the walls of the Chehel Sotoun Palace in Isfahan, Iran, depicts Shah Abbas I, who ruled over Iran at the height of the Safavid dynasty's power. (credit: "Abbas I of Persia" by Unknown/"TRAJAN 117"/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

By the time the seventeen-year-old Abbas was crowned shah in 1588, Iran was in chaos. After waging war against the Uzbeks, Abbas realized that fighting the Ottomans with the country in upheaval would be nearly impossible. As a result, he signed a peace treaty in 1590 that gave nearly half his territory, including the former capital of Tabriz, to the Ottomans. Abbas then returned to the issue his grandfather had taken up: taming the Qizilbash, whose disputes had plunged Iran into civil conflict that twice nearly brought the country to ruin. His grandfather had acquired over thirty thousand enslaved people employed as civil servants and palace administrators; turning to the Caucasus region again, Abbas decided to also create an enslaved soldier corps like the Ottoman Janissaries.

With his new army behind him, Abbas undertook to gain back the territories lost to the Uzbeks and Ottomans. The Safavid armies quickly reconquered Khorasan from the Uzbeks and moved on to Azerbaijan. The Ottomans sued for peace in 1612, relinquishing the Caucasus to the Iranians. An attempt to recapture the territory in 1618 resulted in a devastating loss for the Ottomans.

Despite near-constant war, during this time Iran reached new cultural and economic heights. In 1598, Abbas

moved his capital from Qazvin to Isfahan in the central Iranian plateau, far from the constantly shifting borders with the Ottomans and Uzbeks and closer to the Persian Gulf and the newly arrived traders of the British and Dutch East India Companies. The city was built as a showpiece, with administrative buildings and public markets opening on the enormous Naqsh-e Jahan ("Exemplar of the world") Square (Figure 4.22).



FIGURE 4.22 Naqsh-e Jahan Square. The Shah Mosque, built by Abbas I, is located on the south side of Naqsh-e Jahan Square in the center of Isfahan. The square, a UNESCO World Heritage site, still serves as a gathering place today. (credit: "Naqsh-e Jahan Square" by Bijan Tehrani/Wikimedia Commons, CC BY 2.0)

The city center was unique. All levels of society could mix there, from members of the royal court whose pavilion overlooked the square, to the Shi'ite clergy whose mosque was at the square's southern end, to foreign dignitaries, members of the military, merchants, and commoners. A soup kitchen distributed free food to the needy, and occasionally the square was cleared for polo games, public ceremonies, and festivals. To populate his new capital, Abbas ordered several different populations to settle in it, including Armenians, Jewish people, Circassians, and other Caucasian peoples, many of whom had been displaced during his war against the Ottomans in their homelands. The cathedral Abbas ordered built for the Armenian Christians still serves that community in Isfahan today.

After Abbas's death, the Safavid state met another internal threat, this time from the Georgian kingdom of Kakheti. After Abbas had ordered the mass deportation of Georgians to central Iran, he sent Oghuz Turks (Turcomen) to settle the area; the local population that remained refused to allow them to do so, however, and staged a military rebellion. Although the Safavids were eventually able to reestablish authority, they never achieved their earlier level of control.

Iran also continued to face threats from outside. In the early eighteenth century under the reign of Tsar Peter the Great, Russia began to encroach on the northern shores of the Caspian Sea and to compete for influence in the Caucasus. The armies of Peter the Great took the Caucasus in the Russo-Persian war of 1722–1723, while the Ottomans reoccupied northwestern Iran. The entry of European ships to the Indian Ocean trade cut off much of Iran's direct access to Africa and South Asia. Over the course of the 1730s, Nader Afshar, one of the Safavid vassals, established himself as a strong military ruler. He was able to reverse many of Iran's territorial losses to the Russians and Ottomans; however, he had no interest in sharing power. In 1736, Nader deposed the infant Abbas III and crowned himself shah, bringing the Safavid Empire to an end and establishing the

short-lived Afsharid dynasty.

Establishing Shi‘ism as the State Religion

The Safavids declared Shia Islam the state religion of Iran in the early 1500s, and it remains so to this day, encompassing about 10 percent of the worldwide Muslim population. The Shia movement originated with a dispute over Muhammad's successor after his death in 632. One faction, which became known as the Sunnis, supported the candidacy of Abu Bakr al-Sadiq, Muhammad's father-in-law. The other faction wished the leadership to remain within Muhammad's biological family and backed Ali ibn Abi Talib, Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law, whom they believed the Prophet had chosen as his successor. This group became known as the Shia.

The Shia believe Ali, who finally succeeded Uthman to become the leader of the Muslim community in 656, was the first legitimate imam, the title they give their spiritual leader rather than "caliph." They view the line of Muhammad that descends through Ali and his wife Fatima, Muhammad's daughter, as the only source of definitive religious guidance. About 95 percent of Shia also believe Ali was the first of twelve infallible leaders chosen by God, so this sect is often called the **Twelvers**. Twelvers hold that the twelfth and final imam, Muhammad al-Mahdi, went into "mystical hiding" in the ninth century and will return, along with Jesus, to defeat evil on earth and herald the Day of Judgment. The remaining Shia are either Zaydis (also known as Fivers) or Ismailis (also called Seveners), who disagree with Twelvers over the identities of the fifth and seventh imams, respectively. The Zaydi sect was established by Zayd, the great-grandson of Ali.

Sunnis respect Ali and all the Twelve Imams, but they do not believe the Twelve alone were divinely chosen to lead the Muslim community. In their view of Islam, any pious man who followed the example of Muhammad could lead the Muslim community.

Shi‘ism was not officially tolerated by the Sunni caliphs of the Umayyad and Abbasid Empires because of its perceived challenge to their rule. For this reason, most Shia movements developed far outside the control of these caliphates, in places like Morocco, Yemen, Iran, and central Asia. After the Mongol conquest of Baghdad in 1258, the Sunni caliphate became a weak figurehead position that held only symbolic authority. During the period of Mongol rule over Iran and the Caucasus, the distinction between Shia and Sunni became less important than it had been. When Ismail crowned himself Shah in 1501, most of Iran's population was Sunni. When he declared Twelver Shi‘ism to be the state religion of Iran, he hoped to unify his Iranian subjects by having them adopt a form of Islam that gave them a unique identity and distinguished them from their military and political enemies the Ottomans and the Uzbeks, who were both Sunni.

Historians generally agree that the Safavids' efforts to convert Muslims in their empire to Shi‘ism utilized coercion and force. Shah Ismail, who saw himself as infallible and semidivine, believed his strong religious convictions had won him the Iranian throne, and he used his political and military authority to impose his religious ideology on the country (Figure 4.23). He ordered all Iran's Sunni Muslims to become Shi‘ites. Sunni clerics and theologians were given the choice of conversion or exile. Sunnis who resisted conversion but remained in Iran faced death. To spread the new beliefs and win converts, Ismail brought Shia scholars to Iran from Lebanon and Syria. He used state funds to construct schools where Shia beliefs were taught and to build shrines to Ali and members of his family. Ismail also invited foreign Shi‘ites living in places where they were persecuted by the Sunni majority to move to Iran, promising them land and protection.



FIGURE 4.23 Shi‘ism as the State Religion. In this image from a Persian history of his reign written about 1650, the Safavid ruler Shah Ismail (dressed in white) stands on the steps of a mosque prior to his coronation, having the sermon read in the name of the Twelve Imams and effectively declaring Shi‘ism to be the state religion of Iran in 1501. (credit: “Shah Isma'il, History of Shah Isma'il, by Mu'in Musavvir, Isfahan, Iran” by Muin Musavvir/British Library/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The conversion efforts of the Safavids have left long legacies in the Islamic world. Though the majority of Muslims in Azerbaijan and Iran considered themselves Shia by the time the Safavid era ended in 1736, Nader Shah attempted to restore Sunnism as the dominant sect. But there was little public enthusiasm, and after his death most who had claimed to adopt Sunnism during his reign quietly reverted to Shi‘ism. At the same time, however, the Safavids’ conversion policy brought tensions between Sunni and Shia to a level not seen since Muhammad’s death. The hostility between the sects that continues today is usually traced to the Safavid era and the dynasty’s military rivalry with the Ottomans, especially after the sultan acquired the Sunni title of caliph in 1517.

The Safavids were generally more tolerant of non-Muslim subjects than they were of the Sunni. Nevertheless, Safavid rulers were aggressive toward the Armenians, Georgians, and other Christians in the Caucasus region, whom they considered potentially rebellious. They sought to control these populations by enslaving or deporting their members, and nobles were often requested to convert to Shi‘ism. Christians elsewhere in the

Safavid realm, however, were given considerable freedom to build churches and honor their own customs and beliefs. Abbas I was particularly lenient toward the Armenian Christian population of Isfahan, due to their participation in the lucrative manufacture and export of silk. Spain and the Vatican sent several embassies to Iran hoping to enlist it as an ally against the Ottomans. The pope also hoped Abbas would allow the construction of a cathedral in his new capital city of Isfahan, but on their arrival his emissaries found three Roman Catholic churches already there (Figure 4.24).



FIGURE 4.24 Holy Savior Cathedral in Isfahan. The interior of the Armenian Christian Holy Savior Cathedral in Isfahan, built in 1606, incorporates both Christian imagery, such as scenes from the life of Christ, and Islamic-style decorative tilework. (credit: "Armenian Frescoes" by David Stanley/Flickr, CC BY 2.0)

Safavid Government and Culture

During the Safavid period, Iran was ethnically quite diverse. Safi al-Din is believed to have come from a family of Kurds who spoke Azeri. As the Safavid order developed, its members intermarried with other Turkic groups such as the Turcomen, Lar, and Bakhtiyari, and with Georgian, Armenian, and Pontic Greek Christians within their lands and bordering territories. Through his mother, Shah Ismail I was descended from the Komnenos dynasty that once ruled the Byzantine Empire. He used Persian as the language of government and composed poetry in Azeri, contributing to its development as a literary language. The Qizilbash were largely Turcoman, another Turkic group with its own language. Various groups of Persian-speaking peoples lived in the Iranian plateau and were usually described as "Tajik."

The Safavid shahs were wary of groups that sought to exert too much power over them and the government. One of the reasons the Qizilbash were eventually replaced as palace administrators, bureaucrats, and military elites is that they had occasionally used their collective power to render some of the weaker shahs mere

figureheads. However, beneath the shah and the powerful elites, the Safavid hierarchy was unique for its time in being largely based on merit; worth and talent, not status or birth, were the keys to upward mobility. Even those in hereditary positions had to prove themselves capable or be replaced. This system brought the brightest and most talented into government service while preventing the development of an entrenched and unchecked aristocracy.

Shi'ism's rise created a new religious hierarchy in Iran. Given the sect's government sponsorship, the Shia *ulama* were often able to act as intermediaries between the people and the government. They formed an early alliance with merchants, for instance, establishing and administering *vaqfs* to protect the merchants' property and assets. Through this alliance many members of the *ulama* became landowners themselves, creating a religious aristocracy that gave them a level of political independence. When the Safavid state weakened in its later years, the *ulama* were able to step in and use their newly acquired wealth to benefit their communities. This strengthening of direct ties between the *ulama* and the people, and the separation of the religious establishment from the state, is believed to be one of the reasons Shi'ism long outlasted the Safavid era.

The stability of the Safavid system allowed art and culture to flourish; the Safavid era is considered one of the high points of Perso-Islamic culture. Two distinct schools of painting developed: the Turkmen school in western Iran and the Timurid school based in Herat (in today's Afghanistan). Shah Tahmasp supported both schools at a royal painting workshop where artistic masters were invited to work with luxury materials such as gold leaf and ground lapis lazuli (Figure 4.25).



FIGURE 4.25 Shah Tahmasp. This detail of a sixteenth-century miniature by the Persian artist Farrukh Beg shows Shah Tahmasp, who was a great patron of the arts. The patterns on Tahmasp's robe have been embellished with gold. (credit: "Shah Tahmasp in the mountains" by Freer Gallery of Art/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

One of the most famous achievements of Tahmasp's workshop was an illustrated version of the *Shahnameh*, the national epic of Iran written by the poet Ferdowsi in the tenth century. Safavid miniature painting remains one of the most prized examples of visual art. Iranian ceramics became highly valued for export because of their remarkable similarity in style and quality to treasured Chinese porcelain, with even more intricately painted decorations. Some Safavid ceramic artists went so far as to place a fake Chinese workshop stamp on

the back of their products to increase their value.

BEYOND THE BOOK

The Art of the Book

The most distinctive and prized artworks of the Safavid era were illuminated manuscripts of well-known texts decorated with miniature paintings. In these paintings, artists used mineral-based dyes, which produced brilliant and long-lasting colors (Figure 4.26). Wealthy patrons commissioned artists—like those in the studio of Shah Tahmasp—to paint these miniatures either to illustrate books or to be kept as a separate piece of art in an album of similar works.



FIGURE 4.26 The Feast of Sada. This Persian miniature produced in the studio of Shah Tahmasp depicts the Feast of Sada, a mythical event that celebrates the discovery of fire. (credit: "'The Feast of Sada,' Folio 22v from the Shahnama (Book of Kings) of Shah Tahmasp" by Ferdowsi/Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Arthur A. Houghton Jr., 1970 /Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The art of these miniature paintings relies on a style called "nonrepresentational." Instead of depicting a scene naturalistically, it uses forced or even impossible perspectives to show action on multiple tiers, revealing activity behind doors or walls that some of the subjects in the painting cannot see. The subjects, even if they sponsored the work, are generally idealized rather than actual persons. Representation of the human form has been forbidden in Islamic art at times; in Persian illuminated manuscripts, the artists' response was to use the image to bring a specific person to the viewer's mind without representing them accurately.

Miniatures were an important form of Persian art long before Islam appeared; Persian artists were prized at the court of the Abbasids, and artistic styles derived from their work, such as the nonfigurative elements used in the

borders of miniatures, were later used to decorate manuscripts of the Quran.

Despite the strong rivalry between the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals, all three empires produced paintings of this type (Figure 4.27). While strongly influenced by Persian miniatures, Mughal miniatures tended to represent a more realistic depiction of animals and humans.



FIGURE 4.27 An Image of Rama. This miniature created in the Mughal Empire in 1594 shows a scene from the *Ramayana*, a Sanskrit epic of Rama, an incarnation of the Hindu god Vishnu. Rama, seated beneath the tree beside his brother Laksmana, addresses Hanuman, the monkey king. (credit: modification of work "Miniature from the Ramayana, India, Mughal, 1594" by Richard Mortel/The David Collection, Copenhagen/Wikimedia Commons, CC BY 2.0)

Safavid miniatures are highly prized today; some of the best examples have sold for millions of dollars at auction.

- What are the common features of the Safavid and Mughal paintings? How are their styles similar?
- What might account for the differences in style between the Safavid and Mughal paintings?

As Tahmasp's royal studio was to painting, Abbas's capital at Isfahan was to architecture. While Naqsh-e Jahan Square provided a focus, the city also featured a broad tree-lined avenue called the Chahar Bagh, stretching over four kilometers from the square to a royal country estate (Figure 4.28). This street was flanked by palaces and public gardens that featured fruit trees and fountains with running water. The city was designed as a treat for the senses, employing artistic motifs in tilework and calligraphy, broad sweeping arches and domes that mimicked the sky, the sounds of running water and wind blowing through leaves, and the scents of flowering

shrubs and trees carried on the breeze. Later Safavid shahs continued to expand Isfahan, adding buildings, avenues, and bridges and commissioning structures in other cities based on the style cultivated in the capital. Many of these are now symbols of Iranian nationhood.



FIGURE 4.28 The Si-o-Se-Pol Bridge in Isfahan. The Si-o-Se-Pol ("thirty-three arches") Bridge in Isfahan, built between 1599 and 1602, carries the broad avenue called Chahar Bagh across the Zayanderud River. (credit: "Si-o-se Pol ('33 Bridges' or 'the Bridge of 33 Arches'), also called the 'Allah-Verdi Khan Bridge'" by Reza Haji-pour/ Wikimedia Commons, CC BY 3.0)

As in the Ottoman Empire, wealthy Safavid women raised their public stature by becoming patrons of the arts and endowing public buildings. Royal and elite women often funded the construction or maintenance of caravansaries, demonstrating the value of trade to both the state and individual wealth. Safavid art and artistic production reflected Iran's location at the center of global trade routes, incorporating elements and styles from countries with which Iran conducted trade. The production of silk was one of the most important industries in Iran. Persian carpets of silk and wool were in high demand in Europe and other parts of the Islamic world. The Ardabil carpet, still one of the largest Persian carpets in existence, was made during the Safavid period. It is 34-1/2 by 17-1/2 feet and is on view at London's Victoria and Albert Museum.

LINK TO LEARNING

View images of the famous Ardabil carpet (https://openstax.org/l/77ArdabilCarpet) at the Victoria and Albert Museum website to see it in detail and also get a sense of its enormous size.

Key Terms

caliphate an area under the control of a Muslim ruler called a caliph
caravansary an inn funded by the state or wealthy individuals where travelers could spend the night and store their goods securely
devshirme the system of recruiting Christian boys from the Balkans to be enslaved, converted to Islam, and trained to serve the Ottoman sultan
dhimmi a non-Muslim living under Muslim rule
hajj the Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca
millet system the system through which non-Muslim religious communities were allowed to regulate their internal affairs according to their own religious laws
sharia Islamic religious law
Sultanate of Women the period between the tenure of Hurrem Sultan in the mid-fifteenth century and the late seventeenth century, during which wives and mothers of the sultan were able to exert political power and influence at court
Twelvers members of a large Shia sect who believe the twelfth imam, Muhammad al-Mahdi, will return, along with Jesus, to defeat evil on earth
ulama a class of religious clerics and scholars who act as the primary interpreters of Islamic law
ummah the community of Muslims

Section Summary

4.1 A Connected Islamic World

By the sixteenth century, the religion of Islam had spread far beyond its point of origin in Southwest Asia. Islamic communities, large empires, and a number of Islamic kingdoms thrived in West and East Africa, southeastern Europe, India, and Southeast Asia. But although no single powerful caliphate held all these areas together, the religion of Islam allowed for a degree of cohesiveness and unity, despite theological disagreements. As a result, trade in all types of goods unified the wider Islamic world, flowing along numerous trade routes and through markets overseen by Muslim market inspectors. Local states encouraged trade through their territories because it brought them economic benefits and access to new ideas and technologies. This trade often occurred with the cooperation of the many non-Muslim communities that lived in the Islamic world, such as Jewish people and Christians.

In addition to goods and people, trade routes also carried ideas, knowledge, and technologies that also served as a cohesive force. Some led to improvements in mapmaking and navigation. Others had military applications, such as new firearms and artillery. These weapons provided advantages to some of the large Islamic empires of the era, like the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals.

4.2 The Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire was one of the most diverse political entities of its time. Sultans such as Suleiman I encouraged people of all ethnicities to settle there, and under the millet system, each religious community had its own leader, regulated its own affairs, and educated its own children. This diversity is reflected in the languages spoken in the empire. Turkish was for interacting with the government, Arabic for scholarship and in religious settings, and Persian for literature.

The empire reached its greatest heights under Suleiman I, known in the West as “the Magnificent” and among Ottomans as “the lawgiver” for his creation of a legal code that applied throughout the realm. Under Suleiman and his successors, science flourished, and important advances were made in fields such as astronomy and medicine. The Ottoman Empire began to decline in power following the defeat of its forces by European navies at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. In the seventeenth century, the Ottomans found their power being eclipsed by that of Russia in the Black Sea region.

4.3 The Safavid Empire

The establishment of the Safavid state under Shah Ismail I in 1501 was followed by rapid territorial expansion, but conflict between factions of the Qizilbash military corps allowed the Ottoman and Uzbek empires to take advantage and capture territory. Shahs Tahmasp and Abbas I created a corps of enslaved people from the Caucasus to serve as their new elite military force and eventually replace the Qizilbash.

The Safavid shahs were committed to Shi'ite Islam and forcibly converted the Sunni Muslims in their territories. They were generally more tolerant of non-Muslims, particularly those who did not live in the Caucasus or along the border with the Ottoman Empire. But the Safavids' militance and their intolerance of Sunnis heightened tensions between Sunnis and Shia throughout the Muslim world, a rift still apparent today. The stability of the Safavids' political system allowed for a flourishing of art, however, as exemplified in miniature painting, ceramics, and royal architecture. After Abbas, the growing power of Russia and other neighboring kingdoms led to a weakened Safavid state, which came to an end when Nader Shah of the Afsharid dynasty crowned himself shah in 1736.

Assessments

Review Questions

1. How did members of the *ulama* engage in debates and collaboration across the Muslim world?
   a. trade contracts
   b. correspondence
   c. poll taxes
   d. caravansaries

2. Which of the following was true of trade across the Islamic world?
   a. *Dhimmis* were prohibited from participating in trade.
   b. Trade helped expand the reach of Islam.
   c. Markets lacked a uniform system of weights and measures.
   d. Merchants operated outside the rules of sharia.

3. What did Muslim traders often rely on to avoid having to carry large amounts of gold over great distances?
   a. market inspectors
   b. caravansaries
   c. letters of credit
   d. sharia

4. Why might governments in states along trading routes have sponsored caravansaries?
   a. They needed them to issue letters of credit.
   b. They required them to verify business contracts.
   c. They used them to discourage *dhimmis* from trading.
   d. They wanted to encourage trade across their lands.

5. What technological innovation demonstrates the relationship between Islamic practice and technological innovation?
   a. the use of trigonometry to calculate the *qibla*
   b. the use of artillery in the siege of Constantinople
   c. the use of Portuguese observations to create a world map
   d. the use of the arquebus for Mughal warfare

6. What was the system of enslaving young men from villages in the Balkans and putting them into state service known as?

a. *vaqf*
b. millet system
c. *devshirme*
d. Sultanate of Women

7. What was an achievement of Sultan Suleiman's reign?
a. the conquest of Constantinople and the destruction of the Byzantine Empire
b. the establishment of government-supported schools for children of all religions
c. the destruction of the Topkapi Palace
d. the creation of a unified legal code that applied to all parts of the empire

8. What best describes scientific and technological study under the Ottomans?
a. Ottoman scientists considered scientific study a form of religious devotion and conducted research in a variety of areas, especially medicine and astronomy.
b. Science was strictly controlled by religious authorities, who could suppress discoveries that contradicted religious doctrine.
c. Scientific research was restricted to Muslims; bright students who were members of a millet had to convert to Islam to participate.
d. Ottoman military technology got better over time, but weaponry became heavier and required new methods of transportation.

9. Which of the following accurately describes the Sultanate of Women?
a. Sultan Suleiman I decided to appoint a woman as his successor in order to confound and confuse his rivals, the Habsburg and the Safavids.
b. Women, usually the wives or mothers of the reigning sultan, were now able to exert considerable influence at court.
c. A matriarchal queendom was established in eastern Anatolia to exert military and social pressure on the Caucasus and Safavid Iran.
d. Most of the businesses and major institutions in the Grand Bazaar were owned by women, and they achieved political influence as a result.

10. How did the Safavids emerge?
a. as the legitimate political heirs to Tamerlane
b. as a religious movement
c. by conquering Iran on behalf of the Ottomans
d. by conquering Iran on behalf of the Uzbeks

11. What did Shah Ismail claim about himself?
a. that he was descended from Adam, Muhammad, and Ali
b. that he was the long-awaited twelfth imam
c. that he was divine
d. that he was heir to the Ottoman throne

12. What tenet would a student in a Shia religious school be least likely to learn?
a. The "Four Rightly Guided" caliphs should be respected as the first imams.
b. Jesus will appear to herald the Day of Judgment, accompanied by the twelfth Shia imam.
c. The leader of the *ummah* should be a descendant of Muhammad.
d. The Quran is the most sacred text of Islam.

13. What best describes the way the Safavid shahs dealt with groups competing for political power and

influence at court?

a. They awarded positions based on hereditary descent from the previous job holder.
b. They gave control of the military to the Qizilbash and served only in an advisory capacity.
c. They enslaved men from the Caucasus and employed them as soldiers to temper the power of the Qizilbash.
d. They heavily preferred ethnic Persians in administrative positions.

14. Why did Abbas relocate his capital to Isfahan?

a. It was close to trade outposts on the Mediterranean coast.
b. It was far from the war front with the Ottomans.
c. It was near the migratory paths of the game birds Abbas liked to hunt.
d. It was ideally situated between two major rivers.

Check Your Understanding Questions

1. Into what parts of the world did Muslim traders venture? What were the main trade routes they used?

2. How did trade routes facilitate the spread of Islam into new areas?

3. How did scientific discoveries and the development of new technologies facilitate the spread of Islamic empires and communities?

4. How was ethnic and religious diversity treated in the Ottoman Empire?

5. In Europe, Suleiman was known as the Magnificent, but in the empire, he was commonly known as the Lawgiver. Why might a poor Ottoman subject have considered Suleiman's legal reforms a more important legacy?

6. With what other empires and peoples did the Safavid's goals of territorial expansion bring them into conflict?

7. How was the role of trade reflected in the way the Safavid Empire was run?

Application and Reflection Questions

1. What practices and institutions helped Muslims maintain their sense of belonging to a unified religious community, the *ummah*, after the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad?

2. By what means was Islam spread beyond the Middle East? What are some of the ways in which the spread of Islam into a new region affected the people living there?

3. The Ottomans were often described by their European enemies as a non-European power that invaded and occupied European territory, enslaved their non-Muslim population, and encouraged their subjects to convert to Islam. Do you think this assessment of the Ottoman system and the way it functioned is fair? Why or why not? If not, how might you reword the description to make it more accurate?

4. What opportunities existed for women in the Ottoman Empire? How did these opportunities differ based on class?

5. How did the declaration of Shia Islam as the state religion shape Safavid government and society? Why was it important for the Safavids to have a state doctrine?

6. What were the different approaches to religion taken by the Ottoman and Safavid empires? What are the advantages and disadvantages of the Ottoman millet system and of the Safavid imposition of a state religious doctrine?

Foundations of the Atlantic World 5



FIGURE 5.1 Columbus Making Landfall. This image of Christopher Columbus making landfall in the New World was painted by the German American artist Albert Bierstadt at the end of the nineteenth century. Ten feet long and six feet high, it presents Columbus in a romanticized fashion, with the Indigenous people bowing before him. They would likely have portrayed the event quite differently. (credit: modification of work "The Landing of Columbus" by Albert Bierstadt/City of Plainfield, New Jersey/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

CHAPTER OUTLINE

5.1 The Protestant Reformation
5.2 Crossing the Atlantic
5.3 The Mercantilist Economy
5.4 The Atlantic Slave Trade

INTRODUCTION The sixteenth century was a time of momentous change in Europe. The Age of Exploration began in the late 1400s with forays into the Atlantic by two European nations—Portugal and Spain. Although these countries took the lead and Christopher Columbus has been glorified as a central figure in the history of that exploration (Figure 5.1), they were soon joined by other European players including England, France, the Netherlands, and Denmark. Their extensive overseas exploration and the exploding web of connections in the Atlantic World—the Columbian Exchange, the colonization of the Americas, and the development of the Atlantic slave trade—forever changed people's understanding of what the world was like and the face and direction of history. Yet far more was altered in the sixteenth century than the human conception of the earth; profound changes in European religious belief also transformed the way many Christians thought of the life they hoped for beyond this one.

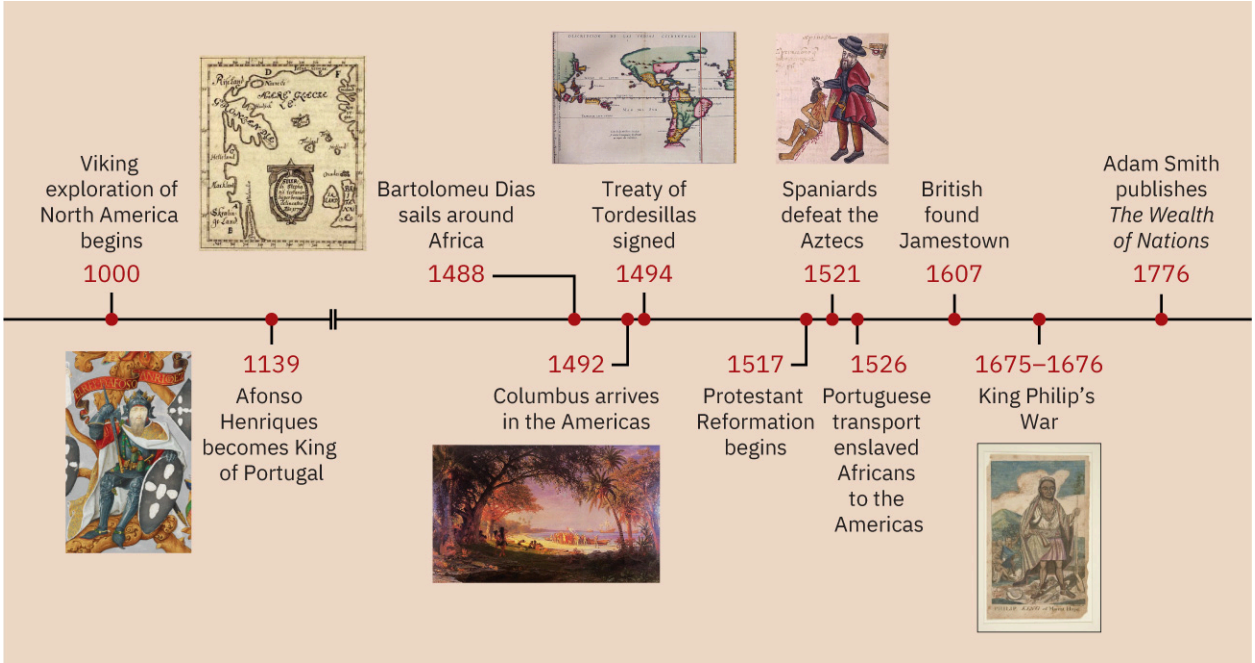


FIGURE 5.2 Timeline: Foundations of the Atlantic World. (credit "1000": modification of work "Skálholt-map" by Sigurd Stefánsson/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1139": modification of work "King Afonso Henriques, first King of Portugal, in a 16th century miniature" in The Portuguese Genealogy (Genealogia dos Reis de Portugal)/British Library/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1492": modification of work "The Landing of Columbus" by Albert Bierstadt/City of Plainfield, New Jersey/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1494": modification of work "Map of Meridian Line set under the Treaty of Tordesillas" by Library of Congress/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1521": modification of work "An indigenous Mexican complaint against an abusive *encomendero*" by Codex Kingsborough/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1675–1676": modification of work "Philip King of Mount Hope by Paul Revere" by Yale University Art Gallery/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

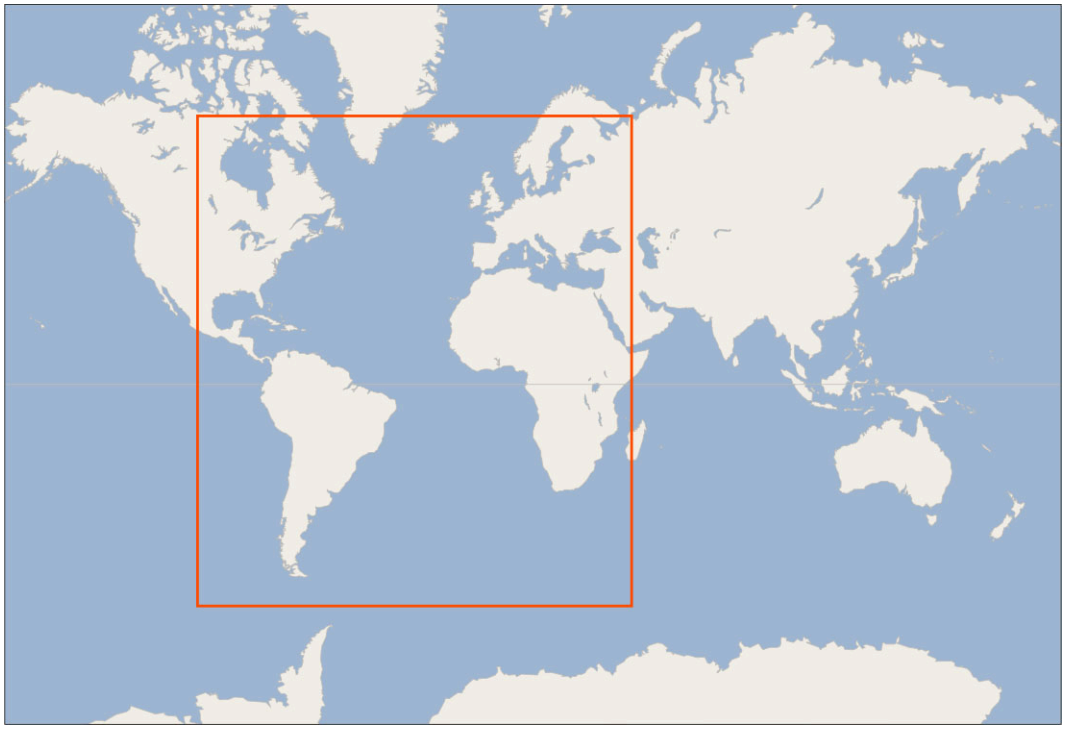


FIGURE 5.3 Locator Map: Foundations of the Atlantic World. (credit: modification of work "World map blank shorelines" by Maciej Jaros/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

5.1 The Protestant Reformation

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Explain the causes of the Protestant Reformation
- Describe differences between Protestant and Catholic beliefs
- Discuss the spread of Protestantism in Europe and the wars of religion
- Describe the Catholic response to the Protestant Reformation

When Columbus set sail across the Atlantic in 1492, the people of western and central Europe, regardless of their country or language, were united by a common religion. In the same year as Columbus's momentous voyage, Spain defeated the last Muslim stronghold on the Iberian Peninsula and expelled Jewish people from the land. Muslims were given a brief respite, but in 1501 they too were ordered to leave or to convert to Catholicism. With the exception of small Jewish communities in the Low Countries (Belgium and the Netherlands) and the German lands, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the people of western and central Europe were uniformly Roman Catholics. Challenges to the authority of the Catholic Church were brewing, however, and the passage of less than a century found Europeans hopelessly divided over matters of faith as the result of an event known as the Protestant Reformation.

The Origins of the Protestant Reformation

The Protestant Reformation began in 1517, but its seeds had been sown years earlier. Over the course of the Middle Ages, the Catholic Church had grown richer, and its higher clerical offices had become dominated by people motivated more by the desire for wealth and power than by spiritual concerns. Although Europe's peasants remained devoutly attached to their faith, critics claimed that popes acted less like Christ's representatives on earth and more like secular princes, intervening in European political affairs and even commanding armies. Members of the clergy often lived lavishly in palatial surroundings and dressed themselves in silks and furs. Some had mistresses and illegitimate children, who were often given positions in the church. Wealthy families often purchased church offices for their members, and some men held bishoprics

(areas under the authority of a bishop) in more than one place at a time by hiring other men to perform their offices. Secular rulers, kings, and princes jealous of the church's power sometimes vied with the pope for control of the churches in their territory and welcomed opportunities to reject the church's authority.

During the fifteenth century, in the city-states of northern Italy, an intellectual movement called *humanism* had taken hold. Humanism stressed the value and dignity of human beings, and its scholars believed that, through the study of the philosophy, history, and literature of ancient Greece and Rome, people could improve themselves and live a "good life," which, in turn, would improve the societies in which they lived. Italian humanists were often devout Christians, and their study of ancient authors did not lead them to reject the teachings of the Catholic Church.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, northern European scholars championed a form of humanism whose explicit goal was to make people better Christians. Northern Renaissance humanism, also called **Christian humanism**, stressed the study of the works of Greece and Rome together with the teachings of the early Christian fathers to improve the state of the human soul. The goal of learning was to awaken an inner sense of piety, and northern Renaissance humanists such as Desiderius Erasmus encouraged people to use Christian teachings as a guide to daily life. This inner transformation, they believed, was superior to engaging in such outer forms of religious devotion as going on pilgrimage or fasting at prescribed times of the year. By becoming better Christians, people would ultimately reform the church.

Discontent among some European Catholics and an interest in spiritual transformation in northern Europe set the stage for a German monk named Martin Luther to try to eliminate the questionable practices of the medieval Roman Catholic Church. Luther's actions began the Protestant Reformation.

In 1517, Luther, then a professor at the University of Wittenberg in Germany, became outraged when the Dominican friar Johann Tetzel began to sell **indulgences** in Wittenberg, authorized by Albert, archbishop of the city of Mainz. Indulgences were a way to reduce or even cancel the time after death during which people needed to suffer in purgatory to atone for their sins before reaching heaven. These rewards could be earned by performing actions of great religious merit, such as going on Crusade. However, the church also taught that the pope controlled a store of merit amassed by Jesus and the Christian saints, whose virtue was so great they had entered heaven with grace left over. The church could allot this "extra" virtue to someone else in the form of an indulgence.

Luther had long been obsessed with thoughts of achieving salvation, the goal of all Christians. He was horrified at the idea that sinners might believe they could enter heaven not through repentance or God's mercy but by paying for an indulgence. He drafted ninety-five arguments explaining why the sale of indulgences was wrong, and according to many historians, he then nailed the *Ninety-five Theses* to the door of the castle church at Wittenberg. He also distributed printed copies throughout Germany and sent a copy to Archbishop Albert, who passed it along to Rome.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

The *Ninety-five Theses*

Martin Luther argued that the sale of indulgences was wrong. He believed only God could grant forgiveness and that humans could do nothing to ensure their salvation, which depended entirely upon God. This is known as the doctrine of justification by faith. Luther also said the pope had no control over purgatory and that there was no foundation in the Bible for the belief that the merit amassed by Jesus and the saints could be given to others. His intent in the *Ninety-five Theses* was to spark a discussion within the church that would lead to reform. Following are several of the theses.

> 6. The pope cannot remit any guilt, except by declaring and showing that it has been remitted by God; or, to be sure, by remitting guilt in cases reserved to his judgment. If his right to grant remission in these

cases were disregarded, the guilt would certainly remain unforgiven.

35. They who teach that contrition is not necessary on the part of those who intend to buy souls out of purgatory or to buy confessional privileges preach unchristian doctrine.

36. Any truly repentant Christian has a right to full remission of penalty and guilt, even without indulgence letters.

37. Any true Christian, whether living or dead, participates in all the blessings of Christ and the church; and this is granted him by God, even without indulgence letters.

38. Nevertheless, papal remission and blessing are by no means to be disregarded, for they are, as I have said (Thesis 6), the proclamation of the divine remission.

41. Papal indulgences must be preached with caution, lest people erroneously think that they are preferable to other good works of love.

43. Christians are to be taught that he who gives to the poor or lends to the needy does a better deed than he who buys indulgences.

51. Christians are to be taught that the pope would and should wish to give of his own money, even though he had to sell the basilica of St. Peter, to many of those from whom certain hawkers of indulgences cajole money.

—Martin Luther, *Ninety-five Theses*

- What does Luther say about the forgiveness of sin?
- What evidence do you see that Luther had not yet completely broken with Catholic teachings?
- Do you see evidence that Luther is trying to be conciliatory toward the pope? Do you see anything likely to anger the pope?

Although Luther had probably merely wished to reform the practices of the church, such as ending the sale of indulgences, and not to spark a rebellion against the church, his actions were not seen that way. In 1518, he was summoned by church authorities to answer questions regarding the position he expressed in the *Ninety-five Theses*. At a meeting in the German city of Augsburg, Luther denied that the church had the power to distribute merits amassed by Jesus and the saints. His beliefs were officially condemned by Pope Leo X, and he was ordered to recant, which he refused to do. In 1521, he was excommunicated (excluded from participating in the life of the church).

The version of Christianity that developed from Luther's ideas, and that formed the basis for what became the Protestant faith, differed from the official teachings of the Roman Catholic Church in important ways. The Catholic Church taught that salvation was achieved through a combination of religious faith and good works. Buying an indulgence was regarded as a good work because the money went to the church. Luther taught that faith alone was sufficient for salvation and that humans were unable to work toward their own redemption, which depended entirely upon God (Figure 5.4). Furthermore, adherence to centuries' worth of Catholic tradition was not necessary to be a good Christian. Luther contended that scripture alone should be the source of Christian belief and practice. His followers thus abandoned many traditional Catholic practices, including clerical celibacy. Luther, a monk, married Katharina von Bora, a former nun, and began a family. Protestants also called for the abolition of religious orders of monks and nuns. A life in the clergy, which the Catholic Church had proclaimed the greatest of all callings, was considered no better than the pursuit of any other vocation in life. The printing press with movable type, developed in Europe during the Renaissance, aided Martin Luther in his efforts to spread his message, and thousands of copies of Luther's writings circulated throughout Europe.

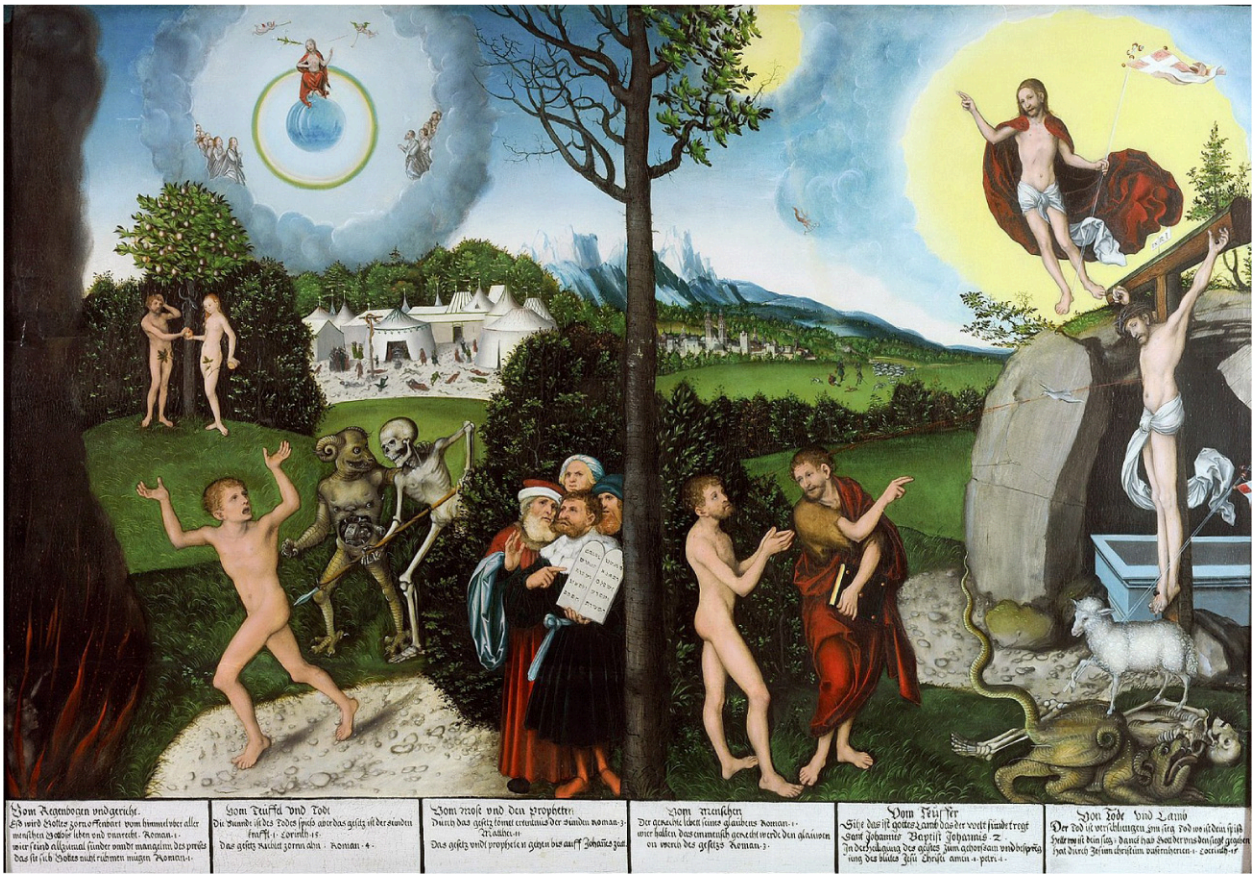


FIGURE 5.4 ***Allegory of Law and Grace.*** The 1529 painting *Allegory of Law and Grace* by the German artist Lucas Cranach the Elder illustrates Martin Luther's teachings. In the image on the left, the law, the Ten Commandments inscribed on a tablet, cannot save the sinner being chased by the devil into hell. On the right, John the Baptist in a red robe shows the sinner the crucified Jesus, a gift sent by God to save human beings. (credit: modification of work "Law and Gospel" by Herzogliches Museum, Gotha/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Calvinists, Anabaptists, and Anglicans

Efforts to silence Martin Luther were unsuccessful, and the new form of Christianity called Protestantism spread throughout the German-speaking lands. By the end of the sixteenth century, it had become entrenched throughout western and central Europe as well. Often the new religion was welcomed by rulers as a reason to reject the pope's authority, and Luther called upon the German princes to do so.

The Catholic Holy Roman emperor Charles V (who was also Charles I of Spain) steadfastly opposed Protestantism. However, the 1555 Peace of Augsburg secured for rulers in the empire who were Lutheran (as Luther's followers were called) the right to establish Lutheranism as the official religion within their lands if they wished. A prince's subjects were obliged to support the church he chose. Many rulers in northern Germany became Lutheran, but in Austria and Bavaria, in the southern part of the German-speaking lands, the Roman Catholic Church retained its power. No other religions were accommodated.

In Switzerland, the ideas of the reformation that Luther began were embraced by Ulrich (Huldrych) Zwingli in the city of Zurich. Zwingli, who had been a priest, called for radical changes, such as a rejection of the Catholic tenet of transubstantiation, which held that Jesus was physically present in the communion wine and wafer consecrated during every Mass. Even Martin Luther had not gone so far. Zwingli also preached against fasting in the period before major religious holidays and called for religious imagery to be removed from churches. He banned organs from churches, shut monasteries and convents, and had the Bible printed in German rather than Latin. Zwingli also called for an end to clerical celibacy and proclaimed that the Bible never referred to

purgatory. He was killed in 1531 in a conflict between the Catholic and Protestant areas of Switzerland.

Among those inspired by Zwingli's ideas was Konrad Grebel, a Swiss merchant. Grebel was especially moved by Zwingli's claims that baptism, through which people were admitted into church membership, should be delayed until adulthood when a person is capable of making the choice to renounce sin. Finding Zwingli too slow in reforming the Christian community in Zurich, however, Grebel established his own religious movement in 1524, the Swiss Brethren.

The Swiss Brethren was one of several Anabaptist churches—churches rejecting infant baptism in favor of adult baptism—that were established in the sixteenth century, primarily in central Europe and the Low Countries. Because baptism was believed to remove the taint of original sin (the transgression of Adam and Eve), infant baptism was the norm among Catholics and most Protestants as well. Anabaptists, however, believed that only adults could meaningfully renounce sin and make a declaration of faith. Thus, only adults could make the conscious decision to become Christians. But since people could be baptized only once, anyone rebaptized as an adult was violating a tenet of the Catholic faith.

Other Anabaptist movements included the Hutterites, the Mennonites, and the Amish, which broke from the larger Mennonite movement in the seventeenth century. Besides believing in adult baptism, Anabaptist groups advocated the separation of church and state and tended to be pacifists. Because of their refusal to hold public office, serve in the army, or accept secular rulers' right to control religious affairs, Anabaptists were widely feared by most European rulers and were often subject to violent attacks.

Another center of Protestant thought was the city of Geneva in what is now Switzerland. The city's religious leader, John Calvin, had been raised a Catholic in France, but he became a Protestant either before or shortly after fleeing to Switzerland to escape persecution for his beliefs. His ideas were similar to those of Martin Luther, but they differed in one crucial respect. Calvin espoused a doctrine known as *predestination*, which held that God had predetermined which souls would be granted salvation upon death and which were destined for hell. No person could ever know for certain whether they were saved or damned, and there was nothing they could do to ensure salvation. Calvinists embraced the doctrine, and despite its denial of human agency, they strove to lead a rigidly moral lifestyle focused on hard work and piety, seeking, in their ability to live like people destined for heaven, reassurance that they had in fact been saved. They rejected dancing, public drunkenness, gambling, and obscene speech as ungodly and fit for punishment by a special tribunal called the Consistory. Calvinism spread rapidly outside Geneva and found adherents in the Netherlands who established the Dutch Reformed Church, in Scotland where the Presbyterian Church was formed, and in France where its adherents were called Huguenots.

Martin Luther, Ulrich Zwingli, John Calvin, and the Anabaptist leaders were true believers in the doctrines they espoused. The English Reformation, however, was of a different character. In England, reform was initially imposed from the top down, not by a committed convert but by a king looking for an expedient way to exchange one queen for another.

Until the moment he decided to remove himself from under the pope's authority, Henry VIII of England had a reputation as a devout Catholic and a critic of Luther. He was married to Catherine of Aragon, the daughter of the Spanish monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella who were famous for defeating the Muslim kingdom of Granada and expelling Jewish and Muslim people from the Iberian Peninsula. Henry and Catherine's marriage had produced only one living child—a daughter, Mary. Although English law did not exclude women from inheriting the throne, Henry wanted to take no chances with the succession following his death and desired a son whose rule would go unchallenged.

Accordingly, against Catherine's wishes, Henry sought an annulment of his marriage so he might marry Anne Boleyn, who he believed would give him sons. Unlike a divorce, which the Catholic Church did not permit, an annulment simply declared a marriage null and void on the grounds it had never been legitimate. Henry argued that, because Catherine had first been married to his late elder brother Arthur, Catholic Church law

prohibiting the marriage of close relatives should never have allowed her and Henry to wed. When the pope refused to annul the marriage, Henry declared the English church no longer bound by the pope's authority. In 1534, Parliament passed the Act of Supremacy, establishing the Church of England with the English monarch as its head. The archbishop of Canterbury, the highest spiritual authority in the land, finally granted the annulment of Henry and Catherine's marriage. Henry had already quietly married Anne in time to see her give birth to a daughter, Elizabeth (later Elizabeth I).

Under Henry's leadership, the Church of England (also known as the Anglican Church) remained largely Catholic in terms of both doctrine and ritual. Henry closed England's monasteries, but his failure to purge the English Church of all elements of Roman Catholicism did not sit well with many Protestants. Upon Henry's death, his son Edward VI, whose mother Jane Seymour had been Henry's third wife, became king. Because Edward was still a minor, England was governed by regents who took steps to make the Anglican Church more Protestant, a move with which the young Edward agreed. Priests were allowed to marry. The practice of using rosary beads in prayer was denounced. Church processions were prohibited, and statues and stained-glass windows were removed from churches. The mass service was reformed, eliminating many Roman Catholic rituals, and the English-language *Book of Common Prayer*, published in 1549, laid out the new church service. Ministers who refused to use the *Book of Common Prayer* risked being removed from their positions and imprisoned.

The Catholic Reformation and the Wars of Religion

The leaders of the Catholic Church did not sit idly by as its members deserted it for new faiths. The Catholic Reformation, also called the Counter-Reformation, was the Catholic Church's effort to address Luther's challenges as well as to effect other necessary reforms. One means to do so was the 1545 Council of Trent. There, Europe's bishops and other clerics affirmed that both good works and faith were required for salvation and that both scripture (as interpreted by the church) and tradition were acceptable sources of authority. The council also affirmed the doctrine of transubstantiation. Aware of very real problems within the church, the council undertook a series of reforms as well. Indulgences were retained, but their sale was forbidden. The council prohibited church officials from appointing relatives to church offices, limited bishops to holding office in only one bishopric, and took steps to improve the education of Catholic clergy and curb their luxurious habits.

Another aspect of the Catholic Reformation was the creation of new religious orders. Founded by the Spanish noble Ignatius of Loyola, the Society of Jesus, also known as the Jesuits, assumed a number of tasks, chiefly the education of young Catholic men. They also undertook responsibility for the conversion of non-Christians to Roman Catholicism and for acting as advisers to the Catholic rulers of Europe. Unlike other religious orders, the Jesuits did not have a female branch. Instead, the Ursuline order of nuns, founded a few years before, undertook the education of young women.

Although the Catholic Reformation undoubtedly prevented the defection of many Catholics to Protestant churches, the new churches continued to gain adherents in many parts of Europe. At times, this was a peaceful process. At other times, wars erupted as devout Catholics did battle with equally devout Protestants to protect what both sides believed was the only true expression of Christian faith.

The transition from Catholicism to Protestantism in England was more peaceful than elsewhere. While Henry VIII's Catholic daughter Mary I, the child of Catherine of Aragon, occupied the throne following her brother Edward's death, Protestants were persecuted, and hundreds were executed as the queen tried to restore England to the Catholic Church. Mary died in 1558 before she could achieve this, however. Her younger half-sister, Elizabeth I, wished to govern an orderly, stable country, and while late in her reign she did persecute Catholics she felt posed a threat to her Protestant rule, she adopted a relatively moderate approach to religion during her early years on the throne (Figure 5.5).

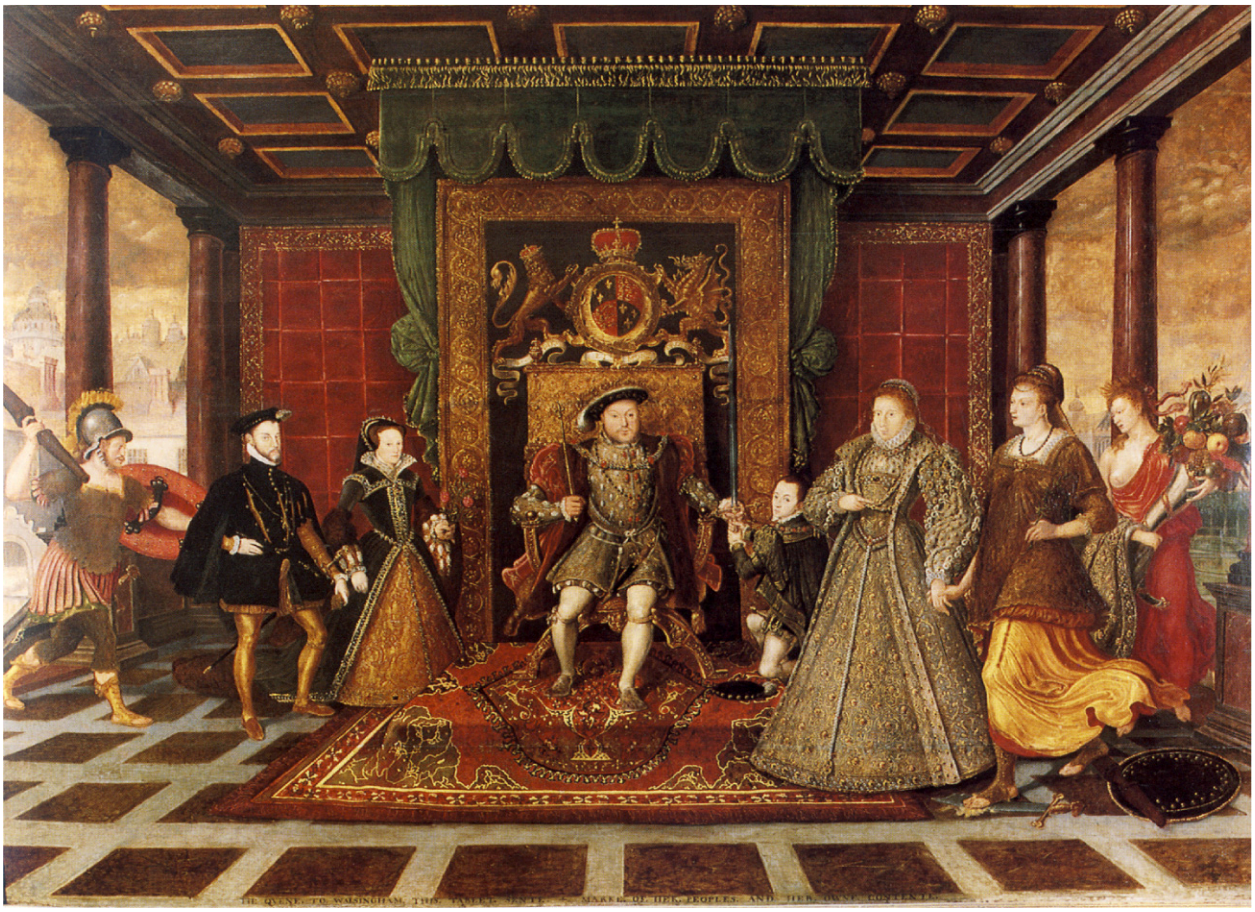


FIGURE 5.5 *The Family of Henry VIII: An Allegory of the Tudor Succession*. This 4- by 6-foot painting by Lucas de Heere dates from about 1572, during Elizabeth's reign. Elizabeth's father Henry VIII (whose family name was Tudor) sits in the center next to his young son Edward VI, to whom he gives the sword of justice. On the left is Mary I with her husband the king of Spain, and behind them is Mars the Roman god of war. Elizabeth I herself stands on the right flanked by Peace and Plenty. (credit: "The Family of Henry VIII: An Allegory of the Tudor Succession" by National Museum Cardiff/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Parliament's 1558 Act of Supremacy once again declared the Church of England separate from the Roman Catholic Church. The following year, the Act of Uniformity of 1559 brought back the *Book of Common Prayer* as the only legal form of worship in England. Some concessions were made, however, to those who did not wish to abandon Catholic ritual. The condemnation of the pope contained in an earlier version of the book was removed, and the communion ritual was described in a way that avoided making a clear statement about transubstantiation. Clergy could continue to wear traditional Catholic robes and ornaments.

During Elizabeth's reign, English Calvinists, known as Puritans, attempted unsuccessfully to move the Church of England even further from the doctrine and ritual of the Catholic Church. Many clergy in the English church were Puritans, and they objected to wearing Catholic robes during church services and making the sign of the cross during baptism. By the 1570s and 1580s, Puritans had also come to oppose the structure of the Church of England, in which the monarch was the head of the church. They believed churches should be independent and governed by groups of elected elders instead of a king or queen. Elizabeth was unwilling to change the manner in which the Church of England was governed, however. During the reign of her successor James I, Puritans who wished to separate from the Church of England (known as Separatists) began to depart England for places, including mainland Europe and North America, where they believed they would be able to establish ideal Christian communities. In the reign of Charles I, James's son, other Puritans also began to leave.

LINK TO LEARNING

English Puritans who immigrated to British colonies in North America used a book called *The New England Primer* (https://openstax.org/l/77Primer) to teach their children to read while also imparting religious lessons. This website presents images of the book, first printed in the 1680s. Pages 15 to 18 contain the alphabet and short rhymes to help children remember the letters: "A. In Adam's fall we sinned all."

Outside England, the dispute over whether a kingdom should be Catholic or Protestant could be quite violent. In 1572 in France, warfare between Huguenots and Catholics culminated in the August 23 St. Bartholomew's Day massacre, assassinations targeting prominent Huguenots who had come to Paris for a royal wedding. Peace was restored only when the Huguenot Henry IV succeeded to the throne of France, converted to Catholicism (the religion of the majority of French people), and issued the Edict of Nantes in 1598. The edict established Catholicism as the official religion of France but also granted Huguenots the right to worship as they chose.

In the Spanish Netherlands, Philip II of Spain, son and heir of Charles V, fought against Calvinist rebels. War raged from 1568 until a truce was signed in 1609. (After Philip's death in 1598, his son Philip III fought on after him.) Peace was restored, but the seven northern provinces established their independence from Spain as the United Provinces of the Netherlands. The Netherlands was not the only place in which Philip II, who regarded himself and Spain as defenders of Catholicism, fought to maintain the church's supremacy. In 1588, he launched a naval attack on England with the intent of restoring it to the Catholic Church and ending its support for Protestant rebels in the Spanish Netherlands. The invasion failed. The Spanish armada was famously outmaneuvered by the smaller, faster English ships, and as the remaining vessels started for home by sailing north around Scotland and Ireland, most were destroyed by a storm.

The wars of religion continued into the seventeenth century. From 1618 to 1648, the Thirty Years' War between Catholic and Protestant states raged in the Holy Roman Empire. As German Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists fought one another, other European countries entered the fray. Sweden, a Lutheran land, supported the Protestant German rulers, as did the United Provinces of the Netherlands. Denmark also entered the war in the hopes of gaining German territory to offset its losses to Sweden in recent conflicts. France joined in on the side of the Protestants, primarily in an effort to become the preeminent power in Europe. Despite the multinational nature of the combatants, battles were fought almost entirely within the German lands, whose people suffered as armies of mercenaries destroyed farms and villages. In the end, the German Protestants were victorious, and France had become the dominant country in western Europe. The Peace of Westphalia, which ended the war in 1648, established the independence of each of the entities, numbering nearly one thousand, that had made up the Holy Roman Empire.

5.2 Crossing the Atlantic

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Explain how technological innovations in the fifteenth century made transatlantic journeys possible
- Discuss the motives for Spanish and Portuguese exploration in the Americas
- Analyze the impact of the Treaty of Tordesillas on the Atlantic World
- Describe the physical and cultural ramifications of the Columbian Exchange

During the European Middle Ages, the Middle East and North Africa entered a golden age of learning. As Europeans increasingly made connections with peoples across the Mediterranean and in Central and East Asia, ideas from this golden age trickled back to them that influenced sailors, explorers, and shipbuilders. Then, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, innovators in navigation and exploration pushed Europeans to expand their trade networks across the globe and connect with new places and peoples. The most notable voyages of this period, known as the Age of Exploration, were the transatlantic voyages of Genoese explorer

Christopher Columbus in the 1490s, underwritten by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain.

The Rise of Maritime Nations

Christopher Columbus's 1492 voyage did not represent the first contact between European explorers and Indigenous peoples on the North American continent. Through archaeological and historical research, historians can now date that contact to nearly five hundred years before Columbus reached his first stop in the Caribbean.

In the early 1000s, Leif Erikson, a Viking explorer living in Greenland, heard from fellow explorer Bjarni Herjólfsson that another land lay only a few hundred miles to the west. In a journey during which he was blown off course, Erikson found a land to the west that he called Vinland, for the grapes that grew near its shores. He stayed there only through the winter, never making direct contact with the Indigenous peoples and returning to Greenland in the spring. His brother Thorvald was the first to make contact, which ended in violent conflict and the deaths of several Native Americans and Thorvald himself. In a third exploration, men and women of Erikson's family encountered the Indigenous people of Vinland again but maintained peace, creating a small but steady relationship with them based on trade (Figure 5.6).



FIGURE 5.6 North America as Seen by the Norse. An Icelandic map from 1690 shows North America with Norse (medieval Scandinavian) place names, like Markland (Labrador Peninsula) and Helluland (Baffin Island). (credit: "Skálholt-map" by Sigurd Stefánsson/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The Viking explorers referred to these Indigenous peoples as Skraelings. Scholars are not sure which Indigenous group they belonged to, but twentieth-century archaeological digs in Nova Scotia have verified much of the information found in the Icelandic sagas of Vinland. In the 1960s, explorers Helge and Anne Ingstad discovered in Newfoundland, Canada, the buried ruins of a Viking camp from around the time of Erikson's explorations, in a place called L'Anse aux Meadows. This find definitively proved at last that the Norse had traveled to the Americas before Columbus. Over the years, it has been suggested that other people besides the Vikings also discovered the Americas before Columbus, including Irish monks, African sailors, and Chinese members of Admiral Zheng He's treasure fleet. There is no widely accepted proof of any of these

voyages, however.

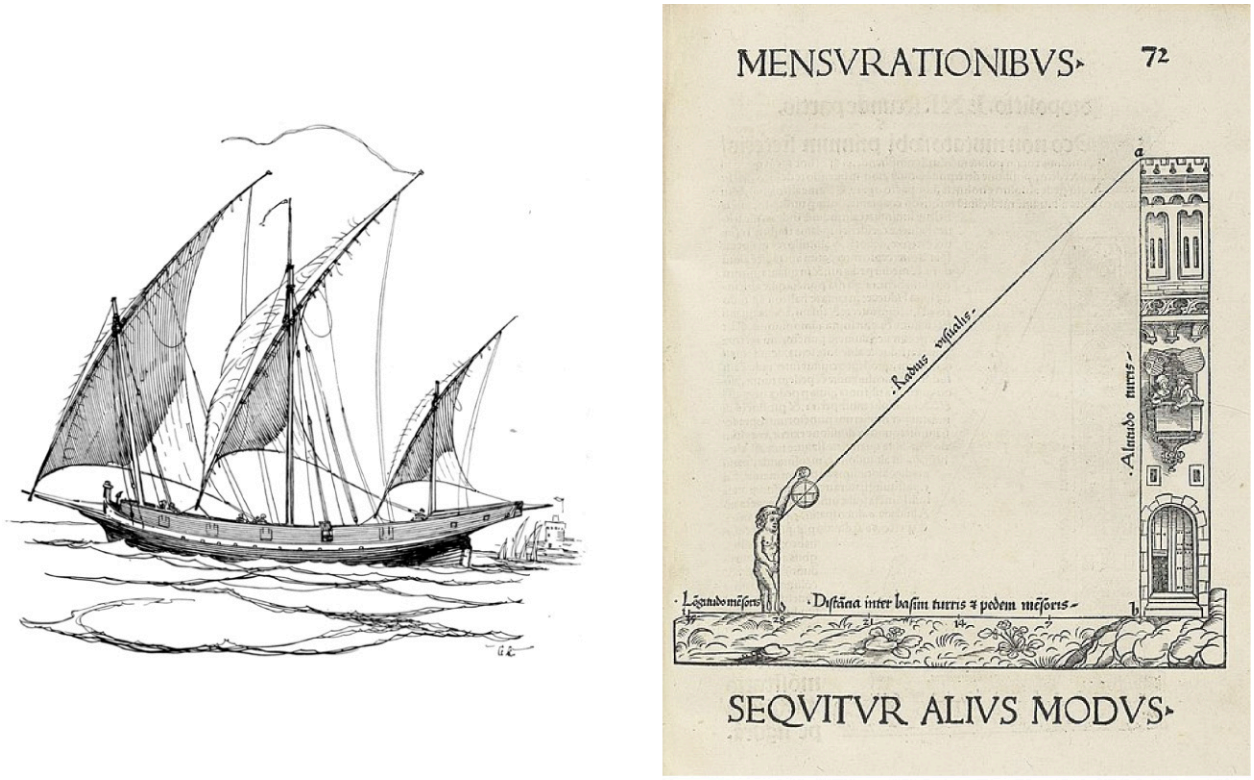
LINK TO LEARNING

Learn how archaeologists found evidence of Viking settlers in Canada (https://openstax.org/l/77Viking) and were able to determine the year the Norse were in North America.

The settlements in Newfoundland never became permanent, likely because Indigenous groups developed an increasing hostility toward the often-violent Vikings. By the 1400s, the frontier colonies of Greenland populated by Norse peoples had also all but disappeared. But knowledge of a land farther west survived in the Norse sagas, and it is possible that it trickled across Europe into Italy and Spain and eventually into the mind of a young Christopher Columbus.

In the meantime, with the collapse of Constantinople and the fall of the Byzantine Empire to the Ottomans in 1453, many Europeans felt a sense of doom. Not only had they lost a bastion of Christian power, but Muslims now controlled their tenuous overland connections to South and East Asia. As a result, they now had to go through Muslim intermediaries to purchase valuable spices such as cinnamon, pepper, cloves, and nutmeg that grew in only a few key locations. European nations, therefore, wanted to find an all-water passage to India and the chain of sparsely populated Indonesian islands known as the Spice Islands.

In the fifteenth century, Europe experienced a timely navigational revolution as a result of adopting new non-Western maritime technologies. In the first millennium CE, Arab sailors in the Middle East had created the lateen sail, a triangular sail that allowed ships to travel against the wind. The square European sail gave ships power, but the lateen sail increased their ability to maneuver. When Europeans combined the two kinds of sail on three-masted ships, they could navigate confidently in any direction. The sternpost rudder, created in China in the thirteenth century, also allowed for steering against the currents. For directional guidance, the ancient Greek **astrolabe**, which used constellations as a guide and enabled mariners to find their north–south position on the earth's surface, came to Europe after being refined in the Middle East (Figure 5.7). The magnetic compass also came to Europe in the fifteenth century, making its way from China where it was guiding ships by 1100 CE. The adoption of these inventions allowed Europeans to abandon their long-standing practice of navigating by sailing along a coastline. Now they could venture into the open ocean, beyond sight of land.



(a) (b)

FIGURE 5.7 Technological Advances in Navigation. (a) Lateen sails like the ones in this drawing enabled ships to sail into the wind. (b) Astrolabes, instruments used for measuring slope and elevation, aided in navigation. In this sixteenth-century illustration, a man measures the height of a building using an astrolabe. (credit a: modification of work "Lateen Sails" by Pearson Scott Foresman/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit b: modification of work "Elucidatio fabricae usuque astrolabii ... Ex secunda autoris recognition" by Johannes Stöffler/ Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

LINK TO LEARNING

Learn how an astrolabe works (https://openstax.org/l/77Astrolabe) in this video, "How to use an astrolabe," by William Greenwood of the British Museum, a short but thorough explanation of the mechanics of an incredible navigational tool.

However, technological advancements and a desire for expanded trade and territory could take explorers only so far without financial backing. The commercial empire that funded European overseas exploration began in the Italian city-states of the Middle Ages, but the investment system on which it was based did not originate there. This system, called *commenda*, established a sort of financial patronage by which investors funded merchants to expand their trading enterprises and earned a more extensive business network in the process. Like many of the technologies that drove European ships, the *commenda* was first developed by Muslim merchants.

By the late fifteenth century, Italian city-states were supporting a variety of small family-owned businesses and large companies. Capital was concentrated in land and commerce rather than in industrial pursuits, but credit was widely used. Across Europe, risk-sharing business ventures and joint investment schemes were already commonplace among merchants. Spain, which Muslim rulers had conquered and settled, had connections across the Mediterranean to Africa and the Middle East, while northern and central Europe wielded a sprawling maritime exchange across the North and Baltic Seas.

Portuguese Exploration

In the late 1400s, both Portugal and Spain were emerging from centuries of rule by North African Muslim states. Portugal had become an independent country by the twelfth century (Figure 5.8). At the beginning of the fifteenth century, it was a small country with poor soil. However, it did have one advantage—a geographical location that lent itself to exploration, specifically down the African coastline and across the Atlantic. Portugal also had plenty of coves and natural harbors suited for shipping, and speedy crosswinds and currents that gave it a shipping superhighway of sorts between northern and southern Europe. Various nearby islands such as the Azores also teemed with untapped fishing potential.



FIGURE 5.8 Afonso Henriques. In this detail from a page in an illuminated manuscript of the 1530s, Afonso Henriques declares himself king of the independent country of Portugal following his victory over Muslim forces at the Battle of Ourique in 1139. (credit: "King Afonso Henriques, first King of Portugal, in a 16th century miniature" in The Portuguese Genealogy (Genealogia dos Reis de Portugal)/British Library/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In the 1340s, King Afonso IV of Portugal raised public funds to build a commercial fleet that by the fifteenth century had transformed the nation into a maritime power. In 1341, the Portuguese sailed to the Canary Islands in the Atlantic. This was only the beginning of their exploration and conquest. In 1415, John I, grandson of Afonso IV, dispatched Portuguese forces to capture the city of Ceuta in Morocco. John hoped that control of a port on the North African coast would open that continent to both conquest and trade. To further cement his control of the region, he requested papal recognition of his efforts. In April 1418, Pope Martin V granted the Portuguese king the right to all African lands taken from Muslim rulers.

Under John's son Prince Henry, dubbed "the Navigator" by historians, Portuguese explorers claimed the

Madeira Islands, the Azores, and the Cape Verde Islands off the coast of Africa. They also sailed down the western coast of Africa as far as today's Sierra Leone. Eventually, Portuguese expeditions reached the southern tip of Africa, and in 1488, Bartolomeu Dias, who had participated in the Battle of Ceuta, sailed around the Cape of Good Hope to reach the eastern side of the continent.

The Portuguese were driven by both religious fervor and a desire for wealth. Since the Middle Ages, they, like other Europeans, had been intrigued by stories of a lost Christian kingdom somewhere in Africa or Asia, ruled by a legendary king named Prester John (Figure 5.9). By the 1400s, they had come to believe his lands were located in Africa, and their hope of forming an alliance with him to defeat the forces of Islam helped motivate their exploration there.



FIGURE 5.9 Prester John. This image of the mythical Christian ruler Prester John is a detail from an atlas created in the late 1550s by the Portuguese mapmaker Diogo Homem. (credit: "East Africa with Prester John enthroned" by British Library/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The Portuguese also hoped to gain access to the wealth of Africa. As they moved southward along the continent's coast, they established citadels on land leased from local rulers, like the fortress of Elmina, located on the coast of present-day Ghana. From there, they bartered for gold, ivory, and enslaved people. The first shipment of enslaved Africans arrived in Portugal in 1441. To further its economic interests, Portugal also established relations with the African kingdoms of Benin and Kongo. Its connection to Kongo, in what is now Angola, was particularly close. Members of Kongo's ruling family and nobility converted to Roman Catholicism and adopted Portuguese names. Kongo became an important source of enslaved laborers, and its kings readily assisted the Portuguese in taking captives from enemy tribes. The Portuguese claim to the riches of African trade was affirmed in 1455 in the *Romanus Pontifex*, a papal decree issued by Pope Nicholas V that granted Portugal exclusive rights to trade in Africa south of Cape Bojador, on the coast of Morocco. The interests of the Africans who controlled these lands were not considered.

Spanish Exploration

Despite the *Romanus Pontifex*, the Spanish monarchs Isabella I of Castille and Ferdinand II of Aragon were not willing to allow Portugal to take the lead in establishing maritime trade with places outside Europe. By 1492, the final Muslim stronghold on the Iberian Peninsula had been defeated, and, no longer worried about the

threat posed by the Muslim presence, Isabella and Ferdinand could turn to matters beyond the peninsula. In 1486, the Genoese navigator Christopher Columbus approached them with a request for funds for exploration. Columbus proposed that he could reach Asia by sailing westward across the Atlantic Ocean. Eager to find an all-water route to Asia to compete with the Portuguese, Isabella and Ferdinand agreed to his request. Like the Portuguese monarchs, they were also dedicated to spreading Christianity and combating the spread of Islam. Indeed, they regarded themselves as Europe's foremost defenders of Roman Catholicism.

On August 3, 1492, Columbus set sail from Spain with three ships. After stopping briefly in the Canary Islands, he set off again on September 6. Five weeks later, he reached the Bahamas, which he believed were a part of Southeast Asia called the Indies. From there, he sailed to Cuba and an island Columbus named Hispaniola (meaning "little Spain"), the island now divided between the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Columbus made contact with the inhabitants of Hispaniola, whom he called "Indians." Some welcomed the Europeans, who attempted to learn whether the inhabitants had gold, but one group, perhaps mistrusting the newcomers, engaged them in battle.

Leaving behind a handful of men to found a settlement on Hispaniola, Columbus and his crew departed for Europe, taking with them some Arawak people they had kidnapped. They arrived in Spain in 1493, with Columbus believing he had succeeded in reaching the Indies. He returned to the Americas three more times (Figure 5.10). On the third voyage, he explored the coast of Venezuela, which he was certain was part of the Asian mainland.

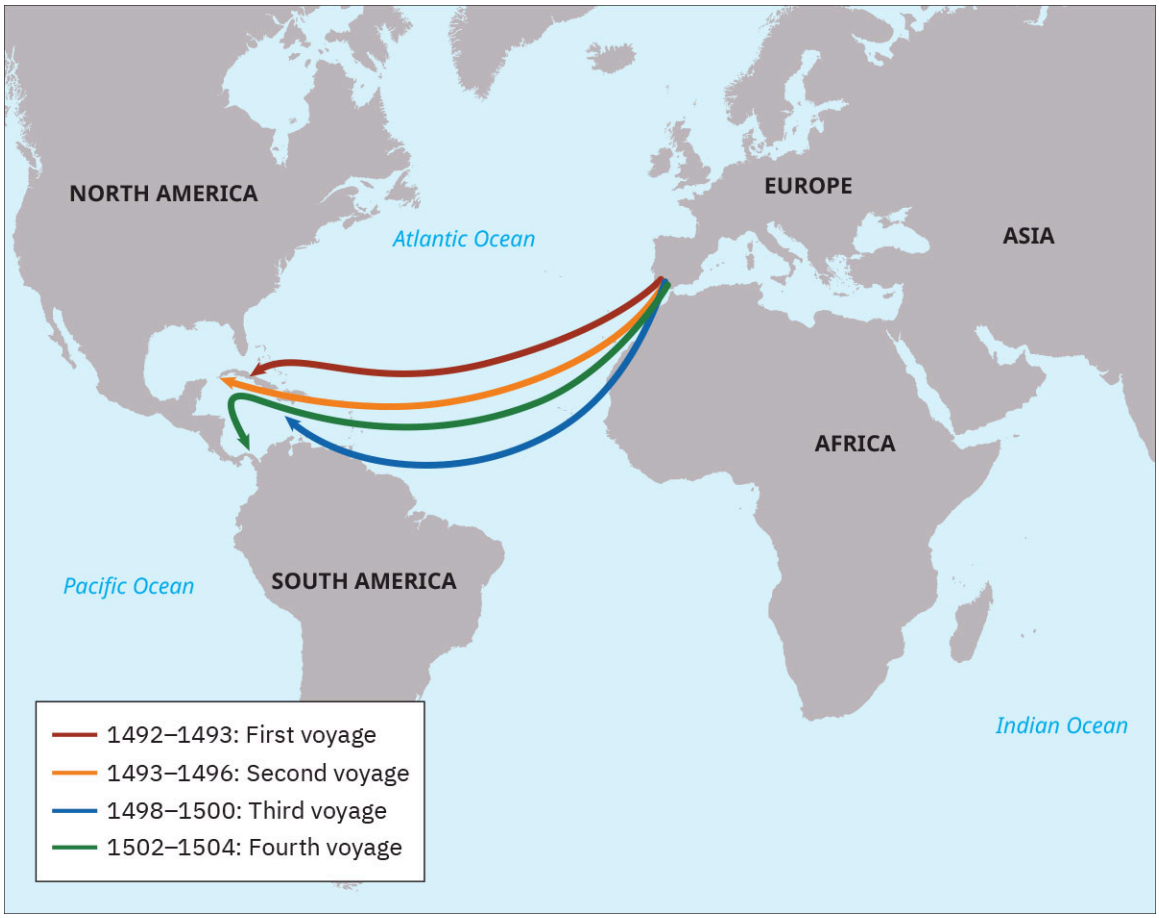


FIGURE 5.10 The Voyages of Columbus. Christopher Columbus made four voyages between 1492 and 1504, all to the Caribbean. He continued to believe he had found a route to Asia. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

THE PAST MEETS THE PRESENT

Columbus Day vs. Indigenous Peoples' Day

Local governments across the United States have recently begun replacing the federal holiday honoring Christopher Columbus with one honoring the role of Indigenous peoples in the nation's past and present. South Dakota began the trend as far back as 1989, but Columbus's place in history remains controversial. While some believe he should be honored, others, including many Native Americans, believe that as a known enslaver of Africans and Native Americans, he should not be glorified.

The adoption of Columbus as the original "American son" who "discovered America" was once meant to humanize immigrants and minority populations, particularly Italian Catholics who had come to the northeastern United States in the late 1800s. (Columbus was Italian and Catholic.) But at the same time, the U.S. government continued to exile Indigenous peoples from their homelands and suppress their religion and culture. Many historians also argue that Columbus opened the door not just to European settlement but also to disease, oppression, and genocide. The debate about whether the holiday named for him is culturally insensitive continues.

- How might the continued celebration of Columbus Day affect Indigenous communities?
- How should U.S. citizens decide whether and how to change federal holidays? Who should or should not be honored by such holidays? Why?

Soon, however, Europeans came to realize that the lands Columbus had found were new continents, which were then named the Americas after the Italian mapmaker Amerigo Vespucci, who accompanied later Spanish and Portuguese voyages to South America. This was the beginning of European **colonialism** in the Americas. Colonialism is a practice in which one group of people attempts to establish control over another, usually for purposes of economic exploitation. The lands in the Americas to which the Spanish, Portuguese, and other European nations laid claim in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were incorporated into the colonial empires these countries were beginning to build.

Columbus's expeditions did not produce the riches the Spanish monarchs had hoped for. Nevertheless, Spain's exploration of the new continents continued, led by **conquistadors**. Some of these explorers were nobles or had military training and had fought against the Muslims in Spain; others were landless and wished to improve their lot in life. One instrument by which the Spanish government compensated conquistadors was the **encomienda**, a hereditary grant that entitled the holder, called an *encomendero*, to the labor of a specified number of conquered people, or to a tribute of precious metals or agricultural produce. Although the Crown forbade the enslavement of Indigenous peoples, the encomienda system enabled their abuse at the hands of Spanish settlers who hoped to profit from their labor (Figure 5.11).



FIGURE 5.11 Abuses under the Encomienda System. This image is from the *Codex Tepetlaoztoc* (also known as the *Codex Kingsborough*), a sixteenth-century pictorial account by an Indigenous chronicler. It shows a Spanish encomienda holder beating an Indigenous man. The image was used as evidence in a lawsuit brought by Indigenous workers against the *encomenderos*. (credit: "An indigenous Mexican complaint against an abusive *encomendero*" by Codex Kingsborough/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The great prizes the Spanish hoped to find were soon discovered in Mexico. In 1519, the conquistador Hernán Cortés landed at Potonchan on the Yucatán Peninsula and marched north to the interior of Mexico, where he encountered the powerful Aztec Empire. The wealth of the Aztecs and the sophistication of their capital city of Tenochtitlán dazzled the Spanish. At first the Aztec emperor Moctezuma II welcomed them and presented them with gifts. Cortés, however, took Moctezuma prisoner and used him as a puppet to attempt to control his people. Conflict erupted in 1520 when the Spanish killed participants in an Aztec religious ritual, and the residents of Tenochtitlán attacked the conquistadors. In the chaos Moctezuma II was killed, possibly by his own people who felt he had betrayed them, and the Spanish, facing destruction, fled Tenochtitlán for the nearby city of Tlaxcala, a rival of Tenochtitlán (Figure 5.12).



FIGURE 5.12 Moctezuma II. This engraving by seventeenth-century artist Jan Karel Donatus van Beecq depicts Hernán Cortés ordering the imprisonment of the Aztec emperor Moctezuma II, seen at the right wearing a feather headdress and cape. Moctezuma died in Spanish custody, but it is unknown whether the Spanish or the Aztecs killed him. (credit: modification of work "Moctezuma imprisoned by Cortés - Copper-plate engraving from Van Beecq" by Illustrations de Histoire de la conquête du Mexique ou de la Nouvelle Espagne (Gallica-BNF)/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Massacre in the Temple

The Aztecs rose against the Spanish following their attack on worshippers at an Aztec religious ritual at the Great Temple in Tenochtitlán. One of the gods to be honored there was Huitzilopochtli, a god of war. The uprising was briefly successful, and the Spanish were temporarily driven from the city. The following excerpt is an Aztec account of the Spanish attack.

> During this time, the people asked Motecuhzoma how they should celebrate their god's fiesta. He said: "Dress him in all his finery, in all his sacred ornaments."
>
> During this same time . . . . The Spaniards hanged a chief from Acolhuacan named Nezahualquentzin. They also murdered the king of Nauhtla, Cohualpopocatzin, by wounding him with arrows and then burning him alive.
>
> For this reason, our warriors were on guard at the Eagle Gate . . . . But messengers came to tell them to dress the figure of Huitzilopochtli. They left their posts and went to dress him in his sacred finery: his

ornaments and his paper clothing.

When this had been done, the celebrants began to sing their songs. That is how they celebrated the first day of the fiesta. On the second day they began to sing again, but without warning they were all put to death. The dancers and singers were completely unarmed. . . .

The Spaniards attacked the musicians first, slashing at their hands and faces until they had killed all of them. The singers—and even the spectators—were also killed. This slaughter in the Sacred Patio went on for three hours. Then the Spaniards burst into the rooms of the temple to kill the others: those who were carrying water, or bringing fodder for the horses, or grinding meal, or sweeping, or standing watch over this work.

The king Motecuhzoma, who was accompanied by . . . those who had brought food for the Spaniards, protested: "Our lords, that is enough! What are you doing? These people are not carrying shields. . . . Our lords, they are completely unarmed!"

—Miguel Léon-Portilla, *The Broken Spears: The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico*

- What may have motivated this attack? Why might the Spanish have chosen to attack people at a religious festival?
- Do the Aztecs seem to have had any idea of what was going to happen? Explain your answer.

Cortés and his Tlaxcalan allies returned to Tenochtitlán in May 1521. By this time, the Aztecs were beginning to suffer from infectious diseases brought by the Spanish. Smallpox was a likely culprit, but other diseases may have been spreading as well. (For example, evidence exists that an outbreak of salmonella in 1540 also took many Aztec lives.) Badly weakened, the Aztecs could not defeat Cortés and his Indigenous allies. After a siege of three months, Tenochtitlán fell to the Spanish, who began converting the Aztecs to Christianity. Although some Aztecs converted voluntarily, many were forced. Aztec temples were destroyed, and Catholic Churches were built on top of them. The Spanish renamed Tenochtitlán Mexico City, and it became the capital of the colony of New Spain. The colony eventually provided Spanish monarchs with the wealth they craved in the form of rich silver deposits.

Cortés's exploits in Mexico were soon matched by those of another Spanish adventurer, Francisco Pizarro, who conquered the Inca Empire in South America. In January 1530, Pizarro sailed from the Canary Islands on an expedition to conquer Peru, which he had heard was rich in precious metals. His conquest had been authorized in 1529 by Queen Isabella of Portugal, the wife of Holy Roman emperor Charles V, who was also king of Spain. The Inca ruler had recently died of smallpox, and rival heirs to the throne were at war. Pizarro took advantage of the chaos and the fact that the Inca forces had been depleted by years of fighting. In 1532, he captured Atahualpa, one of the parties in the civil war; the following year, the Spanish executed him, despite his promises to fill an entire room with gold and two with silver if Pizarro set him free. Pizarro then seized control of Cuzco, the Inca capital. Peru, which like Mexico had extensive silver deposits, was reduced to a Spanish colony.

The Inca did not passively accept Spanish rule. Under the leader Manco Inca, about 100,000 Incas lay siege to Cuzco in 1536. They lacked the gunpowder weapons of the Spanish, however, and could not drive the Europeans out. The Spanish divided the Inca Empire into four regions, each with a Spanish governor, and Pizarro was given the territory that corresponds to the modern country of Peru.

The Treaty of Tordesillas

Word of Columbus's discoveries on behalf of the Spanish alarmed and angered the Portuguese. Under the terms of the 1479 Treaty of Alcáçovas, Portugal had renounced any claim to the Spanish throne and granted Spain control of the Canary Islands. In exchange, Portugal received the coast of Guinea in Africa, which was

rich in gold, and all islands in the Atlantic south of the Canaries. This included not only those territories Portugal already controlled (Madeira, the Azores, and Cape Verde) but also any that might be discovered in the future. In 1481, the pope also issued a decree that granted Portugal territories in the Atlantic.

Spain's claim to the Caribbean islands Columbus had explored thus seemed to violate both the treaty and the pope's decree. The Portuguese king announced his intention to send an armed fleet to take control of them. Unable to challenge Portugal's dominance at sea, Isabella and Ferdinand asked Pope Alexander VI to intercede. The pope, who was Spanish, decreed that all lands belonged to Spain that fell west of a line drawn one hundred leagues west of any of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands.

Portugal accordingly began negotiations with Spain, which consented to move the line dividing Spanish from Portuguese possessions farther to the west. The new line cut across the eastern bulge of the South American continent (now part of Brazil) but left the rest of the Americas to Spain. This agreement, the **Treaty of Tordesillas**, was signed in 1494 and endorsed in 1506 by a decree of Pope Julius II (Figure 5.13). Thus, when the explorer Pedro Álvares Cabral landed on the eastern coast of South America in 1500, he was able to claim it for Portugal.

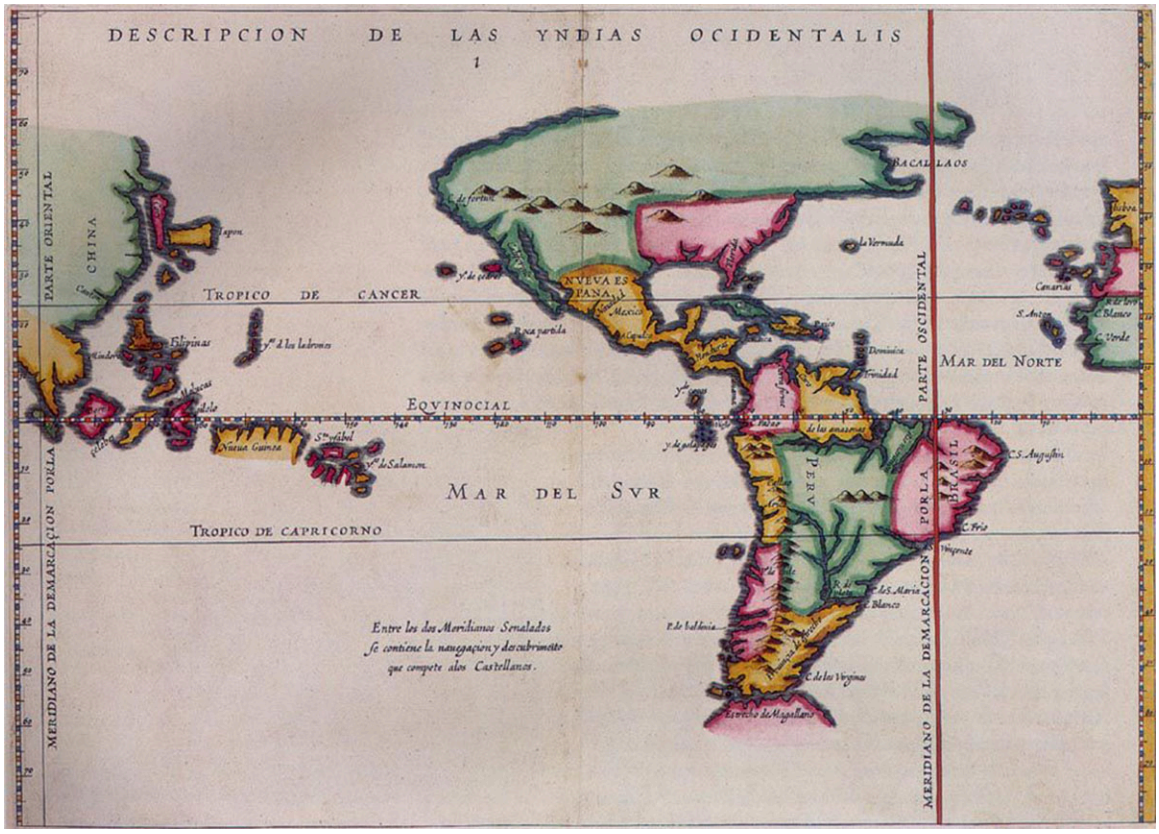


FIGURE 5.13 **Treaty of Tordesillas.** This Spanish map from 1622 shows in red the vertical dividing line described in the Treaty of Tordesillas. It cuts north to south through the Atlantic Ocean and across the eastern portion of Brazil. All land to the right of the line was deemed to belong to Portugal, and all land to the left to Spain. (credit: "Map of Meridian Line set under the Treaty of Tordesillas" by Library of Congress/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

By the time Cabral made landfall in Brazil in 1500, Portuguese sailors had already rounded the Cape of Good Hope at the tip of southern Africa and sailed up that continent's eastern coast and on to India. Hoping to lay claim to the riches of Asia, Spain then argued that the line dividing the Atlantic continued to the other side of the globe, bisecting the Pacific and giving the Spanish the right to territories in Asia as well. Portugal objected and turned to the Vatican again for help. In 1514, Pope Leo X declared that the line described in the Treaty of Tordesillas allocated territories in the Atlantic but not the Pacific. Spain had no claim to the lands of Asia.

Spain renewed its argument in 1522 when an expeditionary fleet that had been captained by Ferdinand Magellan returned to Europe after circumnavigating the globe. Magellan had been in the employ of Spain when he found a means of reaching Asia by sailing around the southern tip of South America. The expedition had reached the Maluku Islands (or the Moluccas, in modern Indonesia), the source of valuable spices, and Spain wished to claim this territory, which Portugal had already explored in 1512. To settle their claims to the islands, in 1529 Portugal and Spain signed the Treaty of Zaragoza, dividing the Pacific Ocean between them. The treaty awarded the Maluku Islands to Portugal with the understanding that should Spain wish to claim them it could, but it would have to compensate Portugal for its loss. Spain did not have the money to do so, and this fact, along with a convenient marriage of the Spanish and Portuguese kings to one another's sisters, led Spain to abandon its claim to the Malukus.

In the treaties of Zaragoza and Tordesillas, two of the world's nations divided the globe between them, never questioning their right to do so and turning repeatedly to the pope to give God's sanction to their claims. Unsurprisingly, however, the world's other nations ignored both treaties. England and the Netherlands, which had become Protestant nations during the Reformation, felt no need to abide by papal decrees, nor did France, though it remained Roman Catholic. As the French king Francis I explained, "The sun shines for me as it does for others." As the fortunes of Spain and Portugal declined in the seventeenth century, England, France, and the Netherlands claimed territory in Asia and the Americas and established their own trading posts on the African coast. Spain and Portugal also failed to acknowledge the rights of the Indigenous peoples in the lands they claimed. Indeed, many Europeans believed that by conquering the inhabitants of the Americas and giving them no choice but to convert to Christianity, they were saving their souls.

The Columbian Exchange

The impact of Portuguese and Spanish exploration and settlement went far beyond the political and economic implications. The so-called **Columbian Exchange** began with the first contact between native peoples and Christopher Columbus in the Caribbean in 1492. This phrase refers to the back-and-forth flow of plants, animals, and diseases between the Eastern and Western Hemispheres. Far more than physical products were traded, however. Ideas, religious practices, enslaved peoples, and cultural traditions also crossed the Atlantic to reshape, blend, and sometimes destroy various civilizations in the process.

The world into which Columbus stepped in 1492 was just as complex, diverse, and dangerous as the one he left behind. In the Americas, empires rose and fell, people married and raised families, individuals sought to better their lives by moving and innovating. But key differences shaped the collisions to come. One of the most fundamental was the perception of human nature and human origins. For Europeans, the world, its history, and its progression were linear. Just as the Christian Bible described, in the beginning there was darkness. Then God created light along with the world, and one day that world would come to an end. This belief influenced Europeans' perception that time progressed in a straight line along which humans were always moving forward. All things had a beginning, a point or climax, and an ending.

But for many Indigenous peoples, the world was cyclical and infinite. The Aztecs, for example, believed that the world in which they lived was but the latest in a series of worlds that had been created and destroyed. Their world would continue to exist only so long as they fed the sun with the blood of sacrificial victims. In Indigenous concepts of the cosmos, no hard separations existed between humans and nature, or between spiritual and human realms. Many religious belief systems were animistic, meaning the spiritual world resided not just in humans but also in animals, plants, and even rocks. This belief was very different from monotheism, in which all spiritual power resided in one single divine being. Indigenous religions did not focus on sin or on the nature of good and evil. Instead, the spiritual world was a place full of power that humans could harness for either good or evil. Though their specific beliefs varied widely, all Indigenous groups in the Western Hemisphere held these basic views about their existence and their relationship to others and to the world.

Like humans, animals, and plants, the earth possessed sacred power; therefore, it could not be owned. The

concept of owning land seemed nonsensical to many Indigenous groups, and their corresponding lack of emphasis on private property was one reason Europeans sometimes found it easy to lay claim to lands inhabited by native peoples.

Indigenous Americans also differed from Europeans of the 1400s in their approach to gender. While Indigenous women did complete some of the same tasks as European women, such as cooking, making clothing, and raising children, they also took part in activities that Europeans believed should be done by men and that in Europe usually were. For example, in many Indigenous societies, women were the principal farmers and built the family's dwelling. In many groups, women were revered as imbued with sacred powers to heal and to create. This power also gave them a strong voice in the leadership of their communities, and in some of these, women sat on tribal councils. Among the Iroquois of North America, for example, women often attended tribal councils to advise male clan representatives, and women chose the tribe's male leaders. Among the Wampanoag of southern New England, women could serve as tribal leaders.

In many tribes, individuals who did not accept the roles traditionally assigned to people of their sex had far more freedom to live as they desired than did such people in Europe. Women who wished to live as men and men who wished to live and dress as women did not necessarily face punishment or maltreatment as long as they contributed to society in other ways. For example, in some societies, women became hunters and warriors. In many societies, men who felt they had been born with the souls of women dressed as women, pursued women's occupations, and became the second or third wives of other men. Such men were often regarded as possessing great spiritual power and were treated with respect.

When Columbus arrived, the Indigenous population of the entire Western Hemisphere likely numbered around seventy-five million (compared to Europe's population of probably around seventy million), although historians' estimates vary greatly. Indigenous peoples made up more than six hundred groups or tribes in North America alone. Some, such as the Inuit and the Dene, were mostly hunter-gatherers in cold climates inhospitable to farming. Others farther south, such as the Puebloans and the Creek, farmed extensively, growing maize as the staple of their food economies. These groups often adopted political organizations practical for their environment. Hunter-gatherers such as the Apache lived as small bands of unified family units with a designated leader. Among township societies such as the Iroquois, groups of towns joined to form political confederacies. In the Aztec and Inca empires, large urban populations were ruled by monarchs.

As part of the Columbian Exchange, Europeans introduced to the Americas the crops they were familiar with at home, including wheat; the *Vitis vinifera* species of grape; fruits such as pears, peaches, and many varieties of apples; and vegetables such as onions and garlic. The first two were especially important for the Spanish and Portuguese. Wheat was needed to make the communion wafers that were a necessary part of the Roman Catholic mass, and European grapes were needed to make wine for the same ceremony. For the most part, Native Americans had little interest in adopting European foods, but the arrival of nonedible resources created an immediate impact. Metal cookware and metal weaponry gave great power to those who chose to adopt them.

European, Asian, and African societies also changed as new plant life was brought eastward across the Atlantic. Indigenous peoples in North America had relied on maize (corn) for thousands of years, and varieties of potatoes, including sweet potatoes, had long been staples among Indigenous peoples in South America. Along with these foods, tomatoes, chili peppers, vanilla, manioc, pineapples, and peanuts were introduced to and became culinary staples of nations in Europe, Africa, and Asia. Chocolate, which had been consumed in liquid form by the Aztec and the Maya, and tobacco, another product from the Americas, became especially popular in Europe (Figure 5.14).



FIGURE 5.14 Chocolate. Chocolate was one of the most popular crops introduced from the Americas to the rest of the world. In this image from the Tudela Codex, created c. 1553, an Aztec woman pours liquefied chocolate from one container into another to make it frothy. (credit: "Mujer vertiendo chocolate - Codex Tudela" by Museo de América/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

LINK TO LEARNING

Read "How the Chili Pepper Conquered China" (https://openstax.org/l/77ChiliChina) to learn about the far-reaching effects on China of the introduction of chilies from the Americas.

Coffee and sugar cane, introduced to the Americas by Europeans, grew exceedingly well in the tropical climates of the Caribbean, Central America, South America, and the southernmost portions of North America. The widespread adoption of these foods in the rest of the world began a chain reaction of increased demand for them and for agricultural labor. This need for labor eventually led to the plantation-style slavery that took hold in parts of the United States, islands in the Caribbean, and areas of South America such as Brazil.

Plant life was not the only item exchanged across the Atlantic; a variety of animals accompanied Europeans as they journeyed across the ocean and back. Horses, cows, goats, sheep, pigs, and chickens all made the Atlantic crossing to the Americas. These animals transformed the life of many Indigenous communities. In North America, tribes such as the Lakota moved onto the Great Plains and created a way of life based on hunting bison following their adoption of the horse. The Navajo became sheep herders and expert weavers of woolen textiles. Tribes in Mexico and Central and South America began to raise chickens and goats, which provided valuable sources of protein.

Deadly pathogens also made the crossing to the Americas and caused one of the worst disease-based disasters in history. Given limited understanding of epidemic science, no one realized that native peoples had virtually none of the resistance and immunity Europeans had developed to infectious diseases, because the animals that originally spawned them (and from which they had jumped to humans) simply did not exist in the Americas (Figure 5.15). When these diseases were brought by Europeans and the enslaved Africans who often

accompanied them, native peoples without natural immunity who contracted them experienced a death rate that some scholars estimate was as high as 95 percent.



FIGURE 5.15 The Spread of Disease in the Americas. This fifteenth-century image from the Florentine Codex captures the misery experienced by the Indigenous peoples of Mexico following the spread of infectious disease. (credit: "Florentine Codex BK12 F54 smallpox" by Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Lack of exposure to European livestock or European diseases is not the sole reason the Indigenous peoples of the Americas died in such large numbers, however. Smallpox, typhus, measles, bubonic plague, influenza, salmonella, and other diseases took the lives of millions of people throughout the Americas because of the destruction wrought by Europeans. European settlers often allowed their livestock to roam loose, and these animals, especially hogs, wreaked havoc on the crops planted by Indigenous peoples. In places where the Spanish conducted slave raids, Indigenous people often went into hiding, refusing to venture out to farm, fish, or tend their fields for fear of being captured. The resulting malnutrition weakened their immune systems, making it harder for them to fight off infectious diseases, even those with which their bodies were familiar. In heavily settled, densely populated regions, infectious diseases spread rapidly. Bodies weakened by one disease easily succumbed to subsequent infections.

Other factors also contributed to depopulation across the Western continents. Groups intent on colonizing, such as the Spanish in New Spain, wanted to establish economies that exported wealth and materials to the home country. To that end, the infrastructure they built intentionally depleted local environments and deprived Indigenous peoples of the natural resources within their lands, including fertile soil, water, timber, and precious metals. When Indigenous populations did not accept these economic conditions, they were met with violence against themselves and their families.

Given violence, exile, enslavement, and a high death rate from disease, the original inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere experienced a cataclysm during the sixteenth century. They still resisted European incursions, however, beginning a centuries-long struggle with echoes in the present day. Within a few months of his exploring the Caribbean region, for example, Native leaders began directing Columbus to other islands, deflecting the negative consequences that followed the arrival of Europeans. Sometimes Indigenous groups chose violence to resist European violence.

Not all Indigenous peoples reacted with violence, however. During the often-brutal colonization of the Western Hemisphere, many systems of gender, religious beliefs, and societal organization that existed in the Americas did collapse, while others merged or changed, creating new hybrid societies across the American continents and the Caribbean islands. But many Indigenous groups chose to incorporate facets of European material culture, such as tools and weapons, into their own in ways that allowed for their survival. For example, the Comanche, a largely hunter-gatherer group, adopted the Spanish horses brought by the conquistadors (Figure 5.16). Within a few generations, the combination of horses and metal weaponry transformed the Comanche into an empire that negotiated as equals with the Spanish, the British, and the French.



FIGURE 5.16 Hunting Bison on Horseback. In this 1844 hand-colored lithograph by George Catlin, North American Plains Indians pursue bison on horseback. Before the arrival of horses with the Spanish, a life on the Great Plains based entirely on the hunting of bison had not been possible. (credit: "Buffalo hunt" by Catlin's North American Indian Portfolio/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Finally, not all Atlantic commerce and settlement flowed from east to west. Indigenous people also took advantage of the Columbian Exchange and traveled to Europe seeking ways to help themselves and their people. By the seventeenth century, dozens of Indigenous negotiators had gone to Europe to appeal directly to the monarchs for aid and for military and economic benefits. Their efforts reveal the ways in which Indigenous groups all over the Atlantic World hoped to shape their future on their own terms.

5.3 The Mercantilist Economy

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe the theory of mercantilism
- Explain the role of colonies in mercantilism
- Identify the major criticisms of mercantilism

The success of Spain and Portugal in establishing settlements in the Americas, and more importantly, the profits they derived from those settlements, inspired other European nations to emulate them. The English, French, and Dutch all ventured across the Atlantic with the goal of founding colonies whose resources they could exploit in order to dominate rival powers.

The Rise of Mercantilism

Much European exploration was driven by an economic theory known as **mercantilism**, a name given to the

theory by later historians. According to this theory, a nation's power depended on the amount of gold and silver it held. The wealthier the nation, the larger the armies and navies it could support in its conflicts with rival powers. Amassing national wealth, in turn, depended on maintaining a favorable balance of trade, a situation in which a country exports goods of greater value than it imports. Mercantilism also assumed that the world's wealth as measured in gold and silver was finite, so a gain for one nation was a loss for another. To surpass other nations in power, a country must possess more gold and silver than others. According to mercantilism, there could be only one victor in economic competition.

When a nation sold goods abroad, it accumulated gold and silver, but when it imported foreign products, it had to transfer gold and silver to other nations as payment. Thus, at the heart of mercantilism lay the need for a nation to maximize its exports and minimize its imports. Indeed, the ideal was to import nothing and produce everything in the home country, including agricultural produce. A nation that could not supply all its own needs should import raw materials, transform them into finished products, and sell them abroad for more money than it had cost to produce them. Any raw materials a nation possessed should be reserved for domestic manufacturing.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, mercantilist theory was embraced by most European nations, especially France and England. Perhaps as much as religious fervor and a thirst for knowledge, this premise drove exploration and the establishment of colonies. Mercantilists believed a colonial empire was necessary for economic domination. Colonies could supply raw materials for domestic consumption, so there was no need to purchase these resources from others. Colonial populations, in turn, provided a ready market for goods made in the home country. To ensure that colonies added to their national wealth, European countries that established them usually required that they trade only with the home country. Thus, for example, England's colonies in North America could sell what they produced only in England.

Most mercantilist theorists believed government regulation of the economy was necessary to maximize wealth. Governments commonly prohibited certain imports to prevent them from competing with domestic industry. In 1539, for example, to protect domestic textile manufacturing, France banned the import of goods made of wool. Governments also imposed high tariffs, or taxes on imported goods. These made foreign products more expensive and thus promoted development of a nation's own industries. Governments might also grant firms monopolies over certain kinds of domestic production, establish and provide financial support for certain industries to ensure domestic self-sufficiency, and pay for internal improvements, such as new roads, to promote domestic manufacturing and commerce. They also maintained large navies to protect international trade and defend foreign colonies.

France provides perhaps the preeminent example of the mercantilist theory in practice. France was an absolute monarchy. Absolute monarchies appeared in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as feudalism declined and new countries arose from medieval kingdoms. These new nation-states were characterized by centralized administrations and codified laws. They were guarded by professional standing armies, not noble vassals at the head of their own private armies.

At the head of the state stood a monarch (usually a king) who claimed a divine right to rule. The medieval concept of monarchy had regarded kings as subservient to the pope, but absolute monarchs considered themselves subordinate to no one. They could rule as they wished with no need to confer with or seek the consent of others, or to share power with the noble class as medieval monarchs had done. Absolute monarchs proclaimed their own laws, formulated foreign policy, administered justice (or appointed those who did so), and imposed taxes as they wished. They were the sole source of authority in their lands and often took steps to weaken the power of their nobles so they did not pose a threat to their rule.

The most powerful of the absolute monarchies was France, and Louis XIV, who became king of France in 1643, was the epitome of a divine-right monarch. Unwilling to share power with the higher-ranked members of the French nobility, who had been responsible for numerous revolts against the French monarchy in the decades before he came to the throne, Louis deprived them of any role in governing or administering the state. He

required that they live with him at his magnificent palace in Versailles, where they were invited to spend their time and money (which might otherwise have been used to plot revolts) in putting on displays of ostentatious living and competing with one another for the king's favor—favor that might mean they were allowed to hold the king's shirt as he dressed in the morning. All state matters were rigorously scrutinized by Louis, and he spent hours planning troop movements, overseeing the building of roads and canals, and promulgating legal codes for France's colonies. "*L'état, c'est moi*" ("I am the state"), he once famously proclaimed.

France's absolute monarchy made it possible for the nation to regulate economic life as countries with less powerful rulers and less centralized governments could not. France embraced mercantilism under the guidance of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, who became Louis XIV's chief minister in 1661. As the controller-general of finances, Colbert sought to promote French manufacturing and foreign trade and decrease imports. Under his direction, the government increased tariffs on foreign-made goods and completely banned the importation of some such as lace. Colbert established royal manufacturing and glass works and granted private companies monopolies on lace manufacture (Figure 5.17). Reasoning that the higher the quality of a product, the more could be charged for it, Colbert enacted strict quality-control standards so French products would bring high prices overseas, and he punished those who tried to avoid these regulations. To increase the government's wealth, he also sought to tax the French nobility, though unsuccessfully.



FIGURE 5.17 Protecting Domestic Industry under Mercantilism. Under King Louis XIV and his chief minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the Gobelins fine furnishings factory began operating on behalf of the Crown in 1662. This etching from a few years later shows Colbert visiting the factory's tapestry-making operation. (credit: "Colbert Visiting the Gobelins" by Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953/Wikimedia Commons, CC0 1.0)

Colbert established a merchant marine to carry French goods abroad for trade, reducing the nation's reliance on ships from other countries. By ensuring that the pay for transporting these goods went to the ships' French captains and owners, he helped to keep wealth within the nation. Because the merchant marine could be called upon in time of war, Colbert had thus also strengthened France's ability to engage in armed conflict with foreign powers.

Mercantilist theory influenced England and the Netherlands too. Although England's Parliament did not exert

as much control over its economy as the monarchy exerted in France, it nevertheless took steps to promote English trade and discourage the importation of foreign goods. Tariffs were placed on foreign products, and in the second half of the seventeenth century, laws were passed requiring that all ships bringing goods to England have English owners and a predominantly English crew. The Dutch adopted the mercantilist strategy of exporting high-quality goods, especially cloth, iron tools, and guns, to make up for the money the resource-poor country spent on raw materials supplied by other nations.

Like France, both England and the Netherlands granted monopolies on foreign trade to private companies—the British East India Company and the Dutch East India Company. The purpose was to prevent competition among merchants that might drive up the prices they were willing to pay for foreign goods and drive down the prices they charged for domestic goods sold abroad. To increase their access to raw materials and establish new markets for their goods, the Dutch, English, and French, noting the success of Spain and Portugal, also set out to establish colonies in the Americas. A colonial empire seemed essential to securing national wealth and power.

Mercantilism and the Expansion of Empire

To compete with Spain and Portugal, their rivals England, France, and the Netherlands soon founded communities in North America. England established colonies on the mainland of North America in the sixteenth century, and by the middle of the eighteenth century, they stretched from Newfoundland to Georgia (Figure 5.18). Besides tobacco, they supplied England with a variety of goods ranging from timber, furs, and salted fish from the northern colonies to rice, indigo, and deer hides from the south. The colonies attracted many landless, unemployed young European men and women, too, who traveled to North America as **indentured servants**, bound by a contract to work for an agreed-upon number of years. After the landowner who paid for their passage had been compensated by their years of labor, indentured servants received their freedom and typically a grant of land as well.



FIGURE 5.18 Europe's Footprint in the Americas. By the early seventeenth century, Spain, Portugal, England, France, and the Netherlands all had established colonies in the Americas. Spain's empire was the largest. (credit: modification of work "Map of North America in 1750" by Bill of Rights Institute/Flickr, CC BY 4.0)

France and the Netherlands also founded colonies in North America. In 1535, Jacques Cartier claimed Canada, also called New France, in the name of King Francis I. Like England, France was unable to maintain a permanent settlement in North America until the seventeenth century, when Samuel de Champlain founded one at Quebec. The French established further settlements in what is now the state of Maine, on the southern coast of Newfoundland, and in Louisiana (named for King Louis XIV). Animal hides and furs were the main exports to France. A small Dutch colony also briefly flourished in what is now New York and New Jersey before it was ceded to England in 1664. Like the French, the Dutch colonists of New Netherlands were primarily engaged in the fur trade, although many Dutch farmers also settled in the Hudson Valley, in New Jersey, and on Long Island.

LINK TO LEARNING

Although Spain, Portugal, England, France, the Netherlands, and Denmark were the major countries that established colonies in the Americas between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, they were not the only

ones. At the Historic UK website, learn about the Darien scheme (https://openstax.org/l/77Darien) that was Scotland's unsuccessful attempt to found a colony in Central America in 1698.

The European nations intended to extract the greatest possible wealth from their mainland colonies in the form of raw materials such as hides, furs, and agricultural products. France controlled immigration to Canada to ensure that its population remained limited to fur trappers and traders, a small number of farmers to provide them with food, and soldiers to guard them. In 1627, the French government granted a monopoly over the fur trade to the Company of New France. All fur trappers in Canada were to either work directly for the company or sell their furs to it. Traders had to pay the government a 25 percent sales tax. In 1663, Louis XIV placed the company under royal control.

Spain exercised the strictest control over colonial commerce. Trade was limited to only a few ports in the Spanish colonies and the port of Seville in Spain, and two trading fleets departed from Seville bound for the Americas each year. The Spanish government forbade trade at other times. In addition, those seeking to engage in trade had to procure a license to do so, at considerable expense. The Spanish government also held a number of monopolies, such as one on all silver produced in its colonies, as well as owning all the mercury produced in the colony of Peru. Spanish colonies that needed mercury, which was used for processing the gold and silver they mined, had to purchase it from Peru.

Although the mainland colonies yielded wealth for the European home countries, the chief prizes were the islands of the Caribbean where sugar could be grown. Over the course of the seventeenth century, England, France, and the Netherlands set up colonies throughout the Caribbean on islands either not claimed by Spain or taken from it. The three attempted to found colonies in Central or South America as well, but Spanish and Portuguese dominance there either made these efforts unsuccessful, like the Dutch attempts in Brazil, or they kept the colonies small, such as French Guiana and Dutch Guiana, now Suriname.

Mercantilism and Its Critics

Although European merchants and government ministers enthusiastically relied on mercantilist theory in the building of colonial empires, mercantilism also had many critics. Eighteenth-century Scottish philosopher David Hume argued that as more gold circulated in a country's economy, prices would rise, eventually becoming so high that no one would purchase goods. Furthermore, Hume maintained, if abundance reduced the value of an item, then the more gold and silver a nation acquired, the less valuable it would be, an idea that undercut the mercantilist emphasis on accumulating precious metals to build wealth.

The eighteenth-century philosopher and economist Adam Smith, also a Scot, criticized mercantilism as well. Smith argued that economic gain for one nation did not mean economic loss for others. Rather, trade could be mutually beneficial for all. One nation could prosper by supplying raw materials to another, which could then convert these materials into finished goods to be sold at profitable prices. Smith also opposed government regulation of the economy. In his view, competition among the producers of goods and the influence of the market (that is, the desires of buyers and sellers) made for a healthy economy. If demand for an item were high, its price would rise. If demand were low or quality poor, price would fall. Although Smith believed government should assist business by, say, building roads and providing for national defense, it should not grant monopolies or subsidize businesses. This would only harm consumers by keeping prices artificially high. Without government assistance, business enterprises would have to learn to operate more efficiently, thus reducing prices, or they would fail.

Smith also argued that it made little sense for a nation to produce everything it needed. If Spain could make a particular product better than England could or could make it for less money, England should use the revenue generated by selling those goods it excelled at making to buy the Spanish product. England could produce textiles more efficiently than Spain, and Spain could make wine more cheaply than England. It was thus more efficient, Smith explained, for England to buy wine from Spain and Spain to buy cloth from England than for

each country to produce both the wine and the cloth they required.

DUELING VOICES

For and Against Mercantilism: Two Perspectives

Many Europeans argued that the assumptions underlying mercantilist theory were flawed, and that putting it into practice was often harmful. Following are excerpts from Thomas Mun's 1664 *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade*, and Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776. Note the very different positions these economists take.

> The ordinary means therefore to increase our wealth and treasure is by Forraign Trade, wherein wee must ever observe this rule; to sell more to strangers yearly than wee consume of theirs in value. For suppose that when this Kingdom is plentifully served with the Cloth, Lead, Tin, Iron, Fish and other native commodities, we doe yearly export the overplus to forraign Countreys to the value of twenty-two hundred thousand pounds; by which means we are enabled beyond the Seas to buy and bring in forraign wares for our use and Consumptions, to the value of twenty hundred thousand pounds: By this order duly kept in our trading, we may rest assured that the kingdom shall be enriched yearly two hundred thousand pounds, . . .
>
> Behold then the true form and worth of forraign trade, which is The great Revenue of the King, The honour of the Kingdom, The Noble profession of the Merchant, The School of our Arts, The supply of our wants, The employment of our poor, . . .
>
> —Thomas Mun, *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade*
>
> A great empire has been established for the sole purpose of raising up a nation of customers who should be obliged to buy from the shops of our different producers, all the goods with which these could supply them. For the sake of that little enhancement of price which this monopoly might afford our producers, the home-consumers have been burdened with the whole expense of maintaining and defending that empire. For this purpose, and for this purpose only, in the two last wars, more than two hundred millions have been spent . . . . It cannot be very difficult to determine who have been the contrivers of this whole mercantile system; not the consumers, we may believe, whose interest has been entirely neglected; but the producers, whose interest has been so carefully attended to; and among this latter class our merchants and manufacturers have been by far the principal architects.
>
> —Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*

- What does Mun believe are the benefits of mercantilism? Do you believe this is a realistic assessment? Why or why not?
- What does Smith regard as one of the worst of mercantilist policies? How might he respond to Mun's claims?

Because mercantilist theory saw economic gain for one nation as necessarily a loss for others, European nations engaged in trade wars as each tried to use tariffs to bar others from its markets. At times, real wars accompanied trade wars. England and the Netherlands fought four wars over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, partially to gain control of transatlantic trade (Figure 5.19). England also fought France for access to the markets of India.



FIGURE 5.19 A Battle for Trade. England and the Netherlands fought four wars for control of transatlantic trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This 1657 ink and oil painting by Willem van de Velde the Elder depicts the 1653 Battle of Scheveningen, a Dutch victory. (credit: "The Battle of Terheide" by Rijksmuseum/Wikipedia, Public Domain)

Mercantilism affected the relationship not only between countries but also between classes. For instance, it elevated the interests of merchants and manufacturers over those of workers and consumers by arguing that wages should be kept low. More money would thus remain in employers' hands, and people would be discouraged (or prevented) from buying luxury goods that could instead be exported for profit. Mercantilists also advocated high taxes to enrich governments. The perceived need to extract raw materials from colonies to benefit the home country's interests often led governments to restrict colonies' economic growth and harshly punish people who sought to evade trade restrictions. The desire to exploit the American colonies also led to the abuse of Indigenous populations and enslaved Africans in efforts to extract as much wealth as possible.

5.4 The Atlantic Slave Trade

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Explain the workings of the triangular trade
- Compare slavery in Africa and slavery in the Americas
- Discuss the way market forces influenced the development of labor-intensive agriculture in the Americas
- Describe the human toll of slavery

To extract the greatest possible wealth from their American colonies, the nations of Europe planted them with cash crops Europeans craved but could not produce at home. To maximize profit, they drove workers hard without regard for their health or safety. When Indigenous peoples and European servants could not satisfy their demands, they turned to enslaved labor taken from Africa. The latter decision affected the lives of millions of people for centuries to come.

Slavery and the Triangular Trade

One of the largest migrations in history took place between the late fifteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as Europeans forcefully transported approximately twelve million Africans across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas to provide labor for Europe's economic enterprises. Some two million people died on the voyages

across the Atlantic. The survivors made possible the extraction of wealth from European colonies on which the system of mercantilism was based.

The majority of Africans brought across the Atlantic were destined to labor on sugar plantations in the Caribbean and Brazil. Many enslaved Africans were also sent to the Spanish colonies in South America; relatively few went to the North American mainland, mostly Mexico. European colonists had originally considered using enslaved Indigenous peoples to perform the difficult and dangerous labor of harvesting sugar cane and other cash crops, but these efforts failed. Indigenous people died in large numbers from infectious diseases, leaving too few to labor in the fields. On the island of Hispaniola, for example, where both the Spanish and the French established sugar plantations, the native Taíno population was at least several hundred thousand strong when Columbus arrived in 1492. By 1514, however, only about thirty-two thousand Taíno remained. Some had been deliberately killed by the Spanish, and others had died from hard labor and poor living conditions after being enslaved. The vast majority, though, had died of disease.

For Europeans, the ideal laborers would be people as unfamiliar with the terrain as they were, because unlike enslaved Indigenous people who knew the best places to hide, they could more easily be recaptured if they ran away. In addition, they would be less affected by many of the infectious diseases from which Europeans suffered. Although Europeans did not understand what caused immunity, they knew those who had previously contracted certain diseases like smallpox and survived would not contract that disease again. They also knew, from long contact with Africans, that they did not die from European diseases in the same numbers that Indigenous Americans did. In the European view, Africans satisfied both their key requirements.

European indentured servants would also have fit the bill, but the hot Caribbean climate and diseases like malaria and yellow fever, brought from Africa with cargoes of enslaved people, led to high death rates among Europeans within the first year and discouraged most others from immigrating there. Indentured servitude did not satisfy the labor needs of tobacco planters in Virginia and Maryland either, where the death rate among Europeans was also high. Although some indentured servants were convicts sentenced to be transported to the colonies, the vast majority left Europe voluntarily, but they were not enough. In addition, a French law passed in 1664 that restricted planters' right to beat their indentured servants made servants a less desirable form of labor in the eyes of French colonists. Thus, Europeans eager to extract a profit looked to Africa as the solution, and to slavery instead of indentured servitude. They believed Africans were physically better suited to hard labor than Europeans were, and Africans could also be enslaved for a lifetime, ensuring a constant supply of field hands.

The Portuguese, already using enslaved Africans to grow sugar on islands off the coast of Africa, were the first to bring them in large numbers to the Americas. The initial Portuguese voyage to do so transported two hundred Africans to the Spanish colony of Santo Domingo, on the island of Hispaniola, in 1525. Most were forced to grow sugar for Portuguese colonists in Brazil or were sold to the Spanish for this purpose. Captured Africans were also sold to the Spanish to work in mines in Mexico and Peru or to be employed as domestic servants. Soon the British, French, Spanish, Dutch, and Danes were also exporting captives from Africa to produce sugar, rice, indigo, tobacco, and, by the eighteenth century, coffee in the Americas.

Although the economic system that relied on the labor of enslaved Africans to grow sugar and other crops for European colonists in the Americas was a complex one, for purposes of simplification, it is often characterized as the **triangular trade** because it linked three regions (the Americas, Europe, and West Africa) in a network of exchange (Figure 5.20). The shipment of enslaved Africans across the Atlantic was one leg of the triangular trade. In the first leg, Europeans exchanged manufactured goods with African traders for enslaved Africans. The enslaved people were then shipped across the Atlantic to European colonies in the Americas. This journey was called the **Middle Passage** because it was the middle (or second) leg of the three-legged exchange. The money earned from the sale of enslaved Africans in the colonies was used to purchase the products grown by existing enslaved laborers. In the third leg of the triangle, those goods were shipped to Europe or to a European country's other American colonies, where they were transformed into finished products.

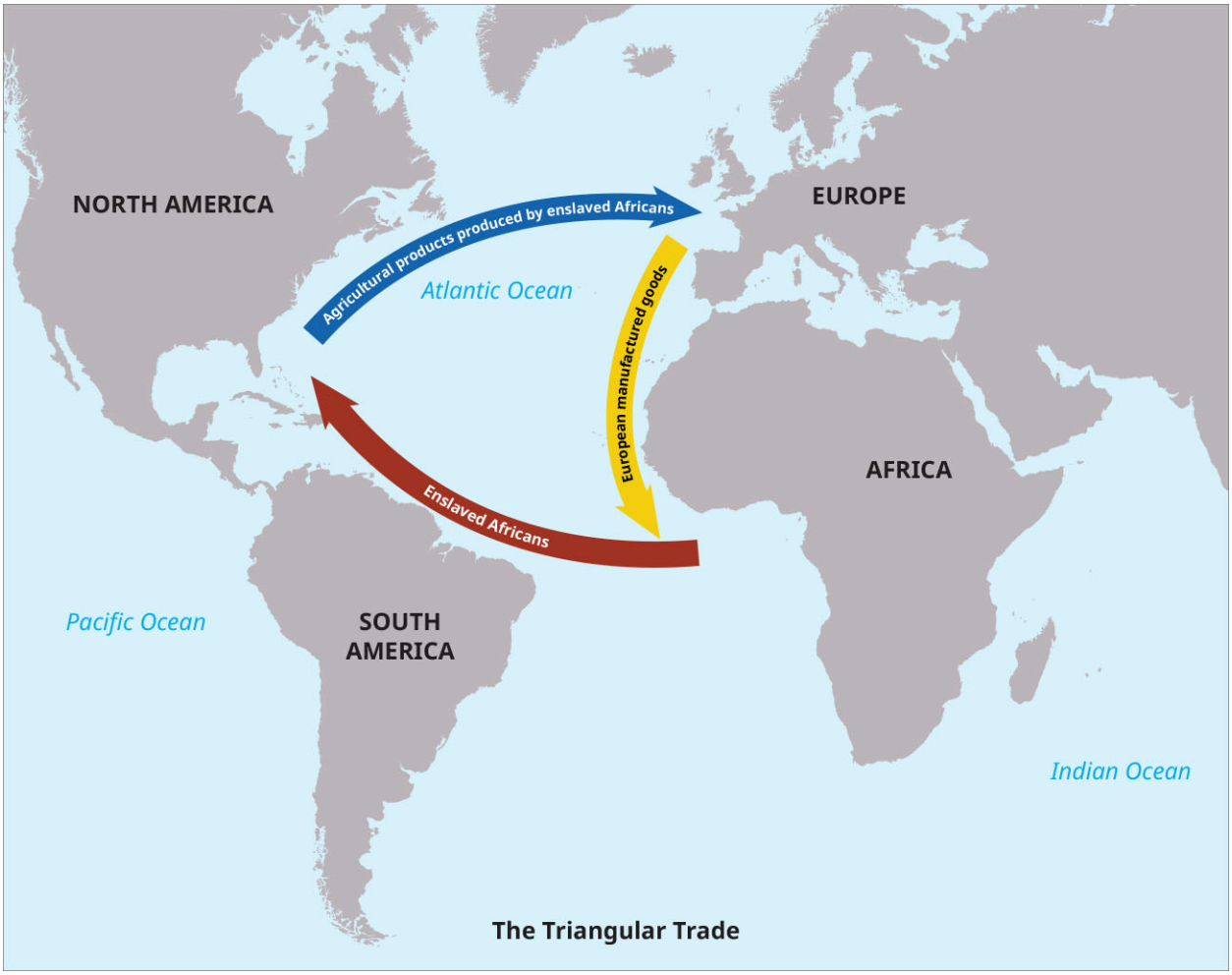


FIGURE 5.20 The Triangular Trade. As its name suggests, the triangular trade consisted of three legs. Enslaved Africans were sent along the so-called Middle Passage (the red arrow) and sold in Europe's American colonies, while the agricultural products they produced were shipped to Europe. European manufactured goods were exchanged in Africa for more enslaved people. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

For example, English slave traders exchanged rum for captives in African ports. The captives then traveled across the Atlantic in chains to England's Caribbean colonies, where they were sold to the owners of plantations who set them to work growing sugar cane. The plantation owners then shipped molasses, a by-product of sugar production, to other English settlers in the colony of Massachusetts, who transformed it into rum and shipped that to England. English ship captains in Africa then exchanged rum along with manufactured products like cloth, guns, and ammunition for captives. African slave traders used the guns to capture more people to send along the Middle Passage, and the cycle continued. Enslaved people were the base on which the triangle rested. Without the sugar, tobacco, coffee, indigo, and rice produced through their labor, the trade would have collapsed.

The human toll of the transatlantic slave trade was immense. Conditions on the Middle Passage were brutal, and some ships held as many as five to six hundred people. Some captains, knowing that 10 to 20 percent would die on the voyage, packed as many people as possible into the hold, hoping enough would survive to earn them a good profit. In the hold, men were separated from women and children and were chained side by side on their backs, sometimes with only a few inches of space above them (Figure 5.21). In 1713, the Royal Africa Company, a British company, instructed captains that enslaved people should be allotted a space five feet long, eleven inches wide, and twenty inches high. The implication was that captains usually packed people into even smaller spaces.

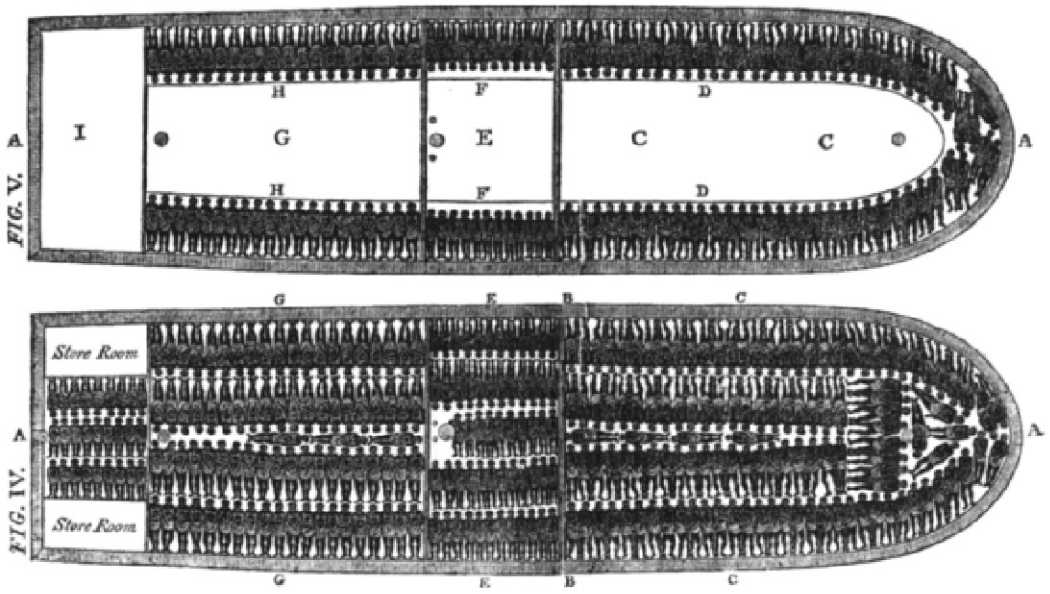


FIGURE 5.21 Plan of a Slave Ship. This eighteenth-century diagram of a slave ship reveals how tightly packed the hold was with human beings. Captains stowed people in every possible space. (credit: modification of work "Slave ship diagram" by Lilly Library of Rare Books and Manuscripts, Indiana University/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

During the voyage, sailors gave the enslaved people food and water usually once a day. There were no facilities for bathing, and men and women alike relieved themselves in buckets or tubs that often overturned in rough seas. Ventilation was poor, the stench was horrible, and the heat excruciating. At times crews would bring the enslaved Africans onto the deck for fresh air and make them jump and dance to exercise their muscles, since buyers would not pay high prices for those who looked weak. Removing captives from the hold was always a risk for the crew, however, since this was the time when a revolt was most likely to take place. Slave ship captains harshly punished any attempt at rebellion. Taking enslaved people to the deck was also risky because many used the opportunity to commit suicide rather than endure the misery on board ship or the uncertain fate that awaited them. Some captains strung nets below the ships' rails to catch those who jumped overboard.

Illness was the slave ship captains' constant fear. In the close quarters of the ship, infectious disease could sweep like wildfire, and every person who died reduced the captain's profit. The most feared of all diseases was trachoma, an infection of the eyes that did not kill but left its victims blind. Enslaved people who could not see would not be purchased. Even more frightening was the possibility that the infection would spread to the crew. If the sailors lost their sight, everyone on board faced a slow death from starvation as the ship sat adrift in the water, unable to reach any port.

Slave voyages were often heavily insured against loss. The captain of the *Zong* took full advantage of this. When bad weather slowed his ship's voyage across the Atlantic in 1781, members of the crew and the enslaved cargo began to die of illness. Realizing that the ship owner's insurance policy would pay for captives lost at sea but not for those who died of sickness, the captain ordered 132 enslaved people thrown overboard to drown.

African and North American Slavery

The captives purchased by European ship captains were sold by other Africans. Europeans did not introduce slavery to Africa; it had existed there for centuries before the triangular trade began. It was different in important ways, however, from the slavery that awaited Africans on the other side of the Atlantic.

Slavery existed in numerous African societies, and there were many ways in which a person could become enslaved. In some societies, slavery served as punishment for a crime. In others, people could be enslaved or sell their children into slavery to pay a debt. In times of hardship like famine, parents might sell children to more prosperous people to earn money to support themselves and ensure their children would be fed. In many societies, enslaved people were taken as prisoners of war.

Africans enslaved people primarily to enlarge their households, the basic economic units of society. Families suffered if they did not have enough able-bodied people to work in the fields or tend to herds, and slavery provided a solution. Some enslaved Africans remained with the slaveholder their entire lives, but others expected to regain their freedom. Those enslaved to pay a debt, for example, gained their freedom once the debt had been settled. Even people enslaved for life could participate fully in the life of the household or community. They could marry; their spouse might be free, and their children would be. They might own property, including enslaved people of their own. They were often well respected in the community, especially if they possessed important knowledge or skills. Africans regarded slavery as an unfortunate fate that might befall anyone; being enslaved did not imply an inherent difference or inferiority. The life of an enslaved person was not comfortable or easy, but it was not often what we think of when we consider Atlantic plantation slavery.

Slavery in the Americas was different. It was **chattel slavery**, in which one person is owned by another as a piece of property like an inanimate object. The enslaved had no status or legal rights as persons. They could be bought, sold, inherited, or given to another. They had no right to control their own bodies or their own labor, and they could be compelled to do whatever the slaveholder wished. Their status could be passed on to their children; in all the European colonies in the Americas, the child of an enslaved woman was born enslaved. Although chattel slavery also existed in Africa, this was the only form of slavery that existed in the Americas.

For centuries, Africans had participated in the trans-Saharan slave trade, selling prisoners in North Africa and on the Swahili Coast to be transported to destinations in the Mediterranean or the Middle East. The arrival of Europeans willing to pay large sums changed the focus of the African slave trade, however. Africans now captured and enslaved large numbers of other Africans with the intent of selling them to Europeans for transportation across the Atlantic. Wars were launched against rival peoples solely for the purpose of taking captives, and slave traders led expeditions into the interior of the continent to kidnap people who lived far away. Africans were not safe in their own homes. In the eighteenth century, slave traders kidnapped young Olaudah Equiano (later an abolitionist) and his sister as they played at home; while their parents were gone, strangers climbed over a wall into the courtyard of their house and carried the children away. Some people were tricked and sold to European slave traders by their own relatives.

Once captured, people were marched for days to one of the places on the coast where Europeans exchanged goods for human beings. Many died on the way. Slave traders commonly chained their captives together on the journey, and devices were sometimes fixed to captives' necks so that if they managed to escape, they would die of thirst because they could not lower their heads into streams to drink. Once they reached the coast, the traders stripped them naked and shaved their heads to keep them free of lice. The traders then greased their bodies with palm oil to make them look fit and healthy when buyers came.

A number of slave trading ports flourished on the western coast of Africa from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Among them were Ouidah (Whydah), Grand-Popo, Jaquim, and Porto-Novo in modern Benin; Badagry in Nigeria; and Little Popo in Togo. In these ports, English, Dutch, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Danish, and Swedish traders and sea captains bargained with African slave traders for their captives. Some African city-states and kingdoms became wealthy from the slave trade, and their rulers protested only if their own people were taken. King Afonso of Kongo told the king of Portugal that, out of a desire for European goods, the people of his own kingdom were capturing their fellow Kongolese and selling them to Portuguese traders. He did not denounce the slave trade but asked only that the Portuguese bring their captives to officials of Kongo to be sure they were not free Kongolese wrongfully seized. According to King Gezo of Benin, "The slave trade is the ruling principle of my people. It is the source and the glory of their wealth . . . the mother lulls the

child to sleep with notes of triumph over an enemy reduced to slavery."

The transatlantic slave trade harmed those who remained in Africa as well as those who were taken. Families endured the emotional trauma of losing loved ones. Fear of falling prey to slave traders pervaded villages throughout West and Central Africa. Olaudah Equiano recalled that when adults in his village left for the fields, children stationed someone in a tree to keep watch for kidnappers while the others played.

The African economy suffered as well. Those most likely to be captured, men and women in the prime of life, had been contributing the greatest share of labor to their communities. When slave traders captured young adults, no one remained to care for children and the elderly, and fewer people were left to reproduce. According to one model, between 1750 and 1850 no population growth occurred south of the Sahara Desert and north of the Limpopo River as a result of the loss of people to the slave trade. To compensate for the disappearance of so many young men, who were the laborers most preferred by plantation owners, many African ethnic groups adopted polygyny, allowing men to take multiple wives. The loss of men also necessitated that women adopt traditionally male economic roles.

Desire for the goods Europeans traded for enslaved people also had devastating consequences for Africa. The importation of European textiles, according to some historians, spurred the industrialization of the European textile industry while harming African cloth producers, who could not compete on quantity or price. Weavers continued to produce goods for local markets, but no continent-wide market for African textiles ever had an opportunity to develop because Europeans already dominated the field. There were similar consequences for the African metal industry.

These effects have been long-lasting. One scholar has demonstrated that the areas from which the most enslaved people were taken are today the poorest in Africa, though at the time of the slave trade they were among the most developed. They are also more prone to civil conflict today than other areas of the continent. Other studies have shown that people from ethnic groups most likely to have been subject to the slave trade are less likely to trust others than are people from less affected groups. This may be due at least in part to the slave trade's breaking down of the social and political structures intended to protect people.

The Economics of Slavery

Those who reached their final destination faced an existence as hellish as they had experienced on the Middle Passage. The labor to which they were put was backbreaking and never ending. Most of the crops grown by enslaved Africans in the Americas were labor intensive. At that time, tobacco seeds had to be planted by hand and the seedlings transplanted in the fields. At harvest time, workers stripped tobacco leaves from the plant, hung them to dry, and packed them in large barrels that they then rolled to the coast or a riverbank to be taken on board ship and transported to Europe (Figure 5.22).



FIGURE 5.22 Harvesting Tobacco. This 1670 illustration from Virginia shows enslaved Africans at work on a tobacco plantation. In the open shed on the left, tobacco leaves are being hung to dry. (credit: "Tobacco cultivation (Virginia, ca. 1670)" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Rice cultivation also required the transplanting of seedlings by hand. Enslaved people first cleared the undergrowth from swampland, built earthen dikes, and then flooded the cleared land with water. As they worked in the swampy waters, they were exposed to snakes and mosquitos carrying malaria and yellow fever.

Sugar, the most valuable crop grown by enslaved people, also required the most labor, and sugar plantations often contained hundreds of workers. With the exception of the very youngest and the very oldest, all of them toiled all day as part of large work gangs. The labor was grueling and dangerous. Sugar cane was densely planted, and undergrowth in the fields could hide snakes that bit workers. After fertilizing and weeding the cane, workers harvested it by cutting it close to the ground with machetes and then chopping it into smaller pieces to make it easier to remove from the fields. Machetes wielded in tired workers' sweaty hands often slashed legs and feet. Workers might bleed to death or die when wounds became infected. People who worked too slowly were beaten.

Laborers then transported the cut cane to a mill to be crushed by heavy rollers that often caught and mangled workers' hands. This had to be done very quickly, within twenty-four hours of cutting the cane, because the sap evaporated quickly. The workers boiled the crushed cane to extract a liquid that was clarified and crystalized into sugar, a process that required hours of standing next to roaring fires where workers were often scalded. To maximize profits, planters rotated production, so while sugar cane was growing in one field, it was being harvested in another. Because sugar cane rapidly depleted nutrients in the soil, laborers frequently also had to clear land for new fields. In addition to growing and processing sugar cane, enslaved people had to tend to the plantations' buildings and livestock and cut the wood needed to cook the cane sap.

Slaveholders spent little money on food for the enslaved people, so laborers spent additional time tending their own gardens, fishing, and foraging for wild foods. To give them energy and dull their pain, slaveholders often gave them shots of rum, a plentiful beverage on a sugar plantation.

LINK TO LEARNING

Visit the National Museums Liverpool site to learn more about slavery in the Caribbean (https://openstax.org/l/77CaribbSlave) and how archaeologists have learned about this institution.

BEYOND THE BOOK

Contrasting Images of Slavery

Few European painters created images of slavery. François-Auguste Biard of France and Agostino Brunias, who was born in Rome and lived on the Caribbean island of Dominica, were exceptions. The first painting that follows, by Brunias, shows women at the market (Figure 5.23). The women in the center wearing white may be free women of color, a favorite subject of this artist.



FIGURE 5.23 A Market in the West Indies. This painting by Agostino Brunias, *A Linen Market with a Linen-stall and Vegetable Seller in the West Indies*, was made about 1780 and depicts women at an outdoor market. (credit: "A Linen Market with a Linen-stall and Vegetable Seller in the West Indie" by Yale Center for British Art/ Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The second image, by Biard, was made approximately fifty years later, shortly before slavery was abolished (for the second time) in the French colonies (Figure 5.24).



FIGURE 5.24 The Slave Trade. This 1840 painting, *The Slave Trade* by François-Auguste Biard, is set in a slave market on the coast of West Africa. (credit: "The Slave Trade (Slaves on the West Coast of Africa)" by National Underground Railroad Freedom Center, gift, 1933/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

- How do these paintings differ in subject matter and style?
- Brunias has been described as depicting slavery in a romantic way. Where do you see evidence of this in the painting shown here?
- What details in Biard's painting might make viewers support abolition?

Infectious disease, overwork, poor diet, and injuries claimed large numbers of lives. Because infant mortality among enslaved people in the Caribbean was rampant, the enslaved population was not self-reproducing, and slaveholders had to buy more people each year to maintain their labor force. Prices were high. A healthy young adult might cost as much as an average European could earn in a year's worth of labor. In 1684, planters in Santo Domingo (the Dominican Republic) paid six thousand pounds of sugar per enslaved African. Some 2,500 to 3,000 new captives were required each year. This differed substantially from the English North American mainland colonies where, because the work of growing and processing tobacco was less physically grueling, enslaved people did not die in such high numbers, and the population was able to grow through reproduction.

Despite the conditions in which they lived, enslaved people in the Americas managed to retain their dignity and humanity. Couples married and produced children, some of whom survived. They formed new kin networks, calling fellow laborers "brother" and "aunt" to replace the relatives from whom they had been taken. They created new religions with elements of various African practices and Christian elements learned from their enslavers. They combined foods brought from Africa with local ingredients to create new cuisines that reminded them of home. The influence of Africa persisted in the music, dance, and stories they created. Enslaved people also resisted the slaveholders' efforts to exploit them in numerous ways. They damaged tools,

sabotaged machinery, and set fire to cane fields and barns full of sugar awaiting export to Europe. They ran away; in the mountains of Jamaica, runaways formed communities and lived in hiding. On several occasions, enslaved people rose up in armed rebellion, killing the slaveholders and overseers.

Largely unmoved by the misery of enslaved Africans, Europeans possessed an insatiable appetite for sugar that only grew as time passed. In 1650, planters in Barbados alone shipped about five thousand tons of sugar to England. Fifty years later, that amount had doubled. As the demand for sugar grew, so did the demand for enslaved laborers. Between 1450 and 1600, approximately 2,500 enslaved Africans a year were purchased by Europeans; in the sixteenth century, most of these people were sent to Hispaniola, Cuba, Brazil, and Venezuela. Beginning in the seventeenth century, however, as England, France, the Netherlands, and Denmark established sugar plantations in the Caribbean, the number of enslaved Africans brought to the Americas rose to some 18,680 per year (Figure 5.25). In the eighteenth century, by which time thousands of sugar mills dotted the coast of Brazil and the Caribbean islands, 61,330 people traversed the Middle Passage each year. Forty-two percent were sent to labor in the Caribbean and 38 percent to Brazil. The British colonies of the North American mainland claimed only 4 to 5 percent of the total.

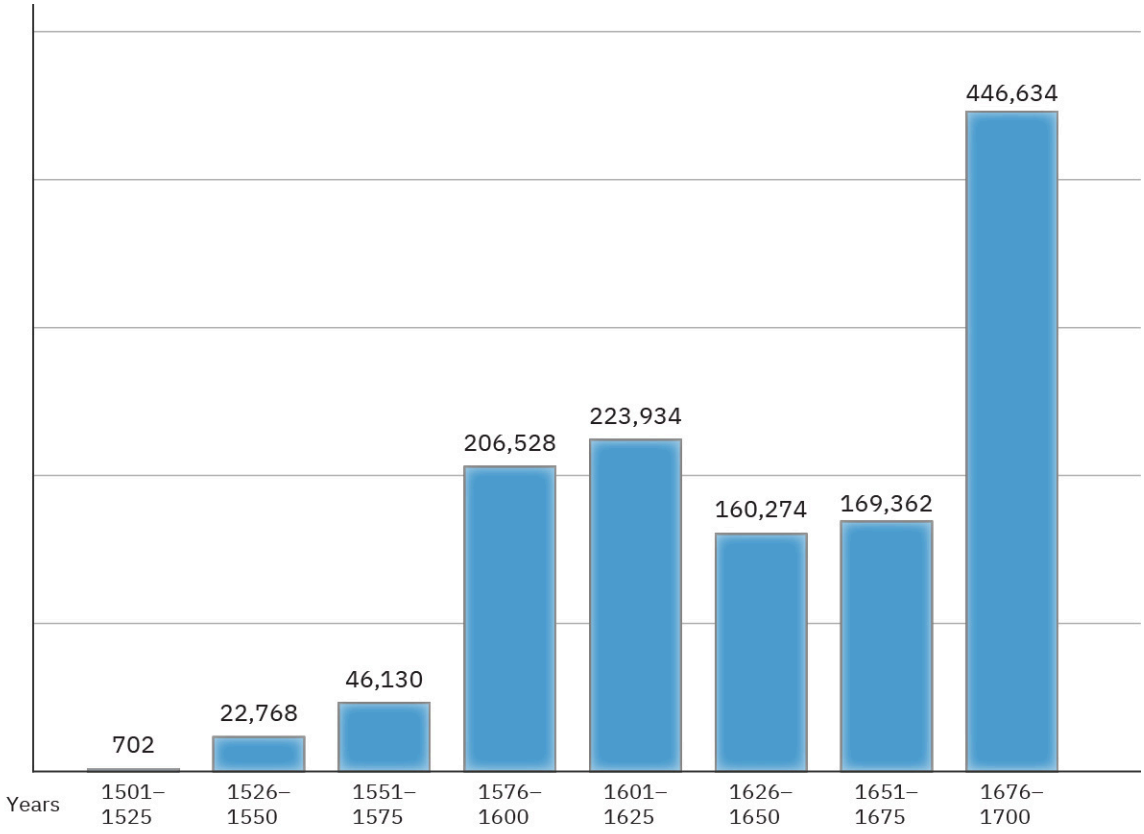


FIGURE 5.25 Sugar and the Growth of the Atlantic Slave Trade. As the European demand for sugar increased, so too did the demand for enslaved laborers in Brazil and the Caribbean, which together would account for approximately 80 percent of enslaved Africans brought to the Americas at the turn of the eighteenth century. (data source: Slave Voyages; attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

The trade in both sugar and enslaved people sustained numerous industries and employed thousands of people, creating great wealth for some. Shipbuilders, ship captains, and sailors found employment, as did dock workers, freight drivers, customs agents, and workers in sugar refineries. Bakers, pastry cooks, candy makers, and grocers all indirectly made money from sugar. People who made the barrels that held sugar and the other products produced by enslaved people—tobacco, rice, and indigo—profited, as did those who supplied inexpensive clothing, shoes, and foodstuffs like salted fish for enslaved people. Banks and insurance

companies earned enormous sums as well, and those who owned large sugar plantations often invested their profits in other industries, built magnificent mansions, or bought luxury goods.

Such wealth was easily transformed into political power. Sugar planters in Britain successfully lobbied Parliament to protect their interests, and many planters went into politics, holding seats in the House of Commons and, by using their wealth to purchase titles and estates, the House of Lords. It was thanks to the sugar lobby in Parliament that the British navy began to give its sailors a daily ration of grog, a mixture of rum, sugar, and lime juice, increasing the profits of British sugar planters even more.

Key Terms

astrolabe a device for navigation that used constellations as a guide and enabled mariners to find their north–south position on the earth's surface
chattel slavery a form of slavery in which one person is owned by another as a piece of property
Christian humanism a movement, also known as northern Renaissance humanism, that stressed the study of the works of Greece and Rome and the early Christian fathers to awaken individual piety
colonialism a practice in which one group of people attempts to establish control over another group, usually for purposes of economic exploitation
Columbian Exchange the flow of plants, animals, and diseases between the Eastern and Western Hemispheres
conquistadors Spanish explorers in the Americas during the Age of Exploration
encomienda a system of coerced labor based on a grant by the Spanish Crown that entitled conquistadors to the labor of specified numbers of Indigenous people
indentured servants people bound by a contract to work for someone for an agreed-upon number of years
indulgences a way to reduce or cancel the time after death during which people needed to suffer in purgatory to atone for their sins before reaching heaven
mercantilism an economic theory in which a nation's power depended on the wealth it gained by exporting goods of greater value than it imported, and in which a gain for one nation was a loss for another
Middle Passage the middle (or second) leg of the three-legged triangular trade that carried enslaved Africans across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas
Treaty of Tordesillas a 1494 agreement awarding land to Portugal and Spain by dividing the Atlantic Ocean along a line one hundred leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands off the coast of Africa
triangular trade the trade in goods and enslaved people that took place between the Americas, Europe, and West Africa from the late fifteenth through the early nineteenth centuries

Section Summary

5.1 The Protestant Reformation

In the sixteenth century, many European Christians were critical of practices within the Catholic Church. Some scholars in northern Europe had turned to Christian humanism as a means of making people more pious and thus achieving religious reform. Martin Luther, a German monk, began the Protestant Reformation when he publicly objected to the church's sale of indulgences. Luther was excommunicated, but the printing press enabled his ideas to spread throughout Europe. Luther taught that faith alone was needed for salvation and that scripture was the only source of Christian authority.

Luther's ideas became popular among many, including Ulrich Zwingli and John Calvin in Switzerland. Followers of John Calvin, called Calvinists, spread his teachings to the Netherlands, Scotland, France, and England. A variety of Anabaptist churches were also established that rejected infant baptism. In England, Henry VIII rejected the pope's authority after the pope refused to grant him an annulment. As Protestantism gained adherents, religious wars erupted throughout Europe. The Council of Trent, called by the Roman Catholic Church in 1545, reaffirmed some aspects of church doctrine while also passing reforms that attempted to eliminate some of the problems that led to the Reformation. Wars over religion continued for many years.

5.2 Crossing the Atlantic

With the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453, Europeans found themselves forced to deal with Muslim middlemen to access the prized goods of South and East Asia. European countries thus began seeking an all-water route to the eastern lands they called the Indies, aided by navigational technologies from the Middle East and motivated by religious zeal and desire for profit. The Portuguese were the first to explore the Atlantic, claiming islands off the coast of Africa and voyaging down its western shore. In 1488, the Portuguese

explorer Bartolomeu Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope at the southern tip of Africa.

The Spanish monarchs Isabella I of Castille and Ferdinand II of Aragon financed the voyages of Christopher Columbus, who landed in the Caribbean in 1492 believing it was part of the Indies. He did not find great wealth there, but Spanish exploration continued. Hernán Cortés conquered the wealthy Aztec Empire in Mexico and Francisco Pizarro the silver-rich Inca Empire in Peru.

To protect their respective interests, in 1494 Spain and Portugal negotiated the Treaty of Tordesillas, which drew a line through the Atlantic awarding the Americas, with the exception of Brazil, to Spain. Animals, foods, and other resources flowed in both directions along the Columbian Exchange, forever altering the culture and economies of North and South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa. Diseases also traveled west with the Europeans and wiped out as much as 95 percent of the Indigenous peoples in the Western Hemisphere. Both Europeans and Indigenous peoples had developed rich, diverse, and vastly different cultures, societies, and religions prior to contact.

5.3 The Mercantilist Economy

According to mercantilist theory, to achieve power, nations must maximize their store of precious metals by importing as few goods as possible while profitably exporting products to other countries. In embracing the theory, European governments imposed tariffs, granted monopolies, and subsidized industries. They also sought to acquire colonies to supply natural resources and serve as markets for domestically manufactured goods. England, France, and the Netherlands thus joined Spain and Portugal in establishing colonies in the Americas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From these, they extracted goods such as furs, hides, tobacco, and most profitably sugar. Critics like David Hume and Adam Smith charged that mercantilism led to inflation and harmed consumers. Smith argued that wealth was not finite, that all nations could prosper, and that the economy should be regulated naturally by competition among producers rather than being managed by governments.

5.4 The Atlantic Slave Trade

To extract wealth from their colonies, over the course of the late fifteenth through the early nineteenth centuries, European nations shipped approximately twelve million enslaved African people across the Atlantic Ocean on the Middle Passage. Some ten million arrived alive to satisfy the labor needs of European planters, who grew cash crops like sugar, rice, and tobacco. These agricultural goods were shipped to Europe, and finished products made from them were shipped to Africa to purchase more captives from other Africans. This three-legged exchange made up the triangular trade. The slave trade brought some areas of Africa damaging population losses, and the importation of European goods also harmed African industries.

The majority of enslaved people labored in the Caribbean and Brazil growing sugar. The work was hard and dangerous, and many died. Nevertheless, enslaved people established ties with one another and found ways to maintain their human dignity and aspects of their culture. Europeans profited immensely from their labor, and many industries were enriched by either the slave trade or the sugar production that depended on it.

Assessments

Review Questions

1. In what part of Europe did Christian humanism develop?
   a. the British Isles
   b. Southern Europe
   c. Northern Europe
   d. Eastern Europe

2. What practice of the Catholic Church did Martin Luther protest in the *Ninety-five Theses*?
   a. prayer for souls in purgatory

b. the sale of indulgences
c. the translation of the Bible from Latin to German
d. the doctrine of transubstantiation

3. For what reason did Henry VIII reject the authority of the Catholic Church?
a. He did not believe the pope had the power to forgive people's sins.
b. He was angry that the pope had sided with France in its military conflicts with England.
c. He was angry that the pope would not annul his marriage to Catherine of Aragon.
d. He rejected the Catholic Church's doctrine of transubstantiation.

4. Why was the Jesuit order founded?
a. to educate young Catholic men
b. to care for the sick
c. to pray for souls in purgatory
d. to provide charity for the poor

5. Their adoption of non-European navigational technology in the Age of Exploration allowed Europeans to
a. treat sailors who fell sick on long sea voyages
b. preserve the plant and animal specimens they found in the Americas
c. sail out of sight of the European coast
d. detect and avoid storms at sea

6. How did the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans help initiate the Age of Exploration?
a. It made allies of Portugal and Spain, who then became partners in the exploration of the globe.
b. It provided Portuguese and Spanish soldiers with valuable military experience they used in conquering the Indigenous peoples of the Americas.
c. It freed funds that had been spent fighting the Ottomans for use in outfitting voyages of exploration.
d. It motivated European nations to search for an all-water route to the Indies that bypassed the Muslim Ottomans.

7. Along with the desire to grow rich, what motivated Portugal and Spain to explore new lands?
a. the desire to spread Christianity and counter the influence of Islam
b. the desire to acquire new medicinal plants to treat infectious diseases
c. the desire to find new land to relieve population pressure in Europe
d. the desire to find new food sources to feed Europe's starving population

8. What was a result of the Treaty of Tordesillas?
a. Spain was able to colonize the Philippines.
b. Brazil became a Portuguese colony.
c. The Portuguese were prohibited from trading in Africa.
d. Spanish conquistadors could no longer be granted encomiendas.

9. How did other European nations respond to the Treaty of Tordesillas between Spain and Portugal?
a. They ignored the treaty.
b. They requested the pope grant them territory as well.
c. They declared war on Spain and Portugal.
d. They abandoned their efforts to explore and colonize the Americas.

10. Why were animal-borne infectious diseases more deadly for Indigenous peoples in the Americas than for Europeans?

a. The Indigenous peoples led a nomadic lifestyle so they could not rest when they fell ill.
b. A genetic mutation made Indigenous peoples more susceptible to bacterial infections.
c. Indigenous peoples had no experience treating illnesses of any kind.
d. Indigenous peoples had never been exposed to the infectious diseases originating in European domesticated animals.

11. Which plant was introduced to the Eastern Hemisphere in the Columbian Exchange?
a. apples
b. maize
c. wheat
d. rice

12. What was a key feature of mercantilist theory?
a. the measuring of a nation's wealth in gold and silver
b. an emphasis on importing more goods than were exported
c. competition among businesses
d. a focus on free trade rather than tariffs

13. According to mercantilist theory, what is the main purpose of colonies?
a. to serve as a home for excess population in the home country
b. to offer a haven for religious and political dissidents
c. to increase national prestige
d. to provide natural resources for the home country

14. How did mercantilist policies hurt the working class?
a. The desire to extract profits from colonies led to the abuse of working-class settlers.
b. Mercantilism advocated keeping wages low.
c. The building up of surpluses of gold and silver led to inflation.
d. Mercantilist policies often led to wars, which had to be fought by working-class soldiers.

15. What item exchanged in Africa as part of the triangular trade was made using a by-product of the labor of enslaved people?
a. cloth
b. guns
c. rum
d. coffee

16. What is chattel slavery?
a. a form of slavery that results from indebtedness
b. a form of slavery in which enslaved people are treated as pieces of property
c. a form of slavery in which children do not inherit the status of enslaved parents
d. a form of slavery in which those enslaved are captured as a result of armed conflict

17. Which crop were most enslaved laborers in the Americas used to grow?
a. sugar
b. wheat
c. tobacco
d. rice

18. How did the slave trade affect the growth of African manufacturing?

a. African manufacturing suffered because so many people were taken in the slave trade that there were not enough laborers left.
b. The availability of large numbers of enslaved workers kept production costs low for African manufacturers.
c. The need to produce weapons to fight back against European slave traders spurred the development of the firearms industry in Africa.
d. The exchange of European textiles for enslaved people harmed African cloth producers, who could not compete on quantity or price.

Check Your Understanding Questions

1. How did Martin Luther's teachings regarding salvation differ from those of the Roman Catholic Church?
2. What did Anabaptists believe?
3. Which Roman Catholic teachings that Martin Luther challenged were later affirmed at the Council of Trent?
4. How did Muslim and Chinese inventions help Europeans explore the Atlantic Ocean in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries?
5. What motivated ordinary Spanish people to embark on voyages of exploration?
6. What role did the popes play in the early years of Spanish and Portuguese exploration and conquest?
7. How effective were the Treaty of Tordesillas and the Treaty of Zaragoza in establishing which nations could control which territories in the Americas, Africa, and Asia? Why?
8. What was the Columbian Exchange?
9. How did the introduction of European livestock affect the Indigenous people of the Americas?
10. According to mercantilist theory, what is the value of colonies?
11. What made the French colonies in Canada and the Caribbean valuable?
12. How were people sometimes hurt by their own country's mercantilist policies?
13. Briefly describe the three legs of the triangular trade.
14. What were some differences between African slavery and slavery in the Americas?
15. How did mercantilism contribute to the rise in slavery in the Americas?

Application and Reflection Questions

1. What were the causes of the Protestant Reformation? What did the Council of Trent do to address those problems?
2. In what ways did Martin Luther's beliefs differ from those of the Roman Catholic Church? What challenges to Catholic doctrine were introduced by other reformers?
3. In your opinion, did the religious zeal of Spain and Portugal help them accomplish their goals or interfere with their accomplishment? Explain your answer.
4. Imagine a world in which the Columbian Exchange did not occur. What would that world look like today? Why?
5. Consider the ways in which mercantilism benefited and harmed people in the nations that adopted it. Was mercantilism an ethical policy, or did it encourage exploitation? Why?

6. What did Jean-Baptiste Colbert do to enrich France? In what ways were his actions guided by mercantilist theory?
7. How did mercantilism influence the relationship between European nations and their colonies?
8. What were some of the ways in which slavery benefited Europeans?
9. What were some ways enslaved persons maintained their dignity and humanity amid their hardship?
10. How is the legacy of the transatlantic slave trade still affecting Africa today?

Colonization and Economic Expansion

6



FIGURE 6.1 Furs and Tobacco. This 1777 Canadian image depicts European traders negotiating with Native Americans (called First Nations in Canada) in the course of the era's highly profitable fur trade. Note that a European and a Native American are both smoking pipes, probably filled with tobacco, another important trade good at this time. (credit: modification of work "A Map of the Inhabited Part of Canada, Frontispiece by William Faden 1777" by Library of Congress Prints and Photographs division/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

CHAPTER OUTLINE

6.1 European Colonization in the Americas
6.2 The Rise of a Global Economy
6.3 Capitalism and the First Industrial Revolution

INTRODUCTION In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the world's great oceans effectively became highways as European explorers, merchants, and laborers proved willing to journey greater distances than they had in the past and traveled to new destinations in the Americas, Africa, and Asia. New economic systems propelled exploration, communication, interaction, exchange, and—in many tragic cases—exploitation. Communities in Asia, Africa, and the Americas that had once had little or no contact with one another now found themselves enmeshed in a variety of exchanges. Confronted with a changing world, every community made hard decisions. Some, like the Native Americans seen here (Figure 6.1), embraced the newcomers as trading partners or political allies, gaining access to new goods and sometimes profiting for a time. Others resisted the newcomers, often at great cost to themselves.

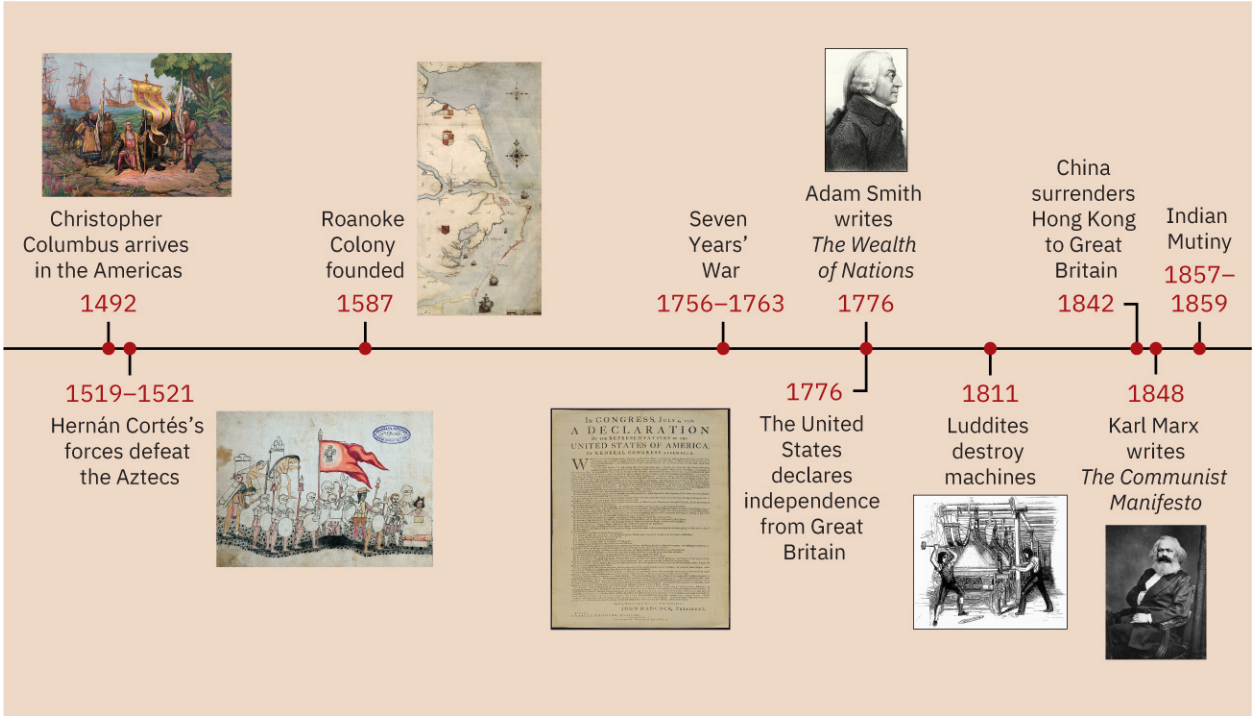


FIGURE 6.2 Timeline: Colonization and Economic Expansion. (credit "1492": modification of work "Columbus taking possession of the new country" by Library of Congress's Prints and Photographs division/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1519–1521": modification of work "Codex Azcatitlan" by Gallica Digital Library/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1587": modification of work "Roanoke map 1584" by The British Museum/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1776 top": modification of work "Profile of Adam Smith" by Adam Smith - Vanderblue Collection/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1776 bottom": modification of work "Declaration of Independence" by Library of Congress/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1811": modification of work "Frame-breakers, or Luddites, smashing a loom" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1848": modification of work "Portrait of Karl Marx" by International Institute of Social History/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

6.1 European Colonization in the Americas

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Discuss the encomienda system
- Explain the motivations behind European settlements in North America
- Explain how climate, economics, and geography affected the founding and growth of colonial settlements
- Analyze Indigenous responses to European colonization in the Americas

In the early 1500s, Europeans began founding new settlements in the Americas. Some came to get rich, others to win glory for their empires, a few to spread their faith. Some settlements withered and died, but others became profitable centers for international commerce as goods and people flowed across the Atlantic Ocean. Each community of Native Americans made unique choices and decided for themselves whether to embrace or resist the changing world. Regardless of their choices, however, most Indigenous people suffered severely from European colonization. They could slow the European advance into their world, but they could not stop it.

Spain's Encomienda System

The Spanish were the first to establish major colonies in North America after Christopher Columbus's arrival in 1492. They became the earliest Europeans to force the Indigenous population to labor for them, initially by

outright enslavement, a practice that slowly evolved into systems that were more complex. By 1502, they had created the encomienda system as part of a broader search for "God, Gold, and Glory" in their vast empire. In this context, *God* refers to attempts to spread the Catholic faith, *gold* to the search for wealth, and *glory* to hopes of obtaining personal fame.

The term *encomienda* comes from the Spanish word *encomendar*, which means "to entrust." The encomienda was a system of entrusting valuable territories and peoples to those who had proven to the crown that they were worthy of that trust. The Spanish government gave each grantee, known as an *encomendero*, the right to demand labor from Indigenous people living in a specific area. In exchange, the Spaniards were supposed to provide guidance, education, and leadership to these Native Americans. While encomiendas did not technically include the ownership of any land, *encomenderos* often took possession of lands where the people under their control lived. Sometimes the system of forced labor even devolved into what was functionally, if not legally, slavery.

Most recipients of encomiendas were conquistadors being rewarded for campaigns that had won glory for Spain. However, a few Native Americans also received them. When the expedition led by conquistador Hernán Cortés fought a war against the Aztec Empire (1519–1521), the Tlaxcalans of central Mexico allied with Cortés's forces against the Aztecs, their traditional enemies. As a reward for their service, the Spanish government gave some Tlaxcalans encomiendas, and the tribe enjoyed a far better position in the Spanish Empire than many other Native American groups. Perhaps the most unusual *encomendera* was Malintzin, a formerly enslaved Indigenous woman who served as Cortés's chief interpreter during the conquest of the Aztec Empire (Figure 6.3). Malintzin received her encomienda as a reward for this service, without which Cortés's campaign against the Aztecs might have failed.



FIGURE 6.3 A Native American *Encomendera*. This page from an Aztec manuscript of the sixteenth or seventeenth century shows the Spanish army on the march, with Cortés and the translator named Malintzin at the far right. (credit: "Codex Azcatitlan" by Gallica Digital Library/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Encomenderos typically abused their authority, overseeing an exploitive arrangement marked by horrific working conditions and acts of extreme violence against anyone who failed to comply with their demands. The

encomienda system became the dominant source of labor in Spanish American colonies, which included areas now known as Florida, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Mexico, and much of South America (Figure 6.4).



FIGURE 6.4 Spain's Colonies. This map shows the area controlled by Spain in its colonization of the Americas. Native American communities often retained effective control over territory that was "claimed" by European powers. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

After a brief period as an *encomendero*, in 1514 the Dominican friar Bartolomé de las Casas became one of the system's greatest critics (Figure 6.5). He spent most of the next decade traveling across Latin America and Spain speaking out against its brutality. In his 1552 book, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, Las Casas argued that "the Spanish fell like ravening wolves upon" Native Americans. He claimed the Spanish "tear the natives to shreds, murder them and inflict upon them untold misery, suffering and distress, tormenting, harrying and persecuting them mercilessly." Las Casas eventually convinced King Charles V to implement the New Laws of 1542 that sought to end the encomienda system, but Spanish settlers in the Americas violently opposed the reforms and the system remained.



(a)



(b)

FIGURE 6.5 **Bartolomé de las Casas.** (a) Shown in a sixteenth-century portrait by an unknown painter, Bartolomé de las Casas was one of the most outspoken critics of the encomienda system. (b) The cover of his book, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, is shown. (credit a: modification of work "Portrait of Bartolomé de Las Casas" by General Archive of the Indies/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit b: modification of work "Cover of 'A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies'" by John Carter Brown Library/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

DUELING VOICES

The Impact of Spanish Colonization

For insights into Spanish colonization, consider the two following primary sources, the first written by Christopher Columbus in 1492, and the second by Bartolomé de las Casas, a Spanish priest, looking back in 1542 after approximately forty years of experience in Spanish America.

Thursday, October 11

All I saw were youths, none more than thirty years of age. They are very well made, with very handsome bodies, and very good countenances. Their hair is short and coarse, almost like the hairs of a horse's tail. . . . They neither carry nor know anything of arms, for I showed them swords, and they took them by the blade and cut themselves through ignorance. They have no iron, their darts being wands without iron, some of them having a fish's tooth at the end, and others being pointed in various ways. . . . They should be good servants and intelligent, for I observed that they quickly took in what was said to them, and I believe that they would easily be made Christians, as it appeared to me that they had no religion.

Sunday, October 14

These people are very simple as regards the use of arms, as your Highnesses will see from the seven that I caused to be taken, to bring home and learn our language and return; unless your Highnesses should order them all to be brought to Castile, or to be kept as captives on the same island; for with fifty men they can all be subjugated and made to do what is required of them.

—*The Journal of Christopher Columbus (During His First Voyage)*, Translated by Clements R. Markham

It was upon these gentle lambs, imbued by the Creator with all the qualities we have mentioned, that from the very first day they clapped eyes on them the Spanish fell like ravening wolves upon the fold, or like tigers and savage lions who have not eaten meat for days. The pattern established at the outset has remained unchanged to this day, and the Spaniards still do nothing save tear the natives to shreds, murder them and inflict upon them untold misery, suffering and distress, tormenting, harrying and persecuting them mercilessly. . . . When the Spanish first journeyed there, the indigenous population of the island of Hispaniola stood at some three million; today only two hundred survive. The island of Cuba, which extends for a distance almost as great as that separating Valladolid from Rome, is now to all intents and purposes uninhabited; and two other large, beautiful and fertile islands, Puerto Rico and Jamaica, have been similarly devastated. Not a living soul remains today on any of the islands of the Bahamas, which lie to the north of Hispaniola and Cuba, even though every single one of the sixty or so islands in the group, as well as those known as the Isles of Giants and others in the area, both large and small, is more fertile and more beautiful than the Royal Gardens in Seville.

—Bartolomé de las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*

- How does Columbus describe the Native Americans?
- What insights does Las Casas's account provide into life in the Spanish colonies?
- Why do you think Columbus's diary is so different from Las Casas's book?

LINK TO LEARNING

Read this longer account by Bartolomé de las Casas of the encomienda system (https://openstax.org/l/77delasCasas) and note the illustrations that accompany it. Consider how the words and text work together to communicate Las Casas's criticism of the system and of abuses by Spanish colonizers in general.

The complaints of reformers, including Las Casas, inspired the **black legend**, which claimed the Spanish were particularly cruel imperialists who abused their colonial subjects. Like many historical legends, the black legend is rooted in fact. The Spanish often mistreated Native Americans, but writers from Spain's colonial rivals, most notably the English, frequently exaggerated Spanish cruelty to justify their own colonial abuses. Despite their intense rivalries, both the English and the Spanish were guilty of abusing Native Americans. Even reformers like Las Casas, who opposed the worst abuses of Native Americans, were flawed. Las Casas's approach to Native Americans was often paternalistic, and he typically treated non-Europeans as children who would benefit from the benevolent guidance of Europeans rather than as equals.

English Settlements in North America

The English began their colonization efforts in the Americas nearly a century after the Spanish, motivated by both economic and ideological goals. In 1584, Queen Elizabeth gave Sir Walter Raleigh a **charter**, a royal document that authorized him to establish a colony in North America. The Protestant queen wanted colonies that would act as an ideological counterweight to Spanish Catholicism in the Americas and provide a base of operations for privateering expeditions that would raid Spanish shipping.

Roanoke Island

In July 1587, about 150 settlers led by explorer and artist John White established a colony on Roanoke Island, off the coast of modern North Carolina. The colonists baptized Manteo, a friendly member of the Croatoan tribe, and named him the Lord of Roanoke in an effort to build congenial relationships with the local Native Americans. In late August, White left for England with plans to gather additional investors to fund the colony. Once there, he convinced English merchants to invest in the colony in exchange for trading rights, but the

arrival of the Spanish Armada in 1588 delayed his departure. When White finally returned to Roanoke Island in 1590, the colony was gone.

The only clue White found was the word “Croatoan” carved into a tree. There are clear signs the settlers intermarried with the Native American population and joined their society, but Europeans of the era dismissed this possibility (Figure 6.6), perhaps because they found it impossible to believe Europeans would willingly join a non-White society. It is also possible the word had nothing to do with the colony’s disappearance. John White was forced to leave before completing a thorough investigation. Today, Roanoke Island is known as “the lost colony,” and its fate remains a mystery.



FIGURE 6.6 The Lost Colony of Roanoke. In this engraving from a nineteenth-century history of the United States, John White discovers the single word *Croatoan* carved in a tree on Roanoke Island in 1590. It was the only clue found after the disappearance of the colonists. (credit: “Croatoan” by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Jamestown

The creation of joint stock companies provided English colonial efforts after Roanoke Island with improved funding that the English monarchy could not offer. A joint stock company, much like a modern corporation, raised money for its ventures by selling shares to investors. The company then used the pooled funds to conduct operations, including colonization efforts in the Americas. Shareholders were not legally liable for the actions of the company and could not lose more than the amount of their investment, but they could earn large profits if the joint stock company were successful. The combination of limited liability with the possibility of rich returns made joint stock companies an appealing investment for members of England’s growing merchant class, and the companies raised huge sums of money beginning in the early 1600s. England promoted colonization for religious and political reasons, but its reliance on private investors for funding often steered the effort toward profitable activities.

In 1606, the Virginia Company, a joint stock company named for Queen Elizabeth (who was known as the “virgin queen” because she never married), received a charter and sent 144 men and boys to North America. In 1607, these colonists founded Jamestown, named for the new English king, James I, on the banks of the Chesapeake Bay in what is now Virginia. Many of the settlers were the desperate younger sons of elite families who would not inherit property claimed by their older brothers in England. Many others were artisans, including goldsmiths and jewelers, unused to the hard physical labor that building a colony on a new continent required.

The settlers of Jamestown, like many Europeans of the 1600s and 1700s, rooted their economic ideas in

mercantilism, an economic theory in which the world's wealth, as measured in gold and silver, is assumed to be finite, so a gain of wealth for one nation is a loss for another. Mercantilist nations expected their colonies to export raw materials, most importantly precious metals like gold and silver, back to the home country and to purchase goods from it in turn. The English government hoped the Virginia Company would find gold to improve the nation's trade balances and increase its wealth. Many in Jamestown also hoped to find gold and thereby get rich without having to work hard or suffer any hardships.

The Jamestown settlers did not find gold because there was little mineral wealth in the region, but they did find suffering due to bad weather, starvation, disease, internal political disputes, and military conflicts with the Powhatan tribe (named after its chief). The Powhatans grew to loathe the newcomers for bringing disease and violence to their homeland. Many colonists died during the winter of 1609–1610, known as "the starving time." By May 1610, fewer than a hundred remained, and the colony, which had not produced a profit for the Virginia Company, almost failed.

Early Virginia colonists did find wealth and success in tobacco cultivation, however. Despite the need for hard work in difficult conditions, by 1614 Jamestown began exporting tobacco to Europe and earning profits for the Virginia Company. Smoking the highly addictive dried leaves of the plant became a popular habit in Europe.

Like their rivals the Spanish, English colonists struggled to produce agricultural goods using only their own labor. Instead, they relied heavily on indentured servants, European immigrants who typically agreed to work four to seven years in exchange for transportation to the colony and the hope of a new life there after completing their service. Up to 100,000 people, mostly poor men in their twenties, traveled to the English colonies as indentured servants in the 1600s. Many died of disease, exposure, and overwork, but those who survived their term of service often became reasonably comfortable and respected members of the growing settlements. A fortunate few even became wealthy planters.

In 1619, the first Africans arrived in Virginia. Initially they enjoyed the same opportunities to earn their freedom and build wealth as immigrants from Europe, but their condition quickly deteriorated. They were part of a trend that began with the importation of the first Africans into the Americas by the Spanish and Portuguese a century earlier. By the middle of the 1600s, policies were beginning to develop in the Americas that bound Africans to servitude for life, unlike European indentured servants who regained their freedom once they had completed their term of service.

European colonists in Virginia, like those in Mexico, South America, and the Caribbean, sought ways to maintain a permanent labor force, especially when it proved difficult to recruit sufficient indentured servants from Europe. Attempts to coerce the labor of fellow Europeans would have met with too much resistance. Faced with a growing underclass of embittered poor White former servants, who in 1676 sought to overthrow the colony's government, Virginia's elite sought to solve their problems by drawing legal distinctions between people of European and African ancestry. They extended privileges to Whites that were denied to Blacks and encouraged European settlers to perceive Africans as inferior people fit only for manual labor, while simultaneously depriving Africans of their freedom. In this way, slavery became associated with African ancestry and racial divisions were created that had not existed before. Racism became the basis on which the colonial labor system was built.

In 1680, the Virginia legislature passed "an act for preventing Negroes Insurrections" that forbid enslaved Africans from carrying weapons, gathering in public, and traveling without permission. Enslaved Africans became the most important source of coerced labor in Virginia, as well as the other English colonies established in the southern part of what became the United States, stretching from Maryland, the colony founded as a haven for English Catholics just north of Virginia, to Georgia. This enslavement in the United States ended only in 1865, after a devastating civil war and the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Slavery continued in other parts of the Western Hemisphere, with Brazil not abolishing it until 1888.

New England

In 1620, Puritan Separatists led by William Bradford left Plymouth, England, on the *Mayflower* and founded a colony they called Plymouth near what is now Boston, Massachusetts. The Separatists wanted to leave England to escape the Church of England, which they felt was corrupt, and whose interpretation of scripture the Separatists considered lax. Before landing, their leaders signed the Mayflower Compact, a document that emphasized their desire to found a colony for "the glory of God, and Advancement of the Christian Faith, and the Honour of our King and Country." More than just a religious document, the Mayflower Compact also had a major political impact with its support of direct democracy and of building governments that reflected the will of the people.

Like the English settlers far to the south in Virginia, the Separatists struggled to survive in their new homes. Roughly half died of starvation, disease, malnutrition, and cold during the difficult winter of 1620–1621. Many of the survivors became too weak to work, and soon the entire colony was dependent on the seven who were healthy enough to do so. Political disputes broke out, and the first English colony in New England almost died. Just when Plymouth seemed doomed, Native Americans decided to help. They included Samoset, a member of the Abenaki tribe who had been living with the Wampanoag tribe, and Tisquantum (Squanto) of the Pawtuxet tribe, who had learned to speak some English from fishers who visited the coast before the Separatists arrived. Tisquantum had been kidnapped by English explorer Thomas Hunt and sold into slavery in Spain but had managed to escape to England. There, he joined the Newfoundland Company, another English joint stock company, and had returned to North America in 1619. Samoset, Tisquantum, and other friendly Native Americans helped the English negotiate treaties with nearby tribes and taught them to grow corn, which became the colony's main food source. But a relationship that may have begun as a friendly attempt to help starving strangers quickly shifted to conflict as the colonizers began seizing Indigenous lands.

A larger group of Puritans followed in 1630 and founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Their leader John Winthrop gave a speech titled "A Model of Christian Charity," which expressed his hopes that the Puritan community in the Americas would embrace the twin goals of building economic prosperity and founding a "City upon a Hill" that would serve as a shining example of an ideal Christian community to the entire world.

The Puritan colonies were also scenes of religious conflict from which dissenters like Anne Hutchinson, who questioned the all-male church leadership, and Roger Williams, who championed religious toleration, were exiled. The Massachusetts Bay Colony's darkest moment may have come during the 1692 Salem witch trials, when Puritan leaders executed nineteen people for witchcraft. Despite such conflicts, the Puritan colonies eventually became self-sustaining communities that mostly achieved their twin objectives of promoting Puritan religious ideology and building a strong economy.

Puritan settlers hoped a strong economy would allow their colony to flourish, attract new settlers, and provide evidence of God's favor. Like many Europeans of the 1600s and 1700s, they rooted their economic ideas in mercantilism. The desire to build economic wealth was the primary motive in many colonial ventures, such as Jamestown in Virginia, and provided a secondary motivation in more ideologically driven communities like those set up by the Puritans (Figure 6.7).



FIGURE 6.7 English Settlements. This map shows English colonies and key settlements in North America in the 1600s, as well as the neighboring territories inhabited by Native American tribes at the time. Many more tribes inhabited this region than the few whose names appear on the map. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

French and Dutch Settlements

In 1609, Dutch merchants hired Henry Hudson, an English sea captain, to lead an expedition into the Atlantic Ocean. The Dutch hoped Hudson would find the long-sought Northwest Passage, a mythical water route thought to allow ships from Europe to sail west through the North American continent, cross the Pacific Ocean, and arrive in Asia. Hudson discovered a deep-water port, now known as New York harbor, and a large river, now known as the Hudson, that led inland. For a moment it appeared he had found the Northwest Passage. However, the Hudson River became too shallow for ocean-going ships near present-day Albany, New York, and the expedition turned back. Hudson did not find the Northwest Passage, but he did find a valuable port and rich river valley that he claimed for the Dutch.

After Hudson returned to Europe, the Dutch West India Company, a joint stock company much like the Virginia Company, made plans to set up a small colony in North America. In contrast to the settled agricultural model preferred by English colonists, the Dutch focused on trade. Company directors hoped their colony would improve their access to the North American fur trade, ensure their control of the valuable port eventually known as New York Harbor, and solidify their claim on the area, which they suspected might contain

additional sources of wealth they had not yet discovered. In 1624, thirty families aboard the ship *Nieu Nederlandt* arrived in what is now New York and founded the Dutch colony of New Netherlands. They came for many reasons, but many hoped to become rich by working in the fur trade.

The Dutch, like their Spanish and English colonial rivals, struggled to produce goods using paid labor and sought to remedy the problem with the importation of enslaved Africans. They also encouraged immigration from across Europe with promises of economic opportunities and some level of religious toleration that extended even to Jewish people, who faced severe discrimination in most of Europe. New Netherlands soon became a prosperous colony populated by people from across Europe and Africa. Colonists lived in a band of farms and towns stretching along the Hudson River Valley from New Amsterdam, which is now New York City, north to the village of Beverwijck, now Albany. They engaged in some farming, but they mostly relied on the fur trade for their income.

BEYOND THE BOOK

New Amsterdam

New Amsterdam was founded by the Dutch in 1624, at the southern tip of the island now known as Manhattan. The city quickly became a thriving center of trade and commerce. In 1664, an English military expedition captured the city and renamed it New York (Figure 6.8).



FIGURE 6.8 New Amsterdam. This painting of early New Amsterdam, which later became New York City, was made in 1664 by the Dutch artist and cartographer Johannes Vingboons. (credit: "Gezicht op Nieuw Amsterdam" by Geheugen van Nederland/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

- How is New Amsterdam depicted in this picture? What parts of the picture would have seemed familiar to people in the Netherlands?
- Do you think this painting is an accurate depiction of life in seventeenth-century New Amsterdam? Why do you think the European artist chose to portray the city in this fashion?

New Netherlands became a scene of increasing conflict as the colony grew. Initially the Dutch enjoyed friendly relationships with Native Americans eager to trade their furs for European firearms, metal tools, and wool blankets. Serious disputes began, however, when the Dutch demanded payment for the benefits they believed they had brought, including knowledge of the Christian faith and connection to global markets. Native Americans refused to pay, and violence broke out. To protect New Amsterdam from attack, the Dutch forced enslaved Africans to build fortifications along what was then the city's northeast boundary. The street that ran along these fortifications was known as Wall Street; it later became a major economic center and the home of the New York Stock Exchange.

Despite intense warfare, Native Americans were unable to expel the Dutch, who faced a far more dangerous threat from the English. In 1664, an English military expedition arrived in New Amsterdam as part of a broader conflict between England and the Netherlands. With little hope of defending themselves from the English warships, the Dutch surrendered. The English gave them generous peace terms and renamed New Amsterdam New York, in honor of the Duke of York who had organized the expedition (Figure 6.9).



FIGURE 6.9 Dutch and French Settlements. This map shows the location of Dutch and French colonies in North America in the seventeenth century and the tribal lands of Native Americans at the time of European conquest and resettlement. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

The French became aware of colonization opportunities in North America in 1534, when Jacques Cartier voyaged to the area now known as the Gulf of Saint Lawrence in Canada, but they did not rush to set up any

colonies. Several early colonization efforts in what is now Canada struggled, mostly due to the harsh northern environment. In 1608, an expedition led by Samuel de Champlain founded Quebec, the first major French settlement in North America. The Company of New France, a joint stock company much like the Virginia Company and the Dutch West India Company, led the early French colonization efforts in North America and helped fund settlements. New France was a collection of French settlements begun in 1534 in what is now Newfoundland. It eventually included much of North America, including Canada and the Mississippi River Valley all the way to southern Louisiana on the Gulf of Mexico.

Like the Dutch, French colonizers focused on trade rather than the settled agricultural model preferred by the English. They earned most of their profits from the lucrative fur market and engaged in fishing off the coast of what is now Canada. Among the French settlers were a small number of French Catholic priests who attempted to convert Native Americans to Christianity, as the Spanish had done in their colonies. Most of these missionaries were members of the Society of Jesus, better known as the Jesuits, a religious organization dedicated to spreading Catholicism and opposing Protestantism. The Jesuits practiced **cultural accommodation**, a method of integrating a culture into the dominant society without forcing it to fully integrate and adopt all the dominant culture's components. They just wanted Native Americans to become Catholics and did not care whether they adopted any other aspect of European culture. The Jesuits in Canada also likely realized that they had neither sufficient numbers nor the support from France that would have been necessary to force Indigenous peoples to submit to attempts to change their way of life.

The French probably enjoyed the friendliest relationships with Native Americans of any European colonizers. Unlike their rivals, they usually attempted to solve the shortage of labor by allying themselves with Native Americans. The French sought wealth in furs, and the assistance of Native American tribes, who knew the land much better than did the European newcomers, was needed to best exploit this valuable resource. Also, because few French women came to New France, many French colonists married Native American women, leading to the creation of a multicultural and multiracial society.

In 1627, Cardinal Richelieu, chief minister to King Louis XIII, provided a spiritual justification for Franco-Indian partnerships in the Ordonnance of 1627. The Ordonnance read in part, "The descendants of the French who are accustomed to this country [New France], together with all the Indians who will be brought to the knowledge of the faith and will profess it, shall be deemed and renowned natural Frenchmen, and as such may come to live in France when they want, and acquire, donate, and succeed and accept donations and legacies, just as true French subjects, without being required to take letters of declaration of naturalization."

Not all Native Americans wanted to give up their traditional beliefs or become French, but the Ordonnance was an important gesture that the French government was willing to accept them as equal members of society. It helped the French build strong relationships with Native Americans, particularly the Algonquin-speaking tribes that populated most of New France. The French further reinforced their alliance with the Algonquins by providing them with weapons, which they used in their wars with rival Iroquoian-speaking tribes and with Dutch and English settlers.

Even when Indigenous peoples profited from their relationship with European colonists, however, they might still suffer negative consequences. The introduction of guns, for example, made Native American warfare more deadly. As the Iroquois, who were armed by the Dutch, waged war with the French-allied Wendat nation, their European trading partners profited from the trade in stolen pelts.

The use of guns and the incentives offered for killing as many animals as possible had environmental implications as well, because it depleted beaver and deer populations in some areas. The hunger for European manufactured goods encouraged some Native Americans to go into debt to European traders, while the reduction of animal populations left some without the means to pay. Many Indigenous people also became addicted to the alcohol sold or traded by Europeans.

6.2 The Rise of a Global Economy

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Explain how the Seven Years' War established a new balance of power in Europe
- Discuss the causes and effects of Britain's colonization of India
- Analyze the ways in which the Qing dynasty developed and maintained a favorable balance of trade with Europe
- Describe how colonized societies responded to the expansion of European empires

In the mid-1700s, the British Empire grew from a minor player on the world stage to a dominant superpower. Trade that flowed through and from the British North American colonies made many British business and political leaders rich. Victory in the Seven Years' War consolidated their power over European rivals. In hopes of further increasing their political and economic power, many supported further expansion of the empire into new areas. Britain therefore expanded its colonies in India and turned its eyes to China.

The Seven Years' War

The Seven Years' War (1756–1763) was a global conflict that began as a fight for dominance between European powers, primarily Great Britain and France, but it quickly involved groups from India, Africa, and the Americas (Figure 6.10). Conflicts that overlapped with the Seven Years' War were the French and Indian War in North America and the Third Carnatic War in India.

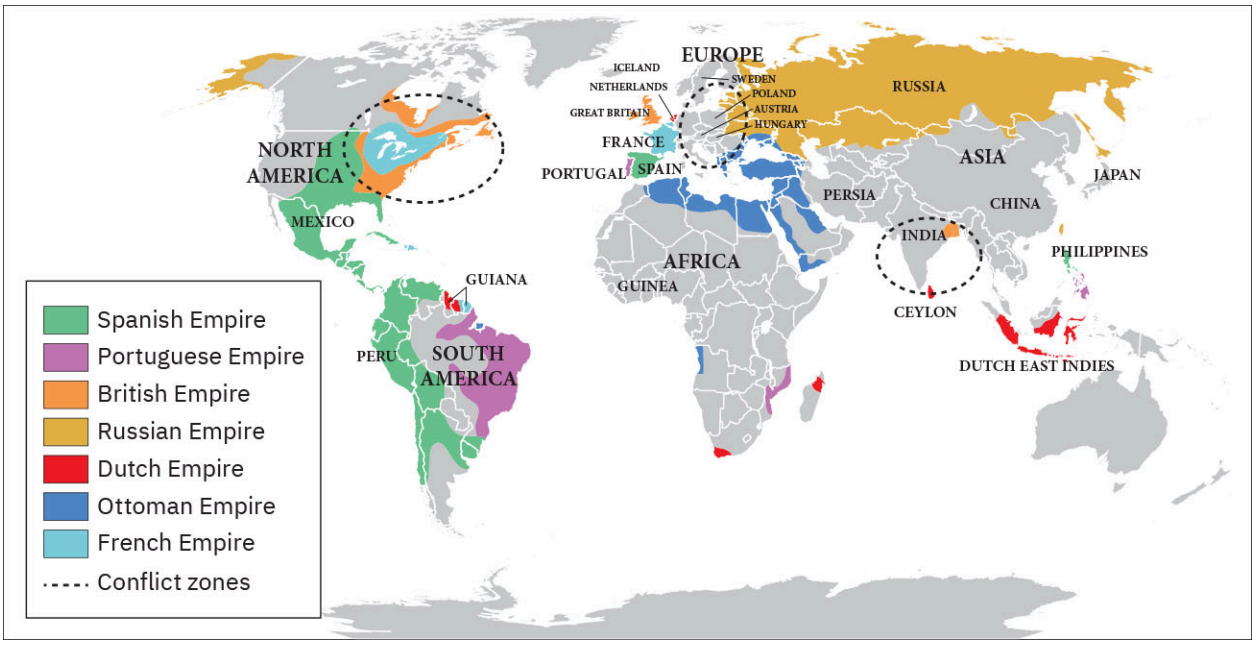


FIGURE 6.10 The Seven Years' War. This map shows a global view of the Seven Years' War, which began in 1756. Note the many participants and the far-flung conflict zones. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

In the late 1600s and early 1700s, New France grew steadily. In 1663, King Louis XIV canceled the royal charter with the Company of New France and transformed the settlement into a royal colony. French merchants and priests gradually expanded their reach from Quebec through the Great Lakes and down the Mississippi River, founding New Orleans near the Gulf of Mexico in 1718.

The English proved a serious obstacle for the growth of New France, however. Wealthy farmers in the English colonies of North America wanted to expand into the Ohio River Valley, territory claimed by France and its Native American allies. In 1754, violence broke out between French soldiers and members of the Virginia

militia near what is now Uniontown, Pennsylvania. Initially the French and their Native American allies performed well, launching skillful ambushes on English troops and forcing George Washington, a young officer in the Virginia colonial militia, to surrender Britain's Fort Necessity.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

George Washington on the French and Indian War

George Washington wrote to his mother on July 18, 1755, when he was twenty-three years old and fighting in the French and Indian War. His letter, excerpted here, describes the battle near Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. British soldiers and members of the Virginia militia met a surprise attack by French and Indian fighters and were defeated.

> HONORED MADAM: As I doubt not but you have heard of our defeat, and perhaps have had it represented in a worse light (if possible) than it deserves; I have taken this earliest opportunity to give you some account of the engagement, as it happened within 7 miles of the French fort, on Wednesday the 9th instant.
>
> We marched onto that place, without any considerable loss, having only now and then a straggler picked up by the French scouting Indians. When we came there, we were attacked by a body of French and Indians, whose number (I am persuaded) did not exceed three hundred men; ours consisted of about 1300 well-armed troops, chiefly regular soldiers, who were struck with such a panic that they behaved with more cowardice than it is possible to conceive. The officers behaved gallantly, in order to encourage their men, for which they suffered greatly; there being near sixty killed and wounded; a large proportion of the number we had. The Virginia troops showed a good deal of bravery, and were near all killed; for I believe, out of three companies that were there, there is scarce thirty men left alive. . . . In short, the dastardly behavior of those they call regulars exposed all others that were inclined to do their duty to almost certain death; and, at last, in despite of all the efforts of the officers to the contrary, they broke, and run as sheep pursued by dogs; and it was impossible to rally them. . . .
>
> I luckily escaped without a wound, though I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me. Captains Orme and Morris . . . were wounded early . . . I was the only person then left to distribute the General's orders, which I was scarcely able to do, as I was not half recovered from a violent illness that had confined me to my bed, and a wagon, for above ten days. I am still in a weak and feeble condition, which induces me to halt here two or three days in hopes of recovering a little strength, to enable me to proceed homewards; . . .
>
> I am, honored Madam, your most dutiful son.
>
> —George Washington, Letter to Mary Ball Washington, July 18, 1755

- Why does Washington want to explain to his mother what happened during the battle?
- What is Washington's opinion of the regular British soldiers, British officers, and Virginia militia in the battle?
- What obstacles did Washington face during the battle?

However, the early success of the French in forcing the British to retreat did not last. In 1758, the Shawnee tribe, the Delaware tribe, and the powerful Iroquoian Confederacy agreed to ally with the English in exchange for their promise to respect Indigenous rights to contested lands on the frontier. The Iroquois Confederacy was a collection of allied Native American tribes who called themselves *Haudenosaunee*, which means "people of the longhouse." The name referred both to the rectangular homes in which they lived and their geographic territory, which extended from what is now Vermont in the east all the way to Lake Erie in the west, an area roughly the shape of a longhouse. The Iroquoian tribes had formed a military and economic alliance by 1600

that consisted of the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca tribes. The Tuscarora tribe joined the confederacy in 1722. Other, non-Iroquoian Native Americans, including several Algonquin tribes, remained loyal to the French until the end of the war in 1763. With Native American help, the English launched successful offensives against New France. The British turned in the tide in 1759, with a series of victories culminating in their capture of French Quebec after the Battle on the Plains of Abraham (Figure 6.11).



FIGURE 6.11 Key Battles. This map shows the key battles of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), including Britain's loss at Fort Duquesne where George Washington fought and its decisive victory in Quebec. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

The French and Indian War ended with the victory of Great Britain and Prussia over France and Spain in the Seven Years' War and the signing of the Treaty of Paris in February 1763. Under the treaty, the French government surrendered all its territory in North America, as well as outposts in the Caribbean, India, and Africa. Britain became the undisputed controller of eastern North America, from Canada in the north to the Florida border in the south, and from the Atlantic Ocean in the east to the Mississippi River in the west.

The Seven Years' War had begun in Europe in 1756 when Frederick the Great of Prussia invaded Saxony and annexed the area as part of his broader plan to expand Prussian territory. In response, France, Spain, and Russia joined forces with Austria to oppose him. Great Britain allied itself with Prussia to maintain the **balance of power** in Europe, a situation in which competing nations have approximately equal military power. Maintaining this balance was a key feature of British foreign policy meant to prevent the domination of Europe

by any one nation. Military alliances thus transformed what could have been a small border dispute in Europe into a major war that quickly spread around the world (Figure 6.12).



FIGURE 6.12 Allies in Europe. This map shows the many alliances made in Europe during the Seven Years' War. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

In 1758, a British expeditionary force captured the French outpost of Senegal in West Africa, and other French outposts were taken during a series of subsequent offensives. The loss of valuable trading ports damaged the French economy at the very moment France desperately needed money to fund the war effort. More importantly, it deprived French military forces of strategic bases they could have used to raid British shipping and resupply their warships.

In Asia, the British East India Company, a joint stock company founded in 1600 with the original goal of trading in the Indian Ocean, was by now providing the British with a much stronger economic as well as military and diplomatic foundation than their French rivals had. To thwart these British advantages and gain control of valuable territory in India, the French formed an alliance with the Mughal Empire. At its height, this powerful Muslim realm had once ruled more than 150 million people living across 1.5 million square miles in what is now Afghanistan, India, and Bangladesh. The British defeated the French forces in 1761, however, when they captured Pondicherry, the most important French outpost in India. The Mughals continued to resist British domination even after the French had largely withdrawn from India.

In 1762, the British launched attacks on Spanish colonies in Asia and the Caribbean, capturing the port of Manila in the Philippines and occupying it until the end of the war in 1763. They were less successful in expanding their control over the islands, despite the assistance of Indigenous Filipinos who disliked Spanish rule. In the Caribbean, however, Britain succeeded in capturing Havana, Cuba, one of the most important ports in the Western Hemisphere, and held it until the end of the conflict.

Furthermore, with the signing of the Treaty of Paris, the French surrendered their imperial possessions in North America and India to the British, while the Spanish surrendered Florida to the British and France gave control of the Louisiana Territory to Spain. The subsequent Peace of Hubertusburg guaranteed Prussian control of Silesia, an area in central Europe, and confirmed Prussia's status as a major force in Europe. The

British, for their part, emerged from the Seven Years' War as the world's leading economic, military, and political power.

British Influence in India

After their victory in the Seven Years' War, the British focused on expanding their control in India. In 1757, the forces of the British East India Company led by Robert Clive defeated the ruler of Bengal, a region in northeast India, who had favored the French. The British East India Company's victory left it in control of territory larger than the island of Britain itself. Four years later, the capture of Pondicherry by the British effectively removed the French from contention in the competition to dominate Indian trade. After 1761, the Indigenous peoples of India provided the only significant source of resistance.

In 1764, British and Indian forces under the command of the British East India Company defeated a much larger army led by the Mughal emperor Shah Alam II at Buxar. After Buxar, the Mughals retained control of territory in northern and western India but effectively surrendered governance of much of southern and eastern India to the British East India Company. This included awarding the British East India Company the right to collect taxes in Bengal in 1765. The immense wealth gained from tax collection enabled the Company to further dominate India. Forces under the leadership of the Company defeated the Kingdom of Mysore in southern India by 1799 and the central Indian Maratha Empire by 1818 (Figure 6.13).

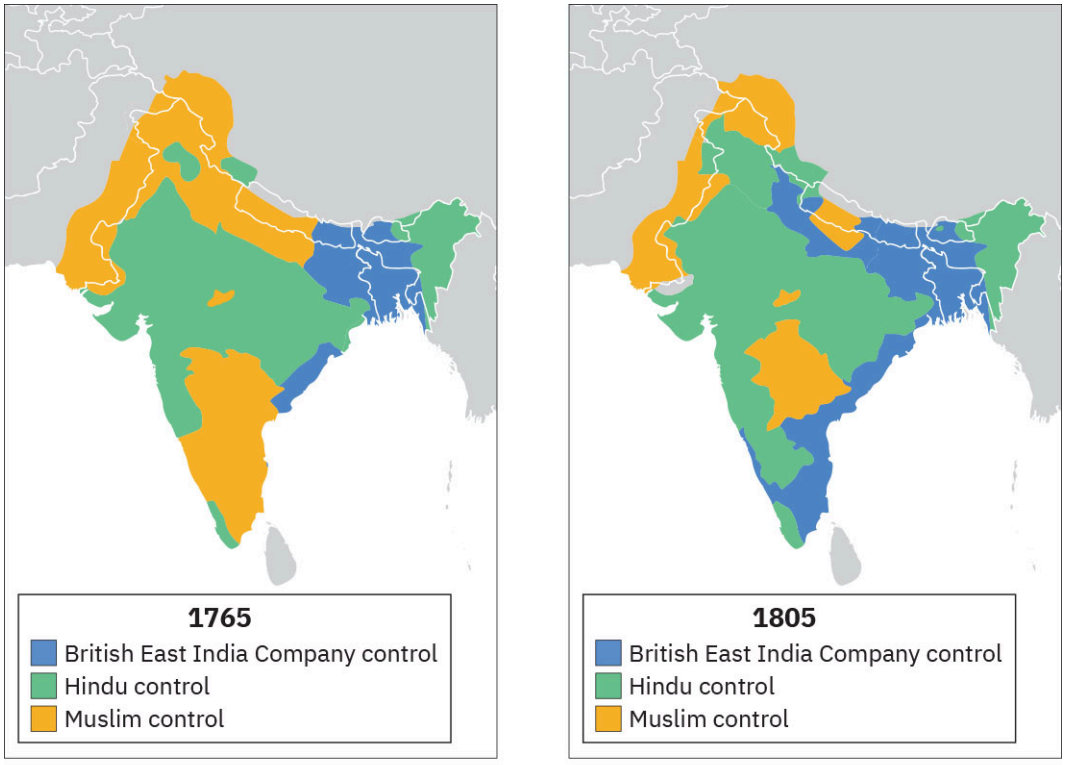


FIGURE 6.13 Britain's Growing Control in India. These maps of India show (in blue) the area dominated by the British East India Company in 1765 (a) and the even larger area it controlled in 1805 (b). (attribution a and b: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

Britain and the British East India Company both benefited economically from their colonial control of India. When investors founded the company in 1600, they initially focused on trading in spices. As spices decreased in price and profit, however, the Company turned its attention to textiles produced by highly skilled Indian artisans. Finally, when the value of hand-woven fabric began decreasing in the early nineteenth century, the company pivoted to trading Indian-produced opium for Chinese-grown tea, which became an increasingly valuable consumer good in the late eighteenth century.

The British East India Company typically engaged in **indirect rule**, a system in which colonial powers cooperated with Indigenous elites and allowed local leaders to exercise some authority. In exchange for British support of their power, Indian elites upheld the company's foreign and economic policies. Most importantly, they ensured a steady flow of taxes and soldiers from the Indigenous people to the British East India Company. Indian soldiers, called **sepoys**, who were often led by British officers, defended British territory in India and enforced British laws (Figure 6.14).



FIGURE 6.14 A Sepoy and His Wife. A Hindu sepoy of the Madras Native Infantry and his wife, shown in a watercolor painting made on paper by an unknown army artist in about 1810. (credit: "Sepoy of Madras Native Infantry and his wife" by National Army Museum/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The system of indirect rule often worked within existing power structures, providing British support for elites that had already long ruled India. However, in areas where Indigenous rulers opposed colonization, the British disrupted traditional practices, removed elites who refused to cooperate, and administered those areas directly. British rule led to conflicts within Indian society, with many Indigenous communities divided between people who wanted to cooperate with the British and those who supported a series of rebellions against foreign domination. Indians who opposed the British were further divided between those who supported violent resistance and those who believed peaceful resistance was more promising.

In 1813, as a result of pressure exerted by religious interests on the British Parliament, the British East India Company allowed missionaries limited access to India. This was a reversal of the Company's longstanding

policy of banning Christian missionaries for fear their activities would lead to unrest that would disrupt trade. The new policy pleased nobody and led to an unlikely alliance among British Christians and Indian Muslims and Hindus, who agreed on very little other than that the British East India Company should not rule India. British Christians opposed the East India Company's rule because of its stance on missionary activity. Indian Muslims and Hindus opposed the Company's rule because they wished to govern themselves.

China's Dominance in Trade

China had long been a major world power and became even stronger with the rise of the Qing (1644–1912), the last imperial dynasty. After defeating their Ming predecessors and consolidating their power, Qing rulers turned to rebuilding the Chinese economy. With a stable frontier, they were able to reduce military spending and lower tax burdens, which freed money for people to invest in businesses and for the wealthier classes to purchase luxuries. The Qing seized land from wealthy families that supported their political rivals and distributed it to other families that set up small farms. To help these new farms, the government gave the owners draft animals, tools, and seeds. Most farmers focused on growing rice in the river valleys, but the introduction of potatoes from the Americas allowed them to grow food on hilly ground that had never been widely cultivated before. Some began growing tobacco, which also came from the Americas and became a key cash crop for Chinese farmers.

To facilitate economic development, the Qing upgraded China's infrastructure, including rebuilding roads and improving the Grand Canal. Begun in the fifth century BCE and still in use today, this waterway stretches 1,100 miles from Beijing in the north to Hangzhou in the south. It is the world's longest canal and connects several important waterways, including the Huang (Yellow), Huai, and Yangtze Rivers (Figure 6.15). In the Qing era, the Grand Canal transported luxuries, but most importantly it brought food from the rich agricultural river valleys of the south to the large cities of northern China such as Beijing, which became major centers of commerce and manufacturing during this time.



FIGURE 6.15 China's Grand Canal. This map shows the course of the Grand Canal of China as it looks today, stretching about 1,100 miles from Hangzhou in the south all the way to Beijing in the north. (credit: modification of work "Modern Course of Grand Canal of China" by Ian Kiu/Wikimedia Commons, CC BY 3.0)

The Qing dynasty's leaders also focused on increasing China's international trade. They signed new treaties with foreign nations, including the Treaty of Kyakhta (1727) with Russia, which opened China to new European markets. They also improved trading relationships with Japan, the nations of Southeast Asia, and the Philippines. The Qing government lifted most prohibitions on trade with the western nations. Under the **Canton system**, in place from 1759 to 1842, western Europeans were permitted to trade with China if they agreed to work through the Chinese guilds that enjoyed monopoly rights to the tea and silk trades. Under this system, all trade was confined to the southern Chinese port of Canton (Guangzhou) in order to limit contact with Europeans and foreign influence on China. Only members of the merchant guild authorized to transact business with Westerners were allowed to have contact with Europeans. All Europeans trading in China were subject to Chinese law, and they were required to live and do business in a small area outside the city walls. Europeans were not allowed to bring firearms or warships into the port, and European women were also

prohibited from settling in Canton, which prevented a permanent European community from taking root there.

The Canton system successfully increased China's trade with Europe and improved the Chinese economy. By 1833, the Chinese were exporting twenty-eight times more tea and welcoming thirteen times more foreign ships than before. Tea was the most important export, but China also exported large quantities of silk and porcelain. It rejected most European trade goods and insisted on payment for its exports in silver. Desperate for Chinese goods, Europeans complied, and several million dollars' worth of silver flowed into China each year. As a result, China enjoyed a very favorable balance of trade with Europe. This encouraged European nations to find a way to chip away at China's trade advantages.

Colonial Resistance and Revolution

The colonies' role as generators of wealth for their home nations led to the exploitation of both their original inhabitants and their natural resources. As European states sought to expand their colonial dominions in order to play a greater role in the global economy, they encountered resistance from the people whose lands and labor they sought to use. Some of the earliest resistance took place in the Americas.

Resistance in the Americas

The Indigenous people of New Spain were the first to fight back. The first instance of resistance took place in 1493 with the destruction of Columbus's early colony, called La Navidad, by the Indigenous inhabitants of Hispaniola. When Columbus returned to Hispaniola on his second voyage he discovered that all thirty-nine of the men he had left behind had been killed. Some acts of resistance nearly put an end to Spanish settlement in parts of North America. In 1680, a Tewa Pueblo religious leader named Popé (Po'pay) led his tribe along with other Pueblo people and the Apache tribe in an uprising against Spanish religious, economic, and cultural abuses in New Mexico. Four hundred Spanish died, and the rest fled the region. Twelve years passed before the Spanish returned to the region in significant numbers. The Pueblo Revolt ultimately failed to provide Native Americans with permanent independence, but it did shape Spain's colonial policies in the region. Although Spain regained control of the region in 1692, it subsequently granted land to the Pueblos and appointed officials to represent the tribes' rights in Spanish courts. The Pueblos adopted some elements of Spanish culture, including some Christian practices, but Spanish priests did not attempt to destroy the Pueblos' traditional religion as they had before. The Pueblo tribes were thus able to retain much of their way of life, preserving unique cultures that remain today.

LINK TO LEARNING

Native Americans in the United States continue to struggle with the lingering impacts of European colonization, including poverty, discrimination, and infringement on their reservations. Read a statement from lawyers at the Native American Rights Fund (https://openstax.org/l/77Keystone) about their recent attempts to prevent the construction of a pipeline across Native American territory. Do you think the United States should have approved the Keystone XL project, despite the objection of Native Americans who do not want the project on their land? Do you see a connection between the proposed Keystone project and past practices of European powers? If so, what is it?

LINK TO LEARNING

Resistance among Native Americans in the Southwest continues today. Read this article about the efforts of members of the Navajo tribe to end uranium mining on their tribal lands (https://openstax.org/l/77UraniumMine) to learn more.

North American tribes in areas claimed by the English also were threatened with the loss of their way of life, especially in the Chesapeake Bay colonies of Virginia and Maryland where tobacco constituted the main cash

crop. Tobacco cultivation quickly drained the soil of nutrients, leading English settlers to push further westward in search of land for new fields. Even where colonists did not grow cash crops, the demand for farmland placed pressure on Indigenous communities.

Colonists attempted to enslave Native Americans and use their labor to grow tobacco. Sometimes the English captured Indigenous people in attacks on their villages, and sometimes Native American tribes sold war captives to them. Before the arrival of Europeans, Native American tribes had often integrated captives from other groups into their own. Now these people might be sold to the English as enslaved laborers. Although the enslavement of Native Americans was most common in English colonies in the south, it occurred in northern colonies as well.

The English found themselves in frequent conflict with Native American tribes. Between 1609 and 1646, Virginia colonists fought a series of wars with the Powhatan Confederacy, an alliance of tribes that spoke languages of the Algonquin family. In New England, longstanding complaints by Indigenous people about English usurpation of land, dishonest traders who cheated them, attempts to convert them to Christianity, and English officials' refusal to allow them to punish Europeans who had wronged them led to the outbreak of King Philip's War.

United in the summer of 1675 by the Wampanoag leader Metacomet, called King Philip by the English, Native American tribes throughout New England attacked English settlements, destroying several and threatening to expel the English from their lands entirely. The English led a counterattack with the help of Native Americans who had converted to Christianity and killed Metacomet's followers. The conflict ended in 1676 when Metacomet too was killed (Figure 6.16).



FIGURE 6.16 Metacomet. The Wampanoag leader Metacomet was named Philip by English settlers. Nearly one hundred years after his death, he was depicted in this engraving made by Paul Revere to illustrate a 1772 edition of *The Entertaining History of King Philip's War* by Thomas Church. (credit: "Philip King of Mount Hope by Paul Revere" by Yale University Art Gallery/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

English colonial leaders displayed Metacomet's severed head in Plymouth as a grisly trophy of their success. To prevent future attacks, captured Wampanoags and others who had allied themselves with Metacomet were enslaved and sent to labor on English sugar plantations in the Caribbean. Between 1715 and 1717, provoked by many of the same issues that had led to conflict in New England, the Yamasee, a confederation of Native American tribes in the Carolinas, also waged war on British colonists. Like Metacomet's followers, the Yamasee were killed or enslaved. The survivors fled the region or joined other tribes.

Resistance in Africa

Africa was also subject to European incursions, beginning with the Portuguese in the fifteenth century. In the sixteenth century, other Europeans began to arrive. The coastal areas were most likely to be targeted and were particularly vulnerable to imperialist invaders because they were more accessible to advanced warships.

As Native Americans had done, Africans resisted European encroachments on their lands and efforts to deprive them of their sovereignty. In the early 1500s, Europeans began enslaving Africans in large numbers as part of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, which lasted until the mid-nineteenth century. European slave traders, like the Arab slave traders before them, typically worked within Africa's existing power structures and purchased enslaved people from rival groups of Africans, in a process that disrupted but did not initially

challenge Africans' control of the interior. Many Africans, particularly in the interior, actively resisted foreign influence.

One of the longest acts of resistance was led by Queen Nzinga of Ndongo and Matamba. Nzinga inherited the position of ruler of the kingdom of Ndongo, in what is now Angola, in 1624 following the death of her brother. She had served as emissary from her brother to the Portuguese and helped end the hostilities between them and her brother's military forces. In 1621, she negotiated an agreement whereby the Portuguese were allowed to engage in the slave trade within Ndongo territory but not to establish forts there. Nzinga was also adamant that Ndongo would not pay tribute to the Portuguese king. To assure the Portuguese that she negotiated in good faith, she agreed to convert to Roman Catholicism and had the Portuguese governor's wife serve as her godmother.

Following Nzinga's ascension to the throne, however, Portugal began to renege on the terms of the treaty and to insist that the nobles of Ndongo become vassals of the king of Portugal. This would mean sending the Portuguese king the soldiers, enslaved people, and supplies they otherwise owed to Nzinga. In retaliation, Nzinga encouraged enslaved people to escape from the Portuguese. In 1626, Portugal declared war on her.

The common people of Ndongo and some of the lesser members of the nobility supported Nzinga, while more powerful nobles, who hoped to benefit from engaging in the slave trade with Portugal, supported the Europeans. Nzinga found allies in the kingdom of Kongo. She was also assisted by Dutch slave traders, with whom she did business. Following the conclusion of a peace treaty between the Dutch and the Portuguese, Nzinga found herself unable to force the Portuguese out of Ndongo territory and dedicated her efforts to preventing them from moving deeper into the African interior. Finally, in 1656, Nzinga concluded a peace treaty with Portugal and hostilities ceased.

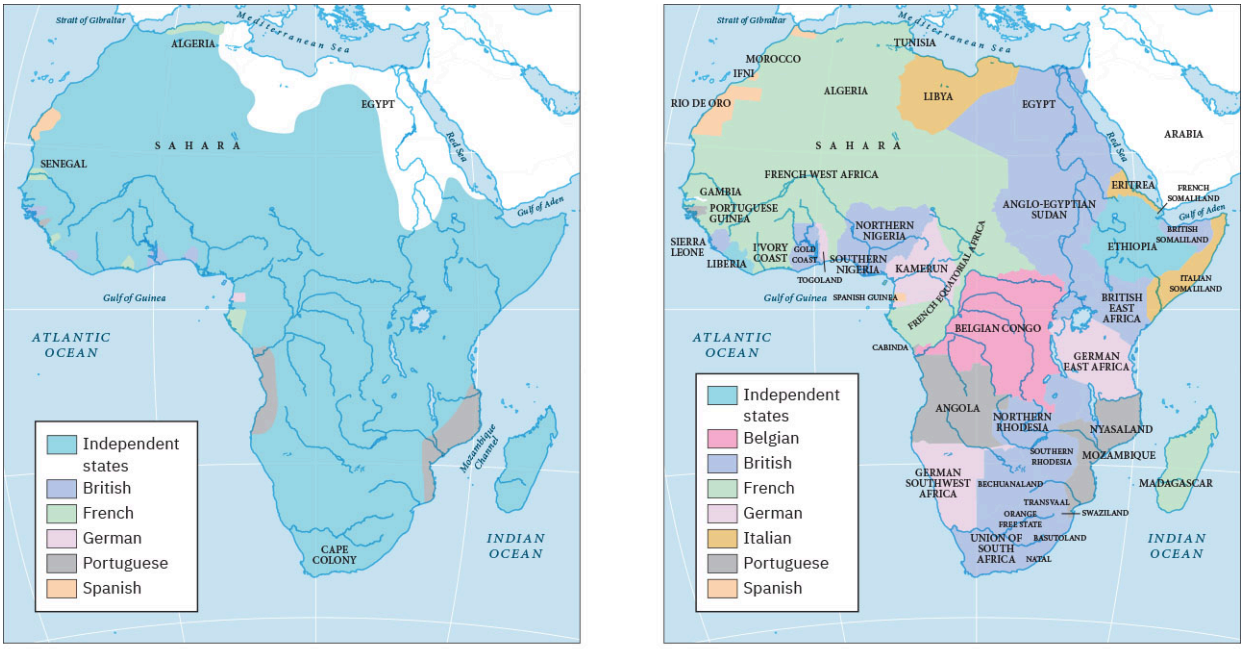
Other African tribes resisted the incursions of the Dutch. In 1652, the Dutch East India Company established a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope and traded with the Indigenous people of the region, the Khoikhoi, who were hunters and cattle herders. Although the Company prohibited the enslavement of the Indigenous peoples of the Cape in order to maintain their willingness to participate in the cattle trade, conflict arose between the settlers and the Khoisan (the name by which the Khoikhoi and another people, the San, are jointly known). Dutch farmers took over Indigenous hunting and grazing lands to grow crops and herd their own cattle. The Khoisan responded by burning Dutch farms and stealing their cattle. The Dutch then retaliated by attacking Khoisan settlements. This conflict continued throughout the eighteenth century.

As the Khoisan lost control of their lands to the Dutch, who increasingly expanded inland from the Cape, many found themselves becoming laborers on Dutch farmsteads, either because they could not support themselves after losing their land and cattle or because they were captured by settlers during Dutch raids. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the Dutch instituted a system of forcing Khoisan children to serve "apprenticeships" until age twenty-five. Although technically the Khoisan were not enslaved, they had been reduced to a situation very much like slavery. The Dutch also employed enslaved laborers brought from elsewhere in Africa.

The movement of the Dutch inland brought them into conflict with the Xhosa people, who were farmers. Although the Dutch possessed more firepower, the Xhosa greatly outnumbered them. The Dutch fought two wars with the Xhosa and, from 1799 to 1803, also faced an armed uprising by Khoisan farm laborers, some of whom allied themselves with the Xhosa.

As other European empires grew more powerful in the early nineteenth century, they also began to expand beyond their coastal trading posts in Africa as the Dutch had done and became more active in events on the continent (Figure 6.17). In 1806, the British supported the Fante Confederacy, their African trading partner on what is now the coast of Ghana, in a series of conflicts with the Asante Empire and its Dutch allies. These conflicts culminated in the Anglo-Asante Wars of 1823–1900. The Asante, who hoped to replace Britain as the most powerful nation on the western coast, resisted the British slave trade and Britain's broader pattern of

economic imperialism, the practice of dominating a foreign country economically. They succeeded for many years and repeatedly forced the British to retreat to their coastal strongholds. Despite the Asante's initial successes, however, the British and their allies eventually proved more powerful and claimed victory in 1900. The British controlled much of the African west coast until the Indigenous people in the region used a combination of nonviolent resistance and political pressure to win independence for the nation now known as Ghana in 1957.



(a) Colonization in the late 1800s **(b) Colonization in 1914**

FIGURE 6.17 Colonization in Africa. These maps show the rapid process of European colonization in Africa, from the late 1800s (a) to 1914 (b). (attribution a and b: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

Resistance in Asia

Resistance to European colonialism took place in India as well. The Indian Mutiny of 1857, also known as the Sepoy Rebellion, was an attempt to overthrow British rule. The British East India Company's preference for indirect rule had changed as its successes in India convinced British leaders they were capable of governing it directly. As Indian elites saw their power slipping away, they became more interested in opposing British rule. Waves of European missionaries who sought to convert Indians to Christianity had also offended many who wanted to preserve their own traditions.

The activities of Christian missionaries were only one cause of Indian resentment. Lord Dalhousie, the governor-general of India from 1848 to 1856, had devised a means of gaining direct control for the British over formerly independent Indian states. It was Hindu custom for a ruler who did not have a natural heir to adopt one and to pass his kingdom to him upon his death. Dalhousie, however, introduced the doctrine of the lapse, which gave Britain the right to approve any such adoptions and to annex states without heirs. Under this policy, adoptions were rejected and states annexed beginning in 1848. Even though the practice affected primarily states with Hindu rulers, British usurpation alarmed all members of India's aristocracy.

Britain's confidence in the superiority of its own culture also led it to attempt changes in customary Hindu practices in ways that angered many Indians. The British attempted to end the Hindu practice of *sati* (*suttee*), in which Hindu widows were expected to burn themselves alive on their husbands' funeral pyres, and passed a law allowing these widows to remarry. The British also introduced Western schooling with English as the language of instruction, not Persian, the language favored by the Mughals and the language of literature and

scholarship in many Islamic empires. The young men who attended these schools were preferred by the British for positions in business and government. Because British schools were more prevalent in Hindu-majority areas, Hindus threatened to supplant Muslims in positions of authority that Muslims had held for centuries.

Long-simmering anger against the British turned into violence in response to the introduction of the Enfield Rifle, which used lubricated cartridges that soldiers had to bite open before loading. The lubricant had been beef or pork fat, but pork is taboo for Muslims and Hindus believe cows are sacred. The British attempted to correct the problem by using another lubricant, but Indian troops remained suspicious and some began to believe the British were intentionally using lubricants made of offensive materials to emasculate the sepoys. In March 1857, a sepoy named Mangal Pandey, a devout Hindu from the high-ranking Brahmin caste, attacked two British officers. The British executed him, and India erupted into a mass revolt.

The rebelling Indians outnumbered the British during the mutiny, but the British were unified while the Indians were unable to work together across religious, ethnic, and geographic divisions. After a series of fierce battles and war crimes by both sides, the British declared victory on July 8, 1859. They celebrated with mass executions of rebel leaders, a move some British officers criticized. The Indian Mutiny convinced the British government that the owners of the British East India Company were unable to effectively govern India. The government thus abolished the company, took control of British India in 1858, and directly ruled the territory until it became independent in 1947. The period from 1858 to 1947 is therefore known as the **British Raj** (*raj* means "rule" in Sanskrit), or the British Paramountcy, which meant rule of India by the British government through the Viceroy of India.

Growing economic relationships also led to conflict when the British tried to end China's positive balance of trade by importing opium into China from their territories in India. The Chinese had used chewed opium as a medicine and mild recreational drug for thousands of years, but in the early nineteenth century, users began smoking dried opium, a practice inspired by the smoking of tobacco imported from the Americas. Smoking opium led to a far more intense high than chewing it, and opium addiction became a serious problem in China. The Chinese government outlawed recreational opium in 1729, but the British traders refused to stop selling it, and the price skyrocketed. Merchants from other nations including France and the United States also began selling opium in China, but the British dominated the trade from their bases in India.

In 1839, the Chinese government seized opium in British warehouses in Canton. In response, the British sent military forces to China with orders to impose penalties on the Chinese government and protect British merchants in a conflict later named the First Opium War. The British used their superior military technology and organization to defeat the outdated Chinese military in almost every engagement. They could not hope to conquer the huge nation, but they made repeated raids against which the Chinese were unable to defend themselves. In 1842, Great Britain and China signed the Treaty of Nanjing, which forced China to surrender Hong Kong to Great Britain, opened five ports to European traders, and gave the British a favorable trading status. The Chinese were also forced to pay a huge fine. The following year, a second treaty allowed British citizens in China to be tried in British courts for violations of the law, making them immune from prosecution by Chinese authorities.

After a brief period of relative peace, the Second Opium War broke out in 1856 after Chinese soldiers seized a British ship in Chinese waters, crewed by Chinese sailors suspected of piracy. The British demanded the immediate return of the ship and crew and an apology. The Qing government refused, and the British navy bombarded the Chinese coast. The French supported the British in hopes of gaining greater access to Chinese markets. The United States and Russia did not formally join the alliance, but they did provide limited support for British and French combat operations. The Second Opium War, like the First, was marked by European raids on the Chinese coast that damaged and humiliated China but did not threaten its existence.

The war ended in 1860 with the Convention of Beijing, which ceded select Chinese territories to Russia, expanded the borders of British-controlled Hong Kong, prevented religious discrimination against Christians,

and eliminated almost all restrictions on foreign access to China. The treaty also led to a continuous series of other treaties between the west and China—later referred to by the Chinese as "unequal treaties" because they were imposed rather than negotiated. Hong Kong was returned to China in 1997.

North America: The Road to Revolution

Europeans were occasionally victims of their own success, as when economic imperialism inadvertently created societies strong enough to form independent nations that declared independence from the home country. In at least one case, thirteen former colonies formed a nation that became wealthier and more powerful than the empire that preceded it.

The British colonies in North America began as struggling trading outposts in the early 1600s, but by the middle of the 1700s they were home to more than two million people who largely governed themselves and enjoyed a thriving commercial economy. British mercantilist policies, however, threatened North American economic development. In the second half of the seventeenth century, England passed a series of Navigation Acts designed to maximize profit from its colonies while denying their resources to other European powers and clamping down on efforts to avoid trade restrictions through smuggling. The Navigation Act of 1660 listed goods produced in the colonies that could be sold only in England or to its colonial possessions. Thus, English merchants paid American colonists what the merchants thought their goods were worth; the colonists were forbidden to sell to Dutch, French, Spanish, or other merchants who might be willing to pay more.

Among these products were furs, tobacco, and sugar, goods for which all of Europe yearned. Also included were rice, ginger, cotton, and indigo and other plants used to make dye. English textile manufacturers needed the cotton and dyestuffs, and to protect their interests further, the Exportation Act of 1660 also prohibited the export of English wool. In addition, naval stores for building and maintaining ships for trade and war could be sent only to England. These included masts, hemp (to make rope), pine tree pitch (which sealed ships and made them watertight), and pine tree sap (used in the manufacture of turpentine). Once they arrived in England, these colonial products were heavily taxed, and the revenue went to the English government, not to the colonies that had produced them.

To generate yet more income for the government, the Navigation Act of 1663 mandated that all goods bound for the colonies from outside the British Empire had first to be shipped to England and taxed before they could continue to their final destination. This provision increased the price to the colonists of non-English goods because foreign shippers passed the cost of the English taxes on to them.

At the end of the seventeenth century, Parliament also began to prohibit colonists from manufacturing certain goods that were also produced in England, to prevent them from underselling English merchants. Colonists could not sell goods made from wool or iron, either in England or to other English colonies, and by the mid-eighteenth century they could not export beaver hats. Beaver hats were a popular fashion in Europe, and the English colonies actively participated in the fur trade. By allowing the colonists to export only the unfinished furs instead of the finished hats, for which they could have charged higher prices, Parliament limited the amount of wealth the settlers in the English colonies could acquire.

In the wake of the French and Indian War, British colonists in North America greeted with hostility other actions by Britain's Parliament that they believed unfairly restricted their economic opportunities. Many had longed to move west of the Appalachian Mountains to establish farms on the rich lands of the Ohio Valley, for instance. New England families were large, and with each generation, parents found it difficult to provide sufficient land for their children. In the southern colonies, the demands of tobacco farming meant that new, fertile land was always in demand. Many colonies claimed territories west of the Appalachians, but this land had been taken by the French and was inhabited by their numerous Native American allies. With the British victory over the French and their Indigenous allies, the colonists looked forward to finally claiming it. The British government, however, wishing to avoid antagonizing the tribes of the Ohio Valley and seeking to avoid costly new wars, promptly prohibited settlement west of the Appalachians, to the dismay and anger of many

colonists who had fought alongside British troops in the recently ended conflict.

Furthermore, determined to keep the peace with Native Americans and repay war debts, the British kept troops in North America who policed the frontier, regulated colonial trade, and collected taxes. The need to pay for the army's maintenance led to attempts to impose new taxes on the colonists or to more vigorously enforce the collection of already existing ones. Colonists' efforts to evade trade restrictions by smuggling were countered with laws that required smugglers be tried in admiralty courts, which lacked a jury. Many colonists felt this practice violated protections guaranteed by the English Bill of Rights. The 1774 decision by Parliament to grant control of the Ohio Valley to the newly acquired French province of Quebec, to allow Quebec to continue to be governed by French civil law, and to extend religious toleration to the province's Roman Catholics outraged British colonists, most of whom were Protestant. This ruling, made at the same time as one that interfered with the century-and-a-half-long tradition of colonial self-government, led many colonists increasingly to regard Britain as hostile to their interests. Growing resentment of British rule erupted in bloodshed in 1775 and a subsequent declaration of independence in 1776.

6.3 Capitalism and the First Industrial Revolution

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Explain the evolution of economic theories from mercantilism to capitalism
- Analyze the ways in which mechanization challenged existing social, economic, and political structures
- Discuss the ideological responses to capitalism, including Marxism

Just as colonial empires were the crucible of new political ideas and gave rise to new forms of resistance to exploitation, they also inspired new economic ideas. Mercantilism, which advocated building a nation's power by increasing trade through exports, had originally propelled colonization. But as people around the world gained their political freedom, they also became interested in economic freedom, and mercantilism fell out of favor. Capitalism, a system in which prices and costs, not government intervention, serve to regulate the supply and demand of goods traded for individual profit, became popular. However, not everyone agreed with this new economic order; Marxists critiqued it and proposed systems focused on equality rather than profit.

From Mercantilism to Capitalism

In 1681, the French finance minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert asked a group of French business owners led by a man named Thomas Le Gendre how the government could help them. Le Gendre reportedly told Colbert, "*Laissez nous faire*," meaning "let us do it." This gave rise to the concept of **laissez-faire economics**, which argues that market forces alone should drive the economy and that governments should refrain from direct intervention in or moderation of the economic system. The idea of laissez-faire economics was consistent with the logistical realities of global empires. It was effectively impossible for leaders in Europe to micromanage economic operations that were on the other side of an ocean. Therefore the evolution to a laissez-faire economic model might have been as much a practical necessity as an ideological shift.

Adam Smith was a Scottish political economist and philosopher best known for writing the book *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), often referred to by its shortened title *The Wealth of Nations* (Figure 6.18). Earlier scholars had written about various aspects of economics, but with this book Smith became the first person to produce a comprehensive philosophical examination of the way nations should manage their economies.

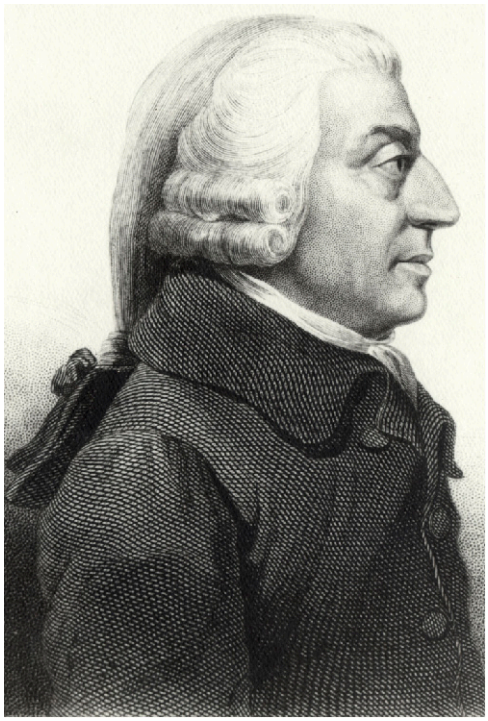


FIGURE 6.18 Adam Smith. This nineteenth-century etching of the Scottish economist Adam Smith is based on a portrait created from life by James Tassie in 1787. (credit: "Profile of Adam Smith" by Adam Smith - Vanderblue Collection/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In *The Wealth of Nations*, Smith argued that the "invisible hand" of the marketplace guided people when they made their own economic decisions. By doing the work that would bring them the greatest profit, he explained, people inadvertently tended to produce the goods and services most needed by society. To allow the invisible hand to work, Smith advocated the reduction of tariffs and most forms of governmental regulation. His work was based on rational choice theory, the idea that people understand their options and make rational choices that will help them achieve reasonable objectives. In Smith's view, this form of selfishness is often good for the individual and for society.

Although Smith did not use the term, preferring to call his system *commercial society*, he and his supporters promoted the idea later known as **capitalism**, an economic system in which private individuals and companies typically own the means of production such as factories and farms, and free (unregulated) markets set the value of most goods and services based on supply and demand.

Smith was a critic of slavery. He believed slavery was inefficient and suggested it was doomed to fail if markets were truly free. Because the cost of feeding, clothing, and housing enslaved people, however poorly, was passed on to consumers, Smith also noted that goods made using enslaved labor were more expensive. Free labor could produce goods more inexpensively because the employer did not have to pay for his laborers' upkeep. However, Smith also used rational choice theory to minimize slavery's horrors. In *The Wealth of Nations*, he acknowledged that the enslaved people living in the British Caribbean were "in a worse condition than the poorest people either in Scotland or Ireland," but he justified their suffering on the basis that "it is the interest of their master that they should be fed well and kept in good heart in the same manner as it is his interest that his working cattle should be so."

Whether sugar plantations on which enslaved people labored were themselves capitalist enterprises has been a matter of debate among historians. One the one hand, capitalism presupposes freedom on the part of all actors engaged in an economic transaction. Merchants are free to sell what they wish at the prices they wish to charge, and consumers are free to pay the price that is set or to refuse to buy the product. Employers are free to set hours and wages for employees, and employees are supposedly free to accept the employer's terms or hold

out for better ones.

The workforce on sugar plantations, however, consisted of enslaved people who could legally be coerced to do whatever labor their owners decided for whatever compensation they chose to give (usually the minimum of food, clothing, and shelter required to keep the laborers alive). On the other hand, plantation owners behaved in much the same way as owners of other industrial enterprises, by setting production goals, for example. Many have pointed out that the highly regimented system of labor on sugar plantations was much like that in capitalist enterprises like textile factories. The debate is ongoing. What no one disputes is that the profits earned from the sale of sugar and other plantation products grown by enslaved people were often invested in capitalist enterprises, including the factories that were coming into existence in the eighteenth century.

Adam Smith's ideas challenged the established mercantilist economic order and attracted critics. Some governmental leaders were understandably hesitant to surrender their power to the free market. They questioned the wisdom of reformers like Smith who disagreed with the favorable-balance emphasis of mercantilism. Conservative critics pointed out that while mercantilism might not have been perfect, it had delivered tremendous wealth to Europe, or at least to Europe's ruling classes.

Other world leaders, most notably in Great Britain, rejected conservative critics and embraced Smith's ideas, which promised greater potential freedoms and profits for the nation's wealthiest citizens, and they became the dominant force in British economic reforms. The wealthy House of Commons leader Charles James Fox praised Smith's ideas in Parliament, although he later admitted he had not read *The Wealth of Nations* and thought it far too long. In 1777, Prime Minister Fredrick North proposed a revised tax code based on Smith's work. In 1792, Prime Minister William Pitt praised Smith's work as "the best solution to every question connected with the history of commerce, or with the systems of political economy."

Smith's ideas spread across the Atlantic, and in 1807 President Thomas Jefferson wrote "Smith's *Wealth of Nations* is the best book to be read." As Smith's ideas took root, governments reduced tariffs, cut back on economic regulations, and led their nations' transition from the quest for favorable balances of trade to the search for personal profit.

Smith's ideas remain influential, but modern scholars often criticize them. In contrast to his reliance on rational choice theory, they argue that people do not always behave rationally or make the best decisions. Others condemn the moral failings of the invisible hand, which sacrificed the lives and wellbeing of enslaved people, poor workers, and colonial subjects to provide elites with profit.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

The Wealth of Nations

An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations is better known by its shortened title *The Wealth of Nations*. Published by the Scottish scholar Adam Smith in 1776, it was probably the first comprehensive study of economic philosophy. Always controversial, it remains an influential work today. As you read this excerpt from it, look for Smith's definition of the "invisible hand."

> As every individual, therefore, endeavors as much as he can both to employ his capital in the support of domestic industry, and so to direct that industry that its produce may be of the greatest value; every individual necessarily labours to render the annual revenue of the society as great as he can. He generally, indeed, neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it. He intends only his own security; and by directing that industry in such a manner as its produce may be of the greatest value, he intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention. Nor is it always the worse for the society that it was no part of it. By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it.

—Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*

- How would you explain the idea of the invisible hand in your own words?
- What are some potential benefits and drawbacks to a society's reliance on the invisible hand?
- Do you always act in your own economic best interests? Do others? Does the invisible hand work better for some people than others? Why or why not?

Mechanization

In the late 1700s, western European nations began to adopt **mechanization**, the use of machines to replace the labor of animals and humans. Mechanization set the stage for the **Industrial Revolution**, a transition away from societies focused on agriculture and handicraft production to socioeconomic systems dominated by the manufacture of goods, primarily with machines.

People in many places, including China, Egypt, India, Greece, and Rome, had made limited use of machinery in the ancient past; however, most goods were produced by skilled artisans for local consumption. Beginning in the mid-1600s, the British enjoyed an agricultural revolution that allowed smaller numbers of farmers employing fewer farm laborers to produce a surplus of food, and that in turn led to a population increase.

In the 1700s, entrepreneurs in England found a way to make use of unemployed or underemployed farm laborers and their families. These entrepreneurs provided farm families with raw materials and asked them to produce finished goods in their cottages, a system that became known as cottage labor. Rural women spun wool or flax into thread, and men then wove it into woolen cloth or linen. Some farm families made bonnets from straw. Other people made nails, knit hosiery, or made lace. The entrepreneur collected their finished products, paid them for their labor, and sold the finished goods in towns and cities. Because the farm laborers were not skilled artisans, they could not command high wages, and the entrepreneurs reaped great profits.

In time, entrepreneurs began to gather laborers together in one location, a factory. This decision gave them greater control over production because they could hire managers to supervise the workers' labor. It was also easier to install machines in factories than in laborers' cottages (although laborers might be provided with or rent relatively small machines, such as knitting frames, for their cottages). Factories came to be concentrated in towns and cities. As work moved to urban areas, so too did men and women who could not find work on farms. By the late 1700s, British business owners, supported by government policies inspired by Adam Smith, were setting up factories and hiring many of these migrant workers.

During the Industrial Revolution, factories increasingly relied on machine power, most importantly the steam engine. A steam engine uses heat to transform water into steam, which expands and drives a piston to perform work. Hero of Alexandria, in Egypt, produced the first steam engine when he created the aeolipile, a simple turbine that powered toys, around the year 70 CE. Steam engines remained little more than curiosities until 1698 when the English inventor Thomas Savery used the world's first commercial steam engine to pump water out of mines and to supply water for industrial water wheels. By 1776, British factories were powering some of their operations with improved steam engines designed by the Scottish engineer James Watt.

Locomotives and boats powered by steam engines soon delivered raw materials to the factories and transported finished goods to consumers. In 1807, American inventor Robert Fulton began operation of the first successful commercial steamboats. In 1812, Matthew Murray, an English industrialist, opened the world's first successful steam locomotive line. Several inventors produced steam-powered vehicles that could travel on roads, but the heavy weight of steam engines and the poor conditions of most roads doomed them to failure and kept steam engines in the factories, waterways, and railroads.

Industrialization, motivated and enabled by capitalism, created tremendous wealth for business owners and middle-class professionals, but their profits often came at a high cost to workers. The production of goods

shifted from the handiwork of highly skilled middle-class artisans to mechanized production done by low-paid unskilled laborers. Workers did enjoy access to new consumer goods made cheaper by industrialization, but to afford those goods they had to work long hours, in difficult and often dangerous conditions. Perhaps most importantly, workers lost control over their working conditions. Farmers and artisans, particularly those who owned their land or shops, were free to decide how and when they worked, whereas factory owners carefully regulated every aspect of their workers' professional and even personal lives. For example, the 1848 employee handbook for the Hamilton Manufacturing Company stated that "the company will not employ any one who is habitually absent from public worship on the Sabbath, or known to be guilty of immorality."

Some workers rebelled against industrialization, which threatened their status as skilled laborers. Beginning in 1811, a secretive group of British textile workers calling themselves **Luddites** began destroying textile machinery, rioting, and setting fires in response to the industrialization of their workplaces (Figure 6.19). They took their name from the mythical Ned Ludd, a worker who supposedly destroyed a mechanized loom rather than submit to industrialization. As the Luddite movement grew, so did the legend of Ned Ludd, until some workers claimed that King Ludd lived in Sherwood Forest and fought corrupt industrialists, much as Robin Hood had opposed corrupt authorities during the Middle Ages. The Luddites did not argue in favor of a specific ideology or a grander purpose. They were simply angry that industrialization was destroying their traditional way of life, and they fought back with every tool at their disposal.

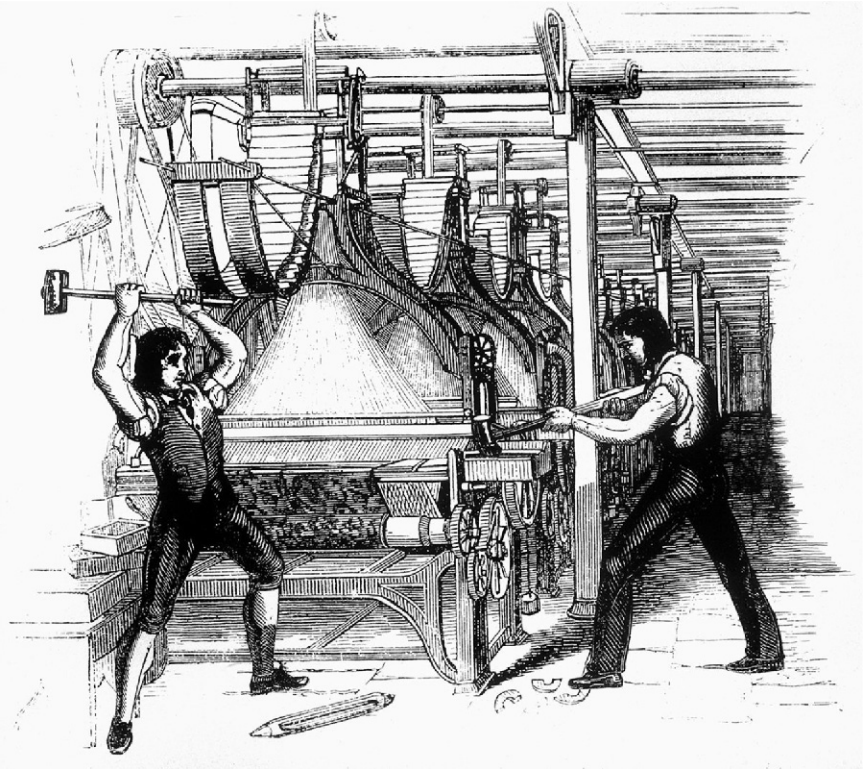


FIGURE 6.19 Luddites Revolt. Luddites were workers who opposed mechanization, primarily in the British cloth-making industry. This image depicting two Luddites breaking an industrial fabric-making frame was made in 1812. (credit: "Frame-breakers, or Luddites, smashing a loom" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

British leaders reacted quickly to the Luddites, with some calling them a mob worthy of execution. In 1812, the poet and peer Lord Byron responded by pointing out that these same people worked the fields, produced the goods, and served in the armed forces of the British Empire. Byron argued that the mob "often speaks the sentiments of the people" and warned "it is the mob" that "enabled you to defy all the world and can also defy you when neglect and calamity have driven them to despair." He urged the British government to respond to the protesting workers with "conciliation and firmness" rather than violence. Most British business and political leaders disagreed with Byron and worked to suppress the rebellion. Parliament made industrial

sabotage a capital offense. British authorities hanged many Luddites and exiled more to prison colonies. By 1816, the industrialists had defeated the Luddites. Today, "Luddite" is often used as a generic description of anyone opposed to technological change.

DUELING VOICES

The Luddites

The Luddites were British factory workers who engaged in the destruction of machines, rioting, and vandalism to resist industrialization. Following are excerpts from two primary sources on the Luddites, describing separate incidents and written from different perspectives.

> West Riding of Yorkshire
>
> The complaint of John Sykes of Linthwaite . . . taken upon oath this 6th day of March 1812 before me Joseph Radcliffe Esquire one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace in and for the said Riding -
>
> Who saith that between one and two o clock this Morning a number of people came to the door of his said Master's dwelling house and knocked violently at it, and demanded admittance or otherwise they would break the door open—to prevent which this Examinnant opened the door and 30 or more people with their faces blacked or disguised came in and asked
>
> if there were any amunition guns or pistols in the house and where the Master was, on being told he was not at home they secured or guarded every person of the family and then a number of them took a pound of candles and began to break the tools and did break 10 pairs of shears and one brushing machine the property of his said Master, that one of them who seemed to have the command said that if they came again and found any machinery set up, they would blow up the premises, soon after which they all went away—
>
> Sworn before me — Joseph Radcliffe
>
> [The mark of John Sykes]
>
> —An account of machine-breaking at Linthwaite, Yorkshire, March 1812
>
> Sir
>
> We mentioned some frames to be removed today from 10 miles off. They came totally unmolested. The soldiers did not go near the village, and the constables had no interruption whatever.
>
> We have been concerned to see these instances of removing frames because it must leave some of the country people without the means of work, but it will at the same time open their eyes to the consequence of their own proceedings. For some time before these troubles broke out, in many places a fifth of the frame workers were out of employ, and this naturally induced some hosiers (not perhaps of the first reputation) to give them particular kinds of work at reduced prices; and the hosiers who were giving the higher prices found themselves undersold in certain articles at the London Market.
>
> This again brought about new arrangements, which soured the whole body of workmen . . . resentment against those hosiers who paid the under price has been the leading feature up to the present day. They have seldom made free with other property altho' opportunities at all times have presented themselves, and in one instance lately at Clifton, some cloths that one of the frame breakers brought away, were carefully sent back again the following day.
>
> —A letter sent to London from a magistrate describing the situation in Nottingham, February 1812

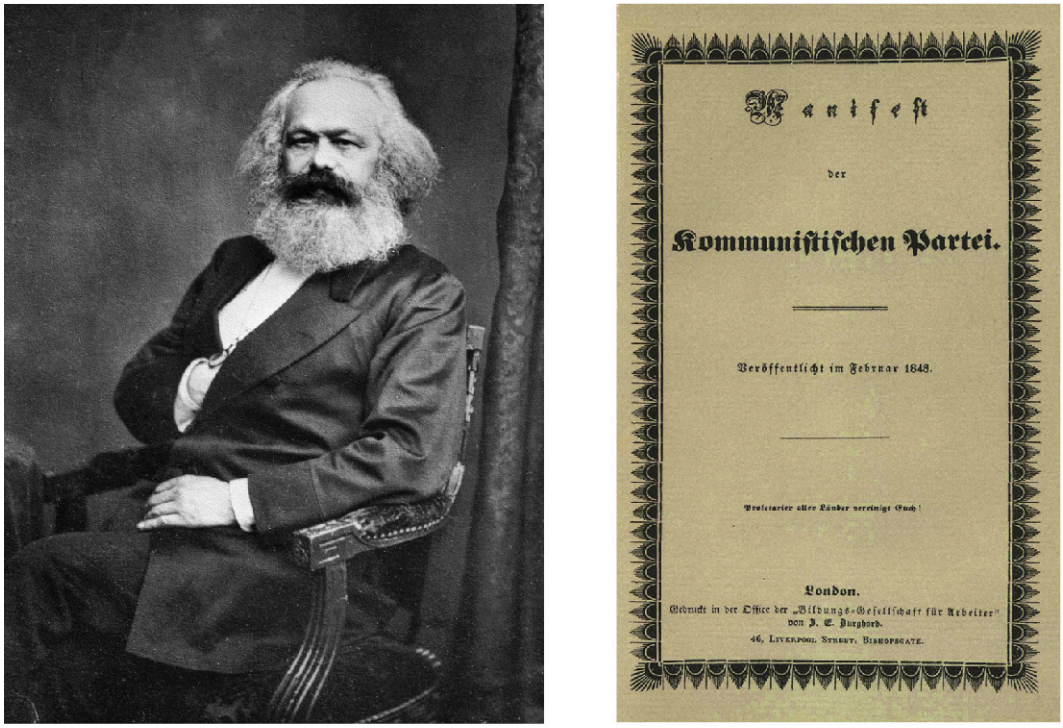
- What are the key similarities and differences between the two accounts?

- Why do you think they provide such different views of the Luddites?
- Was the Luddite rebellion a reasonable response to the challenges posed by industrialization? Why or why not?

Marxism

Karl Marx was a highly controversial intellectual and revolutionary. Born in 1818 in Trier, in what is now Germany, he grew up as the son of a successful lawyer and was baptized into the Evangelical Church when he was six years old. As a young man, he studied law at the University of Berlin, where a professor introduced him to the philosophy of Georg Hegel. Marx quickly embraced Hegel's idealistic universal history, which suggested the world is progressing through conflicts toward greater freedom. After completing his education, he worked as a journalist and writer.

In 1848, Marx published *The Communist Manifesto* with his co-author Friedrich Engels. In the book, the two argued that "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." Their idea, that recognizing the class struggle between workers and the ruling class is central to understanding societies, is also known as **Marxism** (Figure 6.20). In addition to laying out their vision of history, Marx and Engels predicted that society would eventually replace current economic systems with **socialism**, a system in which the public, not private companies or individuals, owns the means of production. In their view, socialism was one phase of the transition from the private ownership characteristic of capitalism to the completely classless society of communism. They called for the forcible overthrow of current societies, a statement many communists around the world embraced as a declaration of war on capitalism. The ideals of communism were inspired by the abuses of capitalism that often exploited workers.



(a) (b)

FIGURE 6.20 Karl Marx and His Work. (a) This 1875 photo of Marx is probably the most famous image made by the popular British photographer John Mayall. (b) Marx and Engel's *The Communist Manifesto* was first published in 1848 with this cover. (credit a: modification of work "Portrait of Karl Marx" by International Institute of Social History/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit b: modification of work "Kommunistisches Manifest" by

www.marxists.org/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

LINK TO LEARNING

Karl Marx published *The Communist Manifesto* with his co-author Friedrich Engels in 1848. Many writers from across the political and ideological spectrum inaccurately portray the ideas in *The Communist Manifesto* to support their own ideas or to paint their opponents in a negative light. Consider reading *The Communist Manifesto* (https://openstax.org/l/77CommManifesto) for yourself and drawing your own conclusions about what the work says and what it might mean to you.

Marx's book *Das Kapital*, published in 1867, is one of history's most often cited sources on economics and politics. In *Das Kapital*, Marx argued that the **bourgeoisie**, members of a social class that owned the means of production, were primarily motivated by the desire to exploit labor. In his view, employers paid wages to their workers, also known as the **proletariat**, that were far less than their labor was worth. They then kept the excess value produced by wage earners, in a process Marx argued was unfair to the workers. Employers used their profits to purchase additional resources and to buy political influence to ensure that the law would support the wealthy instead of the workers. The wealthy became unfit to rule as they increasingly leveraged their growing economic and political power until workers were left powerless and in poverty. Eventually the capitalist system would collapse, and the workers would reclaim control of society.

THE PAST MEETS THE PRESENT

Marx on Capitalism and Communism

Karl Marx died almost 150 years ago, but his ideas remain widely debated. In 1867, Marx published the first volume of *Das Kapital*, and it quickly reached a wide audience among those interested in history, economics, and politics. After his death in 1883, Fredrich Engels, his co-author on *The Communist Manifesto*, published the second and third volumes of *Das Kapital* based on Marx's notes. In this quote from *Das Kapital*, Marx explained his view of the origins of capitalism.

> The economic structure of capitalist society has grown out of the economic structure of feudal society. The dissolution of the latter set free the elements of the former . . . [T]he historical movement which changes the producers into wage-workers, appears, on the one hand, as their emancipation from serfdom and from the fetters of the guilds, and this side alone exists for our bourgeois historians. But, on the other hand, these new freedmen became sellers of themselves only after they had been robbed of all their own means of production, and of all the guarantees of existence afforded by the old feudal arrangements. And the history of this, their expropriation, is written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire.
>
> —Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*

Long after Marx's death, his ideas continued to provide inspiration for people dissatisfied with inequality between social classes and angered by injustices. In 1917, revolutionaries in Russia, inspired by Marx's ideas, overthrew the government and established a new communist society that became the Soviet Union and existed until 1991. Subsequent communist revolutions gave rise to governments that still exist in China, Vietnam, North Korea, Cuba, and Laos. Even in capitalist countries, communist and socialist political parties exist and are often quite popular with voters. Senator Bernie Sanders of Vermont proudly calls himself a socialist, although as many have pointed out, he does not seek to overthrow capitalism or advocate public ownership of the means of production.

- What is capitalism, as described in this excerpt from *Das Kapital*? According to Karl Marx, what are its origins?
- How does Marx's view of history agree or disagree with what you know about history?

- Are Marx’s ideas still relevant today? Why or why not?
- What would Marx say about the history of the world since his death? Have events since 1883 supported or undermined his arguments?

Key Terms

balance of power a situation in which competing nations have approximately equal military power
black legend the myth, mostly promoted by English writers, that the Spanish treated Native Americans far more harshly than other European colonizers
bourgeoisie the social class whose members owned the means of production and whose main goal was the preservation of capital
British Raj the period from 1858 to 1947 when the British government directly ruled India through the Viceroy of India
Canton system a system that allowed Europeans to trade with China only if they worked through the Chinese guilds that enjoyed monopoly rights to the tea and silk trades
capitalism an economic system in which private individuals and companies own the means of production, and free (unregulated) markets set the value of most goods and services based on supply and demand
charter an official authorization to conduct a major economic activity such as the creation of a colony
cultural accommodation the practice of integrating a culture into the dominant society without forcing it to fully integrate and adopt all the dominant culture's components
economic imperialism the practice of dominating a foreign country economically
indirect rule a system in which colonial powers cooperated with Indigenous elites and allowed local leaders to exercise some authority
Industrial Revolution the period during which societies transitioned away from a focus on agriculture and handicraft production to manufacturing, primarily with machines
laissez-faire economics the theory that market forces alone should drive the economy and that governments should refrain from direct intervention in or moderation of the economic system
Luddites British workers in the early nineteenth century who resisted industrialization
Marxism the idea, espoused by Karl Marx, that recognizing class struggle is central to understanding societies
mechanization the use of machines to replace the labor of animals and humans
proletariat the landless working class
sepoys Indian soldiers who served the British in India
socialism an economic system in which the public owns the means of production

Section Summary

6.1 European Colonization in the Americas

European settlers in North America were a diverse group with a wide array of motives. Many Spaniards came as part of a broader search for "God, Gold, and Glory." French settlers also hoped to find wealth, although they were more likely than other Europeans to cooperate with rather than exploit Indigenous peoples, whom they saw as economic allies. The Virginia Company of England founded Jamestown in an effort to gain wealth, while English Puritans founded communities they hoped would earn profits while also promoting their religious ideology. Native peoples responded to European colonization in a variety of ways. In Mexico, the Aztecs fought the Spanish and were destroyed, while the Tlaxcalans, who collaborated with the Spanish against the Aztecs, enjoyed greater status and economic opportunities in the Spanish Empire as a result.

6.2 The Rise of a Global Economy

The Seven Years' War (1754–1763) established a new balance of power in Europe in which Britain emerged as the dominant empire. The French surrendered their imperial possessions in North America and India to Britain, while the Spanish surrendered Florida and the French gave control of the Louisiana Territory to Spain. The Peace of Hubertusburg guaranteed Prussian control of Silesia and confirmed Prussia's status as a major force in Europe.

The British East India Company provided the British with a strong basis of military and economic power in south Asia; it and Britain both benefited economically from their colonial control of India. In China, the Qing

dynasty's leaders completed new trade treaties with foreign nations, including the Treaty of Kyakhta (1727) with Russia, and improved trading relationships with Japan, the nations of Southeast Asia, and the Philippines. Under the Canton system, China increased its trade with Europe and improved its economy, while rejecting most European trade goods and insisting on payment in silver, acquiring a very favorable balance of trade.

European colonialism did not go unopposed. In Africa, the Ndongo battled the Portuguese, the Khoisan and Xhosa fought the Dutch, and the Asante opposed British expansion. In both India and China, people took up arms against Britain. Ironically, some of the strongest opposition to the role of Great Britain came from its own colonies in North America, where economic dissatisfaction led to a declaration of independence.

6.3 Capitalism and the First Industrial Revolution

Mechanization and industrialization, motivated and enabled by capitalism, created tremendous wealth for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century business owners and middle-class professionals, but their profits often came at a high cost to workers. The production of goods shifted from the handiwork of highly skilled middle-class artisans to mechanized production done by low-paid unskilled laborers. Workers did enjoy access to new consumer goods made cheaper by industrialization, but to afford those goods they had to work long hours, in difficult and often dangerous conditions. Perhaps most importantly, workers lost control over their working conditions.

Karl Marx and his followers responded to the worst excesses of capitalism by proposing a new theory that became known as Marxism. Marx argued that the bourgeoisie, members of a social class that owned the means of production, were primarily motivated by the desire to exploit labor and keep the excess value wage earners produced in order to buy political influence. Eventually the capitalist system would collapse and workers reclaim control of society. Marx argued that the struggle between classes was the root of all historical conflicts. He predicted that society would eventually replace current economic systems with socialism, a system in which the public, not private companies or individuals, owns the means of production.

Assessments

Review Questions

1. How were the initial English settlements primarily funded?
   a. by grants from the royal treasury
   b. through joint stock companies
   c. with gifts from King Henry V
   d. through taxes collected by the Diocese of Canterbury

2. After their initial founding, how did colonies in the Americas typically relate to their home countries?
   a. Colonies relied on their home countries for supplies and economic support.
   b. Colonies became totally independent.
   c. Colonies joined rival empires.
   d. Colonies ignored their home countries.

3. Why is the city once known as New Amsterdam now known as New York?
   a. Residents of the city voted to rename it in honor of the Duke of York.
   b. City leaders changed the name after the Earl of York invested in the city.
   c. The Catholic Church modified the name on maps in honor of Saint York.
   d. The English renamed the city after they captured it from the Dutch.

4. What explains the relatively harmonious relationship between French colonists and the Indigenous peoples of Canada?
   a. The French could not afford to anger Indigenous peoples who assisted them in acquiring furs.

b. The French found the Indigenous people of Canada eager to convert to Christianity.
c. The French had little contact with Indigenous peoples and remained within their own settlements.
d. Most of the Indigenous peoples of Canada died as a result of smallpox, so they were easily dominated by the French.

5. What was a major cause of the Seven Years' War?
a. the destruction of the British Raj
b. the regulation of opium in China
c. the death of Louis XV of France
d. growing rivalries between European powers

6. What was the primary reason for the creation of the British Raj?
a. the failure of the British East India Company to prevent unrest in India
b. the rise of revolutionary movements in China
c. the need for increasing tax revenues to support British colonization in Africa
d. the downfall of the British monarchy

7. What was the system by which the Qing dynasty controlled trade?
a. the Raj system
b. the Ndongo system
c. the Canton system
d. the treaty system

8. What was a result of the Qing dynasty's trade policies?
a. China temporarily enjoyed a favorable balance of trade.
b. The British were forced to focus on their colonies in North America.
c. China was able to dominate Japan politically and militarily.
d. The French suffered defeat in the Seven Years' War.

9. African resistance to European colonization was often a response to which line of trade?
a. the opium trade
b. the slave trade
c. the textile trade
d. the aluminum trade

10. What was King Philip's War?
a. a French rebellion against Spanish colonization
b. a Chinese trade war against Italian mercantilism
c. a Native American uprising against English colonization
d. a Muslim religious war against Dutch missionaries

11. What is one difference between mercantilism and capitalism?
a. Mercantilism typically supports greater governmental regulation than capitalism.
b. Mercantilism typically supports lower taxes than capitalism.
c. Mercantilism typically supports more labor rights than capitalism.
d. Mercantilism typically supports freer trade than capitalism.

12. Which concept might be demonstrated by a chef who opens a new restaurant in hopes of getting rich and in the process benefits the community by hiring workers and serving food to neighbors?
a. the rebellion of the proletariat

b. the invisible hand
c. the growth of industrialization
d. the death of mercantilism

13. Adam Smith's ideas are rooted in the belief that most people are _____.
a. wealthy
b. industrialists
c. rational
d. religious

14. What is the manufacturing of goods at home that characterized the early years of the Industrial Revolution called?
a. mercantilism
b. capitalism
c. laissez-faire
d. cottage industry

Check Your Understanding Questions

1. What areas of North America were colonized by the Spanish, French, English, and Dutch, respectively?

2. What were the primary motivations for colonization by the Spanish, French, English, and Dutch?

3. What were some labor systems used in the North American colonies?

4. What negative effect did the fur trade have on Indigenous peoples?

5. Identify the parts of Africa most likely to be targeted by European empires, and briefly explain why they were more vulnerable.

6. How did the Grand Canal facilitate China's growing economy?

7. What caused conflict between Queen Nzinga and the Portuguese?

8. Why did the government of the Qing Dynasty wish to prevent the British from selling opium in China?

9. According to Adam Smith, how did the invisible hand of the marketplace work?

10. What are some ways in which mechanization changed traditional ways of producing goods?

Application and Reflection Questions

1. How did the religious backgrounds of the Spanish, French, English, and Dutch differ? How did religion affect their motivations in colonizing the Americas?

2. How did Native Americans shape the colonization of North America?

3. Why did some colonies rely on enslaved labor more heavily than others? Why do you think that Europeans were willing to indenture fellow Europeans but not to enslave them in the way they did Africans?

4. What were the short- and long-term consequences of the rise of the global economy in the eighteenth century?

5. What were some of the successful movements to resist foreign expansion in Africa and the Americas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?

6. Why did some movements to resist colonial expansion in Africa, Asia, and the Americas succeed and others did not? Choose two resistance movements that opposed European empires and compare them to support your argument.

7. Were the Luddites right to resist mechanization? Why or why not?
8. What were the benefits and harms of mechanization?
9. Did Karl Marx's argument effectively address the challenges of capitalism? Why or why not?

Revolutions in Europe and North America

7

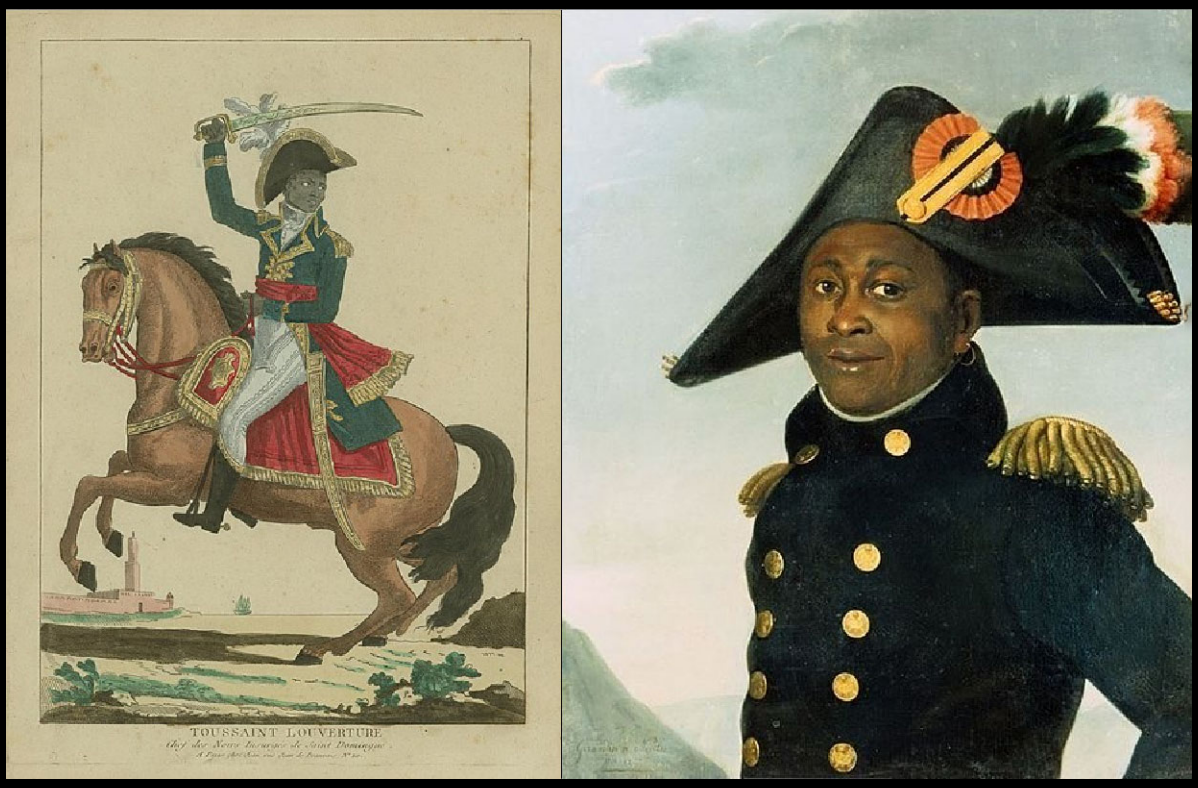


FIGURE 7.1 Toussaint Louverture. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Atlantic world witnessed a series of groundbreaking revolutions, in particular, the Haitian Revolution, initially led by a formerly enslaved man named Toussaint Louverture. The heroic-style portrait of him on the left, first published in 1802 as part of a series of images of generals of the French Revolution, is by an unknown artist, while the likeness on the right is an oil painting from 1804–1805 by the French artist Alexandre François Louis de Girardin. (credit left: modification of work "Portrait of Toussaint Louverture" by John Carter Brown Library/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit right: modification of work "Toussaint Louverture" by Jeangagnon/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

CHAPTER OUTLINE

7.1 The Enlightenment
7.2 The Exchange of Ideas in the Public Sphere
7.3 Revolutions: America, France, and Haiti
7.4 Nationalism, Liberalism, Conservatism, and the Political Order

INTRODUCTION The eighteenth century was an era of radical political transformation, social upheaval, and far-reaching change that reverberated across the Atlantic. As new ideas began to challenge traditional political structures and hierarchies, people increasingly debated the rights of individuals and the proper limits of royal and religious authority. Many, such as Toussaint Louverture, the leader of the Haitian Revolution (Figure 7.1), were inspired by the philosophical movement known as the Enlightenment, which embraced the principles of reason and intellectual optimism. Enlightenment ideals were only partially realized. But the growing spirit of critical thinking ultimately inspired a series of revolutions that radically transformed political and economic life.

In the American Revolution, colonists' rejection of arbitrary monarchical power and taxation expanded into a full-fledged demand for national independence. The French Revolution also represented a rejection of traditional royal privileges and the inauguration of a new political model. In neither case, however, did the demands for freedom and inclusion extend to Black people, Native Americans, women, or religious minorities. As the first sustained and successful challenge to the institution of slavery in the Atlantic world, the Haitian Revolution, more than any other conflict of the eighteenth century, resulted in the most widespread radical change. Rather than being universally supported, however, each of these three revolutions and their embrace of newfound freedoms met with a reactionary backlash, the effects of which reached into the modern world.

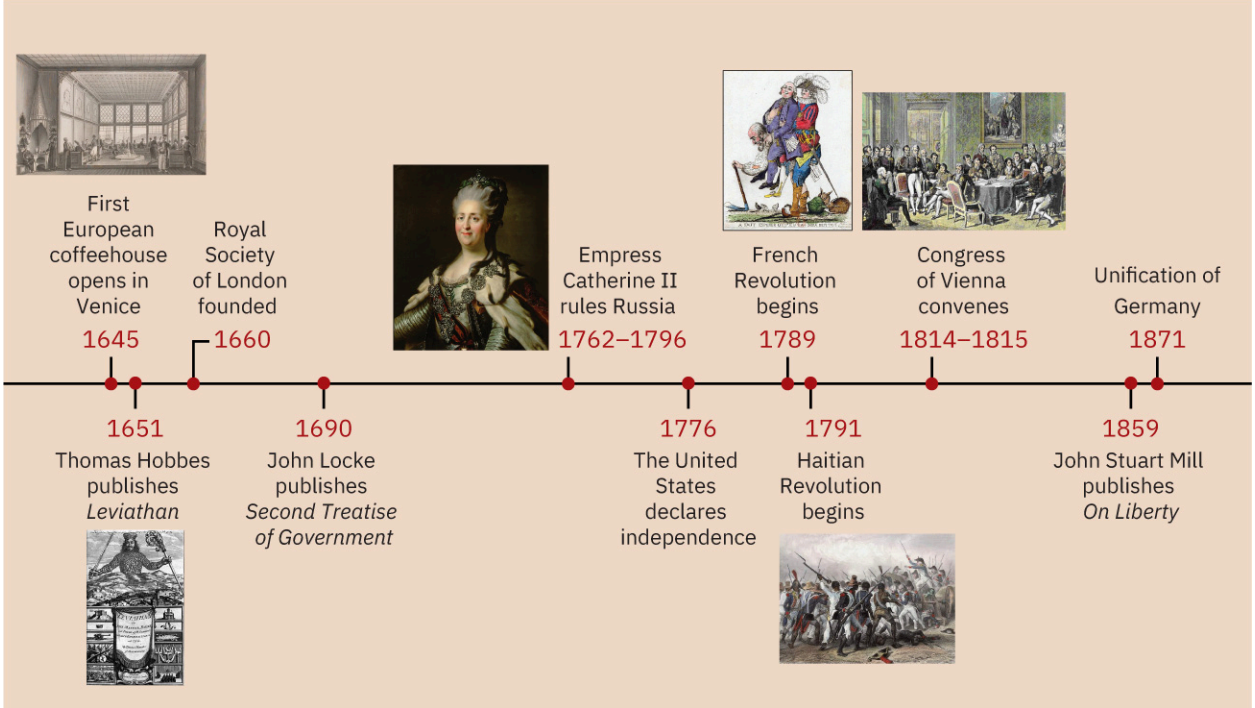


FIGURE 7.2 Timeline: Revolutions in Europe and North America. (credit "1645": modification of work "Depiction of an Ottoman Coffeehouse" by Routledge/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1651": modification of work "Leviathan by Abraham Bosse/Thomas Hobbes" by Library of Congress/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1762–1796": modification of work "Portrait of Catherine II of Russia" by Kunsthistorisches Museum/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1789": modification of work "Les Trois Ordres" by Gallica Digital Library/ Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1791": modification of work "Haitian Revolution" by Auguste Raffet/ Hebert in Library of Congress/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1814–1815": modification of work "The Congress of Vienna" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)



FIGURE 7.3 Locator Map: Revolutions in Europe and North America. (credit: modification of work "World map blank shorelines" by Maciej Jaros/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

7.1 The Enlightenment

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Explain the relationship between scientific developments and the Enlightenment
- Discuss major theories of natural rights
- Analyze Enlightenment ideas about the social contract and the consent of the governed

The key principles of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Scientific Revolution established the view that the universe was orderly and rational. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, this idea had prompted significant challenges to Christianity's traditional justification for social hierarchies and its view of the nature of the cosmos. By defying long-standing notions of nature, the universe, and the limits of human intelligence, the early modern revolution in scientific thought expanded the frontiers of knowledge and inspired intellectual innovation. During the eighteenth century, thinkers in academia and beyond continued their critical exploration, scrutinizing traditional structures from religion to the monarchy. This newfound critical spirit and robust exchange of ideas ultimately became known as the Enlightenment.

Historians have typically located the birthplace of the Enlightenment in western Europe. Its inspirations were truly global in nature, however, ranging from the cosmopolitanism of the ethnically, religiously, and culturally diverse Ottoman Empire to the rich philosophical traditions of China. Ultimately, these ideas were more influential in Europe than elsewhere, but the consequences of the Enlightenment were by no means limited to Europe. Enlightenment thinkers in Europe created a new synthesis of knowledge that later spread to the rest of the world, where colonial subjects added their own interpretations and put these ideas to their own uses.

The Authority of Reason

We cannot reduce the Enlightenment to a single unifying philosophy or body of thought. But Enlightenment thinkers in intellectual circles in Asia, Europe, and the Americas were inspired by the seventeenth century's emphasis on using reason to grapple with questions about human nature, the complexities of political power

and the social order, and the principles of logic and scientific thinking.

Many of the components of Western science that, along with the ideas of the Italian Renaissance, inspired Enlightenment thought were built on scientific traditions developed in the Islamic world, which had absorbed ancient Greek and Indian systems of knowledge. In particular, Al-Andalus, the Muslim-ruled area of Spain and Portugal that rose to power in 711, began wielding significant influence on European intellectual activity in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. By preserving and translating the works of ancient Greek thinkers, such as Aristotle and Plato, that were not available in Europe at the time, Muslim scholars in Spain fueled both the European Renaissance of the twelfth century and the Italian Renaissance of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In addition to preserving seminal Greek texts, Muslim scholars in medieval Al-Andalus, such as the twelfth-century intellectual Averroes, also wrote and translated Arabic philosophical treatises that were widely read by scholars in Christian Europe.

Elsewhere in the Muslim world, Arabic, Indian, and Persian treatises on mathematics, medicine, and astronomy had long wielded significant influence on European science and philosophy. The contributions of medieval Persian mathematicians such as Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khwarizmi and Omar Khayyam to the study of algebra, and the pivotal role of sixth-century Indian philosopher Aryabhata in the field of trigonometry, for example, provided scholars of the Scientific Revolution with the intellectual tools to develop novel theories about the cosmos and the nature of planetary motion (Figure 7.4). These advances, however, could not have occurred without the development of the decimal number system in classical India and the innovation of fractions in the Arabic numeral systems of North Africa by the tenth century. Scientists' ability to calculate advanced mathematical formulas and describe the subtleties of planetary motion not only spurred the Scientific Revolution but also substituted concrete information for superstition and firmly held religious beliefs. The Enlightenment was thus a result of cross-cultural networks of scholarship and knowledge exchange that facilitated the growth of science.


كتاب الجبر والمقابلة

FIGURE 7.4 A Ninth-Century Algebra Book. This page from Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khwarizmi's algebra treatise, *The Compendious Book on Calculation by Completion and Balancing*, was first published around 820 and reflects the advanced mathematical scholarship of the Islamic Golden Age. (credit: "The Compendious Book on Calculation by Completion and Balancing" by Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khwarizmi in Oxford University Press/Wikimedia

Commons, Public Domain)

Among the principles that influenced Enlightenment perceptions of knowledge were the twin concepts of deductive and inductive reasoning. Inherited from the intellectual framework of the Scientific Revolution, these approaches represent different methods of organizing information and developing hypotheses. While **inductive reasoning** gathers specific examples and observations to arrive at a broad generalization, **deductive reasoning**, in contrast, begins with a general statement or theory and applies it to specific conclusions.

Deductive reasoning had its origins in the fourth century BCE in the teachings of the Greek philosopher Aristotle, but it became a vital component of the Scientific Revolution in the work of French philosopher René Descartes. Descartes combined deductive reasoning with **empiricism**, the acquisition of knowledge from sensory experiences, to establish the foundations of the scientific method. Inductive reasoning, on the other hand, played an important role in the work of the English natural philosopher Francis Bacon. Bacon asserted that whereas the deductive method began with a proposition and discarded evidence that did not support that premise, inductive reasoning reached a conclusion only after the collection of evidence. According to Bacon, only inductive reasoning enabled researchers to support observations with empirical data rather than conjecture.

Ultimately, both inductive and deductive reasoning influenced the intellectual context of the Enlightenment by providing two systematic means of drawing conclusions about the natural world from observations and evidence. Whichever method they adopted, Enlightenment thinkers embraced the scientific method as a means of applying reason and objectivity to the collection and analysis of information.

Natural Rights

The topic of **natural rights**, rights possessed by all human beings, such as the right to life and liberty, formed the focus of many philosophical treatises and conversations in the eighteenth century. Based on the premise that all people have fundamental and inalienable rights, rights that cannot be revoked or rescinded by human laws, the concept of natural rights originated not in the Enlightenment but in far older traditions of justice and natural law. In the ancient Persian tradition of Zoroastrianism, for example, the concept of *asha*, meaning "God's will," connoted the unchangeable law that emanates from the divine and governs the universe. Although many ancient religious and philosophical traditions developed interpretations of natural law, European Enlightenment thinkers transformed such ideas into a political system, which was novel at the time. The growing emphasis on reason and the desire to improve human life in the eighteenth century led Enlightenment philosophers to envision political systems based on natural rights, rather than the divine right of kings or traditional Christian social hierarchies.

One of the first Enlightenment thinkers to tackle the issue of natural rights was the English philosopher John Locke, who argued that people have fundamental rights to life, liberty, and property. In his influential work of political philosophy, *Two Treatises of Government*, he argued that all people are born in a state of freedom and that government should exist only by their consent, a principle called **popular sovereignty**. Although Locke and his European contemporaries asserted the inherent equality of all humans, their interpretation of equality is somewhat paradoxical, since in practice they supported the unequal institutions of colonialism and the Atlantic slave trade that deprived all but White men of their natural rights.

LINK TO LEARNING

The text of John Locke's *Second Treatise of Government* (https://openstax.org/l/77LockeTreat) is presented by Project Gutenberg. Published in 1690, this text establishes Locke's position on civil society. Chapters VII and VIII, in particular, explain Locke's interpretations of the relationship between natural rights and civil society.

Like Locke and his contemporaries in England, key figures of the French Enlightenment also debated the scope of natural rights. François-Marie d'Arouet, more commonly known by his pen name Voltaire, was an

especially vigorous advocate of intrinsic rights and freedoms. An outspoken critic of the Catholic Church, the aristocracy, and the French monarchy, he was particularly focused on defending religious toleration, freedom of speech, and the innate utility of reason, which he did in such works as *Treatise on Tolerance* and *Republican Ideas*. In his most famous work, the 1759 satire *Candide*, Voltaire mocked both established religion and secular government. His contemporary Montesquieu also wrote extensively about the relationship between laws and rights. Montesquieu was principally concerned with the concept of political liberty and enforcing the separation of a state's legislative, executive, and judicial powers as a means of keeping the government in check, which he discussed in his 1748 book *The Spirit of the Laws*.

The tension between state authority and the right of individuals to make decisions for themselves likewise inspired the work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, whose contributions to Enlightenment philosophy included his influential treatise *The Social Contract*. Dating to the era of Plato and Socrates in the fourth and fifth centuries BCE and to the second-century BCE Buddhist text *The Mahāvastu*, **the social contract** is an idea centered on the belief that individuals surrender their natural rights to the state, which is then charged with the task of maintaining and protecting those rights. In his assessment of natural rights, Rousseau contends that the formation of human communities makes interdependence necessary and requires reconciling individual freedoms with the sovereignty of the state. Individuals must be free to do as they choose, but the government must also be able to restrict people's actions in order to protect the rights of all. He also discussed the theory of the **general will**, a concept by which a state can be legitimate only if it is guided by the will of the people as a whole, rather than the whims of an elite minority.

Whereas Locke, Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau reinforced the distinction between inalienable rights and the authority of the state, some philosophers of the era, such as Jeremy Bentham and Edmund Burke, cast doubt on the very existence of natural rights. Bentham was an English lawyer known for his adoption of utilitarianism, a political philosophy that emphasized the goal of achieving the greatest good for the greatest number of people. He contended that rights came into being only as a creation of the state and did not exist outside the confines of civil society. Even if a government did not do what the general will wished or disregarded the supremacy of natural law, Bentham wrote, disputing its legitimacy could lead only to chaos and lawlessness.

Like Bentham, the Irish philosopher Edmund Burke also rejected the concept of popular sovereignty. Although he did not dispute the existence of natural law, he argued that natural rights became irrelevant with the formation of civil society, since only people of virtue and good judgment should be permitted to exercise political power. They would serve in the best interests of the people, who, according to Burke, would naturally give up their selfish desires and individual will in the interests of the state.

Although the Enlightenment produced a wide range of opinions about the origins and meaning of natural rights, it also enabled people to think more critically about their relationship with the state and the legitimacy of revolution. While some thinkers such as Burke and Bentham defended the supremacy of the state over individual rights, others such as Locke and Voltaire championed the integrity of natural rights and believed that political liberty could not be interfered with. As the argument continued during the Enlightenment period, it expanded into discussions of social contract theory that focused more specifically on the ethics and legitimacy of law and the political order.

DUELING VOICES

Enlightenment Perspectives on Natural Rights

In the following excerpts, you will read two different perspectives on natural rights. The first excerpt, from a treatise written by seventeenth-century English philosopher John Locke, asserts Locke's claim that people are naturally free and possess rights that are independent of laws imposed by any society. In the second, a late eighteenth-century treatise written in response to the declarations of rights associated with the French

Revolution, English philosopher Jeremy Bentham asserts that such rights cannot exist without government and laws. As you read these two sources, consider the differing ways in which they each describe the existence of rights beyond the reach of the state.

> The state of nature has a law of nature to govern it, which obliges every one: and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind, who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions: for men being all the workmanship of one omnipotent, and infinitely wise maker; all the servants of one sovereign master, sent into the world by his order, and about his business; they are his property, whose workmanship they are, made to last during his, not one another's pleasure: and being furnished with like faculties, sharing all in one community of nature, there cannot be supposed any such subordination among us, that may authorize us to destroy one another, as if we were made for one another's uses, as the inferior ranks of creatures are for ours. Every one, as he is bound to preserve himself, and not to quit his station willfully, so by the like reason, when his own preservation comes not in competition, ought he, as much as he can, to preserve the rest of mankind, and may not, unless it be to do justice on an offender, take away, or impair the life, or what tends to the preservation of the life, the liberty, health, limb, or goods of another.
>
> —John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*
>
> How stands the truth of things? That there are no such things as natural rights—no such things as rights anterior to [existing before] the establishment of government—no such things as natural rights opposed to, in contradistinction to, legal: that the expression is merely figurative; that when used, in the moment you attempt to give it a literal meaning it leads to error, and to that sort of error that leads to mischief—to the extremity of mischief. . . . Natural rights is simple nonsense: natural and imprescriptible rights, rhetorical nonsense,—nonsense upon stilts. But this rhetorical nonsense ends in the old strain of mischievous nonsense for immediately a list of these pretended natural rights is given, and those are so expressed as to present to view legal rights. And of these rights, whatever they are, there is not, it seems, any one of which any government can, upon any occasion whatever, abrogate [do away with] the smallest particle.
>
> —Jeremy Bentham, *Anarchical Fallacies*

- How do Locke and Bentham's views of natural rights differ?
- How might their differing views influence their perceptions of the role of the state?
- With which view—if either—do you agree? Why?

Social Contract Theory

At the core of Enlightenment debate about the relationship between state authority and natural rights was the fundamental character of the social contract. This implicit agreement, or "contract," compels those living in a society to abide by its rules and regulations or suffer punishments for violating them. In essence, those who enter into the social contract implicitly surrender their natural rights to the state, which is then charged with the task of maintaining and protecting those rights. However, according to many social contract theorists like Rousseau, when a state fails to maintain the general will or protect natural rights, citizens may in turn withdraw their social and moral obligations to the state.

The ultimate goal of social contract theory was to demonstrate that the rules imposed by civil society could be rationally justified, and that in its ideal form, government would effectively serve the interests of the people and uphold the general will. As a result, stability and social order would prevail for all. The roles of justice and liberty in civil society thus formed the focus of much debate among philosophers and European rulers concerned with preserving the balance between individual rights and political authority.

The social contract is not the same thing as democracy. A democracy is a government in which the power to govern rests in the hands of the people. Under social contract theory, kings and queens could determine what was in the best interests of their people and take such actions as they believed best protected their subjects. The two parties to the contract were the people on the one hand and the monarch on the other. The people surrendered their rights to the monarch and allowed the monarch to govern them, and the king or queen protected the people's interests. As social contract theory and the concept of natural rights gained greater recognition in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, some absolute monarchs in Europe, such as Frederick the Great of Prussia and Catherine the Great of Russia, embraced the influence of the Enlightenment and became known as an **enlightened despot** (Figure 7.5). Although they maintained the absolute jurisdiction of their rule, enlightened despots differentiated themselves from other monarchs by claiming they received their power from the social contract to rule in the best interest of their subjects.



FIGURE 7.5 Catherine the Great. Commonly known as Catherine the Great, Empress Catherine II of Russia was an "enlightened despot" whose rule remained authoritarian even as she claimed to derive her political power from the social contract. This oil painting of Catherine by an unknown artist was probably made during her lifetime. (credit: "Portrait of Catherine II of Russia" by Kunsthistorisches Museum/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Enlightened despots often invited renowned philosophers to their courts to help design laws and policies that would—at least in theory—protect the essence of the social contract. Frederick of Prussia, for example, invited the French philosopher Voltaire to live at his palace in Potsdam in 1750. Although the nature of authoritarian rule may seem at odds with the preservation of natural rights and the social contract, many philosophers developed political models that appealed to enlightened despots. Locke, Rousseau, and Thomas Hobbes are often lauded in traditional historical narratives for their defense of rights and freedoms. Hobbes maintained that an absolute government, characterized by unlimited centralized political authority, provided the best means of preserving rights and freedoms in what would otherwise be an anarchic state of nature, while Rousseau and Locke extolled the virtues of more democratic political models.

BEYOND THE BOOK

A Vision of the Social Contract in *Leviathan*

In his influential political treatise *Leviathan*, English philosopher Thomas Hobbes argued that a strong government in the form of an absolute monarchy was the best means of ensuring political order and social stability. He asserted that without the guidance of a powerful sovereign, people would naturally be inclined toward self-interest, which would ultimately lead to chaos and anarchy. This image of the frontispiece from *Leviathan* presents a striking visual representation of Hobbes's vision (Figure 7.6).

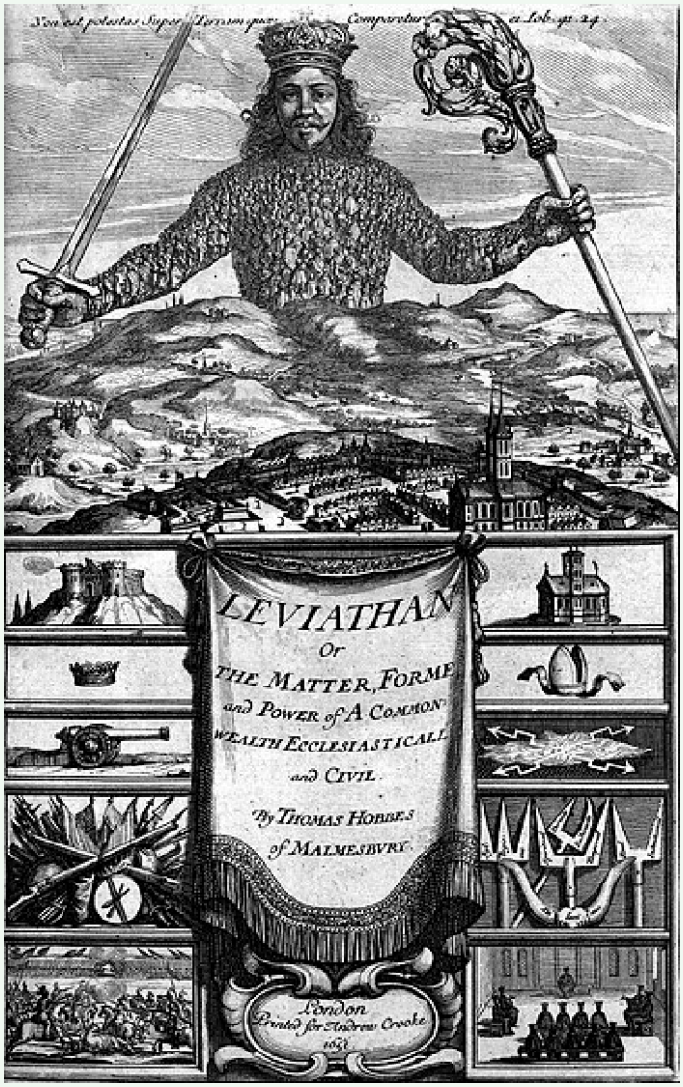


FIGURE 7.6 ***Leviathan***. This 1651 engraving by Abraham Bosse is the frontispiece of Thomas Hobbes's treatise *Leviathan*, named for the mythological sea creature. (credit: "Leviathan by Abraham Bosse/Thomas Hobbes" by Library of Congress/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

- Look closely at the image to understand the nature of the relationship between monarch and subjects. How would you describe it, and how does it reflect Hobbes's vision of the social contract?
- What appear to be the obligations of the monarch and subjects in this relationship?

Despite their adoption of a seemingly progressive vision of universal rights, however, the societies in which Enlightenment thinkers lived did not offer freedoms to all people, nor were their writings as inclusive as they

appear. The advance of Enlightenment ideals did result in increased liberties for many—predominantly White men of the upper and middle classes in western Europe and what later became the United States—but most women, men at the lower end of the social hierarchy, and people of color were generally excluded from participating in the Enlightenment or benefiting from its ideals of social and political equality.

Some elite women, such as the French philosophers Émilie du Châtelet and Germaine de Staël, assumed leadership roles in the era's vibrant intellectual debates and gained recognition for their contributions. Some Enlightenment thinkers, however, did not consider women to be equal in status to their male counterparts. Rousseau, for example, described women as subordinate to men based on the assumption that they were weaker and less rational by nature. On this premise, Rousseau argued that women belonged in the domestic space of the home, while the public space of politics and business was the preserve of men. Other thinkers such as Locke supported women's increased access to education and participation in the public sphere, but they asserted that men should retain leadership roles within the household and in public life due to their greater strength and ability. Although a small number of women played important roles in the Enlightenment, most did not immediately benefit from its emphasis on ideals of equality and freedom.

In what later became the United States and in some European countries, Enlightenment theories coexisted with the institution of slavery, the appropriation of lands from Indigenous people, and access to political participation and the protections afforded by the state that were generally limited to White men of property. Social contract theorists generally justified such contradictions by asserting that because Indigenous peoples resided in a nonpolitical state, and because they were believed to lack the capacity to reason, they were not entitled to the rights and protections afforded to other peoples. Enlightenment lawyers, moreover, used social contract theory to defend slavery, on the grounds that either it was a justifiable consequence of conquest or Black people were incapable of governing themselves without the protection of White owners. Although social contract theory ultimately formed the foundations of seminal documents such as the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution, the ideals of rights and freedoms it espoused coexisted with engrained racial injustices that formed the foundation of slavery and colonialism.

7.2 The Exchange of Ideas in the Public Sphere

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Explain the role of the public sphere as a place for debate and dissent
- Identify the role of public and private forms of expression in the Enlightenment
- Discuss the role of universities in fostering public debate

As the intellectual ferment of the Enlightenment continued over the course of the eighteenth century, new ideas about religion, political power, and the human condition proliferated alongside a growing revolutionary spirit. Helping to spread these ideas was the emergence of the **public sphere**, spaces beyond the home and under the control of neither the church nor the state, such as coffeehouses and taverns where people could engage in free and open intellectual exchange, without fear of retribution.

Before the late seventeenth century, public forums had been relatively uncommon in Europe outside England. But in the urban centers of the Islamic world and the trade centers of East Asia, informal spaces for conversation and political discussion, such as the many Turkish coffeehouses and the Confucian academies in Korea, were prominent features of social life. As international trade and cultural exchange increased between Europe and its Eastern neighbors during the Enlightenment, these autonomous secular spaces had a profound influence on the development of the public sphere in Europe.

Public Debate and Dissent

In the medieval period in Europe, opportunities for social encounters and the exchange of ideas had generally been limited to the domestic sphere of private households, or to spaces in which monarchical or church

authority could quash dissent or criticism. Over the course of Europe's seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, public spaces became a pervasive feature of its intellectual culture for the first time.

Coffeehouses, which became a staple of European cities by the end of the eighteenth century, had long been centers of intellectual exchange and informal socialization in cities of the Islamic world after the practice of roasting coffee beans and making them into a drink began in Yemen in the 1400s. After its subsequent adoption in Arabia, coffee drinking spread to Egypt, Persia, and the Ottoman Empire. By the mid-sixteenth century, coffeehouses had become a fixture of social life in many communities of the Islamic world, where people could participate in a wide variety of conversations. Istanbul's cosmopolitan district of Tahtakale, where merchants, artisans, sailors, tradespeople, and travelers congregated, was an especially fitting site for the development of such establishments. After the first cafés there gained a wide following, portable coffee stalls and neighborhood coffeehouses became popular throughout the Ottoman Empire (Figure 7.7).



FIGURE 7.7 A Coffeehouse in Istanbul. Late eighteenth-century coffeehouses in the Islamic world, like the Istanbul establishment in this image from architect Antoine Ignace Melling's classic 1819 visual record of the city, served as inspiration for the cafés of Enlightenment Europe's new public sphere. (credit: "Depiction of an Ottoman Coffeehouse" by Antoine-Ignace Melling in Routledge/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In Europe, the first coffeehouse based on the Turkish model opened in the cosmopolitan port city of Venice in 1645. Coffee shops became especially popular in England after the first one appeared in London in 1652. By 1708, London had more than five hundred, and their appeal continued to soar. The first cafés opened in Paris in the 1670s and in cities such as Vienna, Hamburg, and Frankfurt by the end of the century. Although some monarchs, particularly Charles II of England, attempted to suppress coffeehouses on the grounds that they promoted dissent and anti-royalist sentiment, such efforts generally faced so much opposition that they fell flat. Because coffeehouses existed as public spaces under private ownership in the midst of a growing commercial economy, in most cases, monarchs and other state authorities had little control over them.

Coffeehouses occasionally acquired a reputation as centers of dissent and subversion, but they were not inherently anti-royalist in character. Rather, they became politicized spaces in which all manner of political debates and opinions were discussed. For those living on subsistence levels or at the lower end of the socioeconomic hierarchy, most days were consumed with work or labor, and finding leisure to visit

coffeehouses was virtually impossible. But although not everyone had this luxury, such establishments provided a means of informal education for many. For the price of a cup of coffee, patrons, who were predominantly male, could engage in the rapid circulation of ideas and information that also facilitated the flourishing print culture of the era. For those who could not read or buy books, coffeehouse conversations thus allowed active participation in the intellectual culture of the Enlightenment.

Whereas coffeehouses were generally spaces in which people of all social backgrounds and statuses could mingle, **salons** in eighteenth-century France tended to cater to the intellectual endeavors of a more privileged sector of society. Situated in the homes of wealthy aristocrats, salons were informal gatherings of writers, philosophers, and in theory anyone else who wished to participate. In practice, however, only those with adequate wealth, leisure time, and social connections tended to do so, since attendance usually depended upon receiving an invitation from the salon's host.

Salons met on designated days and were typically hosted and managed by women, offering an important opportunity for them to take leadership roles in the cultural sphere. Hosts such as Marie-Thérèse Geoffrin, Julie de Lespinasse, and Suzanne Necker not only decided who could attend their salons, but they also managed the inclusive and back-and-forth nature of the conversations (Figure 7.8). Despite the prevailing sentiment among male philosophers that women were not as rational as men, elite women were nevertheless instrumental as benefactors and patrons of the salons, which served as essential venues for the exchange of Enlightenment ideas. Salons eventually evolved into hubs of literary discussion that fostered a culture of polite sociability and cohesion among aristocrats and propertied elites.

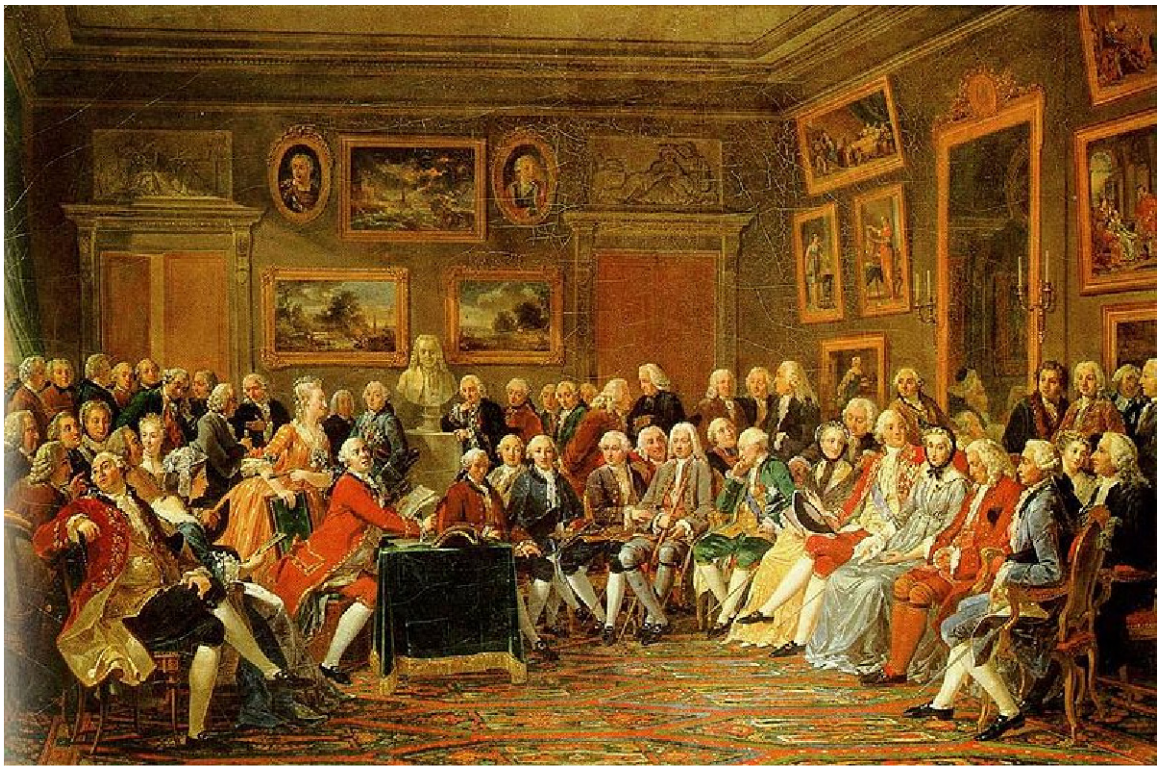


FIGURE 7.8 A Paris Salon. *Lecture de la tragédie "L'orphelin de la Chine" de Voltaire dans le salon de Madame Geoffrin*, a nineteenth-century oil painting by Anicet Charles Gabriel Lemonnier, imagines the Paris salon of Marie-Thérèse Geoffrin, one of the most celebrated salon hosts of the French Enlightenment, in 1755. The guests are listening to a reading of a newly published play by Voltaire. (credit: "Reading of Voltaire's L'Orphelin de la Chine" by Château de Malmaison/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

LINK TO LEARNING

Project Gutenberg presents *The Women of the French Salons* (https://openstax.org/l/77FrenchSalon) by Amelia Gere Mason. This text provides a detailed analysis of the roles played by women in the French salons of the Enlightenment. Chapters 1 and 8, in particular, provide useful overviews of the salons of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, respectively.

The Republic of Letters

Conversation and debate in the public sphere were inseparable from the flourishing print culture of the Enlightenment era. Literacy rates, which hovered around 30 percent for men and 14 percent for women in late-seventeenth-century French cities, had increased to 48 percent for men and 27 percent for women by the mid-eighteenth century. These rising rates led to an explosion of books, pamphlets, newspapers, and political cartoons. The spread of printed materials not only standardized spelling and systems of knowledge, but it also enabled news, opinion, poetry, political philosophy, scientific texts, and information of all kinds to reach a much wider audience than the spoken word alone. The Republic of Letters was a long-distance community of writers who corresponded with each other across Europe and the Atlantic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, sending handwritten letters and published materials of every kind that provided a crucial international exchange and transmission of ideas. The Republic of Letters was a society whose citizens, rather than living in the same geographic area, like the citizens of a political republic, were united by ideas spread through print. No matter where in Europe or the Atlantic world they lived, all literate people could belong to the Republic of Letters. They engaged with one another on terms of intellectual equality and freely exchanged ideas, just like citizens of a political republic who were, theoretically, free and equal.

Among the luminaries were prominent philosophers and political leaders, including Voltaire, Benjamin Franklin, and Catherine the Great. Given that those who participated in the Republic of Letters hailed from many different countries and spoke many different languages, much of their writing either was in Latin, then the universal language of scholarship in multilingual Europe, or required access to proficient translators. This obstacle made it difficult for the majority of people to participate directly in the print culture of the Enlightenment.

THE PAST MEETS THE PRESENT

Spreading Ideas in the Past and Present

The emergence of the public sphere in the Enlightenment has had a long-standing influence on the exchange of ideas in the modern world. In his influential 1962 treatise *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, German philosopher Jürgen Habermas identified the development of the free and open exchange of ideas as a product of the eighteenth century. According to Habermas, this development was the result of the "feudal foundations of power" (that is, Europe's medieval legacy of centralized monarchical rule and the institutional power of Christianity) being supplanted by the development of a capitalist economy and the emergence of spaces for the free and open exchange of ideas beyond the control of the state or the church. Habermas asserted that between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, economic activities that had formerly been part of the domestic space of the household increasingly became associated with spaces of exchange, such as markets and coffeehouses that functioned independently of government authority.

- How have modern means of communication, particularly social media, changed the way ideas and information are spread?
- What is considered "public" today, and how do modern conceptions of "public" differ from those of the Enlightenment era?

Despite the pervasive influence of print culture, the direct impact of Enlightenment texts among the general public was limited by relatively low literacy rates among the artisans, peasants, and tradespeople of the era. Literacy rates were climbing rapidly among members of the urban elite, particularly wealthy merchants and aristocrats, but they remained well below 20 percent for those at the lower end of the socioeconomic hierarchy, especially in rural areas. Although the Enlightenment embraced, in theory, some democratic principles about the exchange of knowledge, in practice, participation in that exchange was limited to those with adequate wealth and leisure time. Books were prohibitively expensive and remained well out of the reach of all but the wealthiest members of society. Even cheaply printed pamphlets represented a significant expense for most eighteenth-century laborers and peasants. By the second half of the eighteenth century, lending libraries had emerged to expand the reading public's access to printed materials, but only select academics and government officials were permitted to borrow books. By the end of the century, however, reading clubs whose members paid an annual fee for access to books and periodicals began to expand the size of the reading public and increase levels of literacy among the middle class.

Academies, Universities, and Intellectuals

The salons, print shops, and coffeehouses of the public sphere existed alongside more formal educational institutions and academies that also contributed to the intellectual culture of the era. Universities and scientific societies played significant roles in advancing experimental science and philosophy, but they were far less accessible to the reading public than coffeehouses and even salons. Women, for example, attended salons, but they did not attend universities and generally did not belong to scientific societies. Likewise, working-class men, who could sometimes be found frequenting coffeehouses, had no access to universities or scientific societies. These institutions also tended to be somewhat conservative in outlook, given their religious foundations and traditional emphasis on a theologically based curriculum. Even as the curriculum of universities became less based on religion in the eighteenth century, they still largely fell under the wing of state and royal authorities rather than being autonomous.

Unlike modern research universities, those in the early modern era existed to train students—exclusively male and economically privileged—for careers in the civil service or to practice one of three professions: medicine, law, or theology. The curriculum was generally designed to uphold tradition rather than innovate. Nevertheless, being affiliated with prestigious universities like Oxford, Bologna, and Paris carried power and prestige that enabled academics to make connections with wealthy patrons in court and aristocratic circles. These connections, in turn, could be exploited to finance more innovative research and scholarship in settings outside the universities.

Scientific research thus generally took place in private laboratories with the assistance of a variety of academies and scientific societies. Their dependence on the economic support and protection of monarchs and princes meant that these institutions maintained ties to the state and lacked the full autonomy of the public sphere. One of the first was the Royal Society of London, which first met on November 28, 1660, and was formally chartered and recognized by King Charles II shortly thereafter (Figure 7.9). Francis Bacon's development of the scientific method was considered the inspiration for the society's founding. His emphasis on perfecting experimental techniques became a central focus of its principles and continued to influence scientists like Isaac Newton for many years after its founding. Newton was one of the group's most celebrated members. The machine-like view of the universe he developed, and the laws of planetary motion and gravity upholding it, were in turn a source of inspiration to French philosophers like Voltaire, who saw Newton's work as evidence of a rational universe.



FIGURE 7.9 The Royal Society of London. John Evelyn's 1667 frontispiece for Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*, showing a bust of Charles II. On the right is Francis Bacon, and on the left is mathematician William Brouncker, Second Viscount and the first president of the Royal Society. (credit: "A History of the Royal Society, by Thomas Sprat (frontispiece)" by "Airunp"/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Like the Royal Society of London, the Academy of Sciences in France operated with the support and protection of royalty, in this case Louis XIV, who founded it in 1666. Unlike its English counterpart, however, the French academy was well funded and tightly controlled by its royal patron, who sponsored scientists and their work with monetary allowances and pensions.

Because of their connections to the court, members of scientific societies and academies were a small elite, but they also participated in public forums and salons of the Enlightenment and represented the beginning of scientific professionalization in the eighteenth century. Due to their connections with the salons, some scientific societies provided opportunities for women to engage in the practice of science. Although they were barred from university admission and formal membership in royal academies in England and France, some noble and aristocratic women, such as Maria Winkelmann of Germany and Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle in England, not only served as patrons of science but also actively participated in scientific research.

LINK TO LEARNING

An overview of Margaret Cavendish's life and intellectual contributions is presented in "Women in Science: Margaret Cavendish" (https://openstax.org/l/77Cavendish) by English Heritage.

7.3 Revolutions: America, France, and Haiti

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Explain the causes, ideological framing, and consequences of the American Revolution
- Explain the causes, ideological framing, and consequences of the French Revolution
- Explain the causes, ideological framing, and consequences of the Haitian Revolution
- Analyze the similarities and differences among the American, French, and Haitian Revolutions

The growing emphasis the Enlightenment placed on natural rights, the autonomy of the wealthy middle class, and the cross-cultural encounters of the burgeoning global economy generated many social and political transformations in the eighteenth century. In particular, the entrenched privileges of the nobility, the traditional dominance of the Catholic Church, and arbitrary royal entitlements were common targets of criticism among those who could participate in the public sphere of the era. As fiscal crises developed and tensions exploded between European kingdoms and their Atlantic colonies, the rhetoric of the Enlightenment fused with a series of popular uprisings and created revolutionary conditions on both sides of the Atlantic. By the end of the century, the American, French, and Haitian Revolutions were the results (Figure 7.10).



FIGURE 7.10 Capturing the Bastille. In this image from about 1790, an unknown painter has depicted a pivotal moment that ignited the French Revolution when the people of Paris captured the Bastille, a fortress and prison that had become a symbol of the monarchy's despotism. The event is commemorated every year on July 14, France's national holiday. (credit: "Storming of the Bastille and arrest of the Governor M. de Launay, July 14, 1789" by Museum of the History of France/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Each of these conflicts brought a different degree of change. They also all represented an imperfect realization of Enlightenment ideals, and they underscored the reality that political rights and liberties remained restricted

to a small group that largely excluded women and the poor. With the exception of the Haitian Revolution, they did little to improve the conditions experienced by Black and Indigenous peoples.

The American Revolution

As colonial societies warmed to the idea that political power should be based on the consent of the people, a growing dissatisfaction with the British Crown's arbitrary rules and taxes propelled the colonies in North America toward revolution. Britain's **Proclamation Line** of 1763 declared the Appalachian Mountains the western settlement boundary for the thirteen North American colonies (Figure 7.11). Its goals were to prevent further conflict with the French and Native Americans there, and to avoid the costs of defending the frontier when Britain was already struggling with debt from the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). The colonists, some of whom had already received land grants west of the Appalachians, viewed the edict as equivalent to tyranny and disregarded it.



FIGURE 7.11 Proclamation Line of 1763. This map depicts the boundary Britain imposed on westward settlement of its North American colonies in 1763, to save costs and avoid conflict with Native Americans and the French. The colonists viewed it as yet another instance of the tyranny of the king. (credit: modification of work "Eastern North

America in 1775" by National Atlas of the United States/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Tensions were further heightened by the imposition of taxes and commercial regulations. In particular, the **Stamp Act** of 1765 taxed legal documents and printed materials as a means of generating revenue for Britain, which led to widespread protests. North American colonists had paid taxes imposed by Parliament before, but the intent of those taxes had been to repay debts held by the government. Although this was also the original purpose of the Stamp Act, to pay debts accrued during the Seven Years' War, the tax remained in place after the debt had been paid. This was the first time the colonists were expected to pay a tax intended solely to generate an ongoing source of revenue for the British government. Furthermore, colonists were unable to vote for members of Parliament and thus had no representatives to consent to this taxation on their behalf.

The Parliament repealed the Stamp Act in 1766 but merely replaced it with a variety of other taxes and duties that led to general turmoil in the colonies, especially in Boston. Indeed, in the same year the Stamp Act was repealed, Parliament passed the Declaratory Act, which stated that it had absolute authority to impose taxes on the colonies and to regulate their affairs. After Parliament took the extreme step of dispatching soldiers to Massachusetts to restore order and threatened customary liberties in the process, support in the colonies for a complete break with Britain intensified.

Parliament then granted the British East India Company a monopoly on the importation of tea, which angered colonial tea merchants and led to armed conflict, initiating the American Revolution in 1775. As the crisis escalated, revolutionary sentiment came to a head when the first and second **Continental Congresses**, assemblies of elected colonial representatives, met in Philadelphia in 1774 and 1775, respectively. The Second Continental Congress adopted the powers of government as a form of resistance to British tyranny and in 1776 approved the Declaration of Independence.

LINK TO LEARNING

At Monticello, a virtual exhibit called Paradox of Liberty (https://openstax.org/l/77LibertyPara) explores the contradiction of the fight for liberty in the American Revolution taking place at a time when Thomas Jefferson and other founders owned enslaved people and supported the institution of slavery.

The Declaration of Independence was modeled on Enlightenment principles of sovereignty and natural rights, particularly the social contract theory of the writer and philosopher John Locke. Although support for independence was not universal among the colonists, and a substantial minority remained neutral or actively supported the British, twelve of the thirteen colonies ultimately approved the Declaration of Independence, the only abstention being New York. In the military conflict that ensued, Britain initially won most of the battles, but the Continental Army led by General George Washington eventually prevailed, and the British surrendered at Yorktown, Virginia, in 1781. Some fighting continued until the fall of 1783, but peace was formally declared when representatives of the new United States and King George III of Great Britain signed the Treaty of Paris in September that year, officially ending the war.

Following the war's conclusion, the first written constitution, known as the Articles of Confederation, was drafted in 1776–1777 and ratified by the thirteen colonies in 1781. Although they named the new nation the United States of America and granted Congress the authority to coin money and make alliances, the Articles of Confederation did not enable the federal government to impose taxes or control foreign policy. These shortcomings led delegates at the Constitutional Convention to write the Constitution in 1787, which granted the federal government powers such as the authority to tax and to regulate interstate commerce. When the Constitution was officially adopted in 1789, it replaced the Articles of Confederation and significantly strengthened the country's central governmental authority.

In theory, the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution reflected the democratic ideals of the Enlightenment, but in practice, the colonists' achievements were inherently contradictory, since many of the founders were slaveholders. Political liberty coexisted with the institution of slavery, and full constitutional

rights and freedoms extended only to White men of property, a minority of the population, and not to women, African Americans, Native Americans, or many immigrants. Although women had participated in the war by leading charitable organizations and refusing to buy goods on which the British imposed taxes, they were excluded from political rights in the new republic. The institution of slavery, moreover, gained protection from the Constitution when members of the Constitutional Convention adopted the Three-Fifths Clause, which counted three-fifths of the enslaved population in the calculations on which the taxation and political representation of slaveholding states were based. By effectively implying that enslaved people were less than fully human and denying them voting rights, this clause enshrined racial prejudice in the Constitution's foundations. Though the Three-Fifths Clause was eventually repealed in 1868, the political disenfranchisement of Black citizens persisted until the civil rights era and beyond.

The American Revolutionary War was also an unmitigated catastrophe for Native Americans. Based on the fear that a colonial victory would devastate their lands and betray their interests, Native American leaders such as Mohawk chief Thayendanegea had formed alliances with the British and provided them with strategic military support. Revolutionary armies then destroyed Native American towns and crops in western New York and Pennsylvania. At the war's conclusion, Native American representatives were excluded from all negotiations, which ultimately resulted in significant loss of their lands and autonomy.

It may be tempting to see the American Revolution as a full-fledged victory for Enlightenment ideals of popular sovereignty and natural rights, but the actual application of these principles was spotty at best. Traditional narratives typically cite the love of liberty as its guiding principle and celebrate its democratic achievements, but its causes were far more complex. British efforts to consolidate control over the colonies in the years leading up to the war incited resistance from colonists seeking to maintain their autonomy, but the war's roots lay in a variety of economic, political, and ideological disputes. Colonial elites sought the same rights as their counterparts in Britain, and their demands to levy taxes themselves and their resistance to the Crown heavily influenced the initial desire for independence. Merchants, however, primarily sought economic freedoms that would release them from British trade restrictions and taxes. Still others resisted British attempts to curb westward expansion and appropriate Native American lands. Ultimately, these diverse motives converged with growing popular protest and incited rebellions and violence, eventually leading to revolution.

The French Revolution

Inspired by the success of their North American counterparts, critics of absolute monarchical power and entrenched aristocratic privilege in France began agitating for change. They found themselves in the midst of a significant economic crisis brought on by a combination of the king's extravagant spending and (ironically) France's support of the American Revolutionary War.

Like the battle for independence in the North American colonies, the revolutionary movement in France reflected a complex web of causes and consequences. After a series of poor harvests and the near-bankruptcy of the French Crown left many peasants and urban poor on the brink of starvation in the 1770s, resentment of the regime's inability to provide relief led to extensive unrest and rioting. The Crown's subsequent attempt to institute a land tax on aristocrats, who had previously been exempt from such assessments, resulted in broad resistance from social elites reluctant to surrender their traditional privileges. Meanwhile, the growing middle class, resentful of its exclusion from political power, agitated for change inspired by the Enlightenment rhetoric of rights and liberties. Demands for the reform of an antiquated system of government and social hierarchy reached a point of no return in the mid-1780s.

Whereas the American Revolutionary War resulted in the birth of an independent new nation, the French Revolution radically restructured long-standing political systems and reshaped the balance of power in Europe. Although the revolt's radical rejection of authoritarian rule, which enforced obedience to government authority and limited individual freedom, ultimately faltered, the social and political reforms it inspired heavily influenced the character of modern nations.

At the core of revolutionary fervor in France was the traditional division of French society into three estates—clergy, aristocracy, and commoners—that reinforced the wealth and political power of the aristocracy and the church. In this system, which had emerged in the Middle Ages, the First Estate consisted of the Catholic clergy, who made up less than 1 percent of the population but held roughly 10 percent of French lands. Virtually exempt from taxes, the church derived substantial wealth from tithes (taxes of one-tenth of annual income) and fees imposed on the general population. The nobility, who were the Second Estate, represented roughly 3–4 percent of the population but held upward of 30 percent of the country's lands. They also dominated the most prestigious administrative, military, and judicial positions in the royal bureaucracy by virtue of their aristocratic status and were exempt from taxes as well. The burden of paying taxes fell largely on the shoulders of the Third Estate, the remaining 95 percent of the French population consisting of peasants, the urban poor, the wealthy bourgeoisie or urban middle class who made a living largely through commerce and the professions, and everyone else who did not fall within the other two estates (Figure 7.12).



FIGURE 7.12 French Inequalities. This cartoon of 1789 depicts the social inequalities and tensions that pervaded French society on the eve of the French Revolution. The First and Second Estates, a small minority of the population, controlled the majority of land and wealth, while the labor and tax burden fell on the Third Estate. The caption reads, "We must hope this game will be over soon." (credit: "Les Trois Ordres" by Gallica Digital Library/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Although persistent wealth inequality became a significant sore point for the French masses, particularly in the midst of a national economic crisis, exclusion from political power was another issue leading up to the

revolution. The Enlightenment's emphasis on public opinion, natural rights, and freedom from tyranny also resonated with many educated commoners and aristocrats, who believed that political and economic reforms were desperately needed in France. However, the **Estates General**, a general assembly made up of representatives of the nobles, clergy, and commoners that was France's closest approximation to a constitutional body, had not been convened by a French monarch since 1614. Equally problematic was the voting structure of this body, which gave each estate one vote. Since the clergy and nobility generally shared common interests, their votes typically defeated any initiatives the Third Estate might propose.

In 1789, in an act of desperation, King Louis XVI summoned the Estates General to propose a radical reform of the economy and the creation of new taxes. But the Third Estate refused to participate until the king reformed the voting system. After a period of stalemate, the Third Estate gained the support of many members of the clergy and met separately as a National Assembly. This act of political rebellion reinforced the sovereignty of the people, to which the king responded by amassing military forces with the goal of subduing the people by force. His plan backfired, however, when a series of popular uprisings in Paris and throughout the country resulted in the commoners' seizure of sites associated with royal authority, such as the Bastille, a fortress in Paris, land redistribution, and refusal to pay taxes.

In a position of strength, the National Assembly then issued the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, which upheld natural rights such as liberty and property, like the U.S. Declaration of Independence, but also mandated the adoption of representative government, equality before the law, and freedom of expression. As a means of reducing monarchical power and enforcing the mandates of the Declaration, the National Assembly created a new constitution in 1791 and charged a newly formed Legislative Assembly with governing France as a constitutional monarchy and developing legislative reform.

Despite its progressive reforms, the Declaration faced opposition from critics such as French playwright Olympe de Gouges for failing to address women's rights. In 1791, Gouges published her Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Female Citizen, which emphasized women's equality with men and asserted that women should experience the same rights of citizenship as their male counterparts.

Meanwhile, France's economic situation continued to worsen, and a group of women struggling to feed their families organized a crowd of thousands to confront the king and demand action. Also instrumental in building revolutionary momentum against the king and the nation's profound wealth inequality were the **sans-culottes**, radicals from the lower and working classes who could not afford the *culottes*, or fashionable short pants, that were worn by the aristocracy and indicated one did not have to perform manual labor for a living (*sans* is French for "without"). After the angry mob captured the royal family, the king lost all remaining popular support when he and his wife, Queen Marie-Antoinette, attempted to escape.

The newly formed Legislative Assembly suspended the king and created a representative body known as the National Convention, which convicted Louis of treason. The National Convention was composed of a number of different groups of revolutionaries with conflicting opinions regarding what the government of France and French society should be like. A variety of political clubs and organizations expressed a range of ideas about the goals of the revolution and the best course of action to achieve them. Founded in 1789, the **Jacobins** quickly became the most influential of these clubs. The Jacobins sought to end the reign of King Louis XVI and establish a republic to replace the French monarchy. However, disagreements between their radical and moderate factions made consensus difficult to achieve. Whereas the **Girondins**, a moderate faction of the Jacobins, some of whom hailed from the Gironde region of southwestern France, opposed executing the king, the radical Jacobin faction the **Mountain**, so named because its members sat on the highest benches of the National Convention, supported sentencing him to death. After the Convention held a trial for the king, the Mountain ultimately prevailed, and the king was executed in January 1793.

After declaring those who opposed the king's execution enemies of the revolution, in 1793 the Mountain and their supporters initiated a period of violent repression known as the **Reign of Terror**. Maximilien de Robespierre, a lawyer who championed the principles of equality, led the provisional government of France,

known as the **Committee of Public Safety**, from 1793 to 1794. Under the battle cry *liberté*, *égalité*, *fraternité* (liberty, equality, brotherhood), this radical phase of the revolution achieved many progressive reforms, including controlling the price of grain, legalizing divorce, and abolishing slavery. Despite such achievements, however, it was also inherently contradictory, since tens of thousands of people were arbitrarily imprisoned or executed as a means of silencing dissent.

Disagreements between the Committee of Public Safety and the Convention over religious and economic policies hastened the end of the Reign of Terror as support for Robespierre's repressive policies dwindled. By 1794, members of the opposition had removed Robespierre from power, and the Terror finally came to an end in July 1794 when its leaders, including Robespierre, were executed on the guillotine. The Convention then dismantled the executive powers of the Committee of Public Safety and sought to restore political stability by creating a constitution in 1795 that established a new executive council of five men known as the **Directory**. Despite the new government's efforts to prevent rebellions and dissent, it faced a variety of challenges from radical Jacobins who wanted to restore the Terror's revolutionary fervor and from conservative factions that sought to restore the monarchy. Growing conflict between moderates and radicals, sharpened by a period of famine and economic difficulty, ultimately led the Directory to invite Napoléon Bonaparte, a charismatic and ruthless general in the French army, to help them develop a more authoritative government in 1799 and quiet the voices of opposition.

LINK TO LEARNING

A pervasive symbol of the French Revolution, the guillotine was designed to mechanize executions and render beheading more humane and efficient while ensuring that all people sentenced to death experienced the same quick and relatively painless execution regardless of social class. Illustrations of a guillotine (https://openstax.org/l/77Guillotine1) from the Museum of the French Revolution and an execution by guillotine (https://openstax.org/l/77Guillotine2) are presented.

Following the Terror's failure, the revolution took a more conservative turn, and the idealism of the French Revolution came to an end. The modern democratic tradition emerging in France then transformed into popular authoritarianism when Napoléon seized control. Although he safeguarded some revolutionary gains, Napoléon also reinstated slavery in France's colonies and declared himself emperor in 1804. At the height of his power, he ruled over a massive empire.

Following a series of failed military campaigns stemming from his desire to dominate Europe, however, including a disastrous attempted invasion of Russia, Napoléon abdicated his throne in 1814. He then returned and led France again until his defeat by the British and Prussians at Waterloo (Belgium) in 1815. After this loss, Napoléon was ultimately banished from France and forced to spend the rest of his days in exile.

The French Revolution now appeared to come full circle with the restoration of the French monarchy in 1814–1815. However, Louis XVIII, the restored French king, could not rule as an absolute monarch and had to recognize his subjects' new constitutional rights to participate in government and regulate the king's power. Notwithstanding Napoléon's brief autocratic reign, the French Revolution successfully dismantled the nobility's and clergy's disproportionate share of power and defeated the strongest absolute monarchy in Europe.

The French revolutionaries failed to fully establish the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity that had long inspired the movement. They sought to replace royal and aristocratic privilege with sweeping reforms rooted in ideals of natural rights and protection from tyrannical government. Yet in practice, and regardless of the instrumental roles they played in the revolution, women in France did not receive many of the rights extended to their male counterparts. In fact, France was the last of the major Western powers to extend voting rights to women, in 1944.

Perhaps even more paradoxical was the contradiction between Enlightenment ideals of liberty that fueled the

revolution on one hand and France's ongoing colonialism, exploitation of slave labor, and discrimination against free people of color on the other. Except for a brief period during the Reign of Terror, France continued to uphold the institution of slavery in its colonies. In particular, in the colony of Saint-Domingue, now known as Haiti, few if any rights were extended to enslaved or free people of color in the wake of the French Revolution. Ultimately, then, the legacy of revolution in France was mixed.

The Haitian Revolution

Like the leaders of revolution in the North American colonies and France, the leaders of Haiti's Revolution sought to reject tyranny and dismantle long-standing inequities. Unlike the British colonists, however, the Haitian revolutionaries made addressing racial discrimination and injustice their primary aim. The Haitian Revolution was the first uprising of enslaved people in history that not only toppled a colonial regime but also established national independence (Figure 7.13). Independence came at a tremendous cost, however, since France forced the new republic to pay steep indemnities to compensate French citizens for their property losses for many years, impoverishing the new nation. Nevertheless, the revolution represented one of the most significant challenges to colonialism raised in the Western Hemisphere.



FIGURE 7.13 Haitian Revolution. This 1802 engraving by Auguste Raffet depicts one of the major battles of the Haitian Revolution, the battle of Crête-à-Pierrot, which took place that year. The Haitian army initially suffered a crushing defeat there but eventually won an inspiring victory. (credit: "Haitian Revolution" by Auguste Raffet/Hebert in Library of Congress/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

As France's wealthiest colony, Saint-Domingue on the island of Hispaniola yielded roughly 40 percent of the sugar and nearly half the coffee imported to Europe in the eighteenth century. Producing these labor-intensive commodities depended on maintaining a ruthless regime that enslaved the majority of the colony's population. At the beginning of the Haitian Revolution, roughly 500,000 enslaved people lived in Saint-Domingue, mostly of sub-Saharan African descent. A population of about forty thousand Whites was a mix of wealthy planters, middle-class professionals, and poor laborers. A third group of about thirty thousand were

gens de couleur libres (a French term meaning free people of color), many of mixed-race heritage and some holding enslaved people themselves. Given sharp social divisions and the exploitation of the colony's enslaved people, Saint-Domingue was poised for turmoil.

After news of the revolution in France reached the colony, its White planters and *gens de couleur libres* sent delegates to Paris in 1789 in hopes of securing greater economic and political freedoms from the French. Largely driven by self-interest, each group interpreted the principles and goals of the revolution differently. Whereas wealthy White planters sought political autonomy and greater freedom from trade restrictions, poor Whites were primarily interested in securing equal citizenship for themselves. Neither wealthy nor poor Whites were concerned with gaining equal political or legal rights for people of color. The *gens de couleur libres*, on the other hand, interpreted the revolutionary rhetoric of liberty to mean the extension of equal rights to all free people regardless of race. Given that some of them owned enslaved people, however, they did not call for an end to slavery. The incompatible goals of each group intensified hostilities among the free sectors of Saint-Domingue's population. The conflict between Whites and *gens de couleur libres* exploded in 1791, after Haiti's White population refused to acknowledge the citizenship rights that France had extended to wealthy people of color. The resulting turmoil and instability provided the perfect opportunity for rebellion, which expanded into a full-fledged revolution.

Although it may seem at first that the French Revolution and Enlightenment ideals provided the motivation for revolution in Haiti, much of the inspiration actually came from rumors that France had outlawed slavery, the existence of enslaved leaders poised to rebel against White plantation owners, and the influence of beliefs based on **Vodou** (Voodoo), a mix of Roman Catholic and indigenous West African religious practices. In August 1791, a group of enslaved people planning a rebellion met in a heavily wooded area known as Bois Caïman to formalize their pact in a Vodou ritual overseen by Dutty Boukman, a Vodou priest from Jamaica. It is difficult to know the precise nature of the ceremony. Because France had outlawed the practice of Vodou in its colonies, such gatherings were generally shrouded in secrecy. Nevertheless, it is clear that Vodou was a vital spiritual tradition for enslaved Africans, and one of the few areas in which they could achieve a sense of psychological independence. Due to its widespread appeal among Saint-Domingue's enslaved population, Vodou thus united different rebel groups and played a significant role in propelling the revolution.

Within a few days of the Bois Caïman meeting, some *gens de couleur libres* joined forces with rebelling enslaved people in an uprising against White colonists. After initiating the rebellion in the north of Saint-Domingue and destroying numerous plantations, they continued to escalate the movement. By September 1791, revolt had spread to Port-au-Prince, the colony's capital.

Other countries soon became involved in the rebellion in Haiti. In 1792, France, in an effort to stop the uprising in Haiti, sent troops to the island and extended the rights of citizenship to all free men of color in order to end their support for the rebellious enslaved people. By 1793, France found itself at war with most of the nations of Europe, including Britain and Spain. European rulers did not wish the French revolutionary sentiment that had led to the overthrow of Louis XVI to spread to their states, and France went to war to ensure that hostile monarchs did not bring an end to the revolution. In 1793, Britain and Spain landed troops in Haiti, where they supported the White colonists in their attempt to put down the slave rebellion. Both Spain and Britain hoped to weaken France by depriving it of revenues from the sale of Haitian sugar and to prevent the slave rebellion from spreading to their own Caribbean colonies. Military intervention did not end the rebellion, however. France officially abolished slavery in 1794, during the most radical phase of the revolution, and colonial officials in Saint-Domingue issued an emancipation decree.

With François-Dominique Toussaint Louverture, a military leader and formerly enslaved man, at the helm, many reforms were brought to the island of Hispaniola, which included Saint-Domingue and the Dominican Republic (Figure 7.14). Louverture freed the enslaved people in both colonies in 1801. He then promoted a constitution for the new nation of Haiti, which he nevertheless maintained was still part of the French Empire. The constitution was based on principles of natural rights and social contract theory similar to those that had

guided the French and American Revolutions, but it also made Louverture governor-general of Haiti for life, gave him extensive powers, and allowed him to select his successor in office. Louverture also forced the formerly enslaved Haitian peasants to work in the sugarcane fields. Despite Louverture's forced labor policy, Haiti, unlike the United States or France, directly addressed the issue of racial inequality, granted rights to all citizens regardless of race or social class, and extended citizenship to all Black, Indigenous, and mixed-raced people who had resided in the nation for at least one year. However, although political rights were extended to all male citizens, Haitian women had to wait until the twentieth century before receiving the right to vote, as did women in France and the United States.



FIGURE 7.14 The Island of Hispaniola. Hispaniola, an island in the Caribbean, is the home of the modern nations of Haiti and the Dominican Republic and was originally inhabited by the Taíno people of the Arawak tribe. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

As the leader of the Haitian Revolution, Louverture was a target of French antagonism. Despite a brief cessation of hostilities, he was arrested in 1802 when Napoléon attempted to reclaim control of Saint-Domingue. After being deported to France, Louverture spent the brief remainder of his life in a French prison, writing his memoirs to defend himself against charges of treason.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Toussaint Louverture

After Toussaint Louverture, leader of the Haitian Revolution, was arrested by French troops and subsequently imprisoned in France in 1802, he began writing his memoirs to defend himself against accusations of treason. In the excerpt that follows, he details his commitment to the Haitian people, his vision for Haiti, and the integrity with which he led the fledgling country to independence.

> If I did oblige my fellow-countrymen to work; it was to teach them the value of true liberty without license; it was to prevent corruption of morals; it was for the general happiness of the island, for the interest of the Republic. And I had effectually succeeded in my undertaking, since there could not be found in all the colony a single man unemployed, and the number of beggars had diminished to such a degree that, apart from a few in the towns, not a single one was to be found in the country . . .
>
> It was my influence upon the people which was feared, and that these violent means were employed to destroy it. This caused me new reflections. Considering all the misfortunes which the colony had already suffered, the dwellings destroyed, assassinations committed, the violence exercised even upon women, I forgot all the wrongs which had been done me, to think only of the happiness of the island and the interest of the Government. . . . means have been employed against me which are only used against the greatest criminals. Doubtless, I owe this treatment to my color; but my color,—my color,—has it hindered me from serving my country with zeal and fidelity? Does the color of my skin impair my honor and my bravery?
>
> Since I entered the service of the Republic, I have not claimed a penny of my salary . . . no one has been more prudent, more disinterested than I. I have only now and then received the extra pay allowed me; very often I have not asked even this. . . . I will sum up, in a few words, my conduct and the results of my administration. . . . I did not serve my country from interested motives; but, on the contrary, I served it with honor, fidelity, and integrity, sustained by the hope of receiving, at some future day, flattering acknowledgments from the Government; all who know me will do me this justice.
>
> —Toussaint Louverture, *Memoir of General Toussaint Louverture*

- How does Toussaint Louverture describe his role in the Haitian Revolution?
- Why did the French consider him a threat, and why did they not support his cause even though they had just experienced their own revolution based on principles of liberty and equality?
- How do the goals and ideals he lays out in this passage compare with those of other Atlantic revolutions of the era?

LINK TO LEARNING

See how others chose to depict Toussaint Louverture, both before and after his death in April 1803, in *The Changing Faces of Toussaint Louverture* (https://openstax.org/l/77Louverture) at the John Carter Brown Library.

Although Napoléon attempted to reinstate slavery and reclaim French control of Saint-Domingue in 1802, his army was overpowered by the rebel army and Louverture's successor, Jean-Jacques Dessalines. Dessalines and his victorious forces thereafter renamed their country Haiti, a term meaning *mountainous* that derived from the Taíno language of the precolonial people. After Dessalines declared Haiti's sovereign independence on January 1, 1804, White plantation owners either fled or were killed, and lands were redistributed among Haiti's former enslaved and free Black people. Despite the promise of Haiti's fledgling nationhood, however, in

1825, France imposed an exorbitant independence debt that devastated the new country's economy for many years thereafter. Principles of social equality, moreover, remained incomplete when former *gens de couleur libres* adopted the roles of the former plantation owners at the top of the social hierarchy. Thus, the Haitian Revolution did not bring lasting equality for all, but it did remove racial inequalities even though the *gens de couleur libres* brought an element of race into their views.

Despite economic instability and the complexities of race relations in Haiti after the revolution, its independence stood as a remarkable challenge to colonialism and the institution of slavery. Haiti also successfully resolved the incompatibility between revolutionary principles of liberty and the practice of slavery. The success of its revolution gave hope to other slave societies and sent shockwaves through slaveholding societies across the Atlantic. Ultimately, fear generated by the Haitian Revolution led to a conservative backlash among elites and a temporary expansion of slavery in neighboring countries such as Cuba. The United States did not officially recognize Haiti as an independent nation until 1862. However, the long-term legacy of Haitian independence later inspired slave revolts elsewhere in the Atlantic, such as the German Coast Uprising in Louisiana in 1811, and ultimately posed a significant challenge to the European colonial order.

7.4 Nationalism, Liberalism, Conservatism, and the Political Order

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Explain the causes, main ideologies, and values of nationalism, liberalism, and conservativism
- Discuss the unification of Germany and Italy in terms of nationalism
- Describe the impact of the Congress of Vienna and the career of Metternich on the balance of power in Europe

In the early nineteenth century, the upheaval of revolution gave way to political philosophies and ideologies intended to restore order and prevent the types of violent clashes that had defined much of the previous century. As belief in popular sovereignty and principles of liberty and equality spread, particularly in Europe and North America, emerging nations came to hold different ideas about the best way to safeguard these revolutionary gains. In particular, nationalism, liberalism, and conservatism became entrenched forces that, while unique, all temporarily subdued the unrest of the revolutionary period. In a radically transformed political landscape, however, revolts and revolutions eventually emerged that challenged the last remnants of the prerevolutionary status quo.

Nationalism

The turbulence of the revolutionary era started to wane, and a sense of shared goals and values grew to shape people's perceptions of national identity. As a consequence of the French Revolution and the revolutionaries' subsequent wars against neighboring monarchies they saw as hostile to their new republic, the novel idea of a nation began to provide a sense of belonging and community. It replaced the older ideas of dynasty and city-state and became the primary focus of individuals' political allegiance. By using fear of foreign attacks as a means to gather support for the government and raise an army that represented the interests of the people rather than the monarch, French revolutionaries had inspired loyalty to the state, which also represented the people. In some cases, Great Britain, for example, the nation coexisted with a traditional monarchy. In others, like Haiti, France, and the United States, the old order was completely replaced, and a brand-new political system and cultural landscape emerged in its stead.

A radical political ideology that promotes the interests of the nation over international concerns, **nationalism** advocates the uniqueness and inherent superiority of an individual's own country and the right to self-determination and political autonomy. While this ideology can foster domestic stability by generating unity and loyalty from within, it can also generate hostility toward outsiders and marginalize minority communities. Although nationalism was a powerful force in Europe throughout the nineteenth century, it was by no means

limited to the continent and came to play a powerful role in the modern development of countries such as Egypt and Japan.

As fledgling nations began to materialize in the nineteenth century, many used language, ethnicity, religion, a sense of shared origin, or some combination of these as a foundation of national identity. Often, a group of people who share a national identity based on ethnicity, language, or religion also live in the same state, a political unit that occupies a given territory with defined borders and imposes laws on its residents, and govern themselves. This was the goal for which nationalists strive.

At times, though, people who share a national identity (or "nationality") may be scattered across a variety of different states. For example, in Europe in the nineteenth century, people who were ethnically German and spoke the German language lived in many different kingdoms, principalities, and other political units. In such a case, nationalists seek to unify all those with the same national identity in the same state, so that all live under the same government, which members of that nationality control, within the same territorial borders.

At other times, people who share a national identity may live in a state governed by people of a different nationality. Jews, for example, share a Jewish identity but, except for those who live in Israel (a state that was founded only in 1948), Jews live in states dominated by people of other nationalities. In such cases, nationalists may advocate that a separate state be formed by members of the minority nationality, so that they may live and govern themselves without the interference of other, sometimes hostile, groups. In the nineteenth century, a Jewish movement called Zionism formed to advocate for the establishment of a separate state for Jews.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Italy and Germany were among the nations that most fully embraced these means of reinforcing their political sovereignty and bolstering resistance to the threat of tyranny. Narratives of national dominance and righteousness were perpetuated in schools, the military, and the bureaucracy. This sense of shared identity and heritage laid the groundwork for the nationalism that ultimately led to the unification of Italy and of Germany over the course of the nineteenth century.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Italy was a loose coalition of states under the control of the Austrian Empire and the Catholic Church. Although the states all had different cultural traditions, political systems, and dialects, the growing influence of nationalism and a desire for greater freedom and relief from authoritarian rule led to many uprisings and rebellions against traditional monarchies and foreign powers across the Italian peninsula. The ideals of equality and patriotism that spread across Europe in the nineteenth century fostered a growing sense of common goals and collective aspirations in the Italian states.

After founding an organization known as Young Italy in 1831, Giuseppe Mazzini began promoting a sense of shared Italian identity and encouraged his supporters to dedicate their lives to their nation. Mazzini hoped a new republic would be the means of throwing off the tyranny of foreign monarchs and the authority of the pope. Nationalist ideology was considered so radical at the time, however, that he was eventually arrested and exiled for political subversion.

After Mazzini's arrest, the soldier and patriot Giuseppe Garibaldi continued to build momentum for a unified Italian state. However, after participating in a failed insurrection in Piedmont, he fled the country. Garibaldi's military experience and training in guerrilla warfare during his self-imposed exile in Latin America enabled him to lead his troops to victory in revolutionary campaigns in 1848–1849. Initiated by these Italian nationalists who sought to eliminate Austrian control, the unification cause received powerful support from King Victor Emmanuel II of Piedmont-Sardinia and his prime minister Count Camillo di Cavour. Revolutionary struggles culminated in Garibaldi's declaring Victor Emmanuel II king of the unified kingdom of Italy in 1861. The unification, also known as the ***Risorgimento***, thus occurred under a monarchical system of government. It was completed when Rome was annexed in 1870 (Figure 7.15).



FIGURE 7.15 The Kingdom of Italy. This map printed in 1894 depicts the Kingdom of Italy after unification but before the addition of the northern regions of Valle d'Aosta, Friuli Venezia Giulia, and Trentino-Alto Adige, three of the twenty regions that form the Italian Republic of today. (credit: "1894 Map of Italy" by Hathi Trust Digital Library/ Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

LINK TO LEARNING

Through the art of the *Risorgimento* (https://openstax.org/l/77Risorgimento) at Fondazione Cariplo, a rich record of Italian unification is seen through the eyes of the era's artists. Detailed images and rich commentary are presented that draw connections between shifting political contexts and genres of painting in nineteenth-century Italy.

In predominantly German-speaking lands, an alliance of thirty-nine sovereign states known as the **Germanic Confederation** emerged as a replacement for the former Holy Roman Empire in 1815. Because each of the member states retained political autonomy, the Germanic Confederation lacked executive power or centralized authority. The main goal of the Confederation, however, was not to replace the governmental powers of its member states but rather to create a unified defense against France and Russia. Although it eventually succumbed to the Austrian Empire in 1866, the Confederation laid the groundwork for the nationalism that inspired German unification in 1871 and the creation of the modern nation-state of Germany.

As Germany moved toward political unification in the middle of the nineteenth century, it sought to remove foreign political influence and solidify the cultural and linguistic unity that expanded the momentum of the

Germanic Confederation. In 1848, the Frankfurt Assembly, the first freely elected German parliament, attempted to draft a constitution to unite Germany as an empire headed by a centralized emperor. The attempt failed, however, when it was rejected by the aristocracy, the military, and King Frederick William IV of Prussia, who refused to accept that a monarch's divine authority could be granted by an elected assembly. After the failure of the Frankfurt Assembly, momentum for German unification resumed with the mounting success of the Zollverein, a customs union formed by Prussia in 1834. By 1854, nearly all German states had joined the union, which continued to build the wealth and prosperity of its member states. However, the pace of unification stalled when the new king, William I of Prussia, sought to double the size of his army, and middle-class liberals opposed compulsory military service. Frustrated by this stalemate, William appointed a highly conservative prime minister, Count Otto von Bismarck, in 1862.

Whereas Mazzini's initial movement in Italy had emphasized national unity as a means of promoting popular sovereignty, Bismarck's ambitions focused primarily on fortifying the strength and interests of Protestant Prussia. Despite opposition from middle-class liberals and Parliament, Bismarck prioritized military spending and focused on building a powerful state. After initiating a series of decisive wars with Austria, Denmark, and France to expand German power, he excluded Catholic Austria from German affairs and acquired the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein from Denmark, as well as the German-speaking territories of Alsace and Lorraine from France. This series of victories reinvigorated the cause of unification through the triumph of militarism and authoritarianism. Bismarck's efforts culminated in the formation of a unified Germany, and on January 18, 1871, he was appointed Imperial Chancellor of the German Empire (Figure 7.16).

Unified Germany in 1871



FIGURE 7.16 Germany Unified. This map depicts the unified German nation in 1871 and the patchwork of previously autonomous states that merged under the principles of nationalism to form a single country. (credit: modification of work "Map of the German Empire (1871-1918)" by "Mnmazur"/"MaggotMaster"/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

As the ideology of nationalism continued to gain momentum in the nineteenth century, patriotism also garnered increased support across the European continent. Although the two share some commonalities, they represent differing ideological perspectives. Rooted in ancient Greek and Roman conceptions of loyalty to a city or community, patriotism implies a sense of civic spirit. In the Enlightenment, especially in the work of the philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, it eventually evolved into the idea of love for the nation. Unlike nationalism, patriotism does not entail asserting the superiority of one nation over others.

Liberalism

Like nationalism, the political philosophy of **liberalism** is rooted in Enlightenment principles and born of the

revolutionary struggles of the eighteenth century. Its underlying goal is freedom from restraint, more specifically freedom of expression, popular sovereignty, representative government, and the protection of private property and civil rights. The liberalism of the nineteenth century is different from the liberalism of the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries, however. The meaning of the term has changed over time, and, although people who are regarded as liberals in the twenty-first century United States generally advocate for government assistance for the poor and government intervention to ensure equality, nineteenth-century liberals opposed government intervention. Liberalism and nationalism are not mutually exclusive; nationalist leaders like Mazzini, for instance, also adopted many liberal principles. Nevertheless, a distinction between political and economic liberalism evolved from the work of Enlightenment thinkers like John Locke and Adam Smith.

Based on Locke's emphasis on the consent of the governed and the natural rights of life, liberty, and property, political liberalism promotes limited government and the right to oppose any political authority that does not carry the consent of the people. These goals can be ensured by imposing limits on government authority and guaranteeing rights to all citizens in a written constitution. Religious toleration and the separation of church and state also became fundamental principles of liberalism in the eighteenth century. All played a significant role in shaping revolutionary movements in Britain's North American colonies, Haiti, and France, all of which issued written constitutions asserting the sovereignty of the people. Enlightenment ideas of natural rights—tested through a series of revolutions—developed into a lasting commitment to consent of the governed and equality before the law in the liberal political philosophies of the nineteenth century.

One of the most celebrated proponents of liberalism in the nineteenth century was the English philosopher John Stuart Mill, who argued for the protection of individual rights from censorship and tyranny. *On Liberty*, his classic treatise published in 1859, emphasized the importance of toleration and stressed that multiple ethical codes could coexist peacefully in a given society. Mill asserted that people should be free to make ethical choices governing their own lives without government intrusion or obstruction. As an advocate of equality, moreover, he was an important supporter of women's rights, and his essay *On the Subjection of Women* played an influential role in the nineteenth-century women's rights movement.

Whereas Mill and Locke focused liberalism on principles of natural rights and equality, economic liberalism derived from the Enlightenment theories of Scottish economist Adam Smith. Smith, whose theories shaped the burgeoning capitalism of the era, argued for the principle of laissez-faire, the idea that economic affairs should be free of government interference. In *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, written in 1759, he asserted that self-interested participation in a free market would be regulated by unseen forces—an "invisible hand"—that any sort of government interference would only disrupt. If individuals were permitted to seek financial success free of government restraint, according to Smith, everyone else would benefit from the greater prosperity that would ensue. Although Smith's laissez-faire theory focused primarily on economic concerns, like Mill and Locke, he was a proponent of freedom from government restraint and protection of natural rights as underlying principles of successful government.

Conservatism

While liberalism and nationalism represented the continuation of Enlightenment ideals of natural rights and liberty, the rise of **conservatism** was a reaction against the ideological changes and increased freedoms associated with the revolutions of the eighteenth century. Realizing they could not return to the prerevolutionary era, proponents of conservatism instead sought to suppress the forces of nationalism and liberalism as a means of reining in newfound principles of democracy and republicanism. Based on the belief that sudden change in the form of revolution was illegitimate, conservatism advocated submitting to government authority and allowing religious doctrine to play a central role in maintaining social order and stability. Conservative theorists like Edmund Burke, moreover, asserted that individual rights were secondary to the rights of the community, and that the only acceptable way to generate political change was slowly and gradually rather than through revolution.

The central goal of conservative leaders in early nineteenth-century Europe, like the Austrian foreign minister Klemens von Metternich, was to prevent future revolutions and maintain a favorable balance of power, an equilibrium that prevents one nation from dominating others. In response to the Napoleonic Wars, during which Napoléon sought to create a Grand Empire that expanded French power over much of the European continent at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Metternich and his allies sought to contain France and restore order by establishing conservative political regimes.

In the wake of Napoléon's defeat, Metternich and diplomats from Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain agreed to form a united front to maintain European peace and stability. To solidify their peace agreement, members of this Quadruple Alliance met at the **Congress of Vienna** in 1814–1815. Although it was in theory a collective effort, Metternich dominated the proceedings. He asserted that the only way to maintain stability in Europe was to restore the legitimacy of overthrown monarchs, who would reinforce traditional beliefs and institutions. By exercising a firm hand, moreover, monarchs would demand loyalty from their subjects and reverse the democratic principles of the social contract and individual liberty.

The powers at Vienna also hoped that restoring monarchy would maintain Europe's political equilibrium and balance of power (Figure 7.17). To ensure that no single country could conquer others, they agreed to divide military and political power more equitably among themselves. For example, Russia, Prussia, and Austria all had claims to Polish territory. To ensure an equitable distribution of power, Prussia and Austria were permitted to keep some of their Polish lands, but others, such as the Duchy of Warsaw, were ceded to Russian control. Austria and Prussia were then compensated for the loss of their Polish lands with control of additional territories in the German and Italian states. France, moreover, was required to return lands it had acquired under Napoléon before the restoration of the French monarchy in 1814.

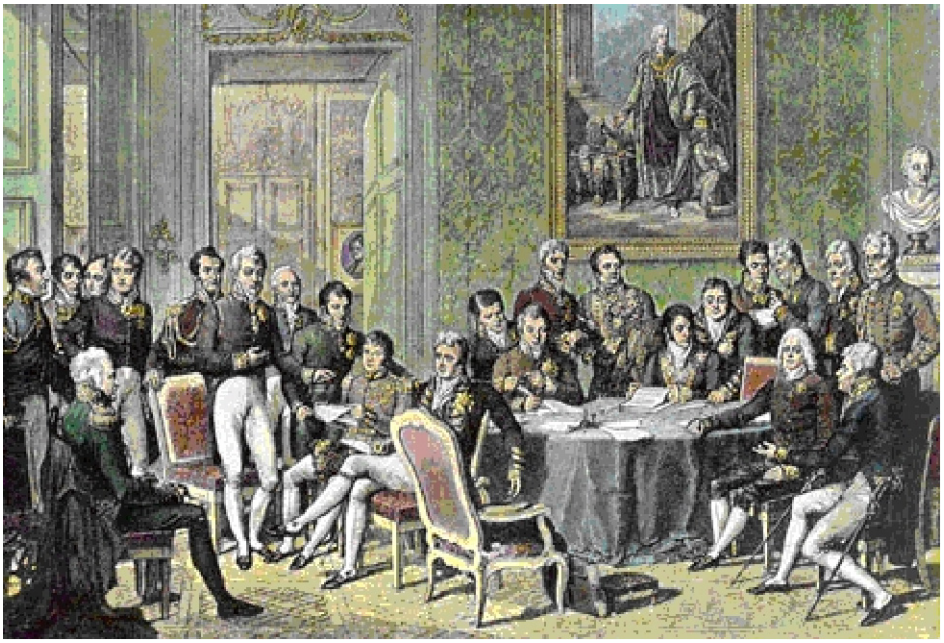


FIGURE 7.17 The Congress of Vienna. This 1819 image by French artist Jean-Baptiste Isabey shows the delegates at the Congress of Vienna, held five years before. Commissioned by the French delegate Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, it depicts the moment when the Duke of Wellington (far left, in profile), arrived to take over from Robert Stuart, Viscount Castlereagh, the head of the British delegation (seated at center with legs crossed). (credit: "The Congress of Vienna" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Although Vienna's peace settlement of 1815 was intended to restrain the liberalism and nationalism of the revolutionary era, conservative leaders like Metternich underestimated the extent of popular support for these ideologies, which had become irreversible in places like the United States and France. Greek supporters of national sovereignty, for example, were guided by revolutionary principles to seek independence from the

Ottoman Empire in 1821, and they gained it in 1830. Nevertheless, after 1815, conservatism continued to gain favor among those who supported the leadership and privilege of hereditary monarchs, organized religion, and the aristocracy.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Metternich on Revolution and Radical Change

In this excerpt from Klemens von Metternich's political creed, taken from a collection of writings published after his death, he outlines the dangers of revolutionary upheaval and the influence of those who advocate radical change and revolution. As you read, consider the ways in which Metternich's critique demonstrates his allegiance to a conservative political philosophy.

> We consider it a fundamental truth that for every evil there is a remedy and that a knowledge of the true nature of the one must lead to the discovery of the other. . . . There is hardly anyone who is not subject to the influence of passions or constrained by prejudices and there are many whom evil leads astray in an even more dangerous way because of its flattering and often brilliant exterior . . . .
>
> It is principally the middle classes of society who have been infected by this moral gangrene and it is only amongst them that are found the true, prime movers of this theory.
>
> There is no way that it can ever take hold amongst the great mass of the people, who would not be able to accept it. This class, the genuine people, has of necessity to devote itself to labour which is too continual and too positive to allow it to throw its weight behind a vague cause born of abstract theories and ambition. The people know that the best thing for them is to be able to count on tomorrow, for it is not until tomorrow that they will be paid for the toil and the cares of the previous day. The laws which guarantee a reasonable protection for the prime asset which is the safety of individuals and their families and of property are in their essence simple. The people fear change, which harms industry and brings in its wake a constant stream of new burdens for them . . .
>
> Men from the upper classes of society who throw themselves into the tide of revolution are either those who disguise their ambition or perverse, lost souls in the widest meaning of these words. This being so, their revolutionary career is normally short! They are the first victims of political reform and the role of the small number of them who survive is generally that of sycophants despised by their inferiors, upstarts to the great offices of state.
>
> —Klemens von Metternich, *Political Creed*

- What is the "evil" to which Metternich refers, and why does he associate it specifically with the middle class?
- To whom does "the great mass of people" refer? Why does Metternich assert that the masses would not accept the evil he associates with the middle class?
- How does Metternich's vision in this excerpt align with the principles of conservatism?

Key Terms

Committee of Public Safety the provisional government of revolutionary France from 1793 to 1794
Congress of Vienna an 1814–1815 meeting of Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria to restore the balance of power and assert principles of conservatism
conservatism a political ideology that emerged in reaction to the freedoms associated with the revolutions of the eighteenth century and advocated submitting to government authority and giving religious doctrine a central role in maintaining social order and stability
Continental Congresses two assemblies of elected colonial representatives that met in Philadelphia in 1774 and 1775, the second time to adopt the powers of government and approve the Declaration of Independence from Britain
deductive reasoning a form of logical reasoning that begins with a general statement and applies it to specific conclusions
Directory an executive council of five men established by the Convention in France to replace the Committee of Public Safety after the decline of the Reign of Terror
empiricism a philosophical concept based on the belief that all knowledge derives from sensory experience
enlightened despot an absolutist ruler influenced by the principles of the Enlightenment
Estates General a legislative assembly of the three estates, or orders, of French society: the clergy, the nobility, and commoners
general will a concept in political philosophy by which the state can be legitimate only if it is guided by the will of the people as a whole
gens de couleur libres a French term that referred to free people of color in the French colony of Saint-Domingue, now Haiti
Germanic Confederation an alliance of thirty-nine mostly German-speaking states developed to replace the Holy Roman Empire in 1815
Girondins a moderate faction of the Jacobin political club in revolutionary France
inductive reasoning a form of logical reasoning that gathers specific examples and observations to arrive at a broad generalization
Jacobins a radical political club in revolutionary France that supported overthrowing the monarchy
liberalism a political ideology that promotes freedom of expression, popular sovereignty, the protection of civil rights and private property, and representative government
Mountain a radical faction of the Jacobin club in revolutionary France that supported executing the king
nationalism a political ideology that promotes the interests of the nation over international concerns and advocates the uniqueness and inherent superiority of the individual's own country over others
natural rights universal and inalienable rights that cannot be revoked or rescinded by human laws
popular sovereignty the idea that government should exist only by the consent of the governed
Proclamation Line the boundary of westward settlement that Britain marked out in its thirteen North American colonies
public sphere shared spaces that enabled the exchange of ideas and information outside the control of state and church, like coffeehouses and salons
Reign of Terror a period of the French Revolution during which the revolutionary government adopted repressive measures to prevent dissent
Risorgimento an Italian term that refers to the unification of Italy
salon informal gathering in the homes of wealthy aristocrats, generally hosted by women, that served as a site for the discussion of Enlightenment ideas and philosophies
sans-culottes a French term that referred to radicals from the lower and working classes during the French Revolution
Stamp Act an act of the British Parliament that imposed taxes on legal documents and other printed materials in its North American colonies in 1765
the social contract an implicit agreement among members of a society to surrender their natural rights to the

state, which is then charged with maintaining and protecting those rights

Vodou a mix of Roman Catholic and indigenous West African religious practices popular in Haiti

Section Summary

7.1 The Enlightenment

The eighteenth century marked the beginning of a new spirit of intellectual exchange in Europe known as the Enlightenment. Inspired by the Scientific Revolution's spirit of critical thinking, the ideas of the Italian Renaissance, and the legacy of Muslim, Greek, and Indian scientific foundations, the Enlightenment centered on the role of reason and generated a newfound optimism in philosophical principles such as liberty, rights, and the rejection of tyranny. Such ideals inspired many members of the upper and middle classes in western Europe to question the legitimacy of traditional laws, political systems, and religious teachings.

Although the Enlightenment established important foundations for the defense of human rights, its reach was limited to a relatively small elite. Despite its emphasis on ideals of freedom and liberty, it coexisted with the oppressive institutions of slavery and colonialism.

7.2 The Exchange of Ideas in the Public Sphere

Over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the public sphere became an increasingly important component in the spread and development of Enlightenment ideas. As networks of informal socialization and intellectual exchange, coffeehouses provided a setting in which people from all social backgrounds who had the luxury of leisure could share ideas and opinions without fear of punishment from the state or church. Salons likewise served as important centers of philosophical discussion. They also enabled the small number of women from the upper and middle classes who hosted them to play leadership roles in the Enlightenment, though guests from less privileged backgrounds were generally excluded. Along with the emergence of academies, print shops and a flourishing long-distance community of writers, salons and coffeehouses ensured the development of a public sphere that stimulated the free and open exchange of Enlightenment ideas.

7.3 Revolutions: America, France, and Haiti

Over the course of the eighteenth century, a series of famines and economic crises deepened wealth inequality and narrowed access to political power on both sides of the Atlantic. As the growing influence of the public sphere and Enlightenment ideas of equality and liberty shaped opposition to colonial and monarchical privilege, the century concluded with a series of revolutionary movements and the adoption of novel democratic systems.

The American Revolution, which initiated the revolutionary era, launched the foundation of the newly formed United States of America but established a paradoxical model of political liberty that coexisted with the institution of slavery. Inspired by the colonists' victory over the British monarchy, those who led the French Revolution established a political model based on principles of democratic rights and equality, but they faced significant challenges due to political factionalism and ongoing economic crises. The Haitian Revolution resulted in the most radical break from the past by toppling the French colonial government, successfully challenging the institution of slavery, and creating the new nation of Haiti. However, Haiti faced long-term economic challenges after France imposed an independence debt on the fledgling nation in 1825.

Although these revolutions reflected a variety of political aims and consequences, each radically reshaped the political landscape of the Atlantic world by challenging traditional models of monarchical privilege and calling into question long-standing disparities in wealth and access to political power.

7.4 Nationalism, Liberalism, Conservatism, and the Political Order

As the revolutionary fervor of the eighteenth century faded, a desire to restore order and stability permeated the political and intellectual atmosphere of Europe. In particular, the ideologies of conservatism, nationalism,

and liberalism represented different approaches to protecting the revolutionary gains of the eighteenth century and temporarily quieting the turbulence of the revolutionary era. These gains were relatively short-lived, however, as political upheaval once again irrevocably transformed Europe by the middle of the nineteenth century. In the case of Italy and Germany, the desire for unification prevailed over the desire for freedom, resulting in the birth of new states. Although the forces of nationalism and conservatism reversed some democratic gains rooted in notions of the social contract and individual liberty, liberal principles such as religious toleration and equality before the law continued to exert a powerful influence on the rise of the modern nation-state.

Assessments

Review Questions

1. What is the form of reasoning that begins with a general theory and arrives at a specific conclusion after observing a body of information?
   a. deductive reasoning
   b. inductive reasoning
   c. empirical reasoning
   d. conjectural reasoning

2. What premise is the concept of natural rights based on?
   a. Rights and freedoms are temporary and can be revoked for any reason by political leaders.
   b. Rights come into existence only with the creation of human-made laws that derive from a monarch's authority.
   c. People have fundamental rights that cannot be revoked by human-made laws or political leaders.
   d. Animals living in a state of nature should be granted the same rights and freedoms as their human counterparts.

3. Which philosopher argued that all people are born free in a state of nature, and the government should exist only by their consent?
   a. Thomas Hobbes
   b. John Locke
   c. Jeremy Bentham
   d. Edmund Burke

4. The belief that individuals must accept certain moral and political obligations as members of society is part of which philosophical concept?
   a. the social contract
   b. the general will
   c. natural law
   d. the Zoroastrian tradition

5. Which of the following was *not* true of European coffeehouses in the eighteenth century?
   a. They served as important outlets for news and information.
   b. They enabled people from a variety of social backgrounds to acquire an informal education.
   c. They were centers of royal power and tightly controlled by monarchs.
   d. They had their origins in the cities of the Islamic world.

6. Elite women typically hosted which influential settings for the exchange of Enlightenment ideas?
   a. the salons
   b. the coffeehouses

c. the academies
d. the royal societies

7. The Republic of Letters refers to which sphere of information exchange?
a. a long-distance community of writers who corresponded with each other across Europe and the Atlantic
b. the urban areas of western Europe that housed the printshops of the Enlightenment
c. the debates that occurred in the coffee shops of eighteenth-century France
d. the royal libraries of the English monarch

8. What obstacle or obstacles made it difficult for those at the lower end of the socioeconomic ladder to actively participate in the print culture of the Enlightenment?
a. lack of interest
b. low levels of literacy and a lack of leisure time
c. a widespread shortage of books and other printed materials
d. royal edicts restricting the practice of reading to all but a small aristocratic elite

9. What was a principal cause of the American Revolution?
a. desire to abolish slavery
b. growing support for the enfranchisement of women
c. British efforts to consolidate control over its colonies
d. refusal of colonists to expand westward beyond Appalachia

10. What was a cause of the French Revolution?
a. an economic crisis
b. decolonization
c. the threat of Spanish invasion
d. the acquisition of equal rights for women

11. What was a similarity among the American, French, and Haitian revolutions?
a. the vision of natural rights
b. the pursuit of racial equality
c. the support of the Catholic Church
d. the pursuit of liberty from tyrannical governments

12. What was a key difference between the Haitian Revolution and those in British North America and France?
a. The Haitian Revolution directly addressed racial inequality.
b. Haiti did not issue a written constitution.
c. The Haitian Revolution was fought by foreign mercenaries.
d. Only Haiti experienced violent battles during its revolution.

13. What was one of the main causes of the Haitian Revolution?
a. the criminalization of Catholicism
b. the desire of poor Whites to abolish slavery
c. slave rebellion against White planters
d. an outbreak of smallpox

14. What was a goal of the Congress of Vienna?
a. to support Italian unification

b. to develop policies of free-market capitalism
c. to restore the legitimacy of European monarchs
d. to expand rights and liberties throughout Europe

15. What were the four powers of the Quadruple Alliance?
a. Britain, Prussia, Russia, and Austria
b. Italy, France, Spain, and Poland
c. Britain, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales
d. Russia, Poland, Lithuania, and Sweden

16. What was Metternich's goal in attempting to restore traditional monarchs?
a. encourage a new wave of revolutions
b. enable Austria to become the most powerful nation in Europe
c. expand the scope of natural rights
d. restore the balance of power in Europe

17. The unification of Italy occurred under which political system?
a. monarchy
b. republic
c. dictatorship
d. theocracy

18. To what does the "invisible hand" refer?
a. Napoléon's approach to leadership
b. unseen forces that regulate the market and economy
c. increased government intervention intended to promote general welfare
d. the legacy of Italian unification

Check Your Understanding Questions

1. How did the principles of the Scientific Revolution influence the Enlightenment?

2. What were some of the global foundations of the Enlightenment?

3. What did the concept of natural rights mean to John Locke?

4. What was the general will, according to Rousseau, and what role did he believe it should play in government?

5. How did Burke and Bentham each disagree with Locke and other philosophers about the concept of natural rights?

6. What was the relationship between social contract theory and natural rights?

7. In what ways did women participate in the Enlightenment?

8. How was the public sphere of the Enlightenment influenced by earlier developments in the Islamic world?

9. What role did coffeehouses play in the exchange of Enlightenment ideas?

10. What role did universities play in fostering public debate?

11. To whom were the principles of natural rights actually extended as a result of the American Revolution, and who was omitted from the extension of such rights?

12. What was Saint-Domingue's relationship with France prior to the Haitian Revolution?

13. To whom did the leaders of Haiti's Revolution intend to extend natural rights?
14. Who achieved full rights of citizenship as a result of the French Revolution, and who did not?
15. How did revolutions inspire nationalism, liberalism, and conservatism?
16. Who attended the Congress of Vienna, and what was its purpose?
17. What are the main tenets of liberalism?
18. What are the main goals of conservatism?

Application and Reflection Questions

1. In your opinion, what should be considered natural rights? Why?
2. What were some of the ways in which the rhetoric about rights and freedoms in the Enlightenment was contradictory?
3. Did the public debates of the Enlightenment represent the general population? Why or why not?
4. How did the public sphere of the salons and coffeehouses intersect with the print culture of the Enlightenment era?
5. How did the American Revolution, the French Revolution, and the Haitian Revolution each adapt the principles of natural rights and social contact theory?
6. In your opinion, which of the American Revolution's achievements and shortcomings are still apparent today, and how have they shaped the modern world? How do these historical legacies compare with those of other revolutions of the eighteenth century?
7. How did eighteenth-century revolutions inspire new approaches to political structures and the balance of political authority?
8. Compare and contrast the goals and ideals of liberalism, nationalism, and conservatism.

Revolutions in Latin America 8



FIGURE 8.1 Heroic Images. Inspired by Jacques-Louis David's famous portrait of (a) Napoléon Bonaparte crossing the Alps in May 1800, (b) Venezuelan artist José Hilarión Ibarra depicted the liberator Simón Bolívar on horseback in *Equestrian Portrait of Simón Bolívar*, in about 1826. (credit left: modification of work "Napoleon Bonaparte crossing the Alps at the Grand Saint-Bernard" by Château de Malmaison/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit right: modification of work "Equestrian portrait of Simón Bolívar" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

CHAPTER OUTLINE

8.1 Revolution for Whom?
8.2 Spanish North America
8.3 Spanish South America
8.4 Portuguese South America

INTRODUCTION In the late eighteenth century, new ideas of freedom spread throughout the Americas, raised by the Declaration of Independence in the former British American colonies in 1776 and by the French Revolution of 1789. These principles, combined with poor conditions for a majority of people in French, Spanish, and Portuguese America and a growing distrust of monarchy, soon led to revolutions against colonial authorities. In the first three decades of the nineteenth century, most European American colonies gained their independence. While each revolution was unique, all were connected to the broader trend of using nationalism to oppose unequal power dynamics. During these rebellions, the majestic horse, a vital part of the history and mythology of power (consider Pegasus and centaurs, for example), was associated with liberators, who were admiringly depicted on their mounts to convey independence, courage, triumph, and heroism (Figure 8.1).

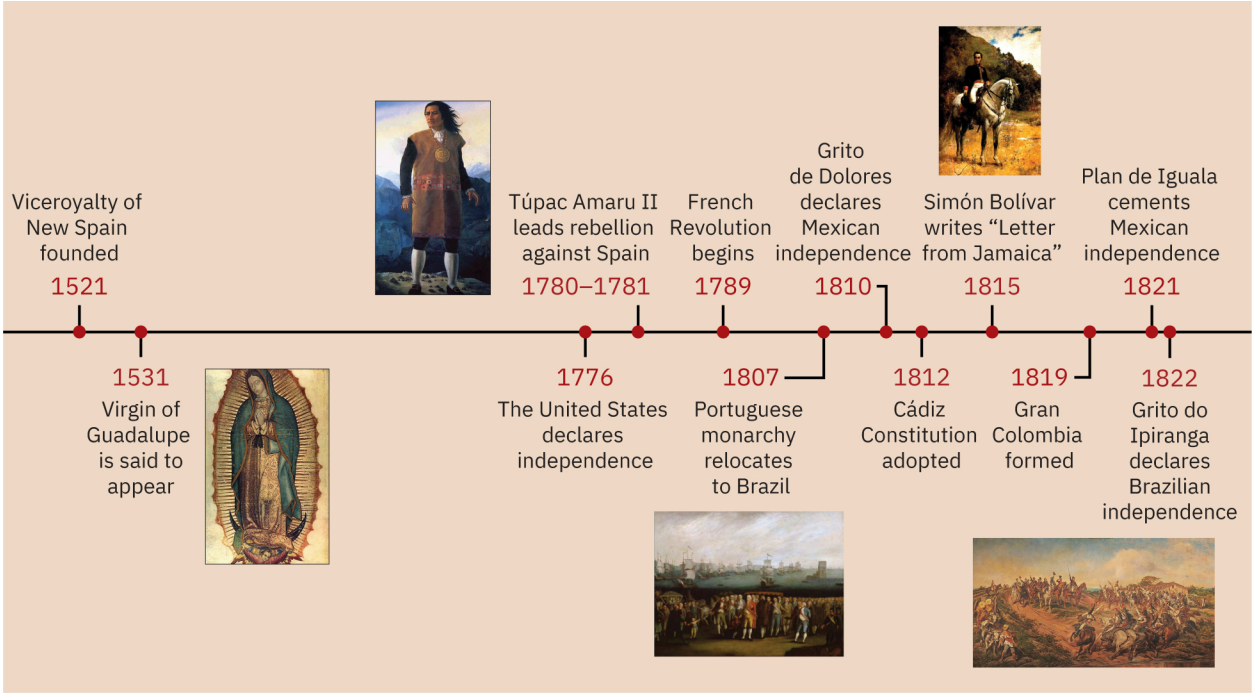


FIGURE 8.2 Timeline: Revolutions in Latin America. (credit "1531": modification of work "Virgin of Guadalupe" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1780–1781": modification of work "Portrait of Túpac Amaru II" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1807": modification of work "Embarkation of the Portuguese Royal Family" by Itamaraty Historical and Diplomatic Museum/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1815": modification of work "Retrato ecuestre de Bolivar" by Galería de Arte Nacional/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1822": "Independence or Death" by Museu Paulista collection /Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)



FIGURE 8.3 Locator Map: Revolutions in Latin America. (credit: modification of work "World map blank shorelines" by Maciej Jaros/Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain)

8.1 Revolution for Whom?

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Analyze the social hierarchy of Spanish America
- Discuss the Bourbon reforms imposed by the Spanish Crown on its American colonies
- Explain how European political developments affected Haiti and the Spanish American colonies

The hundred years after 1750 marked a profound restructuring of world power and a host of political and economic changes in the Atlantic world. The French American, Spanish American, and Portuguese American colonists encountered different historical circumstances than those met by their neighbors, the former British colonists who declared their independence in 1776. Nevertheless, they too launched successful bids for independence. The Revolutionary War (1776–1783), the French Revolution (1789–1799), and the Peninsular War (1808–1814) were watershed events that reverberated across South America on inspiring waves of revolutionary upheavals. The diversity of the European American colonial societies meant, however, that revolution promised different things to different people in this vast region.

Social Hierarchy and Bourbon Reforms in Spanish America

By the end of the eighteenth century, Latin American societies had become rigidly stratified. Status was dependent on a number of social markers including education, family and professional ties, race, religion, and wealth. Color was the most obvious and most complicated noneconomic factor that affected social position. Whiteness was more than a mark of economic superiority. It indicated European ancestry, which in turn denoted status as a Christian and thus a degree of presumed social and moral superiority. Furthermore, European males born in the Iberian Peninsula (the peninsula on which Spain and Portugal are located), called ***peninsulares*** in Spanish America and *reinóis* in Portuguese America, considered themselves superior to males of European descent born in the Americas, who were called **creoles** in Spanish America. In the first centuries of colonization, those born in Europe tended to monopolize the highest positions in church and state as well as the means of production, whereas most of the landed elite (miners, plantation owners) were creoles.

In the decades leading to the movement toward independence, however, Europeans and their descendants in the Americas were struggling to maintain their position at the top of the social pyramid. They had to face the reality that they had imposed an unequal system in which a small group of Europeans and their descendants held power over a much larger group of American Indians and enslaved Africans, as well as a vast contingent of mixed-race people or *castas* consisting of *mestizos* (literally "mixed" in Spanish and used mainly for people of White European and Indian descent) and *pardos* ("brown" in Spanish for someone of part-African descent). This ethnically mixed population dominated urban areas, often working as shoemakers, tailors, and other types of artisans; some *mestizo* and *pardo* men served in the lower ranks of the colonial militias.

BEYOND THE BOOK

Eighteenth-Century Casta Paintings

The three eighteenth-century images shown here are known as casta paintings and reflect the tremendous ethnic diversity of Spanish America. This diversity was the result of enslaved Africans and their descendants marrying American Indians, and White European men, who faced a shortage of eligible European women, marrying both American Indians and Africans. The Spanish colonists attempted to understand and control this racially diverse society by creating social categories based on skin color, such as *mestizos*, *pardos*, and others.

Casta paintings were made to depict these various categories (Figure 8.4), and thus they offer us insight into historical views of the relationship between a person's skin color and socioeconomic position. As you look at these images, consider the ways in which they depict racial intermarriage, mixed-race families, and life in

Spanish America (Figure 8.5).



(a) (b)

FIGURE 8.4 The Casta Class. (a) Miguel Cabrera's *Pintura de Castas* (1763) shows a White (Spanish or creole) father and Spanish-Indian (*mestiza*) mother with their mixed-race (*castiza*) daughter. (b) *Las Castas Mexicanas* (1777) by Ignácio Maria Barred depicts the sixteen different racial classifications found in Spanish colonies in the Americas. (credit a: modification of work "De español y mestiza, castiza" by Unknown/WikiArt, Public Domain; credit b: modification of work "Casta Painting" by Museo Nacional del Virreinato/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)



FIGURE 8.5 Virgin and Castas. Luis de Mena's *Virgin of Guadalupe and Castas* (1750) depicts an image of the Holy Virgin along with various mixed-race people, or *castas*, and other elements of Mexican daily life. (credit: "Casta Painting of the Virgin of Guadalupe" by Museo de America/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

- What do these images of Spanish, American, and Indian people reveal about the relationship between skin color and socioeconomic position in Spanish America?
- What do they indicate about the success of cultural assimilation to the Spanish way of life?
- Why do you think the Spanish colonists were so concerned with racial categorization?

At the end of the eighteenth century, the Kingdom of Spain, which had been led by the House of Bourbon since 1700, reorganized its American colonies into four large parts. These were New Spain (in existence since 1521), Peru (in existence since 1542), New Granada (created in 1717 and roughly equivalent to the countries of Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, and Venezuela today), and Río de la Plata (created in 1776 with territory corresponding to modern-day Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay) (Figure 8.6). As before, the ruler of each of these **viceroyalty** units represented the Spanish king. Now, however, local governments within each of the viceroyalties were in the hands of governors, or *intendants.*



FIGURE 8.6 Spanish Possessions in the Americas. The map shows the four viceroyalties that made up Spain's possessions in the Americas in 1790. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

These governors were *peninsulares* who were appointed by and reported directly to the king, in an attempt to reduce corruption and enforce centralization. They were assisted by other *peninsulares*, many recently arrived from Spain and far below the creole elite they governed in terms of education, wealth, and culture. This centralization of administration under the **intendancy system** brought with it industrial and economic development, and new material prosperity for *peninsulares* and creole landowners and merchants. However, only those born in Spain, the *peninsulares*, could hold the most important offices in the government. Although creoles could become wealthy under the system, wealth did not translate to social status. The sharp division between them and the peninsular Spaniards fueled creoles' desire for self-government.

It was during this Bourbon Era that Enlightenment ideas spread across the Atlantic world, including to the Spanish colonies in North and South America. These ideas were rooted in the principle that all people were entitled to take part in their government, and they influenced creoles in Latin America to demand the right to participate more fully in politics and the economy, which was largely controlled by Spain. The aims were revolutionary, but they stopped short of radically changing the social order. The colonial creole elite originally petitioned only that authority be extended to White males of Spanish descent. Native populations and African and mixed-race populations were excluded. The White male creole elites pointed to the hypocrisy of the egalitarian rhetoric of Europeans and questioned the universal ideals linked to the new rights of citizens, but they did so with only themselves in mind.

An important contributing factor in the desire of creoles and other groups for more participation in politics and the economy was the increased availability of books and other printed material. Traditionally, the Spanish American White elite had been literate and educated, unlike the lower social groups of color, which largely relied on oral tradition for transmitting knowledge. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, the circulation of books and manuscripts had greatly increased among the huge mixed-race population, even if these groups did not share in the other benefits accorded to White people. Still, the "dangerous" notions of the Enlightenment were able to spread not only among educated creoles in the colonies but among mixed-race people as well. Those ideas, combined with resentment of the *peninsulares*, were fuel for late eighteenth-

century rebellions.

Their desire for participation added to the creoles' anger over the creation of the intendancy system. The Bourbon monarchy had also instituted other reforms to strengthen its American empire and its control over it. The colonial militia was expanded, and newly created army units were staffed by men born in Spanish America. This reduced the cost of defending the empire because Spanish troops no longer had to be transported across the ocean. However, like political offices, the highest military positions were reserved for *peninsulares*, another cause of creole discontent.

Along with changing the political and military life in its colonies, in 1767 Spain followed the example of Portugal and expelled the Jesuit missionaries from its American empire, angering people at both ends of the social ladder. Not only did the Jesuits have a reputation as the most humane managers of American Indian forced laborers, but they had also educated many of the creole elite, and many young creole men had joined the Jesuit order.

Finally, the Bourbons imposed economic reforms, and these were often unpopular as well. The purpose of colonies was to enrich and strengthen the parent country, so the Spanish monarchs wished to make their American possessions as profitable as possible by, for example, more efficiently collecting taxes from the residents and improving "free" trade. Essentially, this meant Spanish manufacturers were free to sell their goods in the colonies, where they competed with local producers and merchants and often drove them out of business. At the same time, colonial producers were still not free to sell their goods to either French or British buyers. A number of monopolies remained in force. For example, the Crown controlled all tobacco production and sale.

Unlike the political reforms that affected primarily the creoles, the economic changes affected people at all levels of Spanish American society, who sometimes reacted violently. Two such insurrections, sparked by an increase in the colonial sales tax, were the massive 1780–1781 Inca rebellion near Cuzco in the Viceroyalty of Peru, and the 1781 Comunero ("commoner") Revolt in New Granada (Colombia). In both these viceroyalties, the basis of Spanish economic activity had evolved from the payment of tribute to the enforcement of systematic forms of labor such as debt servitude. The Great Inca Rebellion was led by José Gabriel Condorcanqui Noguera, a respected local mixed-race leader. Noguera opposed the forced labor the Spanish demanded from American Indians, and to move Indigenous people to rebel, he claimed descent from the last Inca ruler, Túpac Amaru, and called himself Túpac Amaru II (Figure 8.7). Threatened by his mobilization of some forty thousand people from among the Viceroyalty of Peru's Indian majority, outnumbered creoles joined the Spanish and brutally crushed the revolt, which had threatened to become a rebellion against White, not simply Spanish, rule. Túpac Amaru II and tens of thousands of others were killed.



FIGURE 8.7 Túpac Amaru II. This portrait of Túpac Amaru II by an unknown artist depicts the Indigenous leader who invoked the legacy of the Inca Empire to inspire people in Peru to rise up against the Spanish. (credit: "Portrait of Túpac Amaru II" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In addition to resisting colonial taxes, the Comunero Rebellion of 1781 rose up against laws that granted the Spanish Crown a monopoly over the production of tobacco and liquor. Calling for the restoration of traditional forms of governance, this revolt spread throughout the mountains, and armed protesters descended on Bogotá. First, the Spanish authorities there decided to negotiate. They agreed to repeal the taxes and end the monopolies as well as give creoles preference over *peninsulares* in government positions. However, once the *comuneros* dispersed and the viceroy learned of Bogotá's concessions, he ordered the rebellion's leaders to be arrested and executed. These two revolts were warning signs of an ever-growing discontented mixed-race population, and they were followed by immediate legal responses.

In 1795, tensions flared between the creole city council of Caracas in the Viceroyalty of New Granada and the king of Spain, Carlos IV. The Crown had passed a new ordinance that allowed people of mixed Spanish and African ancestry to purchase, at some expense, a royal identification card called a *cédula real*. This card classified the holder as legally "White," giving mixed-race people citizenship and the legal status of creoles and allowing them greater participation in public life and increased social mobility, such as pursuing political office or formal education.

Both groups of elites, the Spanish-born *peninsulares* and the American-born Spanish creoles, reacted negatively to the possibility of upward social mobility for those of mixed race. White people saw themselves as educated, productive members of society devoted to mining, ranching, and plantation activities. They regarded mixed-race people as inferior and ignorant, lost in idleness, unable to prosper, and dishonorable in every way. The city council of Caracas argued that granting upward mobility to mixed-race people would lead to the destruction of society as they knew it.

Peninsulares and creoles worried that mixed-race people were going to take what were then perceived as the "good" jobs away from the upper classes. Many were so wary of mixed-race groups that they avoided working

in jobs or occupations associated with them. They also feared the growing military influence and power of mixed-race people after the insurrections in the 1780s, which had paved the way for the current situation. The rebellion by enslaved people in Saint-Domingue (now Haiti) that had begun in 1791 also served as a warning to White Spanish Americans of what might happen if people of African ancestry were not tightly controlled. Elites in Caracas contended that the *cédula real* would make it even more difficult to maintain this control and could very well lead to more insurrections. They believed that keeping the *castas* subordinated was the key to colonial security and safety. This is the social context in which people were immersed at the beginning of the independence movement in Latin America.

LINK TO LEARNING

Read the article "The 'Pardo Question': Political Struggles on Free Coloreds Right to Citizenship during the Revolution of Caracas, 1797–1813" (https://openstax.org/l/77Pardo) by Alejandro E. Gómez. Consider the reaction of the colonial elite to the upward social mobility of mixed-race people.

The Napoleonic Era

The U.S. Declaration of Independence of 1776 and France's 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen stressed that all men were created equal. However, both these documents were intended to apply primarily to White males of European descent, and in both Europe and the United States, women and the enslaved were generally excluded from consideration. The rights that "all men" were said to possess were those of interest to free White men—property rights, freedom of expression, and the right to participate in government. Only the most radical of people in the United States and France interpreted these documents to mean that women should have the same rights as men, or that people of different races should be considered the equal of White people in terms of rights and social status. Nevertheless, these documents partially inspired a slave revolt in Saint-Domingue that proved to be one of the French Revolution's most significant effects in the Americas.

The French colony of Saint-Domingue, located on the western side of the Caribbean island of Hispaniola, was founded in the mid-1600s and was soon the most profitable colony in the Americas, mostly due to the labor of enslaved Africans who were brought to the island to work on sugar, coffee, and indigo plantations. In 1791, freed and enslaved Africans and other islanders of African descent rebelled under the leadership of Toussaint Louverture and Jean-Jacques Dessalines, both of whom had been born enslaved on local plantations. This revolt evolved into a full-fledged revolution that led to the colony's independence and the declaration of the free republic of Haiti in 1804. The Haitian Revolution is therefore unique in that it was carried out not by White colonists of European descent seeking political representation and greater economic freedom, as had been the case in the British colonies of North America; instead, the struggle for independence in Saint-Domingue was fought by those at the lowest levels of the social hierarchy.

The rebellion in Haiti had two goals and sought two forms of liberation. For free Blacks and mixed-race elites, freedom meant an end to colonialism and independence from French rule. For enslaved Blacks, liberation was much more fundamental: it meant freedom from the abuse they experienced on the plantation and an end to slavery. By January 1804, through successful guerrilla tactics, Black revolutionaries had decimated the French army, already suffering an outbreak of yellow fever, to create the Haitian nation. Haiti became the second liberated territory and republican system in the Western hemisphere.

After the uprising in Haiti, political elites in the Americas feared its success would inspire other slave rebellions. The idea that American Indians, free and enslaved Africans, and people of mixed-racial ancestry might launch their own violent bids for independence made the creole aristocracy hesitant to imitate the liberty-seeking Anglo-American colonists and dampened rather than aroused their support for independence from their parent countries. Instead, it was upheavals on the Iberian Peninsula itself that would lead to the breaking of ties between Spain and Portugal and their respective colonies.

During the Napoleonic Era (1803–1814), Portugal and Spain supported different sides in the war between France and the other European nations that had united in opposition to Napoléon Bonaparte, emperor of the French. Whereas Portugal kept its long-standing ties to Great Britain, an enemy of Napoléon, Spain was a French ally. Since the War of Spanish Succession (1701–1714), the House of Bourbon had ruled in Spain, and its king at the time, Carlos IV, developed a disastrous policy of war with England. British naval blockades not only interrupted trade between Spain and its colonies, but in 1806 British soldiers struck Buenos Aires, in the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata (present-day Argentina). Although local forces defeated the British, the attack made clear to the Spanish American colonists the vulnerability of their own metropolis and the inability of Spain to protect them.

In 1807, Napoléon implemented his Continental System, or Continental Blockade, that required that all European ports be closed to English shipping. Portugal, however, continued to trade with Britain, one of its oldest allies. Britain could not be defeated so long as it had access to European trade through Portugal. To force Portugal into compliance, though, France would need to invade it, and it could accomplish this only by marching through Spain. By this time, Spain had become a vulnerable French satellite and Napoléon easily obtained the Spanish Crown's permission to invade Portugal by land. In so doing, Spanish subjects endured the heavy burden of taxation, war, and occupation.

Confronted with rising popular resentment of the pro-French policies, Carlos IV felt pressured to abdicate in favor of his son Fernando. Napoléon quickly intervened in the succession process, detained the two men, forced both to surrender their claims to the Spanish throne and installed his brother Joseph Bonaparte as king of Spain.

But Napoléon's plan did not fully succeed. In early 1808, rather than accepting Joseph Bonaparte, most people in Spain, as well as creole royalists and some republicans in the colonies, rebelled. The rebellion began in Madrid but quickly spread to other cities across the Iberian Peninsula. Eventually, the Peninsular War (1808–1814) would involve British, Spanish, and Portuguese forces, all fighting against the French.

BEYOND THE BOOK

The Third of May 1808

Commissioned by the Spanish provisional government after the final expulsion of the French from Spain in 1814, Spanish artist Francisco de Goya's painting *The Third of May 1808* (1814) dramatically portrays a key event in the Peninsular War: French reprisals against Spanish rebels involved in the Second of May Uprising (Figure 8.8). The uprising, a response to the planned removal of the remaining members of the Spanish royal family to Bayonne, France, had taken place in the center of Madrid. The execution by Napoleonic soldiers depicted in the work represents one of many that took place across the city in the early hours of the morning following the uprising.



FIGURE 8.8 The Third of May 1808. Francisco de Goya's painting, *The Third of May 1808* (1814), depicts the French response to the Second of May Uprising in Madrid, Spain. (credit: "The Third of May" by The Prado Museum/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

- Explain how the Continental Blockade relates to Goya's painting and its celebration of Spanish resistance to Napoléon.
- Compare Goya's depiction of the rebels versus that of the soldiers. How do the arrangement and posture of the two groups differ? How does the artist use light and shadow to contrast the two?
- How is this painting revolutionary in both subject and style? What do the subject and the style tell us about the artist's intentions?

The Peninsular War and the American Question

When Napoléon occupied Spain in 1807 and made its ruling royalty captive, he inadvertently sparked a crisis in Spain's American empire. As insurgents in Spain established regional governing and deliberative councils called ***juntas*** to deal with the crisis, so too did creole elites. In key economic and political centers such as Mexico City, Caracas, Buenos Aires, Santiago, and Bogotá, the Spanish authorities surrendered control to these local *juntas*. For the first time in Spanish America, local government bodies enjoyed self-rule, and each of the *juntas* considered how it might turn this dramatic turn of events to its own advantage. That is, the solution to the political crisis in Spain breathed new life into a desire for independence throughout the main four colonial divisions.

The idea of self-rule animated both those who were waiting for the Spanish king to return—the royalists—and those who craved total independence—the patriots. The royalists justified their actions by following the

example of the Spanish regional *juntas*, but for the patriots, the formation of *juntas* turned the idea of complete independence into a viable goal. They organized popular demonstrations and called the loyalty of royal officials into question. From this point on, the conflict between patriots and royalists grew quickly.

In Spain, the central revolutionary *junta* yielded its power to a national parliament, the Cortes, which met in the city of Cádiz. In 1812, the **Cádiz Cortes** approved a liberal charter known as the Cádiz Constitution or the Constitution of 1812, which provided for limited monarchy, promised freedom of speech and assembly, and abolished the Inquisition (Figure 8.9). The writing of the document also provoked heated debates about Spanish American autonomy. It gave the franchise to American Indian and *mestizo* men but excluded men of African ancestry from the political process. In terms of political rights, the document legally grouped all Spanish Americans of African ancestry with felons, debtors, and domestic servants, as people denied the right to govern themselves. Such categorization reinforced the link between African ancestry and slavery.



FIGURE 8.9 Monument to the Constitution of 1812. This monument in Cádiz, Spain, was commissioned in 1912 to commemorate the Cortes and the centennial of the Constitution of 1812. (credit: "Cortes von Cadiz Monument" by Hajotthu/Wikimedia Commons, CC BY 3.0)

Though creole delegates joined in the constituent deliberations, the Spanish delegates to the Cortes ensured that they retained control of the body. Denying automatic Spanish citizenship and voting rights to men born in the Americas and refusing to count them for purposes of determining the number of delegates to the Cortes guaranteed that power remained in the hands of the European Spaniards and not the Spanish American colonists. Furthermore, the European Spaniards who dominated the Cortes refused to grant colonial demands to abolish the Spanish sales tax and eliminate monopolies, because the income earned from these measures was needed to fight the French.

White European Spaniards thus retained their political and commercial control over the colonies. However, the experience of forming *juntas* and sending delegates to the Cortes had broken the colonists' obedience to Spain, and the refusal to accede to colonial demands could not be enforced. By then, the colonists had already realized that they were completely able to govern themselves. Spain's politico-economic grip on its colonies continued to weaken as its militarized response proved ineffective.

With the fall of Napoléon in 1814, Fernando VII was finally restored to the Spanish throne. Rather than

negotiating once he returned to power, however, he made it clear that the six-year interlude of self-rule in the Americas was over. Fernando dissolved the Cortes, rejected the Constitution of 1812, persecuted liberals, and dispatched Spanish troops to the colonies to enforce his absolutist policies. This return to colonial order was a relief to royalists, but it enraged the patriots. The creole *juntas* in Spanish America simply could not accept the high costs of returning to the previous colonial administration. Now more than ever, they wanted an equal voice in government and consent to the free trade policy already in place.

The disruption of Spanish sovereignty had brought all colonial grievances to the forefront and sparked immediate reactions in the colonies. The creole elites' resentment over the reinstatement of pre-Napoleonic policy allowed the search for independence to spark.

8.2 Spanish North America

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify events and factors leading to the Mexican War of Independence
- Describe Agustín de Iturbide's Plan de Iguala and the achievement of Mexican independence

The struggle for liberty in Spanish America started in North America and rippled throughout the administrative divisions of the Spanish Empire. It began in Mexico with demonstrations of discontent with the colonial regime. This first wave was socially revolutionary in nature and mobilized the Indigenous and *mestizo* masses by emphasizing land reform and the abolition of tributary labor. Later, this movement evolved into a provisional creole government and a plan for Mexico's first constitutional monarchy.

The Mexican War of Independence

Napoléon's assault on the Bourbons in the Napoleonic Wars immediately transformed European politics, but it had a delayed effect on the Spanish colonies. Spanish American colonial elites took their time weighing the risks, and the majority of their *junta* members, both in Spain and in the Americas, first swore their loyalty to the absent Spanish king. In 1808, initial meetings with the viceroy of New Spain led to the establishment of an autonomous conservative *junta* in Mexico City, formed by creoles and *peninsulares*, who favored maintaining their loyalty to Spain at all costs. Representatives of New Spain, by far the richest Spanish colony, seemed to adapt to the *junta* system. However, in 1810, when *peninsular* judges deposed the viceroy and installed their own leader in the position, creole royalists were inspired to take full control of the government.

Between 1808 and 1810, a cycle of bad harvests and famine in Mexico had harmed Indigenous peasants and creole farmers. An economic recession that occurred at the same time led to high unemployment among *mestizo* silver miners. The effects of these downturns were worsened by the Act of Consolidation, passed by the Spanish government in 1804, demanding that the Catholic Church deposit its wealth with the government. Because the Catholic Church had loaned money to people who bought land or started businesses, in order to comply, it now had to ask that the loans be repaid in full. This hurt many creole merchants and landowners. Perhaps not surprisingly, then, the first insurrection for independence in New Spain took the form of a violent multiethnic uprising, coming from the bottom layers of the social hierarchy and led by parish priests in mostly *mestizo* regions. Creole shopkeepers, professionals, minor political officials, and priests blamed the viceroyalty's government for their problems.

Concerned with recent political changes and the plight of the poor and exploited, a well-educated creole priest named Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla took the initiative to start a movement for independence (Figure 8.10). Although Hidalgo intended to deliver a blow to the status quo and called for radical action, he proclaimed the most conservative of motives. The revolution was to be fought in the name of Fernando VII and the Virgin of Guadalupe—the ultimate symbol of Mexican Catholic piety.



FIGURE 8.10 Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla. This ca. 1880 portrait of the revolutionary priest Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla is by an unknown artist. An image of the Virgin of Guadalupe hangs on the wall behind him. (credit: "Don Miguel Hidalgo" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

When conservative political authorities in Mexico City learned of his plans, Hidalgo issued a declaration in the town of Dolores on September 16, 1810. In this **Grito de Dolores** (*grito* means "cry"), he called upon peasants and unemployed miners to overthrow the viceroyalty's government. He demanded the abolition of slavery and tribute, the redistribution of wealth, and the return of land to the Indigenous people. Another key demand was respect for the Virgin of Guadalupe, who would later become the patron saint of Mexico. The Grito de Dolores proclaimed independence as its goal, but it was unclear about the means. Hidalgo's plan envisioned a more tolerable form of government that provided benefits for the poor by seeking an end to abuses by the elite, but it lacked a program and effective leadership.

The tale of the **Virgin of Guadalupe** (Figure 8.11) is an expressive example of a symbol of Christian devotion, the Virgin Mary, transformed and adapted into a Mexican national emblem. According to the story of the Virgin, in 1531 she appeared to the Aztec peasant Juan Diego and spoke to him in his native language. Many Spanish clergy refused to believe Diego's claims, and the Virgin of Guadalupe's early worshippers seem to have been largely Indigenous people. Hidalgo proclaimed the Virgin to be the rebellion's guardian and protector. Her image encouraged lower-class *casta* peasants to join the movement and fight under her banner. She was also later appropriated by creole nationalists as a uniquely Mexican saint in order to advance their nineteenth-century struggle for autonomy.



FIGURE 8.11 Virgin of Guadalupe. According to legend, the Virgin of Guadalupe, who became the patron saint of Mexico, appeared to an Indigenous peasant named Juan Diego in 1531 and left this image of herself on his cloak as proof. (credit: "Virgin of Guadalupe" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Word of Hidalgo's rebellion quickly spread among the desperate and dispossessed *castas* in the region, who could now vent their grievances against the colonial administration. Within a few days, the priest had enlisted thousands of recruits in his army, which at its height totaled around sixty thousand people, 55 percent Indigenous people and 20 percent of mixed race. Hidalgo's forces thus totaled more than one-third of the population of the capital of New Spain. (Mexico City, the largest city on the North American continent in 1811, had a total population of almost 170,000 people.)

Hidalgo's followers sacked several towns and committed other destructive actions, including carrying out a mob attack that killed the city elite of Guanajuato, who had barricaded themselves in the public granary for safety. In the face of this violent turn of events, creole and Spanish elites, even those who had originally supported Hidalgo, set aside their differences to protect their privileged positions—and their lives. In doing so, they resembled the creoles and *peninsulares* of Peru who had banded together to confront Túpac Amaru's rebellion in the 1780s. In March 1811, royalist forces captured and executed Hidalgo. Yet his army marched on, and today he is remembered as the father of independence and one of Mexico's greatest national heroes. September 16, the day of the Grito de Dolores, is Mexico's Independence Day.

In 1812, another rural priest, José María Morelos y Pavón, from a poor *mestizo* family in southern Mexico, took

charge of the independence movement (Figure 8.12). His army was organized, and he galvanized an insurrection of artisans and peasants. Closer to Indigenous people than even Hidalgo was, Morelos outlined clear sociopolitical objectives: an end to slavery and the *casta* system, abolition of Indigenous tribute, and institution of land reform. In 1813, at the apex of his military career, Morelos convened a wartime congress in the town of Chilpancingo that declared Mexico's independence from Spain. The congress was also charged with producing a constitution, and to guide its efforts Morelos composed *Sentiments of the Nation*, a document outlining plans for social reforms (as well as the introduction of an income tax).



FIGURE 8.12 José María Morelos y Pavón. This portrait was painted in 1812 by an unknown Mixtec Indian artist. The painting's caption identifies Morelos as "captain of the armies of America." (credit: "Retrato del excelentísimo señor don José María Morelos" by Museo Nacional de Historia/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Although the congress produced a constitution for the nation its members officially named Mexico, Morelos's efforts were ultimately unsuccessful. He brought some order to a committed but largely undisciplined insurrection force, but he was not able to broaden his support base. He failed to persuade moderate creoles to join the cause, and *mestizos* continued to make up the majority of his supporters. In December 1815, royalist forces caught and executed him, bringing the first phase of the war for Mexican independence to an end.

It was the viceroyalty's government, not the Spanish Crown, that fought both Hidalgo's and Morelos's rebellions in New Spain. That is, the royalist armies that met the revolutionary forces were 95 percent Mexican, mostly creole and mixed-race. The rebellions thus represented struggles in which the people's loyalties were divided and the final outcome was not inevitable; Mexico was experiencing a revolutionary civil war. After Morelos's death, his follower, the *casta* Vicente Ramón Guerrero Saldaña, whose father supported the Spanish Crown and whose uncle served in the Spanish militia, continued guerrilla operations against Spanish authorities for several more years (Figure 8.13). While the patriots had not yet succeeded in getting enough people on their side, Spain's hold on its colony was weakened even more. By 1820, the Viceroyalty of New Spain was relatively calm. Rebellion was about to break out again, however, as a result of events in Spain.



FIGURE 8.13 Vicente Ramón Guerrero Saldaña. This portrait was painted in 1850, nineteen years after Guerrero's death, by the artist Anacleto Escutia. Guerrero served as the second president of Mexico from April 1 to December 17, 1829. (credit: "Vicente Ramón Guerrero Saldaña" by Museo Nacional de Historia/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Sentiments of the Nation

In 1813, José María Morelos y Pavón composed *Sentiments of the Nation* to guide the congress he had charged with writing a constitution for the new nation of Mexico. In this treatise, Morelos listed twenty-three points he believed would create a strong nation capable of protecting and meeting the needs of all its citizens. Some of these were familiar from revolutions in the United States and France. Many, though, specifically reflected the concerns of people living in Spanish America, such as protecting the Catholic Church. Here are some of Morelos's points:

1. America is free and independent of Spain and all other nations, governments, or monarchies.

2. The Catholic faith is the sole religion, and no others will be tolerated.

4. Dogma is established by church hierarchy: the pope, bishops, and priests.

5. Sovereignty emanates from the people and is placed in a Supreme National American Congress, made up of representatives from the provinces in equal numbers.

6. Power is divided among appropriate executive, legislative, and judicial branches.

11. Liberal government is to replace tyranny with the expulsion of the Spaniards.

12. Laws should promote patriotism and industry, moderate opulence and idleness, and improve the lot

and the education of the poor.

13. Laws should apply to all, with no privileges.

15. Slavery is prohibited forever, as are the distinctions of caste, with all being equal and only vice and virtue distinguishing one American from the other.

19. 12 December is to be dedicated to the Virgin of Guadalupe and celebrated.

22. The payment of tributes is ended; a tax of 5% or similar light amount will be levied.

—Don José María Morelos, "Sentiments of the Nation"

- Which of the points listed here would appeal most to American Indians and *mestizos?* Which seem designed to address the concerns of creoles*?*
- Which points protect the Roman Catholic Church? Why would Morelos include these directives?

Iturbide and the Plan de Iguala

In 1820, Spanish liberals succeeded in forcing Fernando VII to reinstate the liberal Cádiz Constitution of 1812. In New Spain, liberal creoles welcomed the implementation of this constitution because it reopened possibilities for their participation in government. However, the conservative creole elite could not accept the measures attacking the privileges of the Catholic Church and the military, in which many of them held positions. The Spanish king again proved his inefficiency in controlling the Spanish colonies, laying the ground for a second independence movement. This one was led by creoles with the goal of improving their status and power. Rather than making colonial society egalitarian, which had been the goal of Hidalgo and Morelos, the creole elite simply wanted to rule Mexico for themselves.

The creole elite—major landowners, military officers, and church officials—decided to declare independence from Spain and forged a very pragmatic partnership with the *mestizo* and Indigenous followers of Vicente Guerrero. The winning strategy was to be nationalism in the form of an intense pride in Mexican (as opposed to Spanish) identity, an identity defined by birthplace that creoles shared with Indigenous and mixed-blood people as well as the children of enslaved Africans. This mostly anti-Spanish nationalism allowed creoles to fight for independence but keep the social hierarchy more or less intact.

Agustín de Iturbide, a royalist creole officer who had distinguished himself in the campaigns against Hidalgo and Morelos, offered such a strategy. He formed an agreement with Guerrero, the man whose revolutionary movement it had been his duty to crush. Iturbide had the military force needed to win independence, while Guerrero had the support of Indigenous and mixed-race Mexicans, the majority of the population. Both shared the goal of independence from Spain.

On February 24, 1821, Iturbide announced the **Plan de Iguala**. This plan combined both conservative and radical views and was based on principles known as the Three Guarantees: independence, religion, and equality. Mexico was to be independent of Spain. Roman Catholicism was the official religion. Social equality and protection were to be provided for all residents of Mexico—whether born in the Americas or in Spain. The plan also called for a new imperial Mexican Crown, to be offered to a willing European royal, and the establishment of a regency during the waiting period before the new royal leader was named. To uphold the movement's grounding principles, a new Army of the Three Guarantees (*Ejército de las tres garantías*) was formed under Iturbide's command.

LINK TO LEARNING

You can view the full text of the Plan de Iguala (https://openstax.org/l/77PlandeIguala) at the Library of Congress.

On September 27, 1821, a date marking the three-hundredth anniversary of the fall of the Aztec Empire and the end of an eleven-year rebellious period, Iturbide made a triumphant entrance into Mexico City (Figure 8.14). With the support of the conservative creole elite and two powerful liberal insurgent leaders, Vicente Guerrero and Guadalupe Victoria, he proclaimed Mexican independence. Mexico became a constitutional monarchy, which, according to the Plan de Iguala, protected the interests of both Spanish-born *peninsulares* and the church. At the town of Córdoba, Iturbide and the Spanish representative Viceroy Juan de O'Donojú y O'Ryan signed a treaty accepting the terms of the Plan de Iguala, with one adjustment. According to a new clause, in the absence of a European monarch, a local emperor could be chosen. Under this arrangement, eight months later in 1822, the newly elected congress confirmed Iturbide as Agustín I, constitutional emperor of Mexico.



FIGURE 8.14 Agustín de Iturbide. In 1821, Agustín de Iturbide entered Mexico City as the victorious leader of the Army of the Three Guarantees. This unknown artist's imagining of the event shows him being greeted by a largely creole crowd. (credit: "Agustin de Iturbide entrance to Mexico City on 27 September 1821" by Instituto Nacional de Estudios Históricos de las Revoluciones de México/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

However, Iturbide's reign was brief. His monarchy did not have popular support, and the royal requirements clashed with the fiscal realities of the new nation. In 1822, Iturbide dissolved the congress, a move that sparked uprisings on many fronts. In 1823, he abdicated in response to growing opposition and left for exile in England. Mexico became a republic, and a new constitution was drafted.

The Constitution of 1824 marked a compromise between liberal and conservative interests, with liberals favoring social reforms such as those championed by Hidalgo and Morelos, and conservatives concerned with protecting the status of elites and the church. Social equality was written into the constitution, with the exception of special judicial privileges given to the military and the clergy. The power to pass laws and to tax was given to the government of the Mexican states. Following the adoption of the new constitution, the liberal general Guadalupe Victoria became Mexico's first president. When Iturbide changed his mind and decided to return from exile, he was captured as soon as he arrived at the port and was shot by the new republican troops.

The sharp division between liberals and conservatives dominated Mexican political life for the rest of the nineteenth century.

8.3 Spanish South America

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Discuss the role of Simón Bolívar in the South American revolutions
- Discuss the role of José de San Martín in the South American revolutions
- Describe the consequences of South American liberation

From revolutionary Mexico in the northern hemisphere, rebellion rippled south. Spanish American nationalists in Mexico had gained momentum for their cause when they united against the *peninsulares*. The southern parts of the Spanish American empire underwent a similar experience because the patriot creole group also coveted the potential benefits of independence: free trade, control over tax revenue, and local governance. There were two initial focuses: one in northern South America led by Simón Bolívar from Caracas, and another in the far south of the continent led by José de San Martín from Buenos Aires. Under the leadership of Bolívar and San Martín—the *libertadores* (liberators)—military operations began that aimed at controlling the royalist stronghold in Peru to achieve and spread independence throughout South America (Figure 8.15).

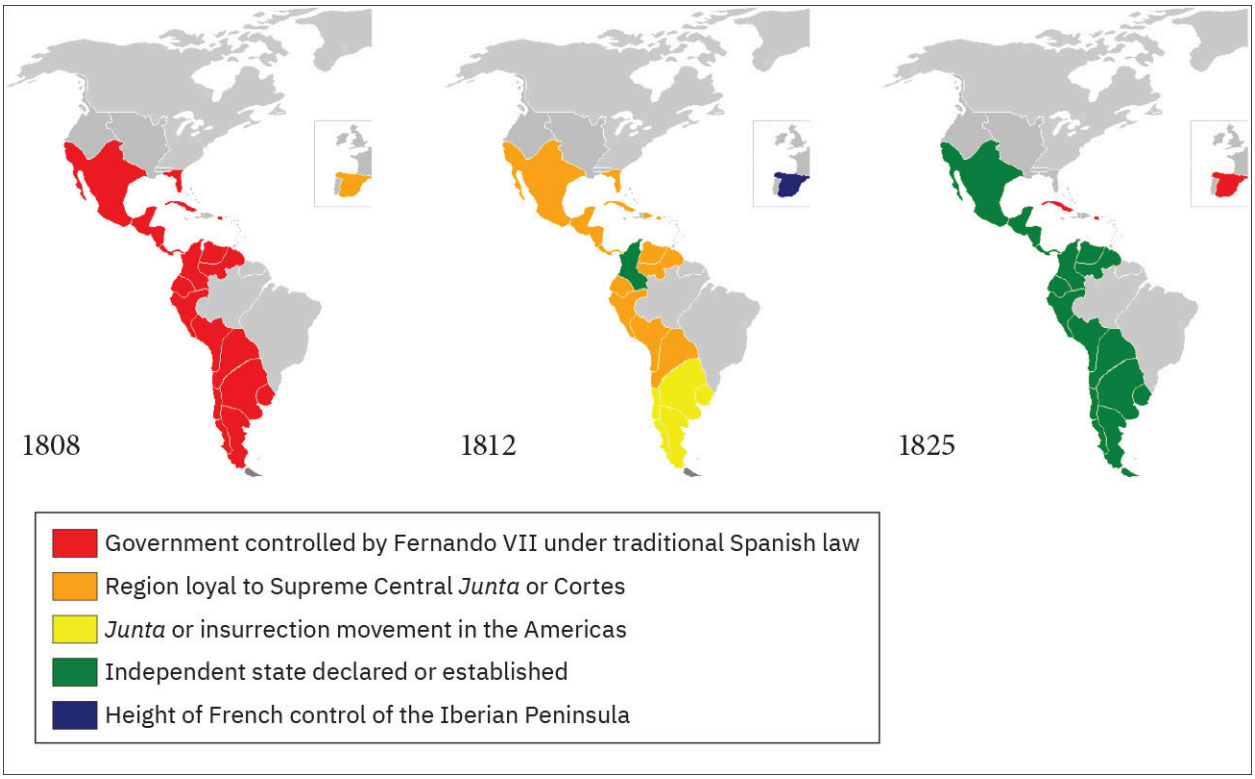


FIGURE 8.15 Transition to Independence. Between 1808 and 1825, the countries of what are now Central and South America transformed from colonies governed by the king of Spain to countries governed by *juntas* and finally to independent nations. (credit: modification of work "Spanish Americas revolutions" by Resvoluci/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The Northern Liberation Movement

Between 1807 and 1810 in the judicial district of Caracas, Venezuela (in the Viceroyalty of New Granada), royalists and patriot creoles from the upper-class elite struggled to create a self-governing body. Then, on April 19, 1810, the creoles of Caracas deposed the Spanish administrative officers and created a *junta* to govern in

the name of Fernando VII. The *junta*, whose authority was recognized by other cities in the Viceroyalty of New Granada, then called for the creation of a congress, which met for the first time in March 1811.

Not all in the congress favored governing in the name of the still-imprisoned king of Spain. On July 5, 1811, patriot members who believed the body should instead govern on behalf of the people of New Granada officially declared the independence of Venezuela, making it the first South American republic. Royalists struck back. They received support among Venezuela's large African and *pardo* population, whose interests had been advanced when the Spanish government gave them the opportunity to purchase White status with the *cédula real*. White creoles, like the patriots in the Venezuelan congress, had opposed greater rights for people who were not of European ancestry. Cities in the western part of New Granada had not recognized the authority of the Caracas *junta* or sent representatives to the Venezuelan congress, and they also proclaimed their loyalty to the king.

The royalists received unexpected additional support for their cause when, on the Thursday before Easter in 1812, a massive earthquake hit Caracas, killing thousands. The Catholic clergy, who supported the royalist cause, convinced the lower social classes that God had punished Caracas because of its disregard for the king's authority, which had been granted by God. The royalist members of the government reinstituted the district's previous political links to Spain, and a bitter civil war between royalists and patriots ensued.

Simón José Antonio de la Santísima Trinidad Bolívar y Palácios, part of the creole elite and impassioned about the new ideas of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, entered the fight in 1811 as an appointed colonel of the rebel patriot army. After his first defeat, he took refuge on the island of Curaçao and then fled to the city of Cartagena (in modern-day Colombia). From this new base, he was able to launch a successful campaign to invade Caracas in 1813 and reestablish the republic (Figure 8.16).



FIGURE 8.16 Simón Bolívar. The Venezuelan *libertador* Simón Bolívar in Arturo Michelena's 1898 painting, made almost seventy years after Bolívar's death. (credit: "Retrato ecuestre de Bolivar" by Galería de Arte Nacional/ Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Bolívar's success in battle was based on his commitment to fighting to the last soldier, in what became known as "war to the death" (*guerra a muerte*). This strategy aimed at radicalizing the conflict and reducing support for the royalist cause. For example, all Spaniards who did not actively support the movement for independence were sentenced to death. Bolívar's dramatic military plan left entire provinces depopulated and kept his army

almost constantly in battle. His success was short-lived, however. In 1814, defeated in Venezuela, Bolívar returned to Cartagena.

In 1815 after Napoléon Bonaparte's fall, the newly restored Spanish king Fernando VII sent military forces to South America to shore up his absolute authority. These Spanish forces were able to restore colonial power and defeat Bolívar and his patriot troops. Once again ousted, Bolívar sought shelter in the British colony of Jamaica, where he penned his "Letter from Jamaica" to a newspaper. In this candid document, he outlined his vision of a unified Spanish America and reiterated his defense of independence and conviction that it would triumph.

The most prescient part of the document was Bolívar's extended analysis of the past, present, and future of Spanish America. The letter reveals his creole bias in its argument that the lower social classes were not equal to the task of gaining independence. Bolívar stressed that the mixed-race people of the Americas were condemned to civic ignorance, oppression, and vice because the Spanish colonial system had acted as a tyrannical father and deprived them of liberty, equality, property, and security. They were forced onto the lowest social rungs, where they were unable to participate in the sociopolitical and economic affairs of their country.

Bolívar's emphasis on his country's lack of preparation for self-government was used to reinforce his claim that Spanish Americans in general needed firm guidance and a powerful executive in their newly independent nations. Unlike many others who simply advocated for independence from Spain, Bolívar focused on the need for a strong central government rather than the federal system adopted by Mexico in its Constitution of 1824, in which power rested primarily with local authorities. Bolívar was also a promoter of Spanish American unity, and he expressed hope for a league of American nations whose representatives would regularly meet and assist each other.

LINK TO LEARNING

Read Simón Bolívar's "Letter from Jamaica" (https://openstax.org/l/77BolivarLetter) from 1815, in which he analyzes his Spanish American heritage. As you read, pay attention to his discussion of the types of government he believes will work best in Spanish America and which will not.

From Jamaica, Bolívar went to Haiti, where he received asylum and economic assistance from President Alexandre Pétion. Though there was a clear bond of sympathy between them, their relationship had its problems. Pétion's regime was genuinely liberal, but there were schisms within its ranks, and the international situation was shaky—neither France nor the United States had yet recognized Haiti as a nation. Pétion's assistance was therefore discreet. Bolívar received hard cash, armaments, and a recruited Black military force under one condition: Put an end to slavery in the newly independent nations.

With the help of those forces, Bolívar sailed back to the Orinoco River delta in Venezuela and turned the tide in favor of the patriot army. He was able to do so, however, only after gaining the support of the mixed-race cowboys, the ***llaneros***, who dominated much of the region, and of their chieftain José Antonio Páez. Thousands of *llaneros* joined Bolívar's army at this critical juncture. A key reason for his success was likely his ability to enlist both the marginalized mixed-race and Black populations and the creole elites in his cause. It was only after he allowed the common people to join his army that he was able to consistently win the wars of independence, whose decisive victory came at Boyacá, Colombia, in August 1819. After liberating Venezuela, Bolívar took the rest of New Granada. Bogotá fell only after he had led an army of twenty-five hundred men up to the Orinoco River, climbed over the Andes Mountains, crossed flooded rivers and plains in the midst of the rainy season, with Bolívar carrying soldiers who had become too weak to stand, and descended on the enemy.

In 1819, Bolívar established the Congress of Angostura (in modern-day Ciudad Bolívar in Venezuela), which approved the creation of the nation of Colombia (encompassing modern Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador). The congress vested Bolívar with dictatorial powers. He rejected monarchy, with its potential to lead to dictatorship, but he also warned against federalism and popular democracy, for which he felt Spanish

Americans were unprepared. He advocated a republican form of government anchored in a powerful hereditary senate. The senate—formed by educated and suitable individuals—was to be a sound intermediary between the people and the government. In his Angostura Address, Bolívar outlined his ideas about how to balance freedom and order as well as how to navigate sensitive race relations. Military brilliance does not necessarily signal political skill, however, and neither Bolívar's fledgling dream of a representative republican system nor his ideal of pan-American unity were shared by others in the region. With time, it became clear those ideas were not to succeed.

In an 1821 gathering in the city of Cúcuta (in present-day Colombia), patriot representatives from Venezuela and New Granada (also present-day Colombia) decided on the unification of the former territories of the Viceroyalty of New Granada (Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, and Panama) into one federative nation called Gran Colombia. Bolívar put Francisco de Paula Santander in charge of New Granada's regional administration. The revolutionary Cúcuta Congress outlined a liberal program of reforms and adopted a centralized constitution and the gradual granting of citizenship rights to all.

The most pressing Issue was slavery. Enslaved and mixed-race people demanded emancipation, which had been promised in the rhetoric of national liberation and which Bolívar had assured Pétion he would accomplish. In 1820, he ordered Santander to promise emancipation and recruit an army of five thousand willing enslaved people. Afraid of alienating the region's mine and landowners, who depended on slave labor, Santander limited the recruitment to three thousand and instructed the rest to return to their masters.

Bolívar's position—already presented in his Jamaica letter's critique of Spanish colonial control—was clearly reflected in the constitution. Accordingly, the republic of New Granada, the first to grant its citizens the responsibilities of self-government, limited voting rights to male property owners. Minorities (women, poor White people, and people of African descent) still yearned for freedom and equality. The Abolition of Slavery Law, enacted by the Cúcuta Congress, delegated a gradual and complicated process to committees of local notables, which simply prolonged the institution of slavery.

LINK TO LEARNING

Read "The Struggle for Abolition in Gran Colombia" (https://openstax.org/l/77AbolitionGC) by Harold A. Bierck, Jr., to explore cultural inequality in Gran Colombia.

The Southern Liberation Movement

Like the port town of Caracas in the north, the port of Buenos Aires in the south reaped significant benefits from the eighteenth-century reforms aimed at developing the Spanish Empire's outskirts. Formerly subject to the authority of the Spanish Viceroyalty of Peru, in 1776 Buenos Aires became the seat of the newly created Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata (modern-day Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay). The port was the principal outlet from which silver from Bolivia and animal hides and tallow from the vast plains of Argentina and Uruguay reached markets abroad. The town's residents, known as *Porteños*, also enjoyed abundant opportunities for trading in contraband with the British and Portuguese.

The population of Buenos Aires quadrupled in the last half of the eighteenth century (it was almost forty thousand by 1800), and merchants and civic leaders took pride in their growing prosperity. Accordingly, rising fortunes in Río de la Plata created a newly favorable environment for those who preferred rupture to reform. There was a ripe international market for South American products like sugar, hides, cacao, tobacco, and silver, and the creole elite were eager to open their ports to British, Dutch, and French merchants. And with their easy access to Atlantic foreign merchants, Argentine elites in Buenos Aires also had much to gain from greater autonomy.

Following Napoléon's invasion of Spain in 1808, the creole militia officers in Argentina formed a new governing *junta* that proclaimed support for Fernando VII. However, after almost two years, radical changes

within the patriot majority of the *junta* led them to repudiate Spanish authority, silence local opposition, and proclaim Argentina's revolutionary patriot movement on May 25, 1810. Not all regions of Río de la Plata, however, recognized the authority of the *junta,* which was based in Buenos Aires. Successful military campaigns in the central part of Argentina soon brought this area under the control of the *junta*, but its troops were not able to secure Uruguay and Paraguay, which rejected control by Buenos Aires.

In March 1816, Argentina's conservative local leaders invoked a congress in Tucumán. The congress declared the independence of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata on July 9, 1816 (now Independence Day in Argentina), less as a sign of revolutionary militancy than as a practical recognition of their political situation. Resistance came not from faraway Spain but from the neighboring royalist provinces, Uruguay and Paraguay, when Argentina attempted once again to extend its authority there.

Paraguayans had already declared their independence from both Spain and the Argentine government in 1811. The new country quickly devolved into a dictatorship under José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia, a lawyer who had briefly taught theology at a seminary in Paraguay. He was chosen one of Paraguay's ruling consuls by the country's Congress on October 1, 1813. (In imitation of the Roman Republic, Paraguay had two consuls, chief executives who each also controlled one-half of the country's army.)

In March 1814, Francia, who was an advocate for the common man, passed a law requiring racial intermarriage; White Europeans could marry only people of African, Indigenous, or *mestizo* ancestry. A few months later, Paraguay's congress made Francia the country's only consul and gave him absolute power for three years. In 1816, congress made him dictator of Paraguay for life. Intent on realizing the ideals of the French Revolution and influenced by the ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Francia, while continuing to support the Catholic Church by building new churches and funding religious festivals, attempted to improve the lives of the poor by abolishing tithes and giving the Paraguayan government control over institutions such as hospitals and orphanages that had been run by the Church. He instituted measures to modernize agriculture and established national industries. Focused solely on reforming society and determined to make Paraguay self-sufficient, Francia ended foreign trade, prevented river traffic between Argentina and Paraguay, and adopted a position of neutrality in foreign policy. Paraguay was thus isolated from the revolutionary turmoil that gripped the rest of South America.

Just as the people of Paraguay charted their own path to independence, the inhabitants of the eastern province of Montevideo (modern-day Uruguay) resisted threats from La Plata and Brazil and built their own movement, under José Gervasio Artigas. Montevideo remained in Spanish hands until 1814 when it fell to the Argentines, who ignored Artigas's demands for autonomy. Creole patriots had the upper hand all over Spanish South America. The only exception was the Viceroyalty of Peru, the most solid bulwark of Spanish power in South America, where royalist armies were stationed and most creoles remained steadfastly royalist. Peru was a constant threat to patriots, and its liberation was vital.

By 1817, the Argentine general José Francisco de San Martín y Matorras, who had fought against Napoléon in Spain in 1812, had set up a plan to isolate and attack royalists in Peru, the Spanish stronghold. He organized an army camp at the base of the Andes, and under his command, Argentine forces scored great successes. In January 1817, after careful preparation, he led his five thousand soldiers through the Andean mountains, where altitudes approached more than ten thousand feet above sea level, and over six different passes into Chile.

Chile had already broken from the Viceroyalty of Peru when creole Spanish Americans there had established their own *junta* in 1810; however, the region had been plagued by fighting between royalists and various pro-independence factions who supported differing degrees of autonomy. When royalists gained the upper hand, the leader of one of those factions, Bernardo O'Higgins, found himself exiled to Argentina. There he met San Martín, and together they planned an assault on Spanish royalist forces in Chile (Figure 8.17). San Martín's assistance secured a decisive victory, and O'Higgins declared Chile's independence in 1818.



FIGURE 8.17 José de San Martín and Bernardo O'Higgins. In this late nineteenth-century painting by Julio Vila y Prades, the Argentine José de San Martín (left) and Bernardo O'Higgins of Chile are shown crossing the Andes to liberate Chile in 1817. (credit: "San Martín and O'Higgins crossing the Andes" by Museo Histórico y Militar de Chile/ Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

LINK TO LEARNING

In 1856, the Colombian intellectual José María Torres Caicedo used the term *Latin America* for the first time. Read novelist Gabriel García Márquez's 1982 Nobel Prize acceptance speech "The Solitude of Latin America" (https://openstax.org/l/77LatinAm) to learn his opinions of Western perceptions about the history of Spanish America and the narrative associated with its independence movements.

The Guayaquil Conference

The northern and southern forces of the South American independence movements converged in the firmly royalist Viceroyalty of Peru and made Lima, the capital city, their target. From the north, one stream of revolutionary armies led by Bolívar flowed from the Viceroyalty of New Granada, and from the south, another led by San Martín swept up from the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata and the newly independent Republic of Chile.

San Martín departed Chile in 1820 with both land forces and sailors on ships. He had the assistance of Scottish former naval officer and mercenary Thomas Cochrane, one of the foreigners who on their own initiative had joined the South American patriots in their struggle for independence. San Martín launched a naval assault on royalist Peru in Lima and landed on its shores in September 1820. Though the highlands remained in royalist hands, his arrival started an uprising along the coast, and he gradually expanded his foothold until he occupied Lima itself. On July 28, 1821, Peruvian creoles in the city were forced to declare independence and accept San Martín as Protector of Peru.

Lima was now under San Martín's military and civil rule, but royalist troops continued to control the vast

Peruvian hinterland, and the inhabitants of the capital saw him and his forces as foreign invaders. Following his liberation of Bogotá in 1819, Bolívar and his armies had moved on to Ecuador. Making little progress against the remaining royalists, San Martín and Bolívar—rivals for control of the independence movement—decided to meet in Guayaquil, Ecuador. In 1821, Guayaquil's valuable port and naval base had fallen under Bolívar's control, and in 1822, he had entered the city of Quito and declared Ecuador's independence. In July 1822, San Martín set sail for Guayaquil with hopes of convincing the port city's merchants to unite with Lima. However, Bolívar had arrived earlier and pressed his Guayaquil supporters for union with Colombia. When San Martín landed in the city, the possession of the city no longer figured in their discussion. Probably disillusioned, San Martín conferred with Bolívar behind closed doors. The talks were secret, but by their end, San Martín had decided to leave the completion of the liberation of South America to Bolívar. Shortly thereafter, San Martín withdrew from the independence struggle and went into a self-imposed exile in Europe, never again to return.

Bolívar occupied Lima in 1823, and in February 1824, a Peruvian congress named him dictator of Peru. He won a significant victory against Spanish forces in August 1824 at the Battle of Junín, and in December 1824, his skilled chief of staff Antonio José de Sucre defeated a much larger Spanish force at the Battle of Ayacucho. In 1825, following their defeat by Sucre, royalist troops in Upper Peru (renamed Bolivia in honor of *El Libertador*) accepted a general amnesty.

In regard to the place of South American nations in the larger geopolitical sphere, both Bolívar and San Martín demonstrated a continent-wide outlook and support for close alliances among the newly independent nations. San Martín shared with the Mexican conservatives an admiration for the British constitutional monarchy, but Bolívar rejected the mystical figure of the king and believed the republican system was the best guarantee of stability. In 1822, Gran Colombia became the first Spanish American nation to receive diplomatic recognition from the United States.

The United States was anxious that European countries not use the Latin American wars of independence as an excuse to intervene in the Western Hemisphere. Such an action would threaten not only the young nation's security but also its commerce. In 1815, in the wake of Napoléon's defeat at Waterloo, Austria, Prussia, and Russia had formed the Holy Alliance. Its purpose was to protect European empires by discouraging revolution, such as the one that had engulfed France. At conferences in 1820 and 1821, the Holy Alliance declared their right to intervene in rebellions that threatened to unseat European monarchs. And, in 1820–1821, a rebellion in Naples was crushed by invading Austrian troops. Although the Holy Alliance had not intervened in 1820 to help Fernando VII when Spanish liberals had forced him to reinstitute the Constitution of 1812, in 1822, they agreed to support an invasion of Spain by France's Louis XVIII for the purposes of bringing an end to the Spanish revolutionary movement and restoring the imprisoned Fernando to the throne.

The members of the Holy Alliance intended also to Assert Fernando VII's control over his rebellious American colonies. The United States opposed such intervention as did Britain, which carried on extensive trade with Latin America. Britain's foreign minister proposed that the United States join Britain in issuing a joint statement warning France and the Holy Alliance against imposing their will on the former Spanish colonies. U.S. secretary of state John Quincy Adams, however, considered it "more candid as well as more dignified" for the new country "to avow our principles explicitly" than to allow the British to take the lead. Accordingly, with the reluctant agreement of President James Monroe, in 1823, Adams set forth the **Monroe Doctrine**, a principle of U.S. foreign policy that warned European nations to refrain from interfering with independent countries in the Western Hemisphere. Although gratified by U.S. support, Bolívar trusted more in British influence to block Spain's attempts to regain its American colonies and did not give much importance to the Monroe Doctrine. In 1824, Great Britain joined the United States in officially recognizing Gran Colombia, whose representatives obtained a significant loan from the London financial market.

In 1826, Bolívar convened the Congress of Panama to strengthen fraternal ties among the newly independent nations in former Spanish America, adopt programs of mutual cooperation, and create a permanent alliance.

Conspicuously absent were the United States, Haiti, and Brazil. However, the main difficulty was the internal fragility of the new nations. The legacy of the Spanish American revolutions was contradictory. Although the new nations had broken free of Spain, colonial social hierarchies persisted. These then escalated into a social struggle among the enslaved Africans, Indigenous groups, *mestizos*, *pardos*, and White people. Provinces fought each other, and after defeating royalist forces, the popular armies faced civil wars over a new postcolonial order. Creole leaders like Bolívar and San Martín were not the only heirs of independence. The main postcolonial leaders were the local military chieftains, who often forged alliances with wealthy creole landowners and perpetuated their power.

DUELING VOICES

Justification for Revolution

Simón Bolívar and other Spanish American patriots believed they were justified in proclaiming independence from Spain. In his "Letter from Jamaica," Bolívar deplored Spain's mistreatment of its American colonies and the brutality of its attempts to defeat their fight for liberty. The Spanish government, however, believed the people in its American colonies had received the benefits of its protection and were now behaving ungratefully. In a letter to U.S. secretary of state John Quincy Adams, a Spanish official named Don Joaquín de Anduaga protested U.S. recognition of the revolutionary governments, reiterated Spain's lack of responsibility for the rebels' anger, and took pains to differentiate Bolívar's revolution from the U.S. War of Independence. Compare Bolívar's position (immediately following) with that of Anduaga, which follows Bolívar's.

> The hatred that the Peninsula has inspired in us is greater than the ocean between us. It would be easier to have the two continents meet than to reconcile the spirits of the two countries. The habit of obedience; a community of interest, of understanding, of religion; mutual goodwill; a tender regard for the birthplace and good name of our forefathers; in short, all that gave rise to our hopes, came to us from Spain. As a result there was born principle of affinity that seemed eternal, notwithstanding the misbehavior of our rulers, which weakened that sympathy, or, rather, that bond enforced by the domination of their rule.
>
> At present the contrary attitude persists: we are threatened with the fear of death, dishonor, and every harm; there is nothing we have not suffered at the hands of that unnatural stepmother-Spain. The veil has been torn asunder. We have already seen the light, and it is not our desire to be thrust back into darkness. The chains have been broken; we have been freed, and now our enemies seek to enslave us anew. For this reason America fights desperately, and seldom has desperation failed to achieve victory . . . .
>
> We have been harassed by a conduct which has not only deprived us of our rights but has kept us in a sort of permanent infancy with regard to public affairs. If we could at least have managed our domestic affairs and our internal administration, we could have acquainted ourselves with the processes and mechanics of public affairs. We should also have enjoyed a personal consideration, thereby commanding a certain unconscious respect from the people, which is so necessary to preserve amidst revolutions.
>
> —Simón Bolívar, "Letter from Jamaica," 1819
>
> I have seen the Message sent by the President to the House of Representatives, in which he proposes the recognition, by the United States, of the insurgent governments of Spanish America. How great my surprise was, may be easily judged by anyone acquainted with the conduct of Spain towards [the United States] . . . . And, moreover, will not his astonishment be augmented to see that [the U.S.] is desirous to give the destructive example of sanctioning the rebellion of provinces which have received no offence from the mother-country,—to whom she has granted a participation in a free constitution,—and to whom

she extended all the rights and prerogatives of Spanish citizens? In vain will a parallel be attempted to be drawn between the emancipation of this Republic [the U.S.] and that which the Spanish rebels attempt; and history is sufficient to prove, that if a harassed and persecuted province has a right to break its chains, others, loaded with benefits, elevated to the high rank of freedom, ought only to bless and embrace more closely the protecting country which has bestowed such favours upon them.

—Don Joaquín de Anduaga, letter to John Quincy Adams, March 9, 1822

- What specific grievances against Spain does Bolívar outline? How do you think Anduaga would respond to these?
- How would Bolívar respond to Anduaga's claim that Spanish American colonists were given the same rights as other citizens? To what extent is Anduaga's statement true? To what extent is it false?

8.4 Portuguese South America

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Discuss the relocation of the Portuguese monarchy to Brazil
- Describe Brazil's path to independence
- Explain what differentiated the Empire of Brazil from neighboring republics

Imagine transporting the U.S. president and all the members of Congress and their families across the ocean in forty vessels on a trip that lasted months. This is what the Portuguese royal House of Braganza did in 1807, and for more than a decade after that, Portugal ruled its empire from the Americas rather than from Europe. This unprecedented move set the tone for the independence of Portuguese America, which was pursued relatively peacefully compared to the liberation movements in Spanish America. Furthermore, whereas Spanish America fragmented into many countries, Portuguese America remained one nation, Brazil. In September 1822, Brazil became independent under a Portuguese-born king and adopted a constitutional monarchical system. The monarchy brought political stability to the region but did not challenge colonial hierarchies.

The Establishment of the Kingdom of Brazil

In 1807, when Napoléon instituted his Continental System aimed at isolating Britain and economically destroying it, Portugal, notable for its long-standing alliance with Britain, was not able to comply. To punish Portugal's breaking of his naval blockade, Napoléon obtained the Spanish Crown's permission to invade Portugal by land (since the French navy was not capable of facing the British at sea). French troops commanded by General Jean-Andoche Junot swept across the Iberian Peninsula to storm into Lisbon.

In view of these events, Lord Strangford, Great Britain's diplomatic envoy to Portugal, counseled the Portuguese royal family to move the court to Portuguese America. Queen Maria wore the Portuguese Crown, but because she had been declared mentally incapacitated, her son the Prince Regent João was left with the decision. The imminent arrival of French forces in November 1807 finally convinced João that fleeing to Brazil was the only solution. As the troops approached, the Portuguese royal family and its entourage of about ten thousand people escaped to Brazil in a fleet under British convoy (Figure 8.18). In return for their assistance, the British received generous commercial privileges in Brazil.



FIGURE 8.18 A Royal Family Flees. In 1807, the Portuguese House of Braganza and its court fled to Brazil to avoid being captured by French troops. The scene was imagined in this small-scale painting by an unknown nineteenth-century artist. (credit: "Embarkation of the Portuguese Royal Family" by Itamaraty Historical and Diplomatic Museum/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In 1808, after a short stop in Salvador, Bahia, the royal family and their courtiers were welcomed by Brazilian colonists and departed to settle in Rio de Janeiro on the southeastern coast. For the first time in modern history, a European monarch, heir, and court had set foot in their American domain. On April 1, 1808, Brazilian ports were opened to all friendly nations, which really meant Great Britain; all previous manufacturing prohibitions intended to protect Portuguese industry were revoked; and the Bank of Brazil was established. As a result, Brazil's total population jumped from almost three million in 1798 to almost four million in 1818.

The Portuguese Crown's willingness to share power with the local planter aristocracy led to the expansion of institutions such as hospitals, libraries, and schools and universities. Vital reforms in administration, agriculture, and manufacturing were instituted. Though the cultural initiatives were welcome, the new tax burden imposed to pay for the needs of the royal court, the expanded bureaucracy, and the war against France, as well as Brazil's great dependence on Great Britain, were not. The presence of the Portuguese Crown centralized control of Brazil in Rio de Janeiro to a great degree, however, and this centralization became a powerful force for the unification of Brazil as one nation.

Even after the fall of Napoléon in 1814 and the restoration of Bourbon kings in both France and Spain, the Portuguese Crown resolutely stayed on in Brazil. On December 16, 1815, Brazil was officially given the status of a kingdom. When Queen Maria I died there in 1816, her son became João VI, king of the United Kingdoms of

Portugal, Brazil, and Algarve (the southern edge of Portugal).

Brazil also opened its ports to Bonapartist immigrants, including republican-minded scientists, architects, artisans, freemasons, engineers, painters, and officers who crossed the Atlantic with their liberal books and ideas intending to settle permanently in the new land. Under the sponsorship of King Joao VI, a group of Bonapartist artists and artisans, knowns as the French Artistic Mission, were invited to Brazil in March 1816 to establish an Arts and Crafts lyceum in Rio de Janeiro. The Lyceum later became the Academia Imperial de Belas-Artes under Emperor Pedro I. French painter Jean-Baptiste Debret, who had studied at France's prestigious Academie des beaux-arts, was part of the group. Debret developed in interest in the enslaved and Indigenous peoples and produced many lithographs and paintings depicting people and everyday life in Brazil. He also painted many portraits of the imperial court (Figure 8.19). After returning to France in 1831, Debret joined the Académie des beaux-arts. By the end of the decade, he had published three volumes of engravings: *A Picturesque and Historic Voyage to Brazil, or the Sojourn of a French Artist in Brazil (Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil ou Séjour d'un artiste français au Brésil*).



FIGURE 8.19 King João VI. This small-scale 1817 portrait of King João VI of Portugal was painted by Jean-Baptiste Debret, who immigrated to Brazil as a member of the French Artistic Mission. (credit: "Portrait of John VI of Portugal" by Museu Nacional de Belas Artes/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

LINK TO LEARNING

Explore the work of French artist Jean-Baptiste Debret (https://openstax.org/l/77Debret) who lived in Brazil between 1816 and 1831 during that nation's transition to independence and whose work depicted street scenes, local costumes, and gender relations.

King João VI was more sympathetic to his Brazilian subjects than King Fernando VII was to his own in Spanish

America. Nevertheless, rebellions within Brazil were suppressed with force. For instance, in 1817, Brazilians from Pernambuco—a sugar-planting province on the northeastern coast—reacted to the arrest of a liberal military officer by declaring the province an autonomous republic. King João VI quickly put a brutal end to their experiment. He finally returned to Portugal in 1821, six years after Napoléon's fall, when the Cortes, the Portuguese parliament, demanded his return.

Pedro I and Brazilian Independence

João left his son and heir Pedro I as prince regent in Rio de Janeiro, with instructions to preserve the family's lineage and power. The talented twenty-three-year-old prince enthusiastically took to his duties. The Cortes wanted to reduce Brazil to its former colonial status and ordered the dismantling of Rio's central government structure. In January 1822, it commanded the prince to return, but Pedro sided with the Brazilians when they asked him to stay. (This event became known as *O Fico*, from the Portuguese *ficar*, to remain.)

The intentions of the Cortes could now no longer be ignored, however, because they generated conflicts among conservative and liberal factions in the Brazilian provinces. When the Brazilian elites rejected rule by Portugal, Pedro took the final step. He broke with Portugal and on September 7, 1822, declared Brazilian independence on the banks of the Ipiranga River in the province of São Paulo (Figure 8.20). This event became known as the **Grito do Ipiranga** (Ipiranga Cry). Pedro I was acclaimed Constitutional Emperor and Perpetual Defender of Brazil, and he was crowned in Rio de Janeiro with much pomp and ceremony.



FIGURE 8.20 The Grito do Ipiranga. Pedro Américo's massive 1888 painting shows Pedro I declaring Brazil's independence with the Grito do Ipiranga on September 7, 1822. (credit: "Independence or Death" by Museu Paulista collection /Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

At first, the Portuguese Cortes refused to recognize Brazil's independence, though away from the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo and their adjoining provinces, few local *juntas* declared themselves in favor of Portuguese rule. Determined to beat the Portuguese, Pedro I invited Thomas Cochrane, a former British naval officer, to serve Brazil as first admiral and commander in chief (Figure 8.21).



FIGURE 8.21 Thomas Cochrane. Thomas Cochrane, Earl of Dundonald, is shown in a nineteenth-century engraving based on a painting by James Ramsay. Lord Cochrane played a major role in winning independence for Brazil. (credit "Thomas Cochrane, 10th Earl of Dundonald" by Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Cochrane was one of the most daring and successful naval captains of his day; the French called him "the Sea Wolf." After being struck off Britain's Navy List because of a financial scandal in 1814, he began a new career as a mercenary. In 1818, he organized the Chilean navy, and with José de San Martín he played a crucial role in securing Chile's independence and liberating coastal areas in Peru. He was living in semiretirement on his estate in Chile when Pedro I asked him to serve Brazil. Cochrane organized a small Brazilian naval squadron to block Portugal's access to Brazil's ports. His first success came with his blockade of Salvador, the main port of the province of Bahia. By preventing resupply of coastal cities and garrisons, Cochrane forced Portuguese fighting forces to abandon the northern provinces of Brazil by 1823. In 1825, the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro recognized Brazil's independence from Portugal.

The presence of the Braganzas in Rio for thirteen years before independence had unified the nation, and Brazilians still looked to the royal court as a source of power and authority. Most educated citizens accepted the monarchy, with which they identified themselves, and nothing served better to end regional divisions than the external threat from Portugal. In May 1823, Pedro I summoned elected representatives from all provinces to come to Rio and draft the new empire's constitution. Most were Brazilian sons of the old landed aristocracy, and some had represented Brazil in the Portuguese Cortes, including the liberal José Bonifácio de Andrade e Silva, educated at Portugal's Coimbra University. The assembly drafted a document that sought balance among the executive, judiciary, and legislative branches of government but disagreed over slavery, the scope of citizenship, and civil rights. Although Pedro I favored the gradual abolition of slavery, Brazilians whose wealth came from sugar plantations were especially concerned that the institution not be interfered with.

THE PAST MEETS THE PRESENT

Women and the Fight for Independence

Valued primarily for their sexual purity, domestic virtue, and Christian charity, women found their claims to political equality in Spanish and Portuguese America seriously limited. As a result, they responded in different ways to the struggle for independence, which pervaded every aspect of their lives. Poor women suffered disproportionately, and many made significant contributions to the cause, including taking up arms and even

commanding troops. The women depicted here are just some examples of those who fought for independence and political power in the revolutionary period (Figure 8.22).



(a) (b) (c) (d)

FIGURE 8.22 Fighters for Independence. (a) Manuela Sáenz, (b) Juana Azurduy de Padilla, (c) Empress Maria Leopoldina, and (d) Maria Quitéria all played a role in the fight for independence in South America. (credit a: modification of work "Retrato de Manuela Sáenz en 1825 por Pedro Durante" by Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú/Wikipedia, Public Domain; credit b: "Portrait of Juana Azurduy" by Salón de Espejos de la Alcaldía de Padilla/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit c: "Portrait of Archduchess Maria Leopoldina, later Empress consort of Brazil" by Schönbrunn Palace/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit d: "Maria Quitéria" by Museu do Ipiranga/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Born in Quito, Ecuador, in 1797, Manuela Sáenz de Vergara y Aizpuru was the illegitimate child of an Ecuadorian mother and a Spanish aristocrat. In 1817 she married British citizen James Thorne, and in 1822 she met and fell in love with Simón Bolívar. As a result, she left her husband and joined the fight for independence, becoming a close collaborator of Bolívar and a fierce proponent of the revolutionary cause and women's rights. After she prevented his assassination in 1828, Bolívar called her "*libertadora del libertador*" ("the woman who liberated the Liberator"). After Bolívar's death in 1830, Sáenz ended her days running a tobacco shop in a fishing village on the coast of Peru, where she died of diphtheria in 1856 and was buried in a common grave. However, with the rise of feminism in the 1980s, she became a symbol and rallying point for a variety of liberation movements, especially upon publication of *The General in His Labyrinth* by the award-winning Colombian novelist Gabriel García Márquez.

Under the strict *casta* system of Spanish colonial rule, Juana Azurduy de Padilla, born in 1780 in what is today the city of Sucre, Bolivia, was a *mestiza*. As a child, she had a close relationship with her White Spanish father, who taught her to ride, shoot, and work the land alongside the Indigenous people who lived there. After becoming orphaned as a teen, she went to a convent school to be educated, but she eventually returned to her family's estate and married her neighbor Manuel Padilla, an influential politician with progressive views. Azurduy and her husband became patriot guerrilla military leaders in 1809, joining the Army of the North in Upper Peru. Azurduy was known for her ability to recruit and lead Indigenous people and eventually rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel in 1816. At the time of her death, she was relatively unknown; however, today the Azurduy province in the Chuquisaca Department is named for her.

The life of Maria Leopoldina of Austria was one of royal patronage and political influence. She married Dom Pedro, later Emperor Pedro I, in 1817 and dedicated her energies to supporting the cultural and scientific development of her adopted nation, Brazil, bringing the Austrian painter Thomas Ender and many others there. It was after Pedro had read one of Leopoldina's letters that he enacted the Grito do Ipiranga. In her letter, she urged him to defy Portugal and break away from it, saying, "Brazil under your guidance will be a great country.

Brazil wants you as a monarch . . . Pedro, this is the most important of your life . . . . You have the support of all Brazil." Although Pedro I's autocratic methods of government and scandalous private affairs made her life difficult, Leopoldina was very popular among her Brazilian subjects and remained so even after her death in 1826.

One of those subjects was Maria Quitéria, born in 1792 in the province of Bahia. During the Brazilian War of Independence, Quitéria disguised herself as a man to serve in the Brazilian revolutionary army. Her superiors acknowledged her skills with weapons and military discipline, and even after her identity as a woman was discovered, she was allowed to continue fighting. She was "a lady as brave as honest," and in 1823, she was decorated by Dom Pedro I for her service. Maria Graham's *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil* mentions her as an "illiterate, but lively [person, who] has clear intelligence and acute perception. I think that if they educated her, she would become a notable personality. One observes nothing masculine in her conduct, rather she is of gentle and friendly manners." After serving in the war, Quitéria married Gabriel Brito and had one daughter, Luisa. Although she died forgotten and in poverty, today she is seen as a national heroine.

In the aftermath of independence, some women wondered what the consequences of their participation in the cause would be: After all, if women had fought and died for independence, why did they not have the right to vote or run for office? But another century passed before they realized such gains.

- Consider the role each of these women played in the fight for independence. How do you think their distinct backgrounds influenced the actions they took?
- Why do you think several of these women died in relative obscurity? What can the later rediscovery of their legacies teach us?

Pedro I's talents did not include the ability to deal with the legislature. When it attempted to limit the power of the emperor in the first constitution, he dissolved the assembly and finished writing the constitution himself, with the help of a small and select council. Acting as an autocrat, Pedro I issued a liberal constitution in 1824 that ignored slavery and added a fourth branch of government, the moderator (*moderador*), to the executive, legislative, and judiciary. The moderator branch, which consisted of the emperor, empowered Brazil's ruler to oversee the three other branches and to "balance" them by resolving disagreements among them.

Resentment of Pedro's autocratic tendencies persisted as he took no notice of slavery and made unpopular foreign-trade and financial decisions. When news of the July Revolution of 1830 in France, which toppled an autocratic king, reached Brazil, popular demonstrations broke out calling for the expulsion of the emperor. In April 1831, Pedro I abdicated in favor of his only son, the six-year-old Brazilian-born Pedro II, and sailed for Portugal to secure the throne for his daughter Maria. He never returned. His departure eliminated the dominant influence of Portuguese-born courtiers and traders in Brazilian society, completing the transition to full Brazilian independence.

Nineteenth-Century Eyes on Latin America

Latin American movements for independence sought to throw off the rule of mercantilist parent countries and an economic model that hindered the development of rapidly growing colonial states. The successful movements, led by well-educated elites, many times faced resistance from a majority race-mixed population that sided with the homeland. The lack of popular support forced the exploitive White creole minority, who feared the oppressed mixed-race majorities, to negotiate their successes at each step. Liberators like Bolívar, San Martín, Pedro I, and Iturbide received no significant assistance from outside sources and many times lacked a unified direction or strategy. They encountered problems of vast geographic distances and natural obstacles, as well as the economic and cultural isolation of the various regions they were trying to unite.

Brazil's path to independence shows more continuity with its colonial legacy than that of any other Latin American country because, although it was free of Portuguese rule after 1822, it became not a republic but an

independent empire. The first emperor, Pedro I, was a prince of the Portuguese royal house and still an heir to its throne. Moreover, Portuguese-born men continued to control trade and to hold positions of power in the bureaucracy, the army, and the church. The conservative-liberal division dominated political life in imperial Brazil and marked the conflicting interests and ideals of various economic groups. Independence did not provoke major changes in the area's colonial socioeconomic structures. The new Brazilian constitutional monarchy simply regularized the status quo.

The movement for Latin American independence sparked great outside interest in the region, and this curiosity fostered both foreign travel and writing. It was often through such accounts that people in the United States and Europe learned about South America. Ordinarily, nineteenth-century European women did not travel for pleasure; tourism is a twentieth-century invention. When Maria Dundas Graham Calcott came to South America with her navy officer husband in the 1820s, she was governess to Pedro I's daughter, the future queen of Portugal Princess Maria da Glória. Graham's diaries from 1821 to 1823 therefore shed a unique light on the Brazilian court during the independence process. Her accounts also reveal her wide-ranging interest in people's lives in both Brazil (Salvador and Rio de Janeiro) and Chile (Santiago). In Chile, Graham studied science and botany with her family's friend, the former British navy officer Thomas Cochrane.

Though her reports were produced for the enlightenment and entertainment of her contemporaries, today they yield insights into gender relations in the newly independent South American nations as well as into Graham's own elite circles in the early nineteenth century. Her interest was in "suitable" subjects like fashion and motherhood that related to the lives of Brazilian women. Public areas of activity were largely male, and her diaries show that female foreign observers like herself remained outsiders. Graham was an urban elite woman with a Protestant background whose discourse stressed civilized English customs and behaviors as a model for the world. But despite that bias, or perhaps even because of it, through her perception of private aspects of Brazilian women's lives, her accounts reveal much about public events in South American society as well as her own models of femininity. Her travel narrative is a window into how she saw nineteenth-century Brazilian women shape their lives and their environment.

LINK TO LEARNING

Explore the life and works of Maria Graham (https://openstax.org/l/77Graham) that offer a rich window into the gender dynamic within private and public spaces in newly independent Chile and Brazil.

Key Terms

Cádiz Cortes the central Spanish *junta* established in the city of Cádiz that coordinated Spanish resistance to the French occupation

creoles in Spanish colonies, American-born White people of European descent

Grito de Dolores the "cry" of Dolores, Miguel Hidalgo's declaration of rebellion made in the town of Dolores on September 16, 1810

Grito do Ipiranga the "cry" of Ipiranga, Pedro I's declaration of Brazilian independence, made at the Ipiranga River in 1822

intendancy system the centralizing administrative system in Spanish America whereby local governments were run by governors

juntas deliberative or administrative councils in Spain and Spanish America

llaneros cowboys of the Venezuelan plains

Monroe Doctrine a principle of U.S. foreign policy that warned European nations to refrain from interfering with independent countries in the Western Hemisphere

peninsulares in Spanish colonies, European-born White people from Spain

Plan de Iguala Agustín de Iturbide's proclamation of independence creating a constitutional monarchy and protecting both the Catholic Church and Europeans living in Mexico

viceroyalty an administrative subdivision of the Spanish Empire, ruled by a direct representative of the king

Virgin of Guadalupe the apparition of the Virgin Mary who is said to have appeared to the Aztec peasant Juan Diego and later became the national symbol and patron saint of Mexico

Section Summary

8.1 Revolution for Whom?

The revolutionary examples of the United States and France encouraged creole elites in the Spanish American colonies to dream of independence. These educated people of European ancestry had been born in the Americas and resented both the political power held by the *peninsulares* and Spain's economic restrictions. The overthrow of the Spanish monarchy by the French gave creoles the opportunity to participate in local self-governing bodies called *juntas,* and some were delegates to meetings of the Spanish Cortes, a national parliament that produced a short-lived constitution. This not only reawakened their desire for independence and self-government, but it also showed them that it was possible.

8.2 Spanish North America

In the first few decades of the nineteenth century, two waves of revolutionary fervor swept New Spain. In 1816, Miguel Hidalgo proclaimed Mexico's independence from Spain with the Grito de Dolores and led a largely Indigenous and *mestizo* army to overthrow the colony's government. However, Hidalgo's call for widespread social reforms and the violence of his followers led creoles to desert both his movement and the calls of his successor José Maria Morelos for social equality.

The second wave was more successful. Following the adoption of liberal reforms by the Spanish government, Mexican creoles sought independence in order to retain the privileges their status granted them. In 1821, Agustín de Iturbide proclaimed the Plan de Iguala, which declared Mexico's independence and transformed the country into a constitutional monarchy with protections for the Catholic Church and guarantees of social equality. Iturbide allied himself with Vicente Guerrero, the leader of Indigenous and mixed-race rebels, to form the victorious Army of the Three Guarantees. Iturbide became Mexico's first emperor in 1822, but in 1823 he abdicated, and Mexico became a republic.

8.3 Spanish South America

Venezuela's *junta* declared its independence from Spain in 1811. In 1812, however, resistant conservative White Venezuelans were aided by mixed-race people who resented liberal creole privileges and remained loyal

to the Spanish Crown. Following Fernando VII's return to the Spanish throne, Spanish troops joined local royalist forces to fight the Venezuelan patriots being led by Simón Bolívar. By promising to abolish slavery, Bolívar won the help of Haiti's president Alexandre Pétion. He also relied heavily on the mixed-race *llaneros*. Bolívar's troops liberated the territories that became Gran Colombia (Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador). The Congress of Cúcuta that formed to govern Gran Colombia provided for the gradual abolition of slavery and granted voting rights to property-owning men.

In the south, the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata (modern Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay) proclaimed independence from Spain in 1816. The Argentine general José de San Martín then led troops through the Andes to assist Bernardo O'Higgins of Chile. Both San Martín and Bolívar led forces into Peru, the last royalist stronghold, where royalist troops were forced to accept amnesty.

8.4 Portuguese South America

In 1807, when French forces attempted to invade Portugal, the Portuguese royal family and their court fled to Brazil. João VI, the former prince regent, ruled from Rio de Janeiro as head of the government in exile. In 1821, he returned to Portugal, leaving his son Pedro I to rule Brazil. When the Portuguese Cortes ordered Pedro I to return to Europe, he refused, and on September 7, 1822, he declared Brazil independent of Portugal. With the assistance of Thomas Cochrane, he defeated Portugal's military forces.

Pedro I wrote a constitution for Brazil that while providing for independent legislative and judiciary branches, preserved the bulk of political power for the emperor in his role as "moderator" between the other branches of government. Following the July Revolution in France in 1830, Brazilians called for the autocratic Pedro I to abdicate his throne, which he did in favor of his son Pedro II in April 1831.

Assessments

Review Questions

1. What were *peninsulares*?
   a. White people born in America of mixed European and Indigenous descent
   b. White Europeans born in the Iberian Peninsula who lived in the Spanish American colonies
   c. White people of Spanish descent born in the Americas and living in the Yucatán Peninsula
   d. White European colonists who were born and lived in the Americas

2. What were creoles?
   a. people born in the Americas of mixed European and native descent
   b. White Europeans born in the Iberian Peninsula who lived in the Spanish American colonies
   c. people born in the Americas of mixed European and African descent
   d. White European colonists who were born and lived in the Americas

3. During the Bourbon Era, why did the creole elite adopt Enlightenment ideas?
   a. those ideas helped them to effectively govern their colonies
   b. those ideas justified their desire for more social and political authority
   c. those ideas drew them closer to their English neighbors in British America
   d. those ideas drew them closer to the Spanish nobility

4. To what did the term *casta* in Spanish America refer?
   a. a social hierarchy encoded in law and based on what were thought to be inherited characteristics
   b. a nativist label for people of African descent, used during the wars of independence
   c. the lowest social layer, linked to a person's economic status
   d. people of Indigenous descent who lived in the rural areas

5. Under the intendancy system, what did the Bourbon kings in Spain do?

a. tried to stimulate trade and economic development in the Spanish colonies
b. abolished old taxes in Spanish America and welcomed the help of the Catholic Church
c. dismantled their fortifications in port cities such as Veracruz, in New Spain
d. decreased the number of peninsular bureaucrats in the colonial administration

6. What measure taken by radical French revolutionaries provoked insurrections in the Americas?
a. the establishment of national armies
b. the granting of political equality to all people
c. the ending of slavery in all French territory
d. the declaration of universal male suffrage

7. What country was founded after a successful revolt by enslaved people?
a. Brazilian
b. Mexican
c. Haitian
d. Argentine

8. What was one characteristic of the Hidalgo revolt in Mexico?
a. the strong support of conservative creole leaders
b. Hidalgo's immediate proclamation of independence
c. the large-scale participation of the Indigenous and mixed-race labor force
d. the support of the church hierarchy

9. What socioeconomic group was stronger at the end of Mexico's struggles for independence?
a. wealthy merchants
b. the church hierarchy
c. mine owners
d. wealthy landowners

10. What did Latin American liberals/patriots usually favor?
a. radical land reform
b. increased participation in government
c. protection of Indigenous communal landholdings
d. special privileges for the church

11. The South American wars of independence _____.
a. received no significant foreign assistance
b. did not rely on the support of the majority of the population
c. were not led by military leaders
d. were not a civil war between patriots and royalists

12. What was the most important action taken by the Congress of Cúcuta?
a. the writing of a liberal constitution for a new republican nation, Gran Colombia
b. the imposition of new taxes
c. the abolition of slavery
d. the suppression of male convents

13. What did Simón Bolívar's political program for Gran Colombia envision?
a. a monarchy to be ruled by a European king
b. a republican system based on universal suffrage

c. a republican system with suffrage restricted to the propertied elite
d. an authoritarian form of government based on his own dictatorship

14. What was the most critical issue discussed at the Guayaquil Conference?
a. whether Guayaquil should belong to Peru or Gran Colombia
b. whether independent Spanish America should be monarchical or republican
c. whether Bolívar or San Martín should have the glory of completing the struggle for independence
d. how to defeat the Spanish forces in Peru

15. What did the relocation of the Portuguese monarchy to Brazil do?
a. ended Brazil's colonial status and made it a kingdom on equal footing with Portugal
b. resulted in Brazil's independence from Spanish rule
c. led to war between Portugal and Great Britain
d. led to the abolition of slavery in Brazil

16. What was the event that precipitated the declaration of Brazil's independence?
a. French invasion of Portugal in 1807
b. Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of Strangford of 1810
c. arrival of the Portuguese court in Rio de Janeiro in 1808
d. refusal of Pedro I to obey the Portuguese Cortes's order to return to Portugal in 1822

17. How did Brazil differ from the former Spanish colonies after achieving its independence?
a. Brazil abolished slavery soon after achieving independence.
b. Brazil was reduced to colonial status only a few years after becoming independent.
c. Brazil was governed by a monarch even after it became independent.
d. Brazil gave women the right to vote when it became independent.

Check Your Understanding Questions

1. What were the main social groups in Bourbon Spanish America?

2. What were the four geographical regions within Spain's intendancy system in the 1700s?

3. What were the global ramifications of the Napoleonic Wars for Spain?

4. What was the result of the political distance between the Spanish American colonies and their home country during the Peninsular War?

5. What main social groups engaged in the Mexican War of Independence? What were their motivations?

6. What was the Plan de Iguala and its role in the first independent government in Mexico?

7. What effect did the 1812 earthquake in Caracas have on the Venezuelan independence movement?

8. Why did the abolition of slavery become a goal of Simón Bolívar's independence movement?

9. What role did José de San Martín play in the Spanish American independence movements?

10. Why was Great Britain one of the first countries to recognize Brazil's independence?

11. What did the "moderator" provided for in Brazil's Constitution of 1824 do?

Application and Reflection Questions

1. What might have happened if the *peninsulares* and creoles had given the *castas* what they wanted? Why was the Spanish government willing to give the *castas* the right to purchase the legal status of Whiteness?

2. Explain the main causes of division between the creoles and the *castas*.
3. Should Vicente Guerrero have agreed to help Agustín de Iturbide? By doing so, was he betraying the interests of his followers? Why or why not?
4. What role did religious authorities play in Mexico's revolutionary movements?
5. What were some similarities between the U.S. struggle for independence and the South American revolutionary wars of independence? What were some differences between them?
6. What were the consequences of South American liberation in the larger geopolitical sphere?
7. What did the Spanish American independence movements have in common? What made them different from each other?
8. Given that the Congress of Cúcuta established a government in which only property owners could vote and slavery was abolished only gradually, to what extent can Simón Bolívar truly be thought of as a "liberator"? How "revolutionary" was Bolívar's movement?
9. How did events in early nineteenth-century Western Europe, Spanish America, and the United States affect Brazilian independence?
10. In what ways were the Portuguese American and Spanish American struggles for independence similar? How and why did they differ?
11. Is it reasonable to say that Brazil became independent when it remained a monarchy? Who was liberated by the Grito do Ipiranga, Brazil's people or its ruler? Why?

Expansion in the Industrial Age 9



FIGURE 9.1 "A Troublesome Egg to Hatch." Eager for wealth, the powerful industrialized nations of the world try to hatch the "troublesome egg" that was China in this 1901 political cartoon by the American artist J. S. Pughe. Britain and Germany settle atop it, Russia is in danger of being crushed beneath, and the United States looks on from afar. (credit: modification of work "A troublesome egg to hatch (https://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/ppmsca.25516/)" by LOC Prints and Photographs Division/Library of Congress)

CHAPTER OUTLINE

9.1 The Second Industrial Revolution
9.2 Motives and Means of Imperialism
9.3 Colonial Empires
9.4 Exploitation and Resistance

INTRODUCTION In the second half of the nineteenth century, Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, the United States, and a few other countries embarked on the Second Industrial Revolution as they adopted new sources of energy and churned out ever-larger numbers of manufactured goods. In their quest for profit and power, the industrialized nations sought access to new markets and inexpensive sources of raw materials. Their desire for resources led them to seize territory in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific, ignoring the rights of the people there and costing the lives of millions. Even as large and established a nation as China was not inviolable, and the European nations carved spheres of influence from it just as they did in other regions of the world (Figure 9.1).

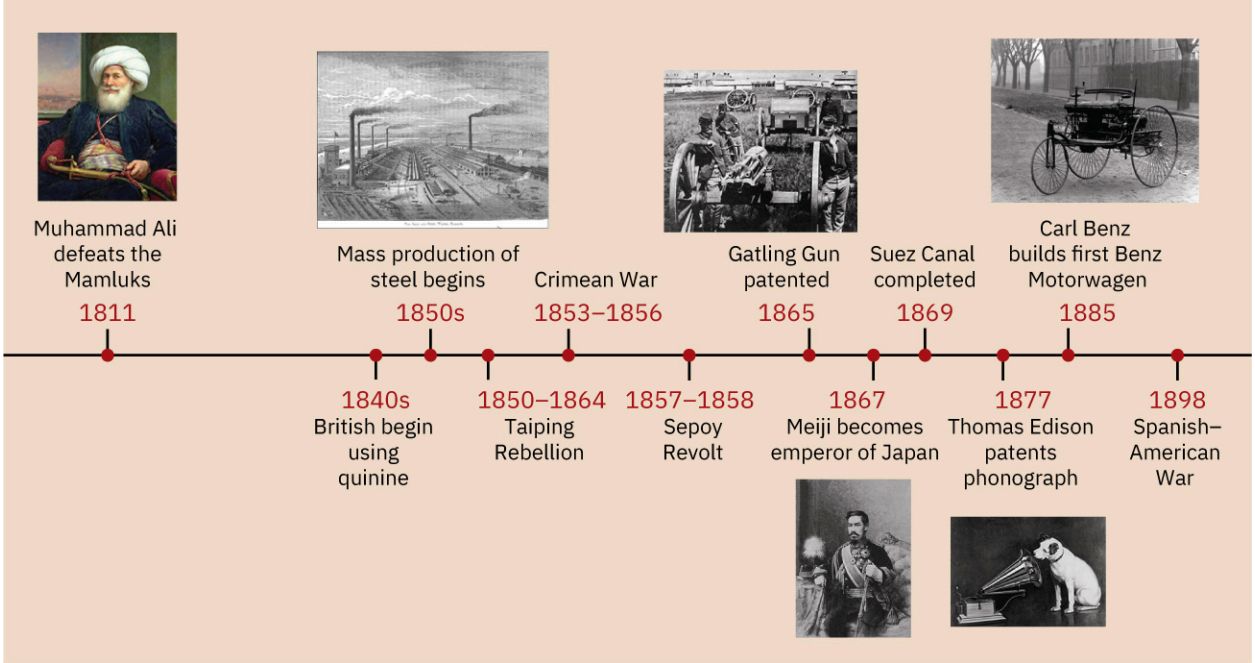


FIGURE 9.2 Timeline: Expansion in the Industrial Age. (credit "1811": modification of work "Modern Egypt, Muhammad Ali by Auguste Couder, lighter colors" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1850s": modification of work "Steelworks at Barrow-in-Furness, 1877" by Unknown/University of Strathclyde project/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1865": modification of work "Gatling in US-Army" by Yellowstone National Park Collection/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1867": modification of work "Conté portrait of the Emperor Meiji" by Eduardo Chiossone in *Tenno Yondai No Shozo*/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1877": modification of work "Photograph of the painting 'Dog looking at and listening to a phonograph,' by Francis Berraud in 1898 (https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/96521608/)" by Library of Congress/Library of Congress; credit "1885": modification of work "1885 Benz" by Alonso de Mendoza/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)



FIGURE 9.3 Locator Map: Expansion in the Industrial Age. (credit: modification of work "World map blank shorelines" by Maciej Jaros/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

9.1 The Second Industrial Revolution

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe the technological innovations of the Second Industrial Revolution
- Describe the spread of industrialization beyond western and central Europe and the United States
- Explain the obstacles to industrialization facing countries in Asia, North Africa, and Latin America in the nineteenth century

Great Britain was the first nation to enter the Industrial Revolution, beginning to mechanize the production of goods in the eighteenth century. It was followed by the United States, France, Belgium, and, in the first half of the nineteenth century, by Germany. These nations harnessed the power first of water and then of steam and began the mass production of goods such as textiles, iron, and steel. Perhaps most significantly, they also manufactured machines that produced parts for other machines, such as spinning jennies and flying shuttles. Developments in transportation and communications technology, especially the locomotive, steamboat, and telegraph, transformed the way their citizens lived, traveled, and worked.

Between the middle of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, these nations embarked on a new phase of industrialization. European and U.S. industry was transformed again by new sources of power, technological innovations, new forms of transportation, and growing communications networks. This process is often called the Second Industrial Revolution. At the same time, industrialization began outside the United States and western and central Europe, especially in Russia and Japan.

The Expansion and Transformation of Technology

Many developments of the Second Industrial Revolution built on or improved earlier technology. Mass production of steel, for example, had begun with the development of the Bessemer process in the 1850s. This innovation removed impurities from molten pig iron, producing stronger steel better suited to building rail lines and machines. Later engineers further improved the process. The open-hearth Siemens-Martin process,

first developed in Germany in the 1860s, was slower than the Bessemer process, but it produced higher-quality steel that was less brittle. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Siemens-Martin process had become the most common way of manufacturing steel. The mass production of steel made possible the great engineering feats of the Second Industrial Revolution, such as the first skyscrapers and the expansion of railroads (Figure 9.4).

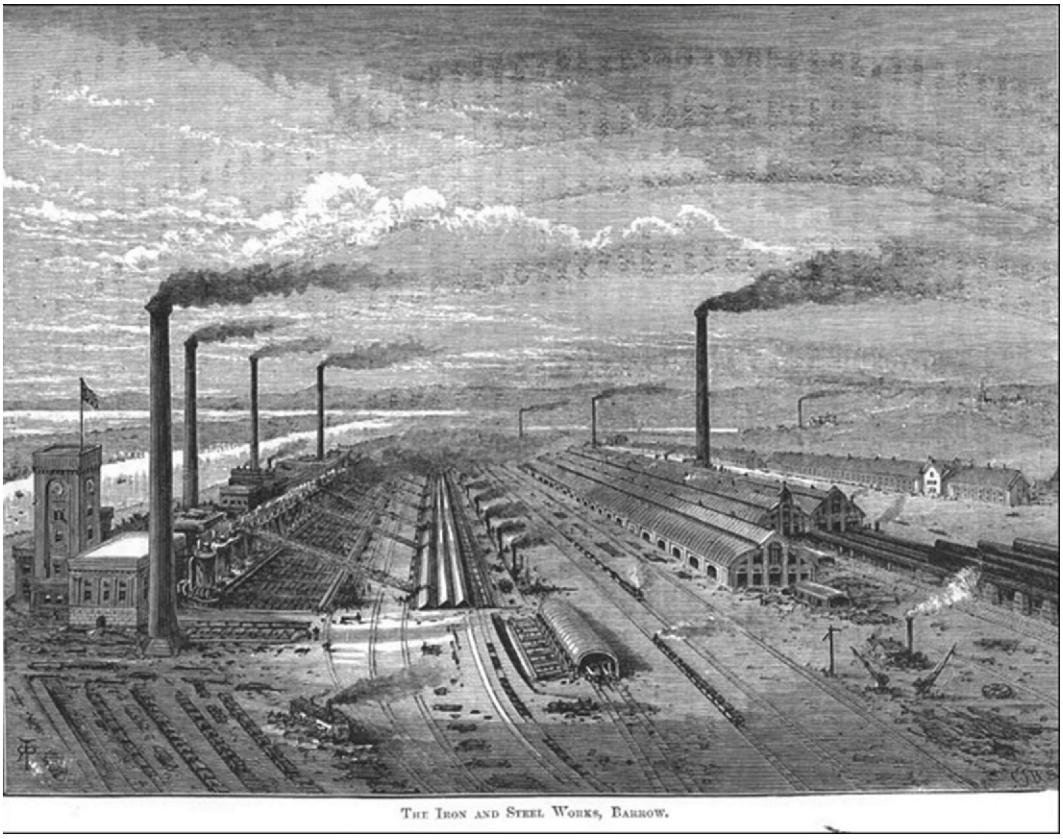


FIGURE 9.4 A British Steelworks. The Second Industrial Revolution was built on steel. Shown here in a British image made before 1877, the Barrow Hematite Steelworks in Lancashire, England, was then the world's largest producer of steel. (credit: "Steelworks at Barrow-in-Furness, 1877" by Unknown/University of Strathclyde project/ Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Improvements in steel manufacturing enabled other innovations. As rust-resistant steel became less expensive, more could be used to manufacture rail lines, making them heavier, stronger, and able to support heavier locomotives pulling heavier loads. Railroads expanded across the United States and Europe, carrying more freight and passengers.

Other inventions also made railroads more efficient. The air brake, invented by George Westinghouse in 1869, sent compressed air through a line to enable the train's engineer to apply brakes from the locomotive. Before this, trains had been braked by workers who jumped from one moving car to the next and applied the brakes manually. The method was obviously very dangerous, and if a train car broke free, there was no way of stopping it. Because trains could now be stopped more safely, they could also travel at higher speeds.

By the end of the nineteenth century, railroads had become a common way of transporting people and products over land across distances long and short. Two new modes of transportation vied with railroads for popularity. The first modern bicycle, the safety bicycle, was developed by John Kemp Starley of England in 1885 and sported two wheels of equal size, unlike earlier bicycles with oversized front wheels that required riders to perch far above the ground. The safety bicycle could be ridden by anyone, including women and children. Developments in rubber-production technology also improved the bicycle. The process of

vulcanizing rubber, discovered by American inventor Charles Goodyear in 1839, made it stronger and better able hold its shape under extremes of temperature. (Non-vulcanized rubber melts in the heat and shatters in the cold.) In 1887, Scottish-born inventor John Boyd Dunlop made a pressurized air-filled pneumatic tire from vulcanized rubber, just in time for use by bicycle and automobile manufacturers. Although pneumatic tires had been invented earlier, Dunlop's was the first practical tire to be mass produced, and he patented his invention in 1888. By the 1890s, bicycling had become popular in Europe and the United States, and tens of thousands of people rode daily.

Eventually eclipsing both the train and the bicycle in popularity in the United States and western and central Europe was the gasoline-fueled automobile, patented by the German Karl Benz in 1886 and marketed beginning in 1888 (Figure 9.5). Within a few decades, the automobile had transformed the world as few other inventions have. Cities and suburbs could expand beyond the reach of rail lines, leading city and national governments to raise taxes to pay for new roads. New businesses that sold and repaired cars replaced blacksmiths and stables. City traffic grew noisier and more dangerous, and autos added their exhaust to the emissions of factory smokestacks. The automobile industry also increased the demand for rubber and petroleum, which most industrialized nations needed to import. Even though the United States was initially able to satisfy its petroleum demands with domestic oil, it had to look elsewhere for rubber.

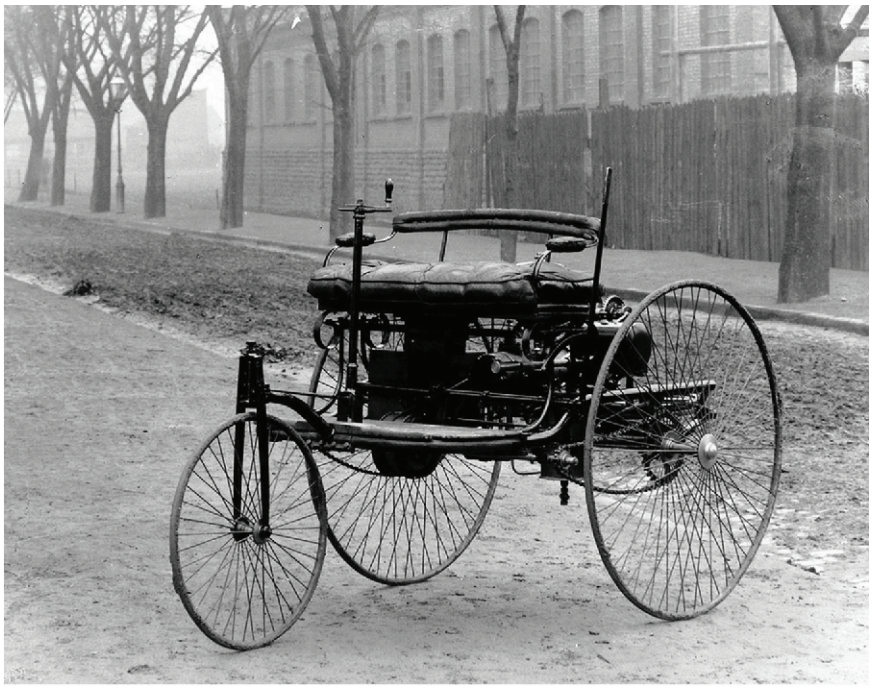


FIGURE 9.5 The First Automobile. This 1885 photo shows the Benz Patent-Motorwagen, the first automobile sold to consumers. It was a few more decades before automobiles came to resemble the cars we drive today. (credit: "1885 Benz" by Alonso de Mendoza/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The automobile's arrival depended on another crucial invention—the internal combustion engine. This engine generates power by burning fuel, often some form of petroleum, in the presence of oxygen in a chamber, to produce a gas whose high pressure exerts force on another component such as a piston, rotor, or turbine blade, causing it to move. Internal combustion engines powered automobiles as well as machinery in small workshops, offering an alternative where steam engines, which were large, could not easily fit.

Internal combustion did not become the sole source of energy that powered the Second Industrial Revolution, however. It did not completely replace steam or the horse. Indeed, the steam turbine, invented by Sir Charles Parsons in 1884, provided efficient power for river- and ocean-going vessels. Steam was also used to generate electricity, one of the great developments of the Second Industrial Revolution. Burning coal turned water to steam that moved the blades of turbines, which generated electric current. Parsons's steam turbine served this

purpose in Britain and the United States. Water power also generated electricity; in 1882, the first world's hydroelectric plant opened in Appleton, Wisconsin. Wind turbines also generated electricity, and in 1911 Italy built a plant to produce electricity from geothermal power. By the end of the century, electricity was the dominant force powering the factories of industrialized nations.

Electricity ran machines in factories and lit streets, workplaces, and homes following the invention of the incandescent light bulb, by Joseph Swan in Britain in 1878 and Thomas Edison in the United States in 1879. The incandescent bulb's bright light replaced the dim and often odorous illumination of oil and gas lamps that brought the risk of fire and, in the case of gas, of suffocation and explosions. Electric lighting made it possible for factories to operate far into the night.

Communications technology improved when the first transatlantic telegraph line between Great Britain and North America was completed in 1858, and by the end of the century all the world's continents were connected except Antarctica. The telephone, patented by American inventor Alexander Graham Bell in 1876, spread throughout Europe and North America during the same time, greatly easing business communications. In 1901, the Italian engineer Guglielmo Marconi successfully transmitted a wireless signal across the Atlantic Ocean from Wales to Newfoundland, Canada. He then founded broadcasting stations in Europe and North America and used them to send communications to ships at sea. In the 1920s, once the vacuum tube and the triode had been developed, commercial radio that broadcast news, music, and radio plays became available as well.

Other discoveries transformed the factory and the home. Chemical experimentation produced synthetic aniline dyes yielding textile colors more intense and vibrant than those from plant dyes, transforming fashions. Along with combine harvesters, mechanical seeders, and horse-drawn machines that reaped, gathered, and winnowed grain in one operation, chemical fertilizers enabled farmers to grow ever-larger crops. Another invention, barbed wire, helped cattle ranchers protect their herds. Refrigerated rail cars were perfected in the 1870s by engineers working for U.S. meat packer Gustavus Swift. The meat and other foods being produced in increasing quantities could now be shipped great distances without spoiling.

LINK TO LEARNING

Manchester was one of the first cities in England to industrialize. The online exhibits of its Science and Industry Museum (https://openstax.org/l/77SciIndustry) allow you to dive deep into the history of the Industrial Revolution in Britain.

Other inventions made office workers more productive. Typewriters and adding machines were common by the 1880s, and New York jeweler Willard Legrand Bundy patented the time clock in 1888. Upon arriving at or leaving work, employees inserted a card in the machine, which stamped it with the exact time and led to the expression "punching the clock."

New technology also changed leisure activities. In 1877, Edison patented the phonograph, a machine that could record sound by tracing soundwaves with a stylus on a rotating disc or cylinder and then play it back. Although it had business applications, the phonograph was soon used for entertainment. Phonograph recordings were often combined with the projection of still photographic images to create audiovisual presentations, the forerunners of motion pictures (Figure 9.6).

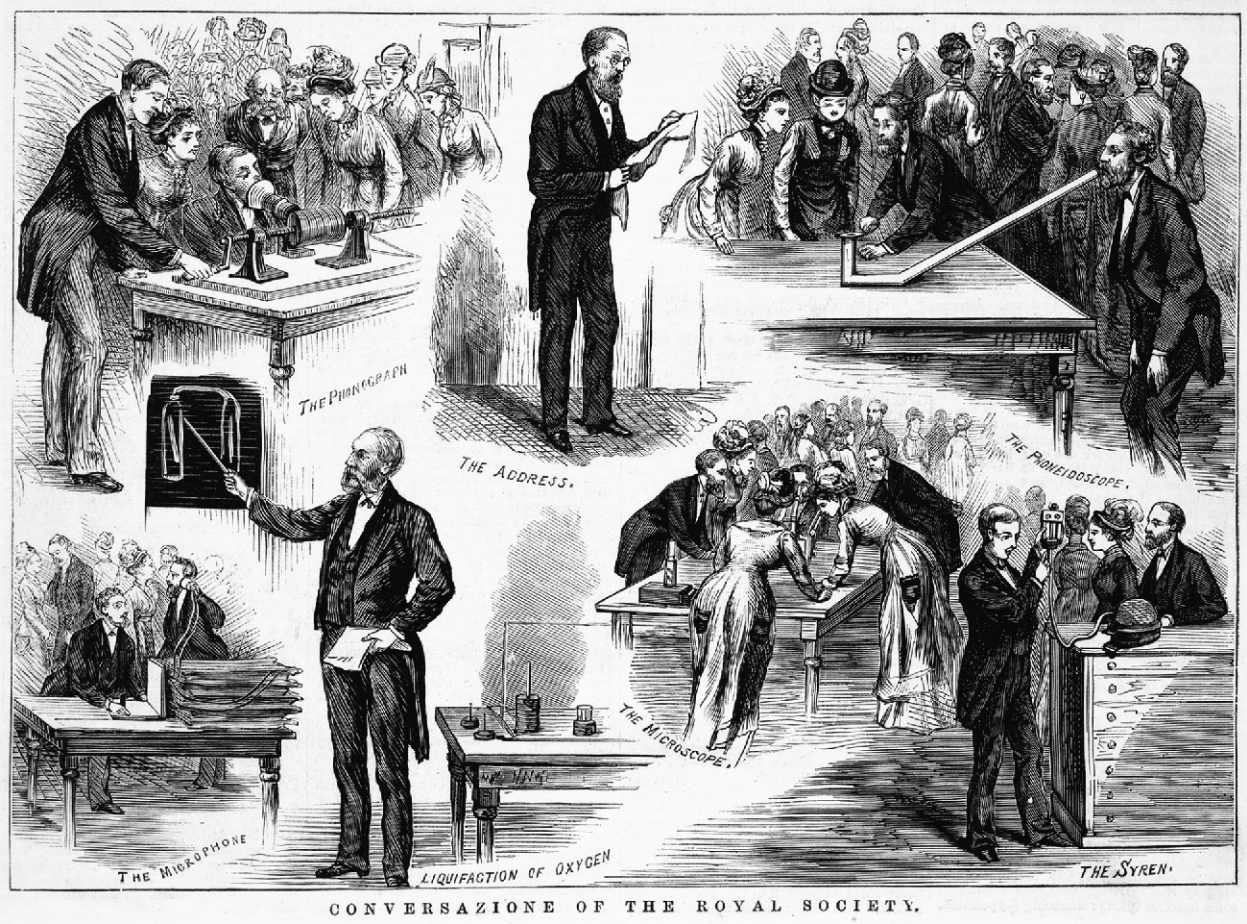


FIGURE 9.6 The First Phonograph. Only a year after Thomas Edison patented the phonograph, residents of Melbourne, Australia, flocked to see a demonstration of the new machine, as this wood engraving from an 1878 newspaper shows. (credit: "Conversatione of the Royal Society of Victoria" by State Library of Victoria/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Photographic technology advanced in the first half of the nineteenth century, enabling people to permanently record images with a camera. In the late nineteenth century, a number of people began taking multiple photographs of objects or people in motion and replaying them quickly to give the impression of movement. A patent for a machine to do this was filed by English inventor Wordsworth Donisthorpe in 1876, and a variety of photographers and inventors tried to perfect the process in the following years. The most famous experiment was made in 1878 by English photographer Eadweard Muybridge, who photographed running horses and replayed the images on a machine he called the Zoopraxiscope. Following the invention of photographic film by New York native George Eastman in 1884, light-sensitive cameras captured images on strips of paper coated with gelatin. In 1887, French inventor Louis Le Prince patented a motion-picture camera that relied on photographic film and used it to record the first movie still in existence: a scene, only a few seconds long, of people walking in a garden in England. The age of cinema had been born, but it was some time before recorded sound and moving images were synchronized.

BEYOND THE BOOK

The First "Action" Movie

Of all the inventions of the Second Industrial Revolution, movies are likely the most beloved.

The French were pioneers in the film industry. Many film historians date cinema's beginning to the first paid

public screening by the Cinématographe Lumière, an apparatus developed by brothers Auguste and Louis Lumière that both recorded and projected moving pictures. At this event, held on December 28, 1895, at the Grand Café in central Paris, ten one-minute films were shown, including *La Sortie de l'usine Lumière à Lyon* (*Workers Leaving the Lumière Factory*), *Le Repas de bébé* (*Baby's Breakfast*), and *L'Arroseur arrosé* (*The Sprinkler Sprinkled*), a comedy about a gardener watering his garden. One of their most successful early films was *L'Arrivée d'un train en gare de La Ciotat* (*The Arrival of a Train at La Ciotat*). Only fifty seconds long, it shows a train pulling into the station of a small French town near Marseille.

In attendance at the early demonstrations of the Cinématographe were engineer and inventor Léon Gaumont and his secretary Alice Guy, who became the world's first female filmmaker, producing more than four hundred films at the Gaumont studio. Georges Méliès also attended; his short film *Le Voyage dans la lune* (*A Trip to the Moon*) (1902) is considered the first science fiction movie. At the start of the twentieth century, the French company Pathé Frères produced more films than any other company in the world.

Thomas Edison was a pioneer in the U.S. film industry, and his studios turned out many silent short films in the early twentieth century. One of them was an action picture called *The Great Train Robbery* (https://openstax.org/l/77GreatTrain) that was made by Edwin S. Porter in 1903. Just over eleven minutes long, it was based on a stage play and is one of many early films featuring trains.

Access multimedia content (http://openstax.org/books/world-history-volume-2/pages/9-1-the-second-industrial-revolution)

- Why do you think trains were a favorite subject matter in early films?
- What would people have found most interesting about Porter's movie?
- Why might Porter have thought a movie about the West would appeal to audiences?
- Why do you think the film ends with one of the robbers firing at the camera?

LINK TO LEARNING

Watch the short film *A Trip to the Moon* (https://openstax.org/l/77TripMoon) by Georges Méliès. Its film techniques were considered quite inventive at the time.

Industrial Frontiers

Until the mid-nineteenth century, industrialization had taken place only in Britain, the United States, France, Germany, and Belgium. By the middle of the century, other countries like Canada, Italy, and Russia had also begun to industrialize.

Canada

Industrialization in Canada, then under British rule, began in the 1850s in the population centers of Toronto and Montreal. As in the United States and Britain, early factories produced textiles and metal goods. Brewing and the milling of flour were also industrialized. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Canadian entrepreneurs began the mass production of steel, established meat-packing companies, and invested in the extraction of natural resources such as timber, coal, and oil.

In 1867, to facilitate national defense and build a transcontinental railroad, the British Parliament passed the British North American Act, joining its colonies of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Province of Canada (which included Ontario and Quebec) in the Dominion of Canada. The Dominion had the right to govern itself, but it remained within the British Empire with Queen Victoria as its head of state.

Two years later, the Dominion purchased the territory of Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company for the railroad. Rupert's Land was inhabited largely by Métis, people of mixed First Nations and French ancestry

who were largely French-speaking and Roman Catholic. Fearing the loss of their land and culture under the Dominion's English-speaking Protestant majority, many Métis united under the leadership of Louis Riel to oppose the Canadian government's attempts to survey Rupert's Land. Riel formed a provisional government to negotiate with Canada, demanding protection for Métis rights, especially the right to establish French-language schools for children. After a brief outbreak of violence, Canada's Parliament granted the Métis 200,000 hectares of land, incorporated into the Dominion as the new province of Manitoba in 1870 (Figure 9.7).



FIGURE 9.7 The Creation of Manitoba. In 1870, Canada's parliament created the province of Manitoba as a home for the Métis. (credit: modification of work "Canada provinces 1870-1871" by "Golbez"/Wikimedia Commons, CC BY 2.5)

The Dominion of Canada reached the Pacific in 1871, when British Columbia agreed to join it if a railroad connecting eastern and western Canada were built within ten years. The Canadian Pacific Railroad, constructed largely by European and Chinese immigrants, was completed in 1885. It enabled the settling of the prairie provinces in the middle of the country and aided Canada's industrialization.

Industrialization was also assisted by the National Policy, begun in 1878 under Prime Minister John A. Macdonald and lasting until World War II. It imposed taxes on imports, some as high as 20 percent, to shield Canadian industry from competition by U.S. companies. While the policy did help Canadian businesses grow, residents of the west argued that the tariffs generated wealth for industrialized eastern provinces like Quebec and Ontario while maintaining artificially high prices for domestic goods in the prairie provinces.

Italy

Italy industrialized after other western and central European nations such as France and Germany. The fragmented political system of the Italian peninsula before its unification as a single nation (which began in 1861) delayed general industrial development. After unification (completed in 1871 with the incorporation of Rome and Veneto), the government was dominated by northern Italians and invested in northern industries. From the 1890s to the 1910s, steelworks, shipyards, rubber plants, and factories producing canned food, machine tools, chemicals, cement, and automobiles were established north of Rome. Agricultural production in northern provinces such as Emilia-Romagna was also modernized and mechanized, freeing peasants from the land to work in the new factories. The Italian government imposed high tariffs on imported goods to protect northern industry.

South of Rome, with the exception of Naples, little industrial development took place. Southern Italy and the island of Sicily remained rural and agricultural. As the north grew wealthier and more urbanized, the south grew poorer and more depopulated as peasants left to seek opportunities abroad.

Russia

Russia had begun industrializing in the early nineteenth century, as Russian entrepreneurs imported textile manufacturing equipment from Britain to create cotton cloth. The tsars were eager to use new technology to unite their empire and offered cash incentives to European and American business leaders willing to assist. With their help, Russia established steamship lines, and as early as 1820 steamships were regularly traveling the Volga River, Russia's main waterway. By 1851, Moscow was joined by rail with St. Petersburg, the nation's capital and home of the tsar (Figure 9.8).



FIGURE 9.8 The Russian Railroad. A lithograph from the 1840s shows the first train arriving in Tsarkoye Selo, a small town outside St. Petersburg, in 1837. One of the residences of the Russian royal family was located there. (credit: "Tzarskoselskaya Railway – Watercolour" by State Hermitage/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Nevertheless, Russia remained relatively unindustrialized compared to the United States and much of western

and central Europe. This became apparent when Russia lost the Crimean War in 1856, despite having a population larger than that of its opponents Britain and France and despite fighting the war in its own backyard while the enemy traveled more than a thousand miles by sea. Britain's and France's steamships provided better transportation than Russia's few roads and railroads did, and their factories produced more and better weapons.

Despite its size and the support of its tsars, Russia lacked many advantages for industrializing that other countries possessed. It did not have many artisans, and mechanization of production means little in a country without crafts to be mechanized. So long as peasant families were available to plant and harvest crops, there was no pressing need to mechanize agriculture either. Russia's population also consisted of many serfs who, unlike American and British farmers, were bound to the land and could not seek opportunities elsewhere such as in factories. Many Russians found it easier to profit by shipping raw materials such as grain, timber, and hemp to the industrializing nations of western Europe than to build a manufacturing sector of their own.

Finally, Russia's sheer size made industrialization difficult. Its rich natural resources were widely separated and far from the cities in which factories were located. To allow access, thousands of miles of roads and railroad lines needed to be constructed through the dense tracts of uninhabited forests, over raging rivers, and across the frozen tundra that covered much of the country. The United States, which industrialized relatively early, is also large, but not as large as Russia. The workers who laid railroad lines to connect its Atlantic and Pacific coasts worked across easy terrain of largely flat, treeless prairie and plains. In Russia, the few railroad and steamship lines and the few thousand miles of roads constructed before the end of the nineteenth century were not enough to bring natural resources to factories or manufactured goods to the countryside.

Following its defeat in the Crimean War, Russia increased its efforts to industrialize. In 1861, it abolished serfdom, providing potential workers for factories. In the 1890s, Minister of Finance Sergei Witte successfully lobbied for improvements in Russia's railway system, which at the end of the Crimean War had had fewer than one thousand miles of track. In 1891, the construction of a rail line across Siberia was begun. By 1900, the country had approximately thirty-six thousand miles of track. Soon it became easier to exploit the interior's vast reserves of iron, wood, and coal. However, Russia's late start meant it did not reach the same level of industrialization as western and central Europe and the United States until the twentieth century.

Industrialization conveyed a great advantage. Once a country had begun the process, it was capable of generating even more wealth and building larger, more technologically advanced military forces, which enabled it to gain an advantage over non-industrialized countries. It became nearly impossible for non-industrialized countries to compete with industrialized ones or even to protect themselves from aggression by their industrialized rivals. Japan proved an exception.

Japan

In July 1853, U.S. commodore Matthew Perry sailed into Edo (Tokyo) Bay at the head of a fleet of four gunships, charged with negotiating diplomatic relations and trade agreements with Japan. Japan had largely closed itself off in the 1600s to avoid colonization and domination by western countries. The Japanese also wished to protect their cultural integrity, and warding off foreign influences was part of this strategy. Intent upon securing entry, Perry ordered his ship's guns to turn toward the shore and fire. The guns fired blanks, but the Japanese military did not know this. Talks between Perry and the Japanese government ensued, and on March 31, 1854, Japan signed the Convention of Kanagawa, which opened the ports of Shimoda and Hakotate to American ships, promised assistance for American ships and sailors shipwrecked on Japanese coasts, granted American merchants permission to purchase provisions in Japan, and promised peaceful and friendly relations between the United States and Japan. Lacking the military power to resist Perry's demands, the Japanese government had no choice but to agree.

Japan was then governed by the Tokugawa **shogunate**, a system in which a military leader, the *shogun*, ruled in place of the emperor, whose role had largely been that of a figurehead for hundreds of years. Under the

shogunate, aristocratic lords who were subordinate to the shogun, called *daimyo*, and their retainers, members of a warrior elite called the *samurai*, governed the country. After Perry's arrival, modernizers in Japan, remembering the American gunboats and China's humbling by Britain's navy in the first of the Opium Wars (1839–1842), believed the best way to protect their country was to adopt the technology and institutions of the west. They saw the shogunate as a barrier to modernization, so they called for the emperor to resume rule. Many samurai were not convinced by these arguments. Not only would industrialization elevate "inferior" craftspeople and merchants, who were far below them in the social hierarchy, but the shogunate's end would deprive them of power and influence.

In January 1867, Emperor Meiji (Figure 9.9) ascended the throne following the death of his father. In November, the reigning shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu resigned and relinquished his power, and in January 1868 the emperor officially proclaimed the end of the shogunate. The period called the **Meiji Restoration** was underway. In 1869, the daimyo surrendered their titles and their land to the emperor. Although the daimyo were allowed to remain governors of their former lands, the samurai were no longer their retainers. Instead, they worked for the state. In 1871, the daimyo were removed as governors, and they and the samurai were given yearly stipends.



FIGURE 9.9 Emperor Mutsuhito Meiji. This highly realistic 1888 conté crayon portrait of Emperor Meiji by the Italian engraver Edoardo Chiossone was drawn covertly from life and was often mistaken for a photograph at the time. (credit: "Conté portrait of the Emperor Meiji" by Eduardo Chiossone in *Tenno Yondai No Shozo*/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Even further indignities awaited those who had once held power in Japan, however. The government stipends given to daimyo and samurai were made subject to taxation in 1873, and beginning in 1876 they were distributed in the form of government bonds. The Meiji government officially abolished class distinctions, which for the samurai meant the loss of privileges such as the right to wear swords. Although some rebelled, rising up against government forces several times in the 1870s, they were defeated by Japan's new national

army, equipped with modern weapons and trained in western methods of fighting.

Industrialization was a major goal of Japan's Meiji government, and the state played a greater role in it than in most western countries in the nineteenth century. The first goal was to build railroads to unite the regions of the country and assist in further industrial development. Construction began in 1870; by 1872, a rail line linked the capital of Tokyo with the port of Yokohama. Perhaps remembering that Perry's demands had been dictated from the deck of a gunboat, the government also invested heavily in shipbuilding.

The Mitsubishi Corporation, a private company founded by samurai Iwasaki Yatori, competed directly with the government and, with its modern ships and efficient management, replaced it as the country's leading shipbuilder and shipper. Seeking independence from western shipping lines, the government then turned eleven ships over to Mitsubishi with the provision that it establish regular trade with China. In 1887, the company purchased the government-owned shipyard in Nagasaki. Mitsubishi became one of Japan's first *zaibatsu*, family-owned business conglomerates with financial and industrial branches influential in Japanese politics.

Mitsubishi also invested heavily in coal mining. The Japanese government did so too and invested in lead, iron, and copper mines, as well as in factories that manufactured weapons and cement. The government's willingness to fund industries not crucial to military defense or industrial development was variable. The textile industry, for example, relied less heavily on government support. Thus as Japan strove to build battleships and railways and to modernize its army, textile companies continued to purchase mechanized equipment from abroad.

The Japanese government abolished feudalism and gave peasant farmers title to their land, freeing them to sell it and travel to cities for work in factories and shipyards if they wished. Those who remained on the land were helped to increase Japan's food production by the government's importation of fertilizers and farm equipment. The abolition of samurai status freed the warrior elite to use their skills as managers of factories. As the samurai built private wealth, they invested in economic sectors that received less government support. Textile production benefited greatly from this trend, as did brewing and the manufacture of glass and chemicals.

Japan established a public school system in 1872. By 1900, attendance was nearly universal for boys, and girls were not far behind. The new system stressed the study of both science and the Confucian classics. Japan also sent students abroad to study technology and institutions in the United States and Europe.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Japan had become capable of competing with larger countries and was eager to do so. It soon got the chance. In 1895, it successfully defeated non-industrialized China in the Sino-Japanese War. In 1905, it defeated Russia and sent a clear message to the United States and Europe that it intended to become a world power.

Obstacles to Industrialization

As the United States and European nations industrialized, African, Latin American, and Asian nations, with the exception of Japan, did not. This left them at an economic, technological, and military disadvantage compared to the countries of the industrialized world. Historians disagree about the reasons for this Great Divergence. Some point to the fact that these nations lacked natural resources, such as abundant coal, that European nations possessed. Many note that establishing colonies in the Americas and Asia helped nations like Britain and France acquire capital, resources, and markets that assisted their industrial development. Thus Africa, Asia, and Latin America became parties to unequal treaties forced on them by Europeans bearing deadlier weapons.

A contrasting argument is that countries such as Egypt and the Latin American nations realized their strengths lay in producing raw materials for the industrializing nations. Factors such as history, geography, climate, and the nature of their labor forces better suited them to producing agricultural goods or other types of raw

materials than to pursuing widespread industrialization. In each nation, a unique set of circumstances influenced the path taken.

India

India's industrial endeavors were greatly affected by its relationship with Britain, which had begun trading in India in the 1600s. The Seven Years' War and the subsequent Treaty of Paris, signed in 1763, effectively brought French power in India to an end, paving the way for Britain's eventual control of the subcontinent. At this time, India possessed characteristics that seemed to make it an ideal candidate for industrialization. It had large merchant and artisan classes, which produced beautiful textiles highly valued in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. India was, in fact, the largest exporter of cotton cloth in the world by the middle of the eighteenth century. It was also wealthy, and the country's Mughal rulers had maintained ports, roads, and bridges that helped manufacturers and merchants bring goods to market.

Britain, however, had no intention of allowing its colony to become its economic rival. Like all colonies, India was meant to enrich Britain, not compete with it. Thus began a process often referred to as **deindustrialization**, a reduction in a nation's or region's industrial activity. In the early eighteenth century, even before Britain had forced the French from India, the British Parliament passed the Calico Acts, prohibiting the importation of finished cotton textiles that could compete with the products of English weavers. India thus lost an important market for its goods and a source of revenue. Many weavers lost their jobs, reducing the number of workshops that could be mechanized later in the century. The destruction of the Indian textile industry only accelerated once British textile production became mechanized. Inexpensive mass-produced British cloth flooded Indian markets, underpricing local weavers and driving them out of business.

India's economy was not completely destroyed by the British presence, however, and Indian entrepreneurs invested in industrial development. For example, Dwarkanath Tagore, a member of a wealthy Hindu family, founded a bank and purchased hand-manufacturing operations (Figure 9.10). Eager to work with the British, he pooled his money with that of British investors to open India's first coal mine in 1834 and to build sugar refineries and textile factories. Other Indians also invested in such ventures, especially cloth production. Indeed, at the time Britain entered the Second Industrial Revolution, Indian textile factories were successfully competing with British ones selling cloth in China.



FIGURE 9.10 Dwarkanath Tagore. Indian industrialist Dwarkanath Tagore invested in coal mines and textile factories. He was also a partner in a company that traded opium to China. (credit: "Dwarkanath Tagore" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Ultimately, though, Indian textiles could not compete with British products on price. One part of the Indian economy that Britain did encourage was cash-crop agriculture. Small farmers unable to pay British taxes were evicted from their lands, which were combined with others and transformed into cotton plantations. The loss of food-producing land in the late eighteenth century led to devastating famines that killed some thirty million people. Thus India was transformed from a manufacturing nation into an **export economy**, producing primarily raw materials such as cotton but also tea and sugar for use by the British and opium for the British to sell in China.

Egypt

A similar process of deindustrialization took place in Egypt, but there British influence was only one of the reasons. In 1805, Muhammad Ali, an Albanian army commander in the service of the Ottoman Empire, gained control of Egypt with the assistance of Egyptian political and religious leaders and replaced the viceroy who had governed on behalf of the Ottoman sultan Selim III. In 1811, Muhammad Ali won Egypt's effective (although not formal) independence from the Ottoman Empire by defeating the Mamluks, the ruling dynasty of formerly enslaved soldiers who had guarded the country for the Ottomans. To reinforce his authority, he adopted the title *khedive* of Egypt, a designation above a viceroy and only one step below the reigning sultan.

As Egypt's new ruler, Muhammad Ali set out to modernize it. He encouraged the peasantry to grow cotton during the winter months, when they were not growing food crops, and sold the cotton to Britain. He used the profits to modernize Egypt's army, purchase ships for a modern navy, build irrigation systems to grow more cotton, and establish a weapons foundry. He reformed Egypt's educational system, built a military college, and founded a medical college for women. He built paper mills, sugar refineries, and textile factories using imported European machinery and technicians. Under Muhammad Ali's rule, Egyptian landowners prospered. Peasants, however, resented both the forced labor system employed in many construction projects and conscription into the army. Many ran away or deliberately crippled themselves to avoid them.

Muhammad Ali also used his army to expand his domains. He seized the western part of the Arabian Peninsula and most of Sudan as well as Crete and Syria (Figure 9.11). Alarmed by his military success, the Ottoman sultan called upon the European powers for assistance. Faced with a blockade of the Nile by the British and Austrians, Muhammad Ali was forced at the Convention of London in 1840 to reduce his army, dissolve his navy, and give up all the territory he had claimed except Egypt and Sudan. In exchange he won the right to establish hereditary rule for his family in Egypt.



FIGURE 9.11 Egypt Under the Rule of Muhammad Ali's Family. Under the rule of Muhammad Ali's family, Egypt temporarily extended its power into the Sudan and what are now Saudi Arabia and Syria. (credit: modification of work "Map of Egypt under Muhammad Ali Dynasty in English" by Don-kun, Eric Gaba/Wikimedia Commons, CC BY 3.0)

The European powers also interfered with Muhammad Ali's efforts to industrialize. In the 1838 Treaty of Balta Liman with Britain, the Ottoman Empire agreed to abolish monopolies and reduce import taxes on British- and French-made goods, making them cheaper than those produced in Egypt. Lacking coal to power steam engines, Egypt's factories also could not rapidly produce enough goods to satisfy Egyptian demand. Although Egypt's manufacturing sector faltered, agriculture boomed, with ready buyers for its sugar and cotton. Needing tax revenues to pay for its military and for foreign imports, the government promoted the growing of

cash crops for sale to Europe, and Egypt found itself locked into the role of an export economy.

Latin America

The nations of Latin America also became export economies. Now freed from Spanish and Portuguese control, they were eager to industrialize but faced a variety of obstacles. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Brazil had imported steam engines and developed facilities for sugar refining, coffee processing, and textile production. Paraguay built an iron foundry and established a steamship line. Chile opened coal mines and built sawmills and flour mills. Many countries also built rail lines. However, they did not become heavily industrialized; consequently, their development took another path.

Ironically, independence was part of the problem. When Spain and Portugal regulated their economies, Latin American merchants had chafed at restrictions, but these regulations had also heavily taxed foreign-made goods, which protected local handicraft industries. Now that merchants could trade with any countries they wished, however, goods made in Europe and the United States flooded in. Like India and Egypt, Latin American countries quickly found their own manufactured goods could not be made or sold as cheaply as imports. They also could not make enough to supply internal demand. As Brazilians and Chileans watched, their silver flowed overseas instead of being spent at home.

Latin Americans quickly realized that they would be more successful at continuing to grow sugar and coffee, products that had been the bases of the colonial economy and were still in high demand, than they would be at attempting to compete with foreign manufacturers. Later in the nineteenth century, Brazil produced rubber for the same reasons, using its abundant land and large agricultural workforce to supply raw materials for industrialized nations. Although these decisions made sense to planters and politicians, they nevertheless locked Spain's and Portugal's former colonies into providing raw materials that did not command as high a price as the finished products made from them.

Thus, though Latin Americans sold large amounts of cash crops to the United States and Europe, enriching the planter class, their earnings never exceeded (or even equaled) what they paid for imports. This disparity had a negative effect on Latin American society. Wealthy plantation owners and urban professionals could afford the factory-made products of other continents, but agricultural laborers could not, accentuating the class divide. Furthermore, many of the industrial improvements that Latin American countries did make, like the construction of mines and railroads, were funded by European and U.S. banks, and much necessary equipment, like steam engines and other machinery, was imported from Europe, leaving little money at home for domestic projects like building roads and telegraph lines. Regional wars in the nineteenth century also destabilized South America and interfered with industrialization. For example, from 1864 to 1870, Paraguay battled the united forces of Uruguay, Brazil, and Argentina in the War of the Triple Alliance. By the time the war ended, it and infectious diseases had killed much of Paraguay's population.

Thus a variety of forces combined to make Latin America's attempts to industrialize largely unsuccessful, and the region remained primarily an exporter of cash crops. Although railroads were built, they tended to be short lines linking the interior to the coast, enabling the export of raw materials. No national rail networks developed like they did in the United States and Europe, and electrification took place only in major cities.

China

China also did not become an industrial power in the nineteenth century, despite its population, wealth, natural resources, and tradition of innovation and invention. Historians have offered a variety of reasons.

First, no challengers in East Asia could match China in size, wealth, and military strength, so it had no need to compete with anyone. Second, because China's population was large and often poor, labor was abundant and employers did not have to offer high wages to attract employees or replace workers with labor-saving machinery. Also, unlike in Europe, most coal deposits in China were located far from population and manufacturing centers. Coal provided the most efficient means of powering steam engines in factories and

was crucial to the development of railroads.

China had also been weakened by military defeats and internal rebellion. Britain won the First Opium War (1839–1842), gaining control over Hong Kong and five other ports: Guangzhou, Shanghai, Ningbo, Fuzhou, and Xiamen. In 1844, China also signed treaties with France and the United States, giving them the right to trade in the five open ports and build Christian churches in and send missionaries to China. China's loss to Britain in the Second Opium War (1856–1860) led to the signing of the Treaty of Tianjin, which gave Britain, France, the United States, and Russia further rights to trade and establish diplomatic posts in the capital of Beijing. China refused to honor the treaty, however, and British and French troops invaded Beijing in 1860, looting and burning the imperial Old Summer Palace (Figure 9.12). The subsequent Convention of Beijing affirmed the Treaty of Tianjin.



FIGURE 9.12 A Casualty of the Opium Wars. Most of the Old Summer Palace, the residence of the Qing emperors, was looted and destroyed by British and French soldiers in October 1860. Treasures they carried off are now in museums around the world. (credit: "Old summer palace ruin" by "Clee7903"/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

China's defeat in the Opium Wars began what the Chinese have called "the century of humiliation." In accord with the Treaty of Tianjin, six million *taels* (a unit of currency) of Chinese silver that might otherwise have been invested in business enterprises flowed to the victorious foreigners as compensation for damages sustained. This demonstration of the Qing 's military weakness plus other grievances such as high unemployment and failure to maintain the crucially important Grand Canal, which transported food stuffs from south to north, led to numerous uprisings and outbreaks of violence directed at the reigning dynasty.

Internal rebellion also weakened China. In December 1850, the Taiping Rebellion began when Qing troops tried to force the followers of a man named Hong Xiuquan from their stronghold in Guangxi province in the south. Hong, a village schoolteacher, had come to believe he was the son of the Christian God and the brother of Jesus. Rejecting both Qing authority and Confucian tradition, he spread his religious teachings throughout southern China and gained a sizable following. In early 1851, after defeating some Qing forces, Hong Xiuquan proclaimed the *Taiping Tianguo* (Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace) with himself as king. He urged his followers to give up alcohol and opium and called for the overthrow of the Qing government. His promises of land and wealth for all attracted impoverished peasants, tribal minority groups, bandit gangs, and members of Chinese secret societies, some originally formed to restore the Ming dynasty.

Hong Xiuquan's forces raged through southern China, seizing towns and cities and confiscating food, money,

and weapons. (Figure 9.13). In 1853, the populous southern city of Nanjing fell to the Taiping army and became Hong Xiuquan's capital. Many died in the fighting, and the confiscation of foodstuffs led to famine. By the time the Taiping Rebellion ended after Hong's death in 1864, an estimated twenty to thirty million Chinese had died, and the south, China's most populous region, had been devastated.



FIGURE 9.13 The Taiping Rebellion. The shading shows the area controlled by the Taiping rebels. Note how close they were to the major port of Shanghai. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

9.2 Motives and Means of Imperialism

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify the main reasons imperialism grew during the Second Industrial Revolution
- Contrast late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century imperialism with that of earlier periods
- Explain how industrial development helped some countries conquer and control others in the second half of the nineteenth century

Like a chain of falling dominoes, industrial development in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

had many consequences, short and long term. To generate profits for themselves and their investors, businesses needed to operate inexpensively and sell as many goods as possible. To keep costs and therefore prices low, they sought inexpensive raw materials. They also wanted markets in which to sell their finished goods, preferably without competing with others. The ships that transported raw materials and finished products required ports where they could refuel and resupply, as did the navies that kept them safe.

To the industrial powers, these needs justified their practice of **imperialism**, that is, the policy of gaining direct or indirect control over parts of the world with low-cost resources and no competing mass-produced goods. Improved forms of transportation, communication, weaponry, and medicine made this control possible. As the industrialized nations came to dominate states in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific, taking natural resources and money from them, they sent not only soldiers and administrators but also missionaries to introduce the inhabitants to Christianity and other aspects of western culture, often against their will.

Raw Materials and Markets

By the beginning of the Second Industrial Revolution, new inventions and industrial processes demanded new raw materials, such as petroleum to fuel engines, natural rubber for valves and tires, palm oil for lubricating machinery, copper to conduct heat and electricity, silver for medicine and photography, and lead for pipes. Coal was in demand to transform iron into steel, to produce the gas that heated homes, and to generate the electricity that powered machines and lit streets and buildings. Not all the industrialized nations could produce enough to supply their increased needs.

New fashions and tastes also created demand for foreign imports. Middle-class families in Europe and the United States wanted their daughters to play the piano and drove a market in ivory (from which piano keys were once made). The need for quick sources of energy for industrial workers fueled an increased demand for coffee, tea, and sugar. Elites and aspiring members of the middle class filled their homes with furniture of mahogany, rosewood, and ebony. Cotton textiles remained fashionable, but following the abolition of slavery in the United States, cloth manufacturers could no longer depend on an inexpensive supply of raw cotton.

THE PAST MEETS THE PRESENT

The Demand for Elephant Ivory

In the nineteenth century, the demand in industrialized nations for pianos (and thus piano keys), hair combs and hairpins, handles for silverware, false teeth, letter openers, billiard balls, and other objects made of ivory employed thousands of people in the United States, especially in the lower Connecticut River Valley. Between 1863 and 1929, one firm alone processed 100,000 elephant tusks (Figure 9.14). But the demand for ivory declined at the beginning of the twentieth century. Among other changes, radios and phonographs replaced pianos as the chief source of music in the home, and the call for instruments fell.



FIGURE 9.14 The Demand for Ivory. East African hunters of the 1880s or 1890s posed with the elephant tusks they sold to European buyers. (credit: "Ivory trade, East Africa, 1880s/1890s" by Bassenge/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

There is still a demand for elephant ivory today. Although many governments have made the sale of ivory products illegal, people in Asia and the United States continue to purchase them, considering them fashionable or status symbols. Many believe that governments will take steps to prevent the extinction of elephant herds hunted for their tusks, and that purchasing a few small items will not cause serious harm. Demand for ivory has decreased in recent years, but elephant herds in some parts of Africa are still declining, and evidence suggests the animals are evolving to grow smaller tusks.

The desire for elephant ivory is not the only consumer demand that threatens to harm the environment. Rainforests are cut to clear more land to raise cattle. The demand for gasoline has also led oil companies to drill beneath the ocean and seek access to protected wilderness areas.

- Are you aware of other current consumer demands that could have similar effects on the natural environment? What are they?
- Should we be held more responsible for the harm caused by our demands than the people of the nineteenth century, given that we are more aware of the consequences for the natural world? Why or why not?

The industrializing powers could satisfy their needs for raw materials and markets only by reaching outside their borders to places in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific Ocean. To amass large profits, however, they needed to extract raw materials at such low prices that it was unlikely Africans, Asians, and Pacific Islanders would consent to them. In addition, and also unlikely, these nations would have to agree to purchase manufactured goods from their industrialized partners even though they might be able to produce such things for

themselves. Business owners and politicians in industrialized nations thus believed they needed to gain control over these distant countries and rule them as part of an empire. Quite often, military conquest was the means by which they did so. Once these foreign territories were secured, markets established, and funds invested, the imperial powers then needed to prevent encroachment on their possessions by other industrial powers. This led to them to exercise even greater control over their colonies and often to attempt to conquer neighboring regions. Great Britain, for example, competed with Russia for control of Afghanistan largely to limit Russian access to Britain's prize colony of India.

The new colonies were quite different from those that European powers had established in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was not generally expected that large numbers of Europeans would relocate to Africa or Asia and make permanent homes there, and the colonies were not intended to have quite the same relationship to the home country that earlier "settler colonies" had had. The U.S. treatment of the Philippines and Filipinos was fundamentally different from what North American colonists had experienced from Great Britain, for example. The industrial nations intended to exploit the resources and people of the colonies they established, not settle them.

There were some exceptions. The North African colony of Algeria, which France had taken control of in 1830, was incorporated as part of France in 1848. Many French people and other Europeans immigrated to the coastal regions of Algeria and Tunisia with government encouragement in the nineteenth century. Many Europeans also settled in the British and Dutch colonies in southern Africa. However, this was not the imperial norm.

The Civilizing Mission

On the heels of the soldiers who first opened countries in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific to agents of businesses came others seeking to bring what industrializing countries thought was valuable. Many from the United States and Europe considered it the duty of citizens from the industrialized—or as they phrased it, the "civilized"—world to bring the benefits of western culture to the conquered. According to social Darwinism, a theory then popular in Europe and the United States, some groups of people become stronger and more powerful because they are naturally superior. In this view, those of European ancestry could impose their will on others because they were innately "better" and their societies more advanced. Jules Ferry, the prime minister of France in the early 1880s, stressed that such domination was not only the duty of "superior" peoples but also their right. The "benefits" brought to the colonized typically consisted of religion, education, western clothing, and "character-building" sports like soccer. The British also introduced cricket to colonies in Africa and Asia, and baseball came to the Caribbean from the United States. The introduction of these sports was thought to teach people supposedly western values like fair play, teamwork, and competitiveness. The French called this aspect of imperialism "the civilizing mission." Colonizers also typically erected an infrastructure in the lands they controlled, building roads and railroads and establishing secure water systems and telegraph lines.

As the thinking went, people had been conquered not to deprive them of their wealth but to introduce them to the benefits of civilization through the generosity of the industrialized country. This view no doubt served many as merely a cover for baser motives. Others, however, truly believed that African, Asian, and Pacific Islander societies were being improved by the adoption of the hallmarks of western civilization, such as Christianity, monogamous marriage, and fashions that covered the entire body. This was the attitude taken by English writer Rudyard Kipling in his pro-imperialist poem "The White Man's Burden." In the first stanza of the poem, written in 1899 in response to the U.S. acquisition of the Philippines, Kipling expresses his belief that it was the White conquerors who suffered at the expense of the conquered people of color, who are portrayed as uncivilized and in need of guidance by people of a biologically and culturally superior race:

> Take up the White Man's burden—
> Send forth the best ye breed—
> Go, bind your sons to exile

To serve your captives' need;
To wait, in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.

As Kipling's reference to the "half devil" nature of people of color suggests, missionaries played a prominent role in the civilizing mission. They were often the chief means by which the "gifts" of civilization were brought to people. All the imperial powers except Japan sent missionaries to their new colonies. Roman Catholic clergy had already been converting people in European colonies for hundreds of years. Now Protestant clergy and avid lay volunteers established churches and schools to convert the peoples of Africa, Asia, and the Pacific to Christianity and teach them the language of the conquering nation. They also took in orphaned or abandoned children and attempted to assimilate them to the home country's culture.

Although some missionary activities, like the building of hospitals, may have benefited the Indigenous inhabitants, most others were undoubtedly harmful. Shocked by the practice of polygamy, missionaries often demanded that men with multiple wives choose one and divorce the others, who then had to return to their families in shame or, if they had no family, live without means of support. In China, missionaries' insistence that Christian converts abandon the practice of ancestor veneration often caused the new Christians to be rejected by their families.

Many aspects of the "civilizing mission," whether carried out by missionaries or government functionaries, were believed to benefit the conquering nation and its citizens as much as to help the "savage" inhabitants of foreign lands. Telegraph lines enabled communications, and water systems protected city dwellers from diseases like typhoid and cholera. Literate Indigenous people trained in European values and customs were employed in colonial bureaucracies and police forces. Although such changes may have eventually benefitted the people of the colonized country, they also changed the nature of societies, for example by eliminating traditional jobs, and it was always the case that the colonizing nations benefited the most. Instead of connecting population centers as European railroads did, for instance, railroad lines in places like Africa led only from the interior to the coast, the better to move to waiting ships the raw materials destined for European and U.S. factories.

LINK TO LEARNING

Visit this site that features the lyrics to several songs celebrating British imperial might (https://openstax.org/l/77ImperialSong) to read and listen to songs of British imperialism. How do these songs represent the British imperial endeavor? How would it have made British people feel to hear them? How might it have made Africans or Indians feel to hear the same lyrics?

The Means of Imperialism

Before either the economic or the cultural goals of the imperialists could be achieved, the desired regions had first to be conquered. One of the first hurdles was the physical difficulty of penetrating the interiors of Africa and Asia. Sub-Saharan Africa was a hot and humid home to microbes unknown to Europeans that sickened both them and their draft animals. Malaria laid low many Europeans who attempted to explore the continent's interior.

Malaria was also a significant problem in Britain's colony of India. It was exacerbated by schemes to dig irrigation canals and clear land for railroads, creating more areas for water to collect in breeding grounds for the mosquitoes that carried the disease. Quinine, which comes from the bark of the cinchona tree, had been used to treat malaria for years, and in the 1840s the British discovered that taking it before exposure could prevent people from ever contracting the disease. Cinchona trees grew only in the Andes, however, and there were not enough to meet the European demand. Attempts to plant cinchona trees elsewhere often failed, but

by the 1870s the Dutch were successfully growing them in their colony of Indonesia and producing additional quinine, a development that assisted Europeans in their exploitation of the African interior.

Besides disease, difficult terrain and dense brush also made European exploratory and military missions difficult. Following rivers inland was the easiest means of travel. However, most rivers were too shallow for sailing ships, so exploration beyond the coast depended on the development of steamboats. In the 1810s, American explorers began to use steamboats to venture into the interior of North America, exploring the upper reaches of the Mississippi River in 1825, for example, and the British sent steamboats up the Irrawaddy River to conquer Burma (also currently known as Myanmar).

Steamboats were also of great use in Africa. The interior of the continent is a high plateau from which rivers pour down and rush to the seacoast. All have waterfalls, making it impossible for large sailing ships to follow them for their full length. By the second half of the nineteenth century, however, Europeans were regularly plying African waters in steamships much improved over the earliest ones. Besides sturdy iron hulls, the boats had propellers instead of the paddle wheels the original boats had and steel boilers that were less likely to burst than iron ones. When the boats reached a waterfall, they were disassembled, carried around the falls by African porters, and reassembled to continue down the river (Figure 9.15).

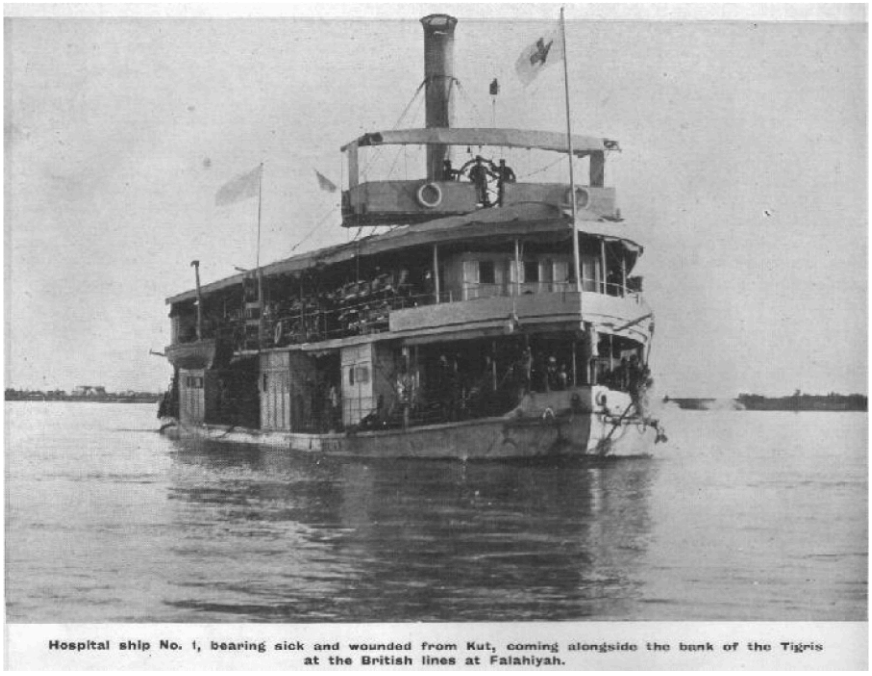


FIGURE 9.15 Steamboats for Exploration. Steamships carried people and supplies up the rivers of Africa and Asia, opening these continents to explorers, missionaries, and soldiers. The hospital ship in this early photograph traveled the Tigris River in Iraq. (credit: "British hospital ship on the Tigris river carrying wounded in 1916" by E. E. Jones/ Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Steamships carried not only soldiers, explorers, and traders into the interiors of continents but also guns. Weapons had improved rapidly in the industrialized world in the nineteenth century, and guns were another type of technology that gave Europeans a significant advantage. European and U.S. soldiers were armed with breech-loading, repeating rifles and handguns that could be loaded quickly and fired with greater accuracy. Smokeless powder increased the velocity of bullets—and thus the severity of gunshot wounds—and bullets had been rendered more lethal. Dum dum bullets (named for Dumdum, the arsenal town in India where they were first used) were flat or hollow bullets that expanded upon impact, increasing the size of the holes they made. Machine guns were also used extensively in colonial warfare. The Gatling gun from the United States could fire three thousand bullets per minute. Another U.S. invention, the Maxim gun, was a single-barreled weapon (unlike the Gatling gun) that could fire eleven bullets per second.

Such weapons could be produced in large numbers only in industrialized nations. Thus the only way the people of Asia, Africa, and the Pacific could acquire guns was to purchase them, and they were inordinately expensive. A native of the Sudan who wanted to purchase a European- or U.S.-made rifle at the end of the nineteenth century would have to pay at least five camels or, if a European were willing to make the trade, thirty-six enslaved people. Firearms were less common in Central and South Africa, and people fought with swords and spears into the nineteenth century.

9.3 Colonial Empires

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify the places in which the industrialized nations built empires in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries
- Describe how the industrialized nations built their empires
- Explain where and why the world's industrialized nations came into conflict while building their empires

In the later nineteenth century, the industrialized nations regarded their colonies as necessary sources of wealth and strength. Some, like Britain and France, had already established colonies a century or more before. Now they focused on tightening their control over these and acquiring more. The United States, Germany, and Japan lacked overseas colonies and now sought to acquire them.

Africa

The industrialized nations of Europe saw Africa, with its rich natural resources, as the great prize, and they moved quickly to seize it. At the beginning of the Second Industrial Revolution, Europeans controlled about 10 percent of the African continent. By the end of the century, after the "**Scramble for Africa**"—the competition among European countries to establish African colonies—they controlled 90 percent, with the largest portions ruled by Britain, France, Belgium, and Germany. Portugal and Spain still claimed colonies acquired in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Figure 9.16).

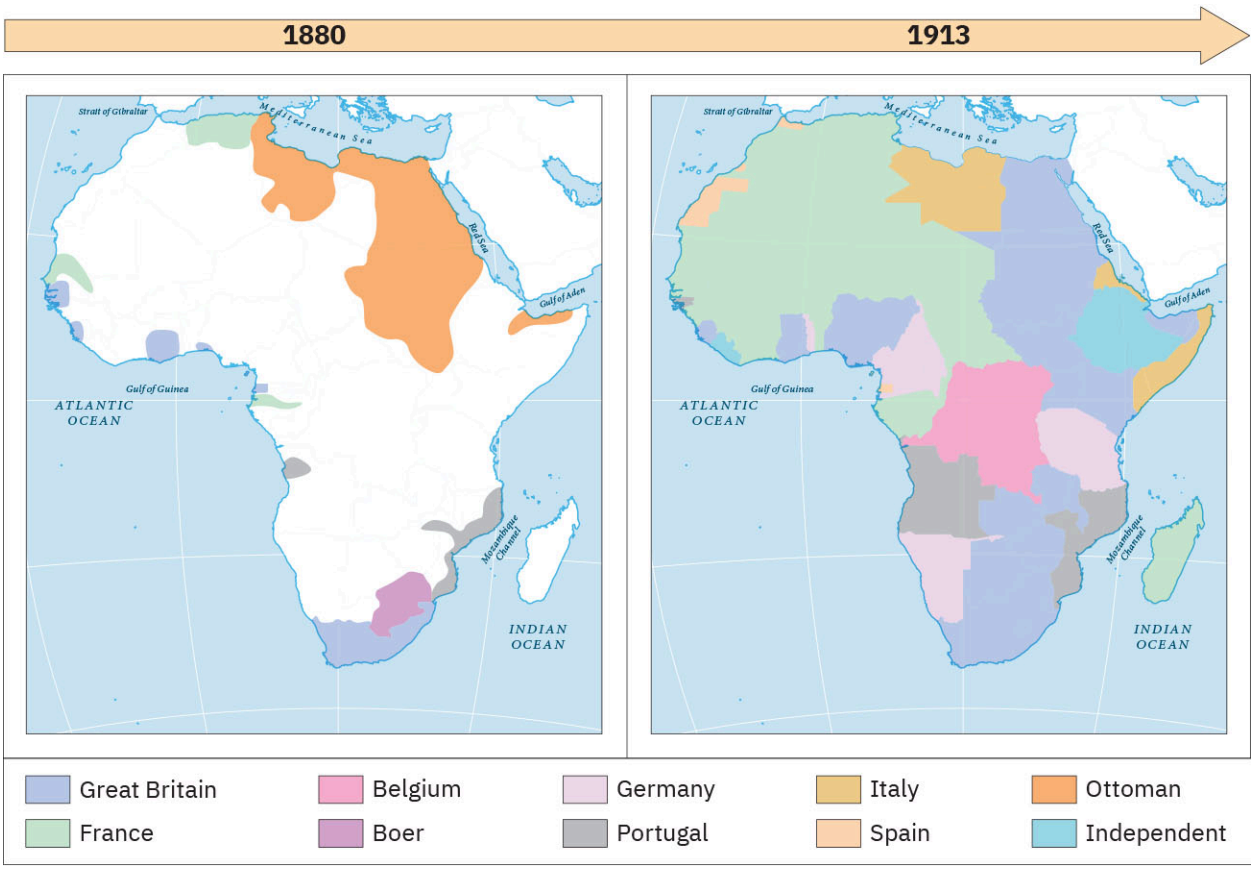


FIGURE 9.16 Colonial Africa. The 1880 map shows how much territory was controlled by Europeans at the beginning of the Second Industrial Revolution. The 1913 map shows Africa approximately thirty years later. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

European nations aimed to colonize the continent to get access to raw materials and new markets for their goods, to boost international prestige and national pride, and to achieve military dominance over rivals. The "Scramble for Africa" reached its height during the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885 when, without input from Africans, European nations simply allotted different parts of the continent to one another. Some agreements were formal recognitions of existing colonies and territories, while others recognized new claims. Colonization continued throughout the 1880s–1910s.

France

France had been reluctant to claim colonies in Africa. It controlled the island of Gorée off the coast of Senegal and had a few trading posts in the interior. Beyond expanding into the interior of Senegal in the 1850s, however, it did little until the end of the nineteenth century, when the European powers met at the 1878 Congress of Berlin to decide the fate of the defeated Ottoman Empire's possessions in North Africa. France received Tunisia.

Tunisia had borrowed heavily from European powers to fund development and modernize its army. When it declared bankruptcy in 1869, Britain, France, and Italy established a commission to manage its finances and ensure repayment. At the Congress of Berlin, Italy hoped to gain Tunisia since a number of its citizens now lived there. Britain, however, did not wish Italy to control both sides of the Strait of Sicily, endangering British access to the eastern Mediterranean, but it did want French support for its claims to the Mediterranean island of Cyprus. Germany wished France to focus on North Africa rather than continental Europe, where Germany hoped to increase its own influence. Thus, France was given Tunisia, and Italy received the city of Tripoli in Libya instead.

Britain and Germany were content to allow France to claim Tunisia, but the Tunisians refused to acknowledge this grant of power. A Tunisian attack on the French colony of Algeria in 1881 gave France an excuse to invade Tunisia and establish a protectorate over it, a form of control that allowed the Tunisian government under Muhammad III as-Sadiq to manage domestic affairs while France oversaw its defense and its relations with other nations.

After realizing Belgium desired neighboring regions in Central Africa, France moved speedily to acquire more colonial holdings. As a result, from 1880 to 1900 many parts of West Africa came under French control as the Italian-born French naval officer Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza traveled the region, negotiating with local rulers and signing treaties on behalf of France. Areas that are now nations (or parts of nations) quickly became French possessions: the Côte d'Ivoire, Benin, Niger, Mali, Mauritania, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, the Republic of the Congo, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Gabon, Burkina Faso, and Chad. Besides providing markets for manufactured goods, these colonies also produced abundant palm oil, used for lubricating industrial machinery. France also took control of French Somaliland (Djibouti) in East Africa and the island of Madagascar off the East African coast.

The French takeover of its African colonies was sometimes peaceful, as when Brazza signed a treaty with the Bateke ruler King Illoh Makoko in today's Republic of the Congo and Democratic Republic of the Congo. At other times it consisted of brutal conquest. For example, Captain Paul Voulet earned a reputation for cruelty as he marched through French Sudan (modern Niger) on his way to Lake Chad. Voulet's troops looted villages already under French control and raped and killed their inhabitants.

Great Britain

South Africa was Britain's first toehold on the continent. In 1806, Britain took formal control over the Dutch Cape Colony, established by Dutch traders in the seventeenth century. South Africa was intended as a settler colony, and as British immigrants arrived, the Dutch who lived there, called Afrikaners or Boers, were forced ever further inland, north and east, in the Great Trek of 1836. They established two independent republics, the Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free State, and left the Cape Colony to the British.

Britain's second area of interest in Africa was Egypt, an excellent source of cotton for its textile mills. The possibility of building a canal across the Isthmus of Suez, which divided Asia from Africa, had intrigued Europeans since the fifteenth century. Linking the Mediterranean and Red Seas would allow ships to reach the Indian and Pacific Oceans without sailing around the tip of Africa, greatly easing trade with South and East Asia. Now seemed the time to make this dream a reality. In 1854, the French diplomat and business owner Ferdinand de Lesseps approached Sa'id Pasha, the son of Muhammad Ali, who became ruler of Egypt and Sudan in 1854, for permission to build a canal through Egyptian territory. Lesseps received it, and in 1858 he organized a team from seven countries to engineer a canal that ships of any nations could use. Construction began in 1859, and the Suez Canal opened to shipping in 1869 (Figure 9.17).



FIGURE 9.17 Suez Canal. This 1881 illustration from the *Young Persons' Cyclopedia of Persons and Places* shows the route of the Suez Canal from Port Said on the Mediterranean Sea to the Red Sea. (credit: modification of work "Suez Canal in the year 1881" by Young Persons' Cyclopedia of Persons and Places/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Britain had initially opposed the canal. It threatened British domination over the main water route to Asia, which passed the British Cape Colony, and it made its prized colony of India more accessible—and more vulnerable. Britain's attitude changed, however, when Ismail Pasha, who became *khedive* or viceroy of Egypt and Sudan following the death of his uncle Sa'id Pasha in 1863, found himself deeply in debt to European creditors, which made it possible for European interests to manipulate him. For example, he was forced to establish a dual court system in which accused Europeans were tried by European judges, not Egyptian ones. In 1875, unable to pay his debts, Ismail Pasha sold Egypt's shares in the Suez Canal to Britain. He was also forced to allow British and French officials to manage Egypt's financial affairs.

In 1879, an anti-European uprising began in Egypt under the leadership of Colonel Ahmed Urabi. When Ismail Pasha gave in to Urabi's demands to remove the British and French from governmental positions, Britain and France requested that the Ottoman sultan remove Pasha from power, which the sultan did, replacing him with his more agreeable son, Tawfiq Pasha. Equally unwilling to accept Tawfiq as their ruler, however, Urabi's forces continued to fight until 1882, when they were defeated by the British (Figure 9.18). With the conclusion of this Anglo-Egyptian War, Britain assumed control of Egypt and Sudan to protect its financial interests in the region, and Urabi was sent into exile.



FIGURE 9.18 The Anglo-Egyptian War. From 1879 to 1882, Egyptian forces, depicted in this 1882 image from *The Illustrated London News*, fought to rid their country of European domination and unseat rulers who acceded to European demands. (credit: "Anglo-Egyptian War" by The Illustrated London News/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

As hostilities between Britain and Urabi's forces were coming to a close, a new threat arose in Sudan, where British control had been weak. In 1881, a religious leader named Muhammad Ahmad called upon the Sudanese to free themselves from Ottoman rule, which meant, in effect, freeing themselves of British-guided Egyptian rule. Muhammad Ahmad began to refer to himself as the *Mahdi,* a messiah or savior who will appear on earth to revive the practice of "true" Islam and usher in a period of justice that will last for a few years before the end of the world. Muhammad Ahmad proclaimed a religious crusade against the ruler of Egypt and gathered followers. British efforts to maintain control over Sudan failed, and the Mahdi's followers continued to enforce their control over the region, even after his death in 1885.

Belgium

Belgium was one of the smallest industrialized nations, and its legislators did not believe it had the money or force to acquire and maintain colonial possessions. However, Belgium's second king, the constitutional monarch Leopold II, dreamed of establishing an empire in the Congo Basin of Central Africa and was not to be dissuaded. The region was relatively unexplored by Europeans and rich in resources like ivory and rubber, and no other European powers claimed it. In 1876, Leopold established the International African Association. Its goal, he claimed, was to "civilize" the natives of Africa and dispense humanitarian aid.

Leopold's noble-sounding statements were lies, however. Although Britain and France were leery of his interest in the Congo, at the Berlin Conference in 1884 he promised he would impose no tariffs on the colony's imports and had in mind only the benefit of the Congolese natives. Control of the Congo thus was given to him. He named it the **Congo Free State** and ruled it entirely as his own private colony; it did not belong to the nation of Belgium. Although Leopold kept his promise to make it a free-trade zone, Europeans there were free to exploit and abuse African laborers in the pursuit of profit.

Germany

Germany came late to the scramble for colonies, delayed by a number of factors. Until 1871, it consisted of a variety of German-speaking states and kingdoms in northern and central Europe, none wealthy or powerful enough to establish colonies. Once unified as a country in 1871, it still did not possess the ocean-going navy needed to trade with and defend colonies, and its first chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, in office from 1871 until

1890, initially had no interest in an overseas empire.

Bismarck originally believed empire building was a foolish venture that cost more than it returned. But by the 1880s he had changed his mind, perhaps influenced by German merchants who sought trade and investment opportunities overseas, or by public clamor to increase German prestige through the claiming of colonies. In Africa, Germany staked its claim to regions scattered across the continent that had not already been colonized by France and England, from Togoland (today Togo and part of Ghana) and German Cameroon (now parts of Cameroon, Chad, the Central African Republic, and Gabon) in the west to German South-West Africa (now Namibia) and German East Africa (today Rwanda, Burundi, and parts of Tanzania).

Italy

Italy was the last European power to establish colonies in Africa. In 1884, an Italian shipping company bought Assab Bay, a port city on the Red Sea, from a local sultan. In 1886, Italy took control of the Egyptian Red Sea port of Massawa at Britain's urging to prevent France from acquiring more territory in the region.

In 1889, Italy claimed Eritrea as a colony. It also signed the Treaty of Wuchale with Menelik II, who became emperor of Ethiopia that same year. In the Italian-language version of the treaty, Menelik was promised military and financial aid in exchange for control over Eritrea and its foreign affairs. In the Ethiopian-language version, the emperor had the choice of accepting or rejecting Italian control. When, in 1895, Italy insisted on enforcing the terms of the Italian-language treaty, war began.

The conflict ended ignominiously for Italy at the 1896 Battle of Adwa, when its troops encountered a much larger Ethiopian force. Six thousand Italians were killed, three thousand were captured, and others fled the battlefield, leaving eleven thousand rifles that the Ethiopians seized. As night fell, Ethiopian peasants fell upon stragglers in the retreat and killed them. Riots broke out in Rome and Naples at the news, and Italians demanded the return of all soldiers and tried to block the troop trains. Adwa largely marked the end of Italy's expansion in Africa. Menelik II allowed Italy to retain control of Eritrea, but the treaty ending the war reaffirmed Ethiopia's independence (Figure 9.19).

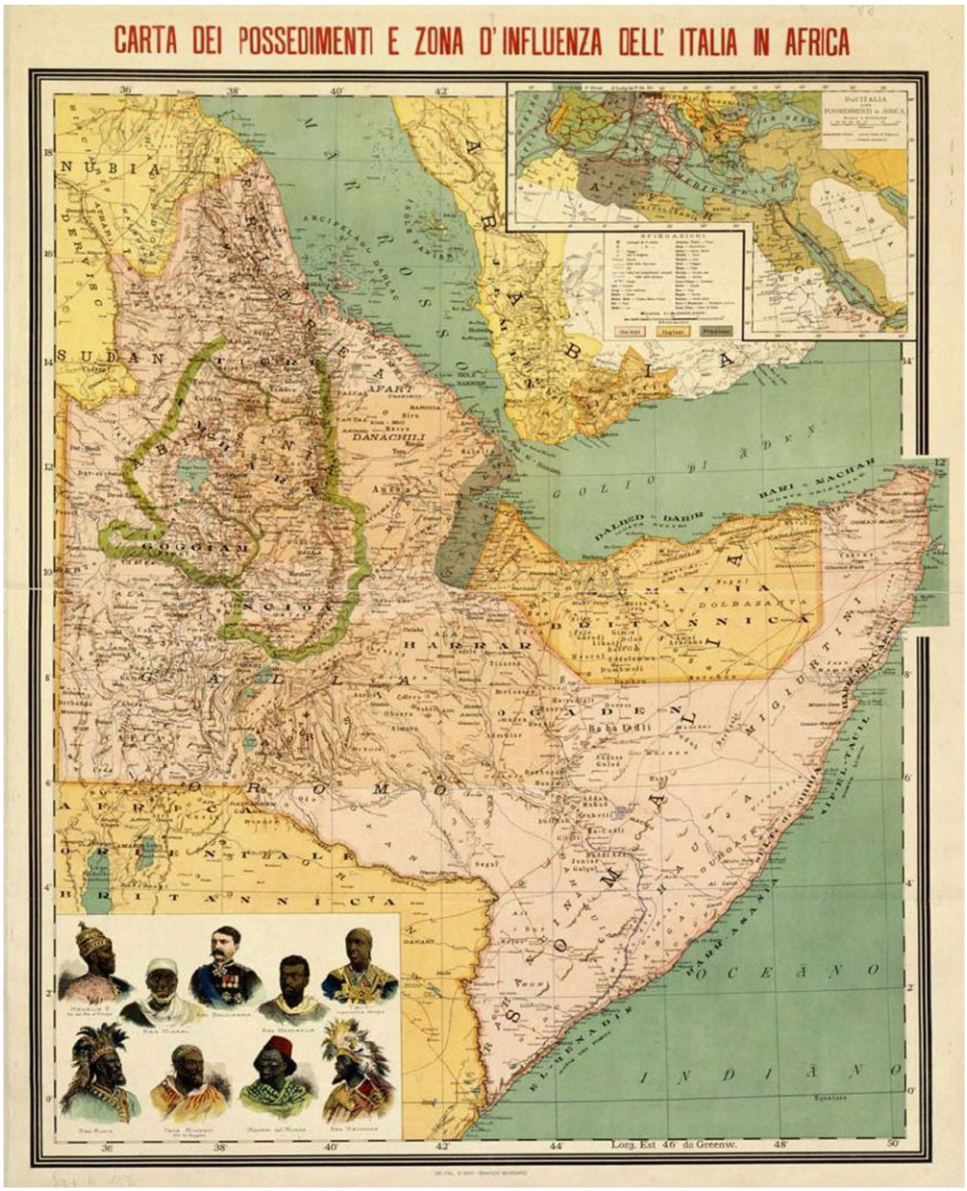


FIGURE 9.19 Italy's Claims in Africa. Italy grasped the parts of Africa that lay unclaimed by other European powers. This 1896 map of the Horn of Africa shows Italy's possessions of Italian Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. (credit: "Possessions italiennes en Afrique-1896" by Bibliothèque nationale de France/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

European Powers in Conflict

Although Italy's expansion in Africa was halted, the other great powers continued to extend their influence, sometimes through their private citizens. Entering South Africa's diamond trade as a young man, for example, Cecil Rhodes of Britain established a company called De Beers in 1888 that soon monopolized the diamond market. In 1890, Rhodes became prime minister of the Cape Colony.

It was Rhodes's goal to expand the British Empire in South Africa. In 1889, the British government gave him a charter that enabled a company he had formed, the British South Africa Company, to sign treaties with local rulers, gain mineral concessions from them, and essentially rule their lands. Rhodes and his agents thus extended British influence northward from the Limpopo River in South Africa across the Zambezi River to Central Africa, calling the land Rhodesia (now Zambia and Zimbabwe) in 1895.

Rhodes's motives were not only to gain personal wealth and power but also to expand the British presence in

Africa and provide room for Anglo-Saxons, whom he considered a superior race, to grow in number. Rhodes was a racist with no respect for Africans. To strengthen British control over Central Africa, where Germany, Belgium, and Portugal also claimed land, he proposed a "Cape to Cairo" railway connecting Britain's East African colonies (Figure 9.20). This link, he believed, would make it easier to govern the British Empire in Africa and attract more settlers, and the British government agreed.

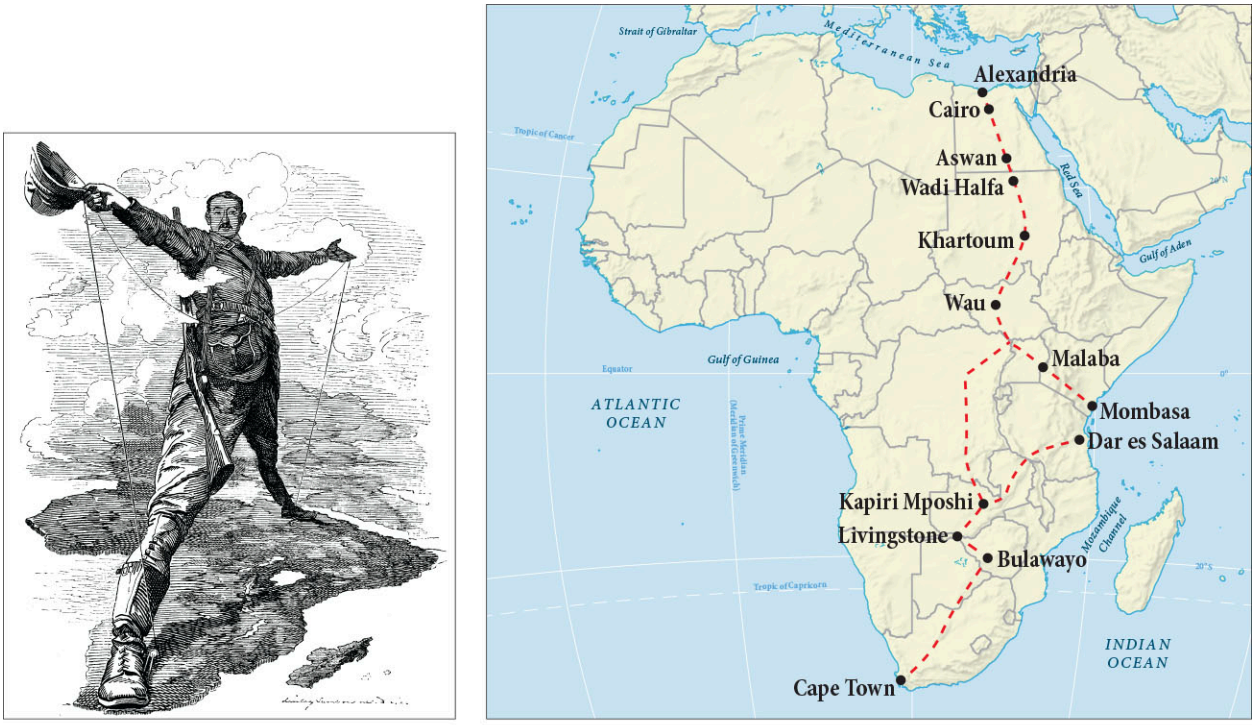


FIGURE 9.20 Cecil Rhodes. In his caricature of Cecil Rhodes (a), which appeared in the British humor magazine *Punch* in 1892, artist Edward Linley Sambourne shows him bestriding Africa. Rhodes proposed a railroad connecting Britain's Cape Colony to Egypt in the 1890s (b). Some lines were not completed until the twentieth century, and some were never built. (credit a: modification of work "The Rhodes Colossus" by Punch/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; attribution b: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

Several hurdles stood in the way, however. First, in 1891 Germany had established the colony of German East Africa (today's Burundi, Tanzania, and Rwanda), effectively blocking the proposed railway's path. In addition, Portugal objected that it controlled the land between its colonies of Angola and Mozambique, encompassing much of what Rhodes claimed as part of Rhodesia. Britain rejected Portugal's claims, but another obstacle was that Britain did not control Sudan; the Mahdist army did.

n 1896, fearing that Sudan might be seized by a competing foreign power, Britain appointed Sir Herbert Kitchener to reclaim it. There was also concern that the Mahdist ruler, Abdullah Ibn-Muhammed Al-Khalifa, might ally with Menelik II to drive Europeans out. That same year, France also dispatched expeditions from both French Somaliland (Djibouti) in East Africa and Senegal in the west to gain control of Sudan. France hoped to lay claim to Sudan in order to build an east-west railway linking its colony of French Somaliland with its West and Central African possessions.

As the French marched steadily across the Sahara, Kitchener, with an Egyptian and Sudanese army, moved south along the Nile, establishing railroad lines and reclaiming towns from Mahdist control as he went. Finally, in September 1898, Kitchener and his forces, augmented by British troops, met the Mahdist ruler Al-Khalifa at Omdurman and defeated him. Before he could reclaim the rest of Sudan, however, Kitchener was dispatched to the town of Fashoda, where the proposed British and French railroad lines crossed (Figure 9.21). The French

had arrived from Senegal some months earlier and claimed the town. As the two armies waited through September and October for instructions from their governments, civilians in both countries loudly proclaimed their nation to be in the right. The British Royal Navy prepared for war. The Fashoda Incident, as it is called, ended when France withdrew its claims, realizing it was outgunned, and the two nations agreed upon a boundary line between their spheres in Africa.

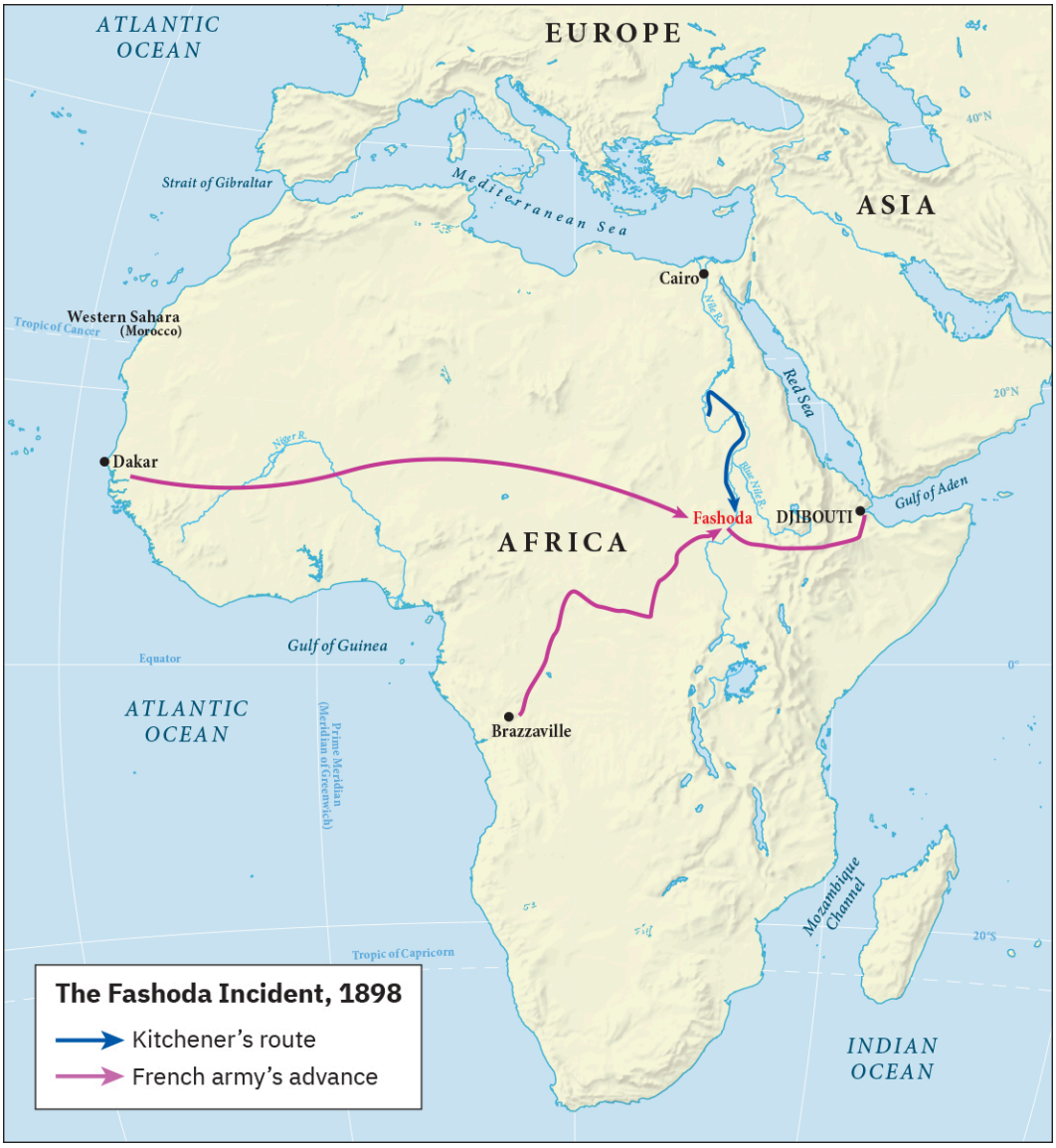


FIGURE 9.21 The Fashoda Incident. France and Britain both sought to build railroad lines connecting their African colonies. They nearly went to war when their military forces encountered one another at Fashoda, where the proposed lines were to cross. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

Britain's final effort to exert control over territory in Africa was the Boer War. Tensions between the British Cape Colony and the Boer republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic had increased. In 1877, following Britain's announcement that it was annexing the Transvaal Republic, fighting broke out between British and Boer forces in the First Boer War. The British were soundly defeated and forced to recognize the independence of the South African Republic (the new name of the Transvaal Republic).

In 1900, following an abortive British raid into the South African Republic, the Boers laid siege to British Cape Colony settlements. In response to Boer guerrilla tactics, the British adopted a scorched-earth policy, destroying Boer homes, farms, and livestock to deny them food and shelter. Boer women and children were

forced into concentration camps, where nearly thirty thousand died from disease or starvation. The war ended in 1902, and the Cape Colony annexed the South African Republic and the Orange Free State. In 1910, the two former Boer republics, the Cape Colony, and the British-controlled Natal Colony came together to form the Union of South Africa.

LINK TO LEARNING

Use the map and slider bar to trace the development of the British Empire (https://openstax.org/l/77BritEmpire) over time. You will also find a list of Britain's colonies and the years they were acquired.

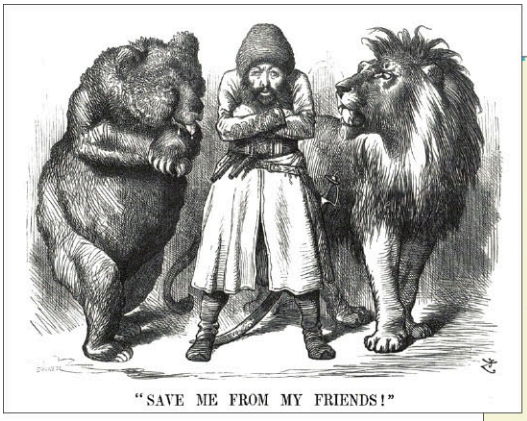
Asia

Despite Britain's expansion into Africa, India remained its most important overseas territory. India had been a possession of the British East India Company, which directly ruled approximately half of India. In 1857, however, Muslim and Hindu soldiers in the company's employ, known as sepoys, rose in revolt. In 1858, following the British army's suppression of the revolt, Parliament disbanded the British East India Company and took control of the territory it had ruled. Local rulers whose authority the East India Company acknowledged and who had remained loyal were left in nominal control of their kingdoms, but in reality, they became subservient to Britain. Queen Victoria was officially proclaimed empress of India in 1876, and the last Mughal emperor, who had not been active in the revolt, was sent into exile. This transfer of power began the period of direct British rule called the British Raj.

India supplied Britain's lifeblood, without which it likely could not have maintained the wealth and power that enabled it to assume supremacy over the rest of the world for most of the nineteenth century. Refusing to impose high tariffs as many industrialized nations did, England was flooded with foreign-made goods that dominated the market. Having converted its economy largely to manufacturing by the mid-nineteenth century, England also depended on trade with other countries for its food supply. As a result, it maintained a negative balance of trade with most of the world; that is, it purchased more from other nations than they purchased from it. This imbalance threatened Britain with economic ruin.

India saved Britain from this fate, though at great cost to the Indian people. To reduce Britain's trade imbalances, Indian farmers were forced to grow cash crops such as cotton and tea to maintain British factories and households. High excise taxes were imposed on Indian textiles, making English fabrics cheaper for Indian consumers to buy than those made in their own country. British officials imposed high taxes on the Indian people to pay the British soldiers and officials stationed in India. The tax revenue also went to purchase rails, locomotives, and wire from Britain for railroads and telegraph lines in India. Built primarily to transport British manufactured goods into the interior for sale and Indian cash crops to the coast for transport to the British Isles, the new infrastructure benefited the colonizers far more than the colonized.

British attempts to gain control over regions of Asia beyond India and Hong Kong were often frustrated by Russia, which also sought to expand its influence there. The ongoing struggle between the two was called **The Great Game**. From the 1850s through the 1870s, Russia gained control of kingdoms occupied by Turkic-speaking peoples in central Asia and incorporated them into its empire as a region called Turkestan (Figure 9.22). Russia argued that its actions were necessary to "civilize" the region's inhabitants and protect important trade routes. Britain feared Russia would try to absorb India as well. To protect its prized possession, Britain sought to use the Emirate of Afghanistan as a buffer zone. When its diplomats were refused admission to Afghanistan in 1878, the British army invaded. Britain emerged victorious, gaining the right to act as a go-between for Afghanistan and Russia. When Russia gained control of much of what is now Turkmenistan in 1881, the two European nations jointly established the boundary line between an independent Afghanistan and Russian territory, ending a serious conflict between the two powers.



(a)



Turkestan in 1900

(b)

FIGURE 9.22 The Great Game. (a) This 1878 cartoon shows the Afghan Emir Sher Ali Khan poised between the competitors Russia and Britain. (b) In the middle of the nineteenth century, Russia added the region it called Turkestan to its empire by conquering Turkic-speaking kingdoms in central Asia. (credit a: modification of work "Great Game cartoon from 1878" by Punch/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; attribution b: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

Russia also desired to expand control over the far eastern end of its empire, on the Pacific coast. Here, however, it found itself in conflict with a new imperial power—Japan. Lacking many of the raw materials necessary for industrialization, Japan, like other industrialized nations, began to seek them abroad. It first took control of the Ryukyu Islands and also claimed the Kurile Islands and Sakhalin Island (Figure 9.23). Russia, however, also laid claim to these territories, and for a while the two nations shared Sakhalin Island. In 1875, Japan relinquished its claims to the island in exchange for complete control over the Kurile Islands.

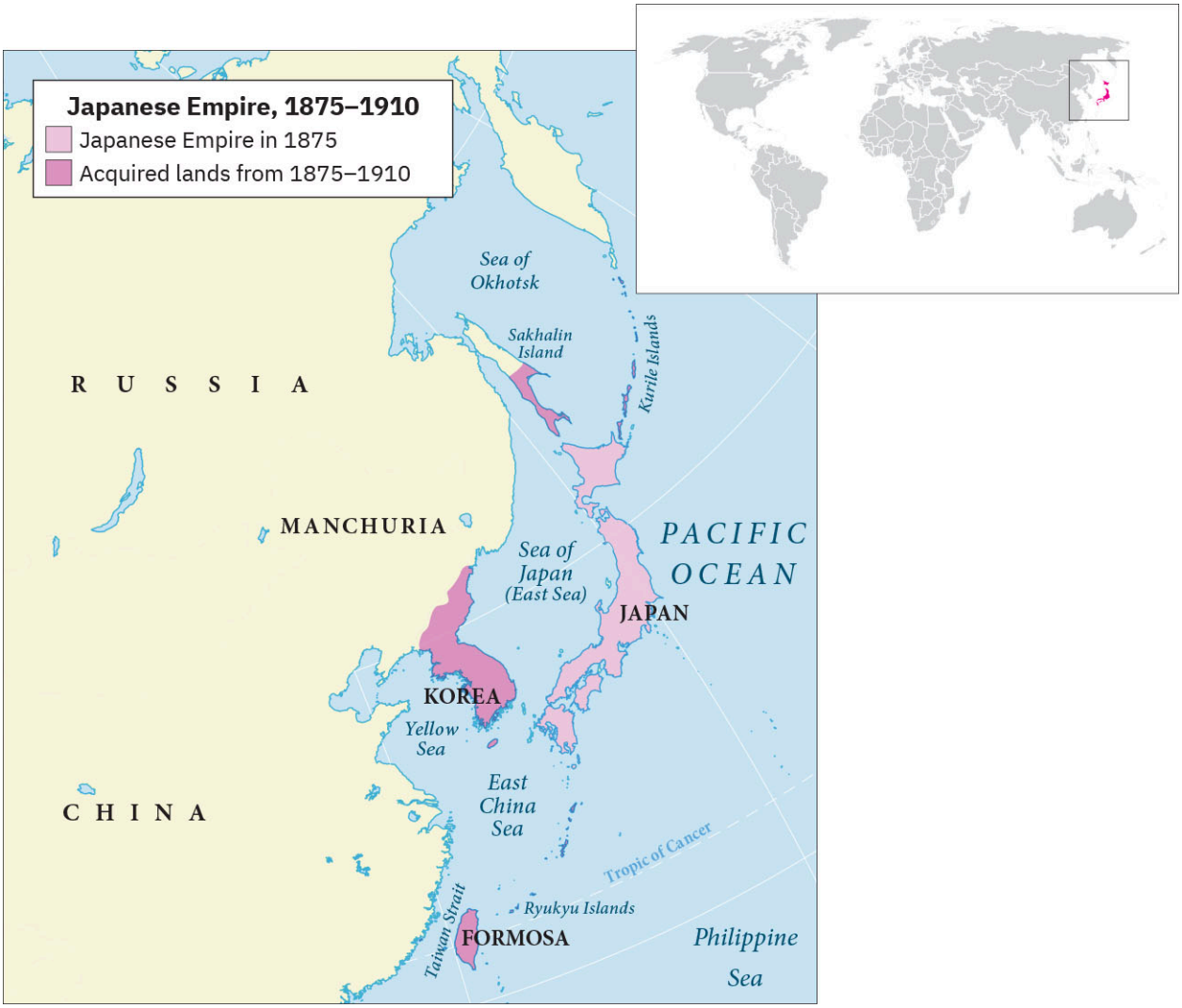


FIGURE 9.23 Japan's Empire. Unlike many European nations, Japan sought colonies closer to home, including the Ryukyu, Kurile, and Sakhalin Islands. (attribution Japanese Empire map: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license; credit world map: modification of work "Japan Seychelles Locator" by "Bobamnertiopsis"/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Japan's most desired prize was Korea, then a largely isolated tributary state of China. Japan traded with Korea but in a limited way. In 1873, however, Korea's King Gojong began to consider opening the nation to the outside world. Anxious to gain an advantage, in 1876 Japan sent a gunboat to force Korea to sign the Japan-Korea Treaty of Amity (Ganghwa Treaty) before it could make commercial treaties with other nations. Among other provisions, the treaty allowed the Japanese to establish trading ports in addition to the one to which they already had access. It also let Japanese merchants live and work in Korea while subject only to Japanese law. In addition, Korea was declared to no longer be a tributary state of China (Figure 9.24).

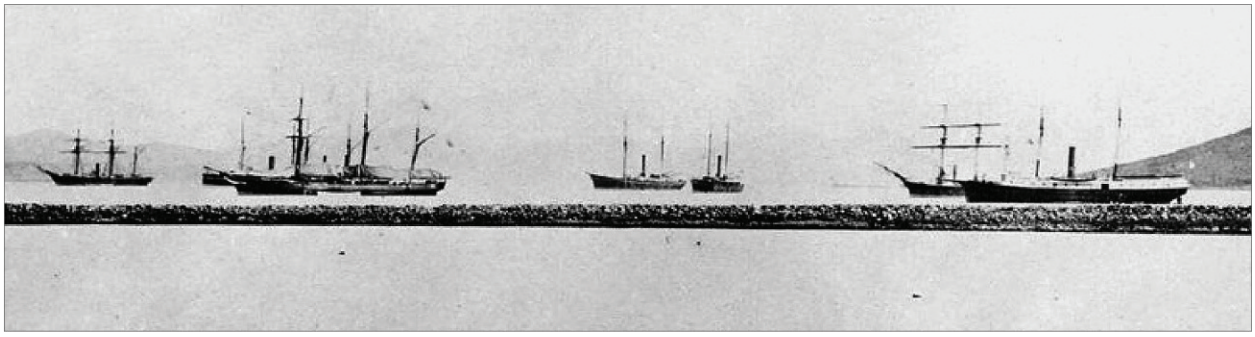


FIGURE 9.24 Opening Korea to Trade. Ships from the Japanese navy sail to Ganghwa Island, Korea, in this photograph made in 1876. Soon, Japan controlled all of Korea. (credit: modification of work "Kanfado Kantai" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

China did not wish to relinquish its control so easily, and a series of uprisings and mutinies in Korea in the 1880s gave it the opportunity to reassert its authority. In 1885, however, both Japan and China agreed to withdraw military forces from the peninsula in 1885. Although this temporarily prevented armed conflict between Japan and China, hostilities between the two soon commenced. In 1894, the pro-Japanese Korean leader Kim Ok-Kyun was murdered in Shanghai, and an outraged Japan awaited an opportunity to confront the Chinese. That same year, the Donghak Rebellion swept Korea as disgruntled peasants demanded social reforms, giving China an excuse to dispatch a military force to Korea in violation of its agreement with Japan. Japan in turn sent troops to confront the Chinese, and the First Sino-Japanese War began.

Although China had the larger military force by far, Japan's navy was much more modern and defeated the Chinese handily. Humiliated, China signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895, which recognized Korea's independence and conceded to Japan territory on the Liaodong Peninsula in Manchuria as well as Taiwan and the Penghu Islands. Japan had now acquired an empire. Japan quickly realized, however, that it would have to defend its gains from its old rival Russia. In 1896, Koreans, angered by the assassination of their pro-Chinese queen by Japanese agents, overthrew the pro-Japanese government then in power. As Japanese influence waned, Russian influence grew, and Russia soon acquired mineral and timber rights in the northern Korean peninsula.

Russia also began to encroach upon Japanese territory in Manchuria. Russia's one Pacific port, Vladivostok, was often frozen over. Seeking a harbor that was ice-free year-round, Russia leased land from China on the Liaodong Peninsula in 1897 and built a new port, Port Arthur. A wary Japan offered Russia free rein on the Liaodong Peninsula in exchange for Japan's retaining control over Korea. When Russia refused to compromise, Japan attacked the Russian fleet at Port Arthur in the winter of 1904, beginning the Russo-Japanese War. Once again, Japan emerged victorious over a much larger nation. The Treaty of Portsmouth, signed in September 1905, acknowledged Japan's right to Korea and awarded Japan control of southern Manchuria. Japan formally annexed Korea in 1910.

As Japan, Russia, and Britain competed for control of Asia, France largely refrained. Its principal interest on the continent of Asia was Indochina (now Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia). In 1858, the emperor of Vietnam ordered French missionaries in the country to leave. In response, Napoleon III sent gunboats to protect the missionaries and their Christian converts and forced the emperor to grant France control over three southern provinces. When the Vietnamese ruler proved unwilling to abide by the terms, troops returned in 1862, forcing him to concede yet more territory. By 1887, France had established protectorates over the remaining provinces of Vietnam and over Cambodia, a vassal state of the emperor of Siam (now Thailand). Laos, also Siamese territory, became part of French Indochina after a brief military conflict between Siam and France in 1893.

China could do little as Asia was devoured. By the second half of the nineteenth century, China was a shadow of its former self. Defeat in the Opium Wars of 1839 and 1856 had weakened it, and the peace treaties concluding

the Second Opium War had forced it to open additional ports and allow British, French, Russian, and U.S. citizens to travel freely and enjoy the right of extraterritoriality, meaning that while in China they were subject only to the laws of their own countries. China was also forced to allow the practice of Christianity.

Alarmed by their nation's inability to defend itself against foreign threats, many Chinese in the 1860s began to call for reform. Among them was Feng Guifen, a scholar and government official who advocated the adoption of western military technology and the study of western science. Military leaders such as Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang also supported these reforms. The reformist Self-Strengthening Movement was championed by Prince Gong, who had negotiated with the British and French invaders in 1860. Arsenals to build and house modern weapons and shipyards to construct modern warships were established (Figure 9.25). Efforts were made to build railroad and telegraph lines and to open iron and coal mines. Although they still clung to traditional Confucian values, the leaders of the movement also advocated educational reform with a new emphasis on mathematics, science, and foreign languages (so foreign books could be translated) instead of the Confucian classics. They regarded the Self-Strengthening Movement as a way of saving the Qing dynasty, not undermining it.



FIGURE 9.25 Fuzhou Arsenal. The Fuzhou Arsenal in Mawei was built as part of China's Self-Strengthening Movement. This photograph was taken in about 1880. (credit: "Foochow arsenal in Mawei" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Efforts to modernize did not go unopposed. Government officials steeped in Confucian learning regarded the new emphasis on science and technology as a threat to their power. Many Chinese were also reluctant to allow foreigners to invest in or own railways or factories. The Self-Strengthening Movement received a serious blow in 1895 with China's defeat by Japan in the First Sino-Japanese War. Critics of the movement questioned why China was trying to change when the changes did not bring the military power reformers had promised.

Following China's defeat in 1895, European nations and the United States pushed for even more advantages. France gained control over the provinces of Guizhou, Guangxi, and Yunnan. Britain extended its influence

along the Yangtze River Valley. Germany was given control of the Yellow River Valley to the north as well as the Shandong Peninsula and Jiaozhou Bay. Soon nearly all the industrialized nations had been granted concessions, enclaves within port cities such as Tianjin and Shanghai, where they exercised the rights of extraterritoriality.

In 1900, several of these nations signed a treaty with the Chinese government at the urging of John Hay, the U.S. secretary of state. The treaty established an Open Door policy in which China agreed to trade with all countries on the same terms. In this way, none of the industrialized powers could gain an advantage over the others. In exchange, they promised not to annex any of China's territory.

The Pacific

Colonization of the Pacific by Europeans had begun as early as the sixteenth century when Spain claimed the Philippines. Over the course of the eighteenth through the early nineteenth centuries, France and Britain had also laid claim to the islands of the Pacific. Britain established a colony in Australia in 1788 and colonized New Zealand in 1840. France made Tahiti a protectorate in 1842. In the second half of the nineteenth century, those islands that did not already belong to a great power were quickly absorbed into larger colonial empires.

In some cases, competing powers agreed to share possession of large islands or island chains. For example, in 1899, Germany, Britain, and the United States formally agreed to divide the Samoan islands between Germany, which took control of those now known as Samoa, and the United States, which received those now called American Samoa. In exchange for Britain's forfeiting any claim to the islands, Germany gave it control of some of the territory it had settled in the North Solomon Islands and made concessions regarding its holdings in Africa. The foreign powers took the additional step of abolishing the Samoan monarchy.

The United States was particularly active in the Pacific. Unlike the other industrial powers, it had not attempted to claim any parts of Africa or Asia beyond some trading concessions in China. Throughout the later nineteenth century, it was developing the land and exploiting the resources within its North American borders. It pushed steadily westward from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific, acquiring territory by purchase, treaty, or conquest from France, Britain, and Mexico on the way. To clear the land for use by farmers, ranchers, miners, and timber companies, by the end of the century the federal government had confined the Indigenous peoples to reservations. In 1867, it purchased the Russian colony of Alaska. By the 1890s, it had settled all its vast territory and began to look abroad. The United States wanted access to the wealth of China as well as land to grow sugarcane, one of the food commodities it could not produce in a quantity to suit its needs.

The United States' first significant move to acquire territory for an empire beyond the North American mainland was to take control of Hawaii. Although it had annexed a number of minor islands in the Pacific, including Baker Island, Howland Island, and Midway Atoll, it had done so only with the intent of collecting guano for fertilizer and did not develop or settle them.

People from the United States had visited and lived in the Kingdom of Hawaii since the mid-nineteenth century, and a substantial American community owned land there. Many grew sugar for export to the United States. In 1887, the Hawaiian Patriotic League was founded. Consisting primarily of American members, the League forced Hawaii's King Kalakaua to adopt a new constitution that disenfranchised many Indigenous Hawaiians while giving property-owning U.S. citizens the right to vote and hold public office. In 1890, a new tariff passed by the U.S. Congress increased taxes on foreign sugar, which raised the price of Hawaiian sugar and threatened the profits of American plantation owners. However, if Hawaii were to be annexed by the United States, its sugar would no longer be taxed as a foreign import, giving an advantage to the planters.

When Kalakaua died in 1891, his sister Liliuokalani inherited the throne (Figure 9.26). Resenting U.S. interference in Hawaii's government, she proposed a new constitution to restore voting rights to many Native Hawaiians while denying them to American and European residents. Fearful of losing political power in Hawaii and the hope of annexation, in 1893 a group of primarily American conspirators forced Liliuokalani to abdicate. In 1898, the United States annexed Hawaii.



FIGURE 9.26 Crown Princess Liliuokalani. While still a princess, Liliuokalani of Hawaii attended the courts of other royal families around the world. For example, in 1887 when this photo was made, she traveled to London to celebrate Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee. (credit: modification of work "Liliuokalani in London" by Hawaii State Archives/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The annexation of Hawaii was not the only imperial conquest of the United States in 1898. In 1895, the inhabitants of Cuba, one of Spain's few remaining colonies, had risen to demand independence. U.S. businesses had invested heavily in Cuba, and many traded with the Spanish colony. The Cuban revolutionaries appealed for help in winning independence, but U.S. president Grover Cleveland was intent on neutrality. When riots in Havana threatened U.S. lives and property in December 1897, however, President William McKinley dispatched the battleship USS *Maine* to protect them. In February 1898, an explosion on the ship was blamed on a Spanish mine. With newspapers and the public calling for the U.S. government to "remember the *Maine*" and avenge the loss of U.S. lives, Congress declared war on Spain on April 25, 1898.

Two days later, U.S. commodore George Dewey sailed from Hong Kong to the Philippines, another Spanish colony. Entering Manila Bay, Dewey quickly destroyed the Spanish fleet. The war in Cuba also proceeded swiftly—and in favor of the United States. Spain's last two island colonies, Guam and Puerto Rico, surrendered with little fighting. In December 1898, Spain recognized Cuba's independence, ceded Guam and Puerto Rico to the United States, and allowed the United States to purchase the Philippines. Spain was finished as a colonial power, but the United States was just beginning.

Not all in the United States favored making the Philippines a U.S. territory, but many did. The Philippines' proximity to China attracted those who sought to trade with the latter. Many feared Japan or a European power like Germany would seize control of the islands if the United States did not stake its claim to them. Indeed, Germany attempted to establish a base in the Philippines only a few weeks after the Spanish forces surrendered.

DUELING VOICES

The Future of the Philippines

While Filipinos fought U.S. troops for their country's independence, those at home debated the islands' fate. Senator Albert Beveridge (R-IN) argued in 1901 that the United States must retain control of the islands. The preceding year, members of the Negro National Democratic League had spoken out against annexation. As you read the following excerpts, ask yourself why Beveridge was so eager for the United States to own the Philippines, and why members of the Negro National Democratic League opposed annexation so strongly.

> MR. PRESIDENT, the times call for candor. The Philippines are ours forever, 'territory belonging to the United States,' as the Constitution calls them. And just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either. We will not repudiate our duty in the archipelago. We will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world. And we will move forward to our work, not howling out regrets like slaves whipped to their burdens but with gratitude for a task worthy of our strength and thanksgiving to Almighty God that He has marked us as His chosen people, henceforth to lead in the regeneration of the world.
>
> This island empire is the last land left in all the oceans. If it should prove a mistake to abandon it, the blunder once made would be irretrievable. . . .
>
> Our largest trade henceforth must be with Asia. The Pacific is our ocean. More and more Europe will manufacture the most it needs, secure from its colonies the most it consumes. Where shall we turn for consumers of our surplus? Geography answers the question. China is our natural customer. . . . The Philippines give us a base at the door of all the East.
>
> —Sen. Albert Beveridge, a speech to the 56th Congress, January 1900
>
> We hold that the policy known as imperialism is hostile to liberty and leans toward the destruction of government by the people themselves. We insist that the subjugation of any people is 'criminal aggression' and is a pronounced departure from the first principles taught and declared by Washington, Lincoln, Jefferson, and all the great statesmen who have guided the country through as many dangers of the past. Whether the people who will be affected by such policy be or consider themselves Negroes, nor yet because the majority of them are black, is of but little moment. They are by nature entitled to liberty and freedom. We being an oppressed people, to use the words of Daniel O'Connell, should be 'the loudest in our protestations against the oppression of others.' It may be that our government can and will govern the people of the Philippines and Puerto Rico better than they can govern themselves; but with equal force can it be said that the white men of the south can govern the localities in which the Negro is a majority better than they can govern themselves, and if we are prepared to support an administration that is engaged in suppressing liberty and freedom in our so-called possessions, why not be consistent and cease to complain of the same thing being done in any part of our own land? A nation cannot oppress a people without the borders of the country without sooner or later introducing some such oppression within its borders.
>
> —Negro National Democratic League, "Address to the Public," July 1900

- What are Beveridge's chief concerns? How does he justify U.S. control over the Philippines?
- Why does the Negro National Democratic League oppose annexation? What parallels do its members draw?

9.4 Exploitation and Resistance

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe the imperial powers' treatment of their colonies
- Explain how colonized people were harmed by imperialism
- Explain how colonized people resisted control by the imperial powers

The primary motivation of the imperial powers in acquiring colonies was economic, and in the name of profit they frequently brutalized and exploited native populations. Even when they believed their intentions were benevolent and would improve the lives of Africans, Asians, and Pacific Islanders, their means were often cruel. As colonial powers stripped wealth from the lands they exploited, often causing significant environmental damage and destroying countless lives, the residents did not peacefully accept the loss of their independence.

Brutality and Exploitation

While all the great powers were capable of brutality and people were exploited in all the colonies, King Leopold II's subjects in the Congo Free State suffered in ways that have become infamous. Despite his claims that his interest in Africa lay solely in a desire to improve people's lives, in reality, Leopold was a cruel master. The Congo Free State was considered his personal possession and thus immune from intervention by the Belgian government. Leopold extracted wealth from it by leasing portions to private companies and individuals. Without adopting even a veneer of benevolence, these intermediaries brutalized the peoples of the Congo from the moment they arrived.

Disembarking from steamboats that brought them up the Congo River, Europeans seized Africans and forced them to carry their numerous possessions inland. At times, several hundred would be conscripted to carry a boat's cargo, marching single-file with iron collars around their necks, attached to chains to ensure they did not run away.

Europeans used Africans in the Congo Free State for all forms of labor, but primarily to gather ivory and harvest rubber from wild rubber tree vines. The amount of rubber they were required to collect each day was so large that, instead of tapping the rubber-bearing vines and letting the liquid flow into pails, they chopped through the vines and allowed the liquid latex to cover their bodies. At the end of the day, the hardened rubber had to be scraped from their skin. For this work, they received low pay if any, often only the food they were given.

Entire villages could be emptied of men forced into service, their wives and children held hostage to ensure their compliance. The ill and injured were left to die, and those who were uncooperative or slow were whipped, sometimes to unconsciousness or even death. Discipline was maintained by the ***Force Publique***, an Indigenous army commanded by European officers. This army killed those who resisted forced labor or tried to run away and then cut a hand from each victim to maintain a tally of the dead. If the quota set by officers was not met, hands were chopped from the living to make up the number. People who failed to gather enough rubber could also lose their hands (Figure 9.27).

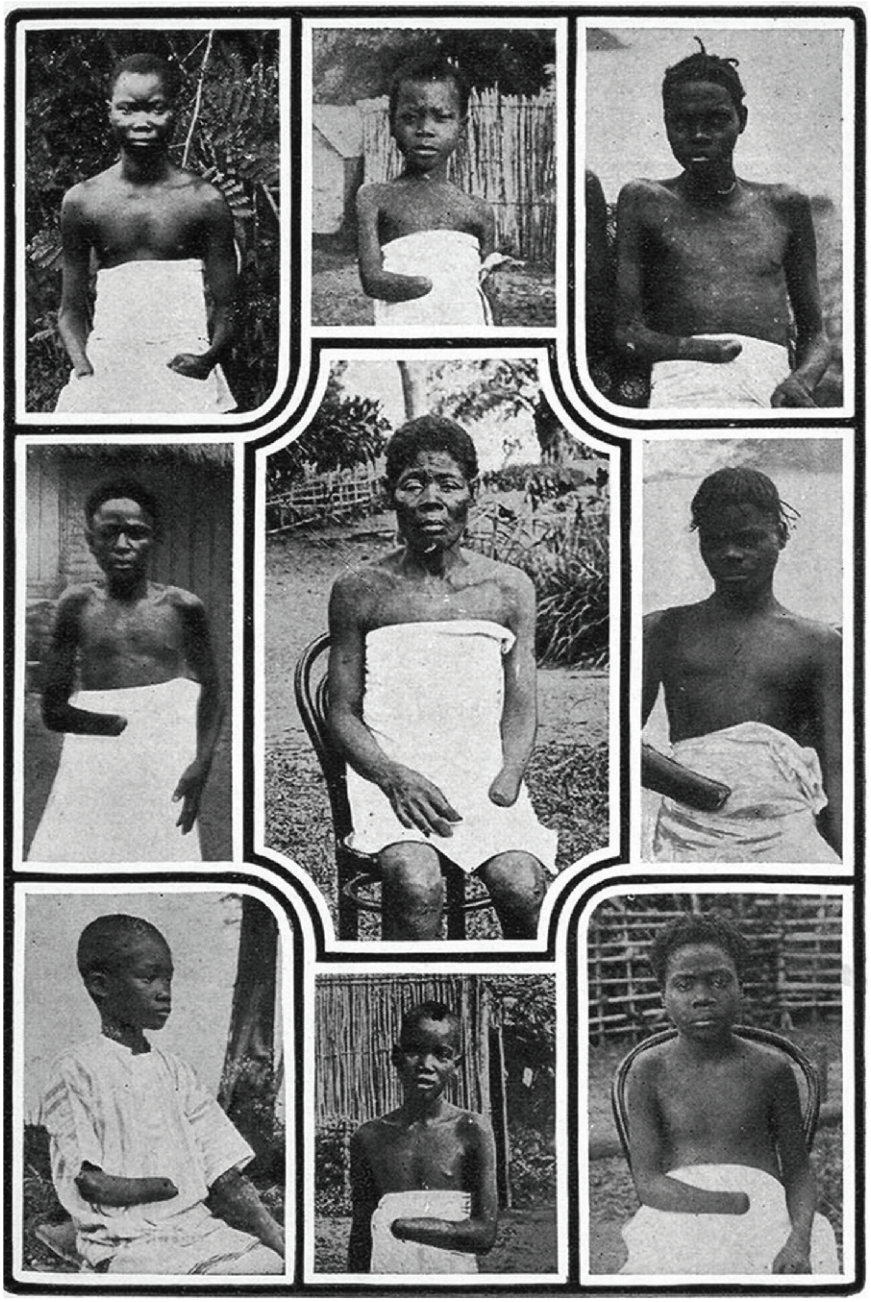


FIGURE 9.27 Colonial Discipline in the Congo Free State. These photos from about 1900 to 1905 show civilian children and adults mutilated by Free State authorities acting for Belgian king Leopold II. (credit: "Mutilated Congolese children and adults" by Alice Seeley Harris/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In 1899, Joseph Conrad published his novella *Heart of Darkness*, based on what he had seen in the Congo Free State. The book elicited cries for intervention among the British, and following a British official's detailed report, the Congo Reform Association (CRA) was founded. Many prominent British and American thinkers were members, and they pressured governments to end the suffering of the Congolese people. In 1908, the Belgian Parliament took the Congo from Leopold II, renamed it the Belgian Congo, and assumed authority over it.

Although the Congo Free State became notorious for the brutal treatment its people suffered, it differed from most other colonies largely in degree, not in kind. Forced laborers toiled in Egypt to build portions of the Suez Canal. In Portugal's African colonies, people were made to grow rice and cotton and sell it to government

agents at prices the government set. Where Europeans ruled through local leaders, such as in France's West African colonies, forced labor might be disguised as a form of traditional communal labor ordered by a village head or chief.

Imperialism harmed the people of Africa, Asia, and the Pacific Islands in other ways as well. European and U.S. visitors in the late nineteenth century often brought infectious diseases. The introduction of measles to Fiji in 1875 resulted in the death of approximately one-quarter of the population. Modern methods of travel further spread disease. Railroads built to move goods and raw materials in India helped spark outbreaks of cholera, smallpox, and bubonic plague. The demand of textile producers for cotton resulted in the digging of irrigation canals in places like Egypt, which provided ideal breeding environments for malaria-bearing mosquitoes.

Colonizers also brought the cattle disease rinderpest with them wherever they went. Rinderpest came to the Philippines from the United States, for example, swiftly killing the draft animals of Filipino farmers and making it harder for them to grow adequate amounts of food. Once the domestic cattle had died, the mosquitoes turned to biting humans and sickening them with malaria. The introduction of rinderpest-infected cattle to the Horn of Africa by Italians afflicted herds throughout the eastern and southern part of the continent. With herds diminished, thornbush shrubs flourished, providing a perfect home for the tsetse flies that carried sleeping sickness.

Farmers often devoted so much land to cash crops that they were unable to raise enough food to feed themselves. People who mined ore or gathered ivory or rubber for Europeans also did not have time to grow crops to feed themselves. Thus people became dependent on food sold by European and American overseers that was often highly processed and lacked nutrients, such as white flour and white rice, leading many to suffer from dietary deficiency diseases.

Exploitation also occurred in other ways. In the United States, "Wild West" shows hired Native Americans to re-enact battle scenes for crowds of paying White customers. Carnival barkers often placed Native Americans, Inuit, and Filipino Islanders on display for others to look at. The 1904 St. Louis World's Fair featured Filipino tribespeople living in recreations of their native villages. Such "human zoos" of tribal peoples from Africa, Asia, the Arctic, and the Pacific were not uncommon in European cities and in other world's fairs.

LINK TO LEARNING

The 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis, Missouri, included exhibits of tribal peoples. You can watch a 55-minute documentary called "Human Zoos" (https://openstax.org/l/77HumanZoos) to learn more about this imperialist phenomenon.

Given the harm colonization caused, it is worth asking why native peoples ever cooperated with foreign imperialists. Of course, some did so for fear of the consequences of refusing. Some, however, worked with the imperial powers to gain advantages for themselves and their families. For those who learned to speak the language of the imperial power and acquired a certain level of education, jobs were available at the lower levels of government bureaucracies. People could also serve as soldiers and police, a benefit for members of minority tribal groups that had been dominated by more powerful ones. Others could secure jobs as interpreters or guides, and wealthier ones might enter into business with the imperial power, as did some Indians, Chinese, and Vietnamese. Imperial powers like Britain and France often provided education for the children of those who assisted them, preparing them for a possible job in the colonial bureaucracy and even a university education in London or Paris. Finally, many converts to Christianity were sincere in their beliefs and may have felt they had more in common with European fellow Christians than with non-Christian peers.

Resistance and Revolution

Resistance movements and outright revolts sprang up wherever colonizers went. The revolt by Egyptians unwilling to submit to European control, the war waged by the Mahdi's army, and Ethiopia's war with Italy were

all examples of African acts of resistance. Elsewhere in Africa, more limited revolts took place, such as the Zulu and Matabele (Ndebele) tribes' resistance of British or Dutch control in the south.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

An African King Fights the Boers

King Moshoeshoe I of the Basuto kingdom of southern Africa hoped to avert violence between his subjects and European settlers (Figure 9.28). However, when Boers attacked Basuto settlements, Moshoeshoe went to war. In 1858, his soldiers defeated the Boers, but in two subsequent wars Moshoeshoe lost territory to the Boers. Finally, in 1868 the kingdom of Basuto was made the British protectorate of Basutoland (today's Lesotho), and the Boer attacks ended. Following, in a letter to Sir George Grey, governor of Britain's Cape Colony, Moshoeshoe describes his reasons for going to war in 1858.



FIGURE 9.28 King Moshoeshoe. King Moshoeshoe I of Basutoland, seated in the middle, poses with his government ministers and advisors in this undated nineteenth-century photograph. (credit: "King Moshoeshoe of the Basotho with his ministers" by Bensusan Museum, Johannesburg/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

> I had given orders that no farms should be burnt, and my orders were obeyed till my people saw village after village burnt off, and the corn destroyed, they then carried destruction among the enemy's homes. On coming to my mountain, the Boers found I was prepared to check their progress, and they consequently retired. My intention was then to have followed them up, and to have shown them that my people could also carry on offensive operations, believing that having once experienced the horrors of war in their midst, I should not soon be troubled by them again. My bands were getting ready to make a descent upon them, when the Boers thought proper to make request for a cessation of hostilities. I knew what misery I should bring upon the country by leaving the Basutos to ravage the Boer places, and therefore I have agreed to the proposal of Mr. J. P. Hoffman. I cannot say that I do so with the consent of my people, for many of those who suffered by the enemy were anxious to recover their losses. If they have remained quiet, it has been owing to my persuasions and my promises that they might have good hope of justice—Your Excellency having consented to act as arbitrator between the Boers and Basutos.

—Moshoeshoe I, Letter to Sir George Grey, 1858

- What explanation does Moshoeshoe give for the attack on the Boers?
- What indication does he give that more conflict will take place in the future?
- Do you believe he was correct that attacking their settlements would have convinced the Boers to leave the Basuto in peace? Why or why not?

Resistance to foreign rule also took place in Asia and the Pacific. By the end of the nineteenth century, Chinese people's resentment against foreigners in their land was high. The sale of foreign manufactured goods had hurt many Chinese artisans. The imperialists' building of railroads and bridges had put many porters, cart drivers, and ferriers out of work. Foreigners were not subject to Chinese law. Protestant and Catholic missionaries in the country were especially resented. They interfered with rituals for venerating ancestors, and families were sometimes split when some members became Christians and others did not. Rumors abounded concerning the missionaries' orphanages. One story, no doubt influenced by foreigners' interest in taking photographs, said missionaries took children in only to kill them and use their eyeballs to make the substance that captured images on photographic plates.

In northern China, anti-foreign sentiments led to the formation of a secret society known as the Society of the Righteous and Harmonious Fists. Foreigners who witnessed the ritual exercises that members believed made them invulnerable to bullets called them **Boxers**. In 1899, the Boxers began their campaign to drive foreigners from China by killing two German priests. Violence swept through northern China as the Boxer Uprising flared. Boxers murdered foreigners and Chinese Christians and destroyed foreign property, sometimes disrupting railroads by pulling the steel rails from the ground.

At first the Chinese army tried to stop the Boxers. However, in January 1900, believing foreign forces had invaded China to stop the uprising, the dowager empress Cixi proclaimed the Boxers should not be treated like criminals (Figure 9.29). Terrified foreigners streamed into Beijing seeking protection, but Cixi encouraged them to leave. Fearing for their lives, they barricaded themselves inside the embassies in the foreign quarter of Beijing. Cixi then proclaimed her allegiance to the Boxers and declared war on foreigners within China.



FIGURE 9.29 Empress Cixi. Cixi, once a concubine of the Xianfeng emperor, assumed power upon his death in 1861. She ruled on behalf of her young son and remained in power even after he came of age. (credit: "The Ci-Xi Imperial Dowager Empress" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Swiftly Britain, France, Germany, the United States, Japan, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Italy formed the Eight-Nation Alliance, and their troops raced to Beijing. Waiting for help, the foreigners rationed their food and huddled in fear. One woman recalled hearing frenzied Boxers trying to dig through the building's wall to reach the people inside. After a siege of fifty-five days, the international force arrived and the Boxers were dispersed, killed, or captured. In September 1901, the Boxer Protocol was signed, officially ending the incident. China was forbidden to import weapons for two years, and foreign legations were given the right to keep troops of their own nation for their defense. China also awarded $330 million to the members of the Eight-Nation Alliance.

U.S. attempts to rule the Philippines after purchasing it from Spain were hindered by the resistance of many Filipino tribes. Middle-class Filipinos had sought independence from Spanish control just as the Cubans had. Following Spain's defeat, leaders of the independence movement like Emilio Aguinaldo had expected the United States to allow them to rule themselves. When President William McKinley announced in 1898 that the United States intended to govern the islands until the Filipinos were judged capable of ruling themselves, Aguinaldo objected: "My relations with the United States did not bring me . . . to make war on the Spaniards for their benefit, but for the purpose of our own liberty and independence."

The United States did not intend to relinquish control of its newly claimed territory, however, and war broke out. Attempts by the Filipinos to defeat U.S. forces in conventional warfare failed, so they adopted guerrilla tactics. Both sides tortured captives. U.S. soldiers burned villages to weaken civilians and guerrilla fighters alike and built concentration camps to hold resisting Filipinos. Many starved or died from infectious disease. In 1900, the United States began a "policy of attraction" by promising economic development along with a degree of self-government. The policy drew the support of wealthy and middle-class Filipinos and others who

did not support Aguinaldo's tactics. In 1901, Aguinaldo was captured, and the United States declared the war over in 1903. It was several decades before the Philippines gained independence.

India's response to British imperialism was somewhat different. Violence had failed in the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, and middle-class Indians, especially those with a British-style education, now turned to political change. They were disappointed, however, because many British elites considered Indians unfit for self-government, and they feared losing control of their most valuable colony. In 1885, moderate nationalists founded the Indian National Congress (INC), aimed at enacting political reform. The INC especially wished to end unfair taxation and remove all British-imposed barriers to industrialization in India.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

The Detriments of British Rule

A moderate member of the Parsi religious minority and sometimes called the "Grand Old Man of India," Dadabhai Naoroji (Figure 9.30) was a merchant, political leader, and language professor at University College London. A founder of the Indian National Congress, he expressed the opinions of many middle-class Indians in 1871 when he wrote on the subject of the benefits and detriments of British rule of India. The following excerpt outlines the detriments.

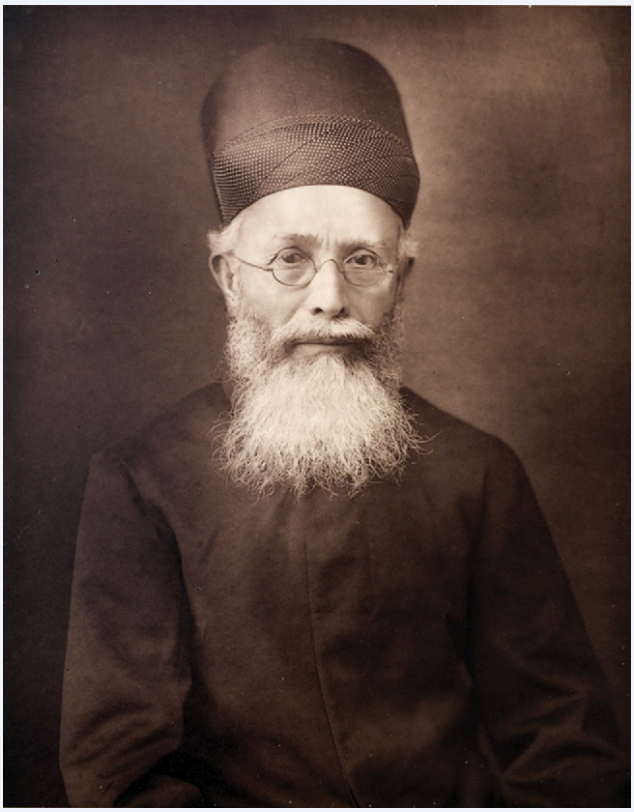


FIGURE 9.30 Dadabhai Naoroji. Dadabhai Naoroji, photographed in 1889, was elected president of the Indian National Congress three times and represented the Liberal Party in the British House of Commons. (credit: "Dadabhai Naoroji 1889, The Grand Old Man Of India" by Sorabji Jehangir/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

> In the Cause of Humanity: Nothing. Everything, therefore, is in your favor under this heading.
>
> In the Cause of Civilization: As I have said already, there has been a failure to do as much as might have been done, but I put nothing to the debit. Much has been done, though.
>
> Politically: Repeated breach of pledges to give the natives a fair and reasonable share in the higher

administration of their own country, which has much shaken confidence in the good faith of the British word. Political aspirations and the legitimate claim to have a reasonable voice in the legislation and the imposition and disbursement of taxes, met to a very slight degree, thus treating the natives of India not as British subjects, in whom representation is a birthright. Consequent on the above, an utter disregard of the feelings and views of the natives. The great moral evil of the drain of wisdom and practical administration, leaving none to guide the rising generation.

Financially: All attention is engrossed in devising new modes of taxation, without any adequate effort to increase the means of the people to pay; and the consequent vexation and oppressiveness of the taxes imposed, imperial and local. Inequitable financial relations between England and India, i.e., the political debt [. . .] clapped on India's shoulders, and all home charges also. . . .

To sum up the whole, the British rule has been: morally, a great blessing; politically, peace and order on one hand, blunders on the other; materially, impoverishment, relieved as far as the railway and other loans go. The natives call the British system Sakar ki Churi, the knife of sugar. That is to say, there is no oppression, it is all smooth and sweet, but it is the knife, notwithstanding. I mention this that you should know these feelings. Our great misfortune is that you do not know our wants. When you will know our real wishes, I have not the least doubt that you would do justice. The genius and spirit of the British people is fair play and justice.

—Dadabhai Naoroji, "The Benefits of British Rule"

- What changes did Naoroji want the British to make?
- If Naoroji had been a peasant farmer instead of an educated member of the middle class, do you think his criticisms would have been different? Why or why not?
- Why do you think Naoroji included the last two sentences?

The moderate approach did not suit all Indian nationalists, however. Bal Gangadhar Tilak called for immediate independence from Britain, and in his newspaper he stated that Indians were justified in killing the British. "Swaraj (self-rule) is my birthright and I shall have it," he proclaimed. When the British partitioned the province of Bengal in 1905, making Bengali Hindus a minority group within the new divisions, the INC supported a boycott of British-made goods and government schools, and acts of anti-British terrorism occurred.

Fearing a radical turn would harm their cause, INC president Gopal Krishna Gokhale and other moderate members called for the boycott to end when a new secretary of state for India was appointed whom they believed was sympathetic. The Swadeshi movement calling upon Indians to purchase only Indian-made goods continued, however, led by the Indian lawyer and political activist Mohandas Gandhi. Tilak supported the Swadeshi movement, and in 1907 the INC split in two, with radicals aligning themselves with Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, and Lala Lajput Rai (Figure 9.31).



FIGURE 9.31 Indian Nationalists. Indian nationalist leaders Lala Lajput Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and Bipin Chandra Pal (l. to r.) were allies in the fight for independence and were often referred to as Lal-Bal-Pal. (credit: "Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipinchandra Pal" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Key Terms

Boxers members of the Society of the Righteous and Harmonious Fists, an anti-foreign secret society in northern China

Congo Free State a personal colony of Belgium's King Leopold II where infamous abuse of African laborers took place

deindustrialization a decline in a nation's or region's industrial activity

export economy an economy that primarily provides raw materials for use by other nations

Force Publique a native army commanded by European officers to enforce brutal discipline in the Congo Free State

imperialism the policy of gaining direct or indirect control over parts of the world with low-cost resources and no competing mass-produced goods

Meiji Restoration the period beginning in 1868 when, under Emperor Meiji, Japan began to industrialize

Scramble for Africa the competition among European countries to establish colonies in Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

shogunate a Japanese system in which a military leader, the shogun, and an aristocratic military elite, the samurai, ruled in place of the emperor

The Great Game the contest between Britain and Russia to dominate central Asia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

Section Summary

9.1 The Second Industrial Revolution

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the world's industrialized nations—Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, and the United States—entered the Second Industrial Revolution. They manufactured machines as well as other items to be used for industry, such as steel, rubber, and chemicals. The Second Industrial Revolution was indebted to new sources of power such as electricity and the internal combustion engine; new methods of travel and communication were also developed. As the industrialized nations grew wealthier and more powerful, other nations such as Canada, Italy, Russia, and Japan began to industrialize as well. Some areas that also possessed industrial potential did not, however. India, Egypt, the countries of Latin America, and China instead became export economies that provided raw materials and markets for the industrialized world.

9.2 Motives and Means of Imperialism

The desire of industrialized nations for inexpensive raw materials led them to Africa, Asia, and the Pacific, where they took control of lands and established colonies that existed solely to provide resources, markets, and harbors for fleets of commercial steamships. Many tried to justify their overseas empires by claiming they benefited the people in conquered lands, despite clear evidence that harm was done. The quest for colonies was greatly aided by developments in medicine, transportation, and weapons technology.

9.3 Colonial Empires

In the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, the world's industrialized nations claimed colonies in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. The "Scramble for Africa" resulted in nearly the entire continent falling under European control. France built an empire in Indochina while Japan did so in Korea. At times, the contest for colonies led the industrial powers to fight one another, as Japan and Russia did, and Britain and Russia nearly came to blows over central Asia. These nations also claimed spheres of influence in China, as did the United States. The islands of the Pacific were also quickly seized as imperial possessions, and it was there that the United States acquired the bulk of its empire by taking possession of Hawaii, Guam, and the Philippines.

9.4 Exploitation and Resistance

Colonization had a devastating effect on residents of African, Asian, and Pacific lands seized by imperial powers. People were exploited for their labor, made to grow cash crops, collect rubber and ivory, and transport European goods through difficult terrain. They received low wages if any, and failure to meet quotas was met with harsh punishment. Colonizers brought infectious diseases with them, causing people and livestock to sicken and die. People in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific Islands fought back in ways that cost the lives of many. In India, resistance took the form of political organization.

Assessments

Review Questions

1. How did independence affect the economies of Latin American nations?
   a. It opened their markets to competitive U.S. and European manufactured goods.
   b. It reduced the number of wealthy government officials who could afford to purchase luxury goods.
   c. It caused European engineers and other skilled workers to return home.
   d. It eliminated Spanish and Portuguese subsidies for the development of roads and harbors.

2. What country was initially prevented from industrializing because of a lack of free laborers?
   a. Germany
   b. Italy
   c. Britain
   d. Russia

3. Which invention enabled nineteenth-century manufacturers to power machinery where steam engines were too big to be used?
   a. water wheels
   b. internal combustion engines
   c. wind turbines
   d. solar-powered engines

4. To whom is the invention of the radio attributed?
   a. Thomas Edison
   b. Alexander Graham Bell
   c. Guglielmo Marconi
   d. Henry Ford

5. After the Meiji Restoration, where did industrialization begin?
   a. China
   b. Russia
   c. Japan
   d. Brazil

6. How did colonization in the second half of the nineteenth century differ from colonization in previous centuries?
   a. Nineteenth-century colonialism was inspired primarily by religious not economic motives.
   b. Nineteenth-century colonialism generated very little violence.
   c. Nineteenth-century colonies were not usually intended to be settler colonies.
   d. Nineteenth-century colonies were largely left to govern themselves with little interference.

7. Which industrial innovation aided colonization in the second half of the nineteenth century?

a. Maxim gun
b. color photography
c. electricity
d. automobile

8. What was one of the main motives of nineteenth-century imperialism?
a. learning more about the cultures of non-European peoples
b. finding new lands for large numbers of Europeans to settle in
c. gaining access to raw materials
d. discovering new species of animal life

9. What was a major reason Europeans did not make extensive inroads into the African interior before the middle of the nineteenth century?
a. African societies' superior weapons-making technology
b. inability to protect themselves from malaria
c. fear of large predatory animals
d. lack of desire to secure raw materials or trade with Africans

10. What caused the Fashoda Incident?
a. France and Britain each sought control of Sudan to connect their colonies by rail.
b. Germany tried to seize some of Britain's African colonies.
c. Belgium and France both claimed the same territory in the Congo Basin.
d. Egyptians revolted when Britain and France tried to depose their ruler.

11. With which country did Japan compete for control of Korea?
a. Germany
b. Britain
c. United States
d. Russia

12. Which nation established colonies primarily in West Africa and Indochina?
a. Britain
b. Italy
c. France
d. United States

13. What was the purpose of the 1884–1885 Berlin Conference?
a. to punish France for its brutality toward West Africans
b. to decide which European countries possessed different parts of Africa
c. to conclude a peace treaty between Italy and Ethiopia
d. to carve out the industrialized nations' spheres of influence in China

14. By the end of the nineteenth century, which country had adopted a primarily political response to European colonization?
a. China
b. India
c. Philippines
d. Ethiopia

15. What was the *Force Publique*?

a. an Indigenous army used to discipline Congolese laborers
b. the Egyptian army that fought to take control of Sudan
c. a health-care organization in France's African and Asian colonies
d. a court for trying French citizens accused of abusing natives of French West Africa

16. In what way did rinderpest harm the colonized people of Africa?
a. It killed the corn crop, causing millions to starve to death.
b. It doubled the rate of infant mortality.
c. It caused widespread blindness.
d. It sickened and killed African cattle herds.

Check Your Understanding Questions

1. What are possible reasons why China did not industrialize when many other wealthy and powerful nations did?

2. What changes were made to Japan's traditional social structure as a result of the Meiji Restoration?

3. What did "the civilizing mission" of industrialized nations entail?

4. How did technological developments assist in colonization?

5. Which two nations most interfered with Italy's desire to establish an empire in Africa?

6. Why did the United States want to gain control of islands in the Pacific?

7. Why did Germany have only a few colonies compared to France and Britain?

8. How were Africans treated in the Congo Free State?

9. How did imperialism harm the health of colonized people?

10. What caused the Boxer Uprising in China?

Application and Reflection Questions

1. What were some of the obstacles to industrialization faced by India, Egypt, and China? How might industrialization have played out if these obstacles had been addressed differently?

2. What role did the Japanese government play in Japan's industrialization during the Meiji Restoration? How did their approach to industrialization differ from that of governments in Europe and North America?

3. What role did racism play in motivating those from industrialized nations to colonize other lands?

4. Which of the inventions of the industrial world do you think played the greatest role in enabling the colonization of Asia, Africa, and the Pacific? Why?

5. What role did geography play in determining where and how industrialized nations built empires in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

6. What role did violence play in industrialized nations' attempts to build their empires? Do you think it is ever justifiable to use violence against other nations except in self-defense? Why or why not?

7. Are people in the poorer parts of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Pacific still exploited by wealthier nations? If so, how?

8. If you lived under colonial rule, would you consider resistance an option? What factors might influence your position one way or the other?

Life and Labor in the Industrial World 10



FIGURE 10.1 ***The New Fighting the Old.*** This 1870 image from Meiji-era Japan, which reflects the Japanese folk belief that objects can become living things, shows representatives of old Japan doing battle with modern inventions and Western imports, like electric lamps and chairs. (credit: modification of work "The New Fighting the Old" by Printing Museum News N36/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

CHAPTER OUTLINE

10.1 Inventions, Innovations, and Mechanization
10.2 Life in the Industrial City
10.3 Coerced and Semicoerced Labor
10.4 Communities in Diaspora
10.5 Regulation, Reform, and Revolutionary Ideologies

INTRODUCTION The Second Industrial Revolution, which began in the second half of the nineteenth century and lasted until the start of World War I, brought about more than the economic developments that you learned about in Expansion in the Industrial Age. In addition to radically changing national economies and international trade, it also transformed the ways in which individuals lived and worked. Workplaces, homes, cities, and the experiences of entertainment, art, and literature were completely reshaped. Even the family underwent significant changes. This chapter focuses on the social and cultural transformations that accompanied the technological innovations of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

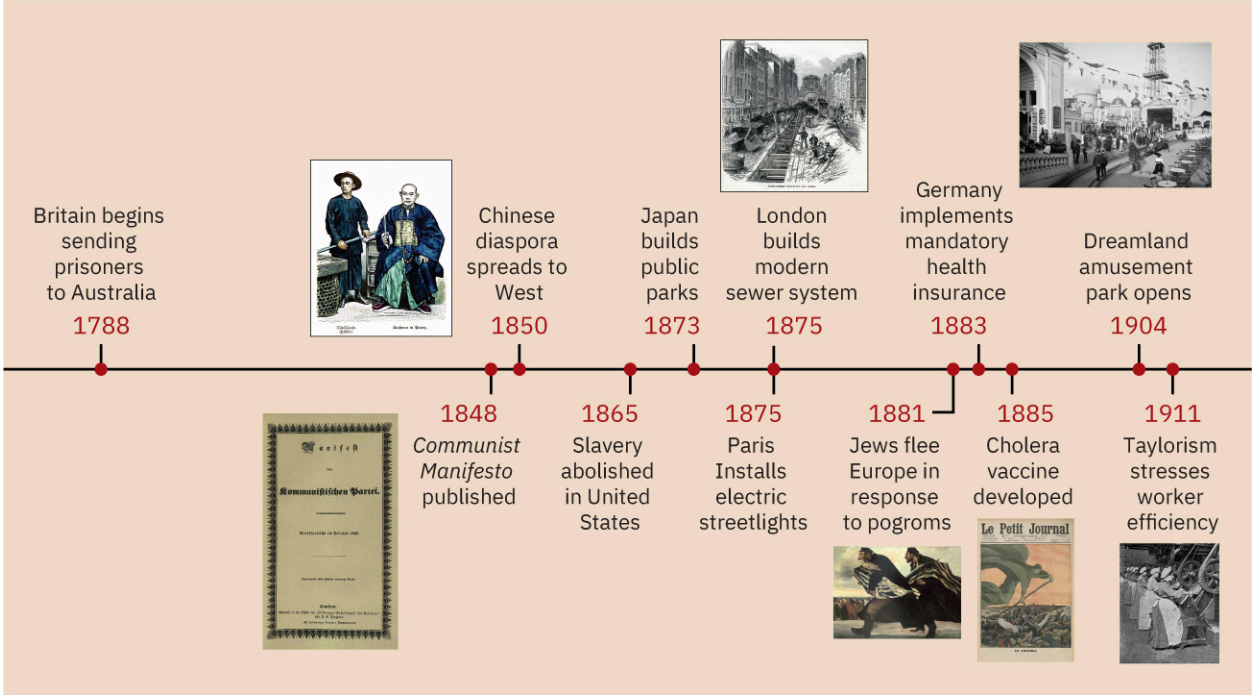


FIGURE 10.2 Timeline: Life and Labor in the Industrial World. (credit "1848": modification of work "Communist-manifesto" by www.marxists.org/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1850": modification of work "Southern Chinese (From Fukien), Merchant in Penang" by The History of Costume by Braun & Schneider/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1875": modification of work "Deepening the Fleet sewer, 1845" by Illustrated London News/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1881": modification of work "Pogrom" by Christie's/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1885": modification of work "Cholera" by Le Petit Journal/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1904": modification of work "Dreamland Park, Coney Island, N.Y. (https://www.loc.gov/item/2016809467/)" by Detroit Publishing, Co./Library of Congress; credit "1911": modification of work "Can factory workers stamping out end discs" by Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition of 1909/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

10.1 Inventions, Innovations, and Mechanization

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe the effects on everyday life of the major innovations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries
- Analyze the ways in which technology and mechanization affected the industrial work experience
- Explain how the working-class family changed because of industrialization

Before the nineteenth century, life changed little from one era to the next. Generations of people worked on farms, rising when the sun did and going to sleep when it set. They had relatively little in the way of material possessions: clothing, furniture, tools. If they did not live on isolated farms, they inhabited small villages and usually did not venture far from the place where they were born. They raised enough food to feed themselves and sold any surplus in market towns, using their earnings to buy only the handcrafted goods they could not make for themselves. They had just a few years of schooling, if that. When they fell ill, they prayed because they knew there was little doctors could do. In the world's few large cities like London and Paris, scientific discoveries were made, but they had little effect on the majority of the population. Beautiful works of art were sculpted or painted, music composed, and poems written, but before the Industrial Revolution, most ordinary people never saw, heard, or read them. All that changed in the nineteenth century, as new forms of technology and new sources of power transformed the way people in industrialized nations lived.

The Industrial Workplace

Some of the most profound changes brought by industrialization were those that affected the workplace, bringing new challenges while also transforming the nature of labor. During the Second Industrial Revolution, new forms of energy were harnessed, transportation and communication became faster, and industrialized nations mass-produced not only steel and industrial machinery, which had been the focus of prior industrial efforts, but also consumer goods such as clothing, furniture, shoes, and packaged foods.

Perhaps the greatest change was the development of a new source of energy—electricity. Water power had earlier replaced animal power, and steam engines fueled by burning coal had driven the machinery of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. So too did electricity supplant steam by the end of the nineteenth century. Electricity ran machinery on the factory floors, as did internal combustion engines powered by petroleum. Electricity also turned night into day. When first oil lamps and then gas lights had illuminated the workplace, workdays in the winter were often short. Dependent on daylight to see what they were doing, workers were commonly allowed to go home after dark. With electric lights, though, the factory floor could be lit twenty-four hours a day, and workers could labor long into the night in all seasons.

Electricity also powered factories' moving assembly lines. As conveyor belts brought interchangeable parts from station to station, working-class employees added parts or made other adjustments until the product was finished. The adoption of moving assembly lines made the close supervision of workers necessary. If anyone slowed down or was missing, the entire production process could suffer. It was therefore vital that everyone be present at the time the process began and maintain the same pace of work all day. While in earlier factories a laborer might command a work gang composed of family members, in late nineteenth-century factories, these male heads of family were replaced by paid foremen who were sometimes promoted from among the ranks of the laborers.

Assembly lines and the mechanization of each step of the manufacturing process meant that, for the most part, factory work was unskilled in nature. Laborers lived with the knowledge that should they give their wealthy employer reason to be displeased with their performance, they could be replaced at any moment. Some work, like the repairing of machines, was skilled, and workers who possessed such knowledge received higher wages. Most, though, performed repetitive tasks that anyone could master with a bit of instruction. The assembly line reduced employees' sense of contribution to the finished process and rendered work boring and repetitive, almost transforming workers into machines themselves.

In addition to feeling alienated from the product of their labor, industrial employees worked long hours and earned low wages. As industrialization spread throughout North America, Europe, and Japan, business owners, driven by their hunger for profit, responded to increased competition by forcing their employees to produce more, tending more machines for lower pay.

Nineteenth-century workers commonly toiled ten to twelve hours a day, six days a week. In 1897 in Russia, reform laws reduced the workday from fourteen hours (and sometimes as many as eighteen) to only eleven and a half. During night shifts and on Saturdays and the days before feast days, workers could stop after ten hours. Luckily for the subjects of the tsar, the majority of Russian factory workers could look forward to nearly one hundred holidays per year. They would have been envied by Japan's cotton spinners, teenaged women who often worked for seventeen-hour stretches punctuated only by short breaks.

Adult men were the most highly paid workers. Adult women earned about half as much, and children less than adults, often only a quarter of an adult male's pay. Work was not always steady; workplaces sometimes shut down unexpectedly when raw materials or work orders fell short. This meant that low pay was often accompanied by periodic unemployment, for which workers had no safety net. Most governments did not provide unemployment insurance, and government-subsidized housing for the poor did not exist. When workers lost their jobs, they were forced to turn to religious institutions or private charities for money for food and rent.

In addition to periodic shutdowns, international economic crises sometimes jeopardized the livelihoods of workers across the globe. In 1873, for example, a fall in the value of silver set off a worldwide financial panic, beginning a period known as the Long Depression. Banks failed, and more than one hundred railroads went out of business in the United States in the first year alone. The economies—and the workers—of Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, Britain, and Russia suffered as well. In May 1873, the Vienna Stock Exchange collapsed (Figure 10.3). Railroads failed in Germany. Unemployment rates in Britain's coal, iron, steel, and shipbuilding industries soared. Between 1873 and the end of the century, periodic recessions and depressions alternated with boom periods, rocking economies around the world.



FIGURE 10.3 Black Friday. On May 9, 1873, dubbed "Black Friday," the Vienna stock market collapsed, causing widespread panic as illustrated by this wood engraving made that year. (credit: "Black Friday on May 9, 1873" by Die Presse Edition/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Despite such economic swings, industrial production increased overall, and factory owners faced a growing number of competitors. They responded by increasing the pace of work. Employees often tended several machines at a time, which kept them constantly on their feet. In the late nineteenth century, new methods were introduced to speed work even more. The principles of *scientific management*, introduced by Frederick Winslow Taylor in 1911 and often referred to as **Taylorism**, sought to improve productivity by reducing wasteful movements. One scientific management proponent, Harrington Emerson, claimed that U.S. railroads could save $1 million per day (about $13 million today) if they adopted these principles.

Discovering how workers could perform more efficiently often meant timing their movements with stopwatches to make sure they did not attach parts or move levers inefficiently. Even in workplaces that had not been Taylorized, the emphasis was on paying strict attention to work and speeding up the production process. Some factories forbade workers to talk to one another or to sit at their machines, even if they could. Workers greatly resented such controls.

The pace and long hours of mechanized labor took a toll on workers' health and safety. Injuries were common. Fingers and hands were often lost to moving machine parts. Constant standing resulted in back problems, swollen feet, and miscarriages. In textile factories, inhaled fibers caused breathing problems that left workers permanently disabled. The constant noise of machinery led to hearing loss. Summer temperatures combined with the heat generated by machinery and moving bodies left workers on the brink of heat exhaustion. Laborers in Japan's silk industry were often scalded while boiling silkworm cocoons. Toxic chemicals used in largely unregulated production processes also played havoc with workers' health and safety. In some places, workers, especially women, were beaten by their supervisors; young women sent to work in the Japanese cotton industry by their impoverished parents were often caned or whipped.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

"Phossy Jaw"

In 1943, Dr. Alice Hamilton was reflecting on her earlier career investigating the causes of illness and injury among industrial workers. As Hamilton relates, American physicians had told her repeatedly that the seriously disabling conditions that afflicted many European workers, such as "phossy jaw" (Figure 10.4), a condition caused by accidentally ingesting the phosphorous used to coat the heads of matches, did not exist in the United States.



(a) (b)

FIGURE 10.4 Phossy Jaw. (a, b) This set of undated photographs depicts a Dutch woman whose lower jaw has been eaten away by phosphorus, a condition commonly known as "phossy jaw." The use of phosphorus for match production in the Netherlands was banned in 1901. (credit a and b: modification of work "Occupational Disease: Phosphorus Necrosis, front and side views" by Nationaal Archief (Dutch National Archives)/Wikimedia Commons, CC0 1.0)

Hamilton quickly discovered, however, that her colleagues were incorrect:

> Living in a working-class quarter, coming in contact with laborers and their wives, I could not fail to hear tales of the dangers that workingmen faced, of cases of carbon-monoxide gassing in the great steel mills, of painters disabled by lead palsy, of pneumonia and rheumatism among the men in the stockyards. Illinois then had no legislation providing compensation for accident or disease caused by occupation. . . . There was a striking occurrence about this time in Chicago which brought vividly before me the unprotected, helpless state of workingmen who were held responsible for their own safety. [. . .]
>
> Phossy jaw is a very distressing form of industrial disease. It comes from breathing the fumes of white or yellow phosphorus, which gives off fumes at room temperature, or from putting into the mouth food or gum or fingers smeared with phosphorus. Even drinking from a glass which has stood on the workbench is dangerous. The phosphorus penetrates into a defective tooth and down through the roots to the jawbone, killing the tissue cells which then become the prey of suppurative germs from the mouth, and abscesses form. The jaw swells and the pain is intense. . . . Sometimes the abscess forms in the upper jaw and works up into the orbit, causing the loss of an eye. In severe cases one lower jawbone may have to be removed, or an upper jawbone—perhaps both. [. . .]
>
> All this I had learned, but I had been assured by medical men, who claimed to know, that there was no phossy jaw in the United States because American match factories were so scrupulously clean. Then in 1908 John Andrews . . . showed me the report of his investigation of American match factories and his

> discovery of more than 150 cases of phossy jaw. . . . Some of the cases he discovered were quite as severe as the worst reported in European literature—the loss of jawbones, of an eye, sometimes death from blood poisoning.
>
> —Alice Hamilton, "The Poisonous Occupations in Illinois"

- What conditions within industrial workplaces likely exposed workers to phosphorous? What steps could employers have taken to prevent this problem? Why might employers not have provided safer working conditions for employees?
- Why might American doctors have been reluctant to admit that industrial poisoning was a problem for American workers?

Despite low pay, long hours, and difficult conditions of factory work, many working-class people preferred it to other types of available labor. Jobs like driving wagons and unloading ships were also low-paying jobs but required working outside in all kinds of weather. Railroad workers were vulnerable to incapacitating injuries from being caught between railcars or falling under their wheels. Miners toiled in dark, cramped environments, where temperatures sometimes rose so high they had to work naked to keep from passing out. Cave-ins were a constant threat. Industrial labor, regardless of the type, was also more highly paid than agricultural labor. For example, in London in the 1860s, a male common laborer who possessed no particular skills could earn about twenty shillings a week. In industries not yet mechanized, skilled crafts workers, all men, earned thirty shillings a week. A male English farmhand at the time would have earned approximately fourteen shillings a week.

Factory work was especially desirable to unmarried women, whose most common alternative was domestic service. Living in their employers' homes, domestic workers were expected to be available at all times of the day and night, were constantly watched, and made very little money. Factory workers put in fewer hours, and after work their time was their own. Their freedom was sometimes dearly bought, however. On the factory floor, unmarried young women might be sexually harassed by male employers, supervisors, or coworkers.

Because women were paid less than men, unmarried women did not earn enough to live independently. They tended to live at home, where they were expected to give their wages to their parents and accept a small allowance in return. Even if they rented living quarters with other female workers and shared expenses, they might grant sexual favors to young men in exchange for meals or clothes, a form of casual prostitution known as "treating." Nevertheless, many young female factory workers enjoyed relative independence before marriage, free evenings and Sundays when the factories were closed, and the inexpensive entertainment found in industrial cities.

LINK TO LEARNING

Shoes (1916) is a silent film by director Lois Weber (https://openstax.org/l/77shoes) that dramatizes the plight of underpaid young working women. In the 48-minute feature, Eva, a shop clerk, exchanges sexual favors for a new pair of shoes.

The Industrial Home

Industrialization brought profound changes to countries like Britain, France, Germany, and the United States. In the latter nineteenth century, western nations like these, already skilled in the production of textiles and iron rails, applied machine technology to the mass-production of consumer goods, the new availability of which changed people's lives.

The wealthy and the middle class consisted of professionals such as doctors and lawyers as well as factory managers, bank employees, salespeople, engineers, and scientists. They had always been able to afford the

handmade products of skilled dressmakers, tailors, shoemakers, jewelers, and cabinetmakers that were beyond the reach of simple laborers. Now, however, factories produced clothing, shoes, cookware, furniture, soap, toys, books, musical instruments, and costume jewelry in such quantities that they could be sold at prices the working class could afford. Working families could buy bedsteads, tables, and chairs that imitated in style those of the middle class. They could decorate their homes with inexpensive prints of famous works of art. Soap, not easily made by city dwellers because the required animal fat was not always available, was now mass-produced and simple to buy. City dwellers could readily keep themselves and their clothes clean, which in turn improved personal health and comfort. By the end of the nineteenth century in industrialized countries, workers' **real wages**, wages measured in terms of the amount of goods and services they can purchase, had risen so that most people could buy the consumer goods turned out by European and American factories.

An abundance of food was produced on farms and ranches that employed mass-produced agricultural machinery (Figure 10.5). This food was then transported to cities in refrigerated railcars and processed in urban factories, slaughterhouses, and canneries, giving people access to canned meat, fish, fruits, and vegetables all year round. Sugar obtained from colonial possessions was inexpensive and plentiful, and sweet treats were widely available.

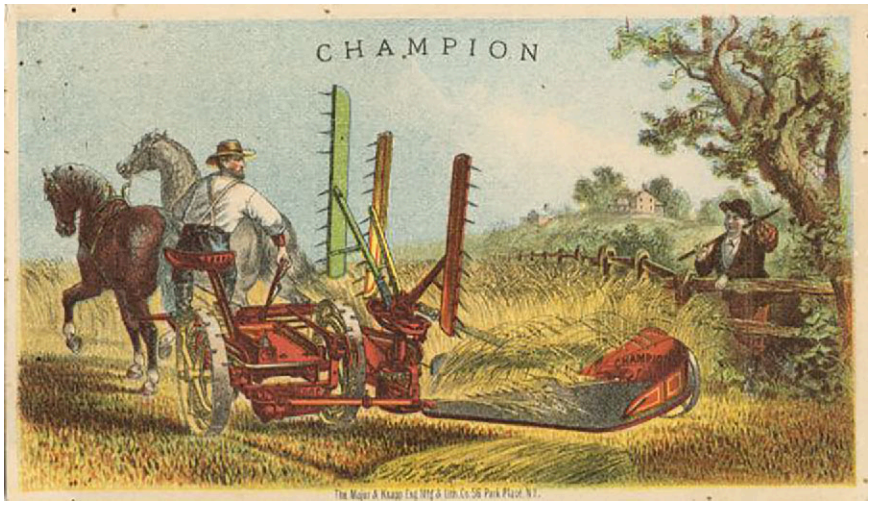


FIGURE 10.5 Mechanical Reaper. An advertisement from 1875 promotes the use of the mechanical reaper to harvest grain. (credit: "Champion Trade Card, 1875" by Wisconsin Historical Society/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

This food was sometimes a mixed blessing. The slaughterhouses in which meat was processed were often filthy, and canned meat was sometimes found to contain maggots. To keep vegetables bright and colorful in the can, dyes were added; green dye was made with arsenic and was notoriously poisonous. Mass-produced bread from an urban bakery might contain chalk dust or alum for bulk. Undoubtedly, fresh and unadulterated food would have been healthier and tastier, but packaged and processed foods at least provided the calories necessary for survival, and many workers did not have to settle for the bare necessities. A study of American laborers in 1874 revealed that they ate fresh meat every day. Just before the start of World War I in 1914, members of the German working class protested the increase of food prices in Berlin because it threatened their regular consumption of meat and wheat bread, which was considered superior to bread made with other grains.

Advances in science and technology contributed to survival. New medical instruments and processes, such as the ophthalmoscope and the x-ray, improved the diagnosis of injury and disease. Pharmaceuticals and anesthetics arrived, such as aspirin to relieve pain and fever and mass-produced quinine to treat malaria. The discovery by Robert Koch and Louis Pasteur of the first disease-causing pathogens, or "germs," led to new vaccines that protected animals against anthrax and rabies, and humans against cholera and diphtheria.

Pasteur's discoveries also led to the pasteurization of milk beginning in the 1860s, making it safer to drink by heating it to destroy pathogens. The development of the antiseptic method by Joseph Lister in the 1860s and the identification of human blood types in 1901, which made safe blood transfusions possible, transformed the practice of surgery.

Changes in sanitation also improved the cleanliness, comfort, and health of people of all classes. Water pipes brought fresh water to cities from the surrounding countryside and into the homes of the wealthy and middle class. This access to clean water dramatically reduced the incidence of diseases such as cholera and typhoid fever. Mass-produced bathroom fixtures made it easier for the wealthy and the middle class to stay clean, and the development of flush toilets and the laying of sewer pipe made homes, streets, and cities more sanitary.

The Second Industrial Revolution introduced new methods of illumination. At the beginning of the century, candles and kerosene lamps lit homes and workplaces, and gas lighting was still new. London installed its first gas streetlights in 1807, and by midcentury, more cities had adopted them; in 1860 Berlin had 250. Many wealthy and middle-class homes, as well as some working-class homes, had indoor gas fixtures as well. By the 1880s, most British families could rely on gas both to illuminate and heat their homes and to cook their food.

Gas had a number of drawbacks, however. It produced a relatively dim light, and it smelled. Gas lines had a dangerous tendency to explode, and if people blew out the flames of gas lights without remembering to also stop the flow of gas from the line, entire households could be suffocated as they slept.

Electricity transformed everything (Figure 10.6). Electric light was clear, bright, and relatively safe. People could stay up in the evenings to read or study. Night life became possible. Paris installed electric streetlights in 1875, Berlin in 1882, and Mexico City in 1897. Brightly lit amusement parks and urban pleasure gardens were magical places for city dwellers to enjoy.



FIGURE 10.6 Lamp Factory. This photograph shows women in a Swedish factory making parts for lamps at the beginning of the twentieth century. As electricity became more common, electric fixtures and electrical appliances were in greater demand. (credit: "Stockholms glödlampfabrik" by Tekniska museet/Wikimedia Commons, CC0 1.0)

LINK TO LEARNING

Visit this British science museum site (https://openstax.org/l/77electricity) to learn more about the history of electricity.

The combination of readily available mass-produced goods, running water, and gas and electricity improved

the standard of living for many people. A new cult of cleanliness developed among the middle class because indoor plumbing and improved heating made bathing easier. By the beginning of the twentieth century, more middle-class homes had rooms set aside for bathing.

New and improved appliances also changed life at home. Cookstoves with ovens and surfaces that could be heated to different temperatures made it possible to prepare multiple dishes at the same time. Built-in reservoirs in stoves kept water hot, and improved washing machines (e.g., mangles that used rollers to squeeze out water) made it easier to launder clothes. In the early twentieth century, motor-powered vacuum cleaners made it easier to clean floors. These developments undoubtedly contributed to the comfort of the middle class, but they also raised expectations for middle-class women, whose chief job was to care for the home. Now that elaborate meals could be prepared every day, they became the expectation. Now that it was easier to clean the family's clothes and home, it was unacceptable for them to be dirty.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the stresses caused by infectious disease and poor diets—the results of low wages and unsanitary living conditions—reduced life expectancy and increased infant mortality rates. However, in the second half of the nineteenth century, life expectancies increased, and infant mortality decreased. For example, in Germany, which began to industrialize in the middle of the nineteenth century, infant mortality rates first increased as the country began to industrialize but then started to decline in the 1870s. Other changes also revealed the benefits that industrialization could bring. Between 1876 and 1901, life expectancy for a German man rose from thirty-four to forty-five years. A German woman born in 1876 could expect to live until she was thirty-seven years old; the average German woman born in 1901 lived to be forty-eight years old.

Taken together, improved sanitation, reliable access to food, and better medical care reduced death rates and made life more comfortable in industrialized nations. Although the wealthy and the middle class were best situated to take advantage, the working class benefited as well. Workers could afford inexpensive food and clothing, and in many places free clinics provided the poor with health care. While workers might not all have running water and flush toilets in their homes, by the end of the nineteenth century, water taps in the street or in the basements of apartment houses, shared hallway sinks, and communal toilets allowed the working class to benefit from clean water and more sanitary streets. Although usually only the wealthy and the middle class could afford electric lighting in their homes, electricity illuminated city streets and protected the working class as they peddled wares at night or returned home from work at late hours.

The Family in the Industrial Age

As people moved from small farms and country villages to cities and factory towns, their lives changed in ways both small and profound. On farms and in artisans' workshops, women and children had labored alongside husbands and fathers and contributed to the family's income. They did not always have similar opportunities in the industrial city.

Early in the Industrial Revolution, women and children worked in factories, but by the end of the nineteenth century, this situation had changed. Although increasing mechanization meant that workers needed less physical strength, the presence of women and children in the workplace declined. Because wages were low, adult men still often needed the assistance of wives and children to pay the rent and purchase necessities, but less of this work now took place in factories. It became a point of pride for working-class men to keep their wives at home as the middle class did, even if the women were working. Married women also preferred to stay home when possible; tending to home and children was difficult while also working long hours in factories.

Indeed, many male laborers blamed women's willingness to accept low wages for keeping their own pay low, and they sought to push women out of the workplace. In the United States and western Europe, children also had largely ceased working in most factories by the beginning of the twentieth century. Greater mechanization of the workplace eliminated the jobs that children had once been employed to do. Increasingly, too, governments passed laws that attempted to ban child labor. In some cases, this effort was motivated by the

desire of upper-middle-class politicians to protect children while failing to understand the extent to which a working-class family might rely on their wages. At other times, politicians worried that children whose days were spent in factories would become physically inadequate soldiers or illiterate and uneducated citizens.

Britain, the first nation to industrialize, led the way in eliminating child labor. The Factory Act of 1819 limited children's work to twelve hours a day. The Factory Act of 1833 prohibited children younger than nine from working in textile factories, the most common type of factory in Britain at that time. Children under fourteen were restricted to working eight hours a day and were required to receive two hours of schooling each day. Those fourteen and older could work only twelve hours a day. All children were given an hour for lunch.

In 1839, Prussia's Child Labor Act banned factory employment for children under nine and limited shifts for factory workers under sixteen to ten hours. Children were also banned from working in factories at night. Such laws were widely evaded, however, by working-class families who needed children's income and by employers who sought inexpensive labor. Many politicians also opposed such legislation, not only because it interfered with business but also because it deprived men of the right to govern their families.

In the face of such opposition to limits on it, child labor continued until laws requiring compulsory education helped to move children from factories to schoolrooms. By the end of the nineteenth century, new laws in the United States and western and central Europe mandated schooling, largely eliminating formal wage work by children under the age of fourteen. In places like Russia and Japan, where industrialization had begun later, married women and young children continued to work outside the home. In Japan, for example, more than 70 percent of married women from the lowest level of the working class (the *hinmin*) worked outside the home in 1911, but just ten years later, only 44 percent did.

The result of these changes was that by the beginning of the twentieth century in the United States, France, Great Britain, and Germany, working-class wives tended to supplement the family's income by working at home, not outside it. Unmarried women and those whose husbands were disabled or absent still sought factory work, but married women more commonly earned money in ways that did not require them to leave the home. Some cared for the children of working neighbors and took in laundry. If the family's living space were large enough, they might take in boarders, who often slept with the children, and the woman of the house would cook and clean for them as well as for her own family. Many women did piecework at home, compensated based on the number of items produced. They collected materials from local businesses and assembled small items like toys, costume jewelry, or artificial flowers. Some stitched together items of clothing. They were often joined by their children, who might also hawk newspapers and peddle wares on the street (Figure 10.7).



(a) (b)

FIGURE 10.7 Child Labor. Children contributed to the income of working-class families in many ways. (a) In this photograph, a mother and her children are doing piecework in their nineteenth-century New York City apartment. Perhaps the older boy, sitting at the table with his mother, has just returned from school. (b) In the painting *Matchstick Girl* from about 1900 by Dutch painter Floris Arntzenius, a girl with a disability sells matches near the entrance to a shopping arcade in The Hague. (credit a: modification of work "Sewing work at home" by The New York Public Library/The New York Public Library Digital Collections, Public Domain; credit b: modification of work "Matchstick girl" by Haags Historisch Museum/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Family size was also affected by these changes in the nature of work. In the United States, France, Great Britain, and Germany, by the beginning of the nineteenth century middle-class families had reduced the number of children they had. On the farm, in craft shops, and in early factories, children's labor was still valuable, so the working classes continued to have large families. By the second half of the century, however, children could no longer earn their keep alongside their parents in the factory and instead had to be fed and clothed during their school years from a smaller pool of money. They then became an expense many working-class families could not afford. The inadequate and overcrowded urban housing available to the industrial working class also made large families undesirable.

Innovations in birth control at this time enabled working-class parents to limit the number of children they had, just as the middle-class did. Vulcanized rubber made for more comfortable and reliable condoms, as well as cervical caps and early forms of diaphragms called "womb veils." New printing techniques allowed the mass-production of pamphlets instructing women in how to limit family size. In 1877, the Malthusian League, which advocated the use of contraception, was founded in Great Britain. It was named for Thomas Malthus, who had advocated limiting births in the late eighteenth century in order to prevent the human population from growing beyond the capacity of the land to support it. Although Malthus himself had opposed the use of contraceptive devices, Britons like Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant in the 1870s, and Marie Stopes in the early twentieth century, advocated for their use. In the United States, Margaret Sanger, a visiting nurse who cared for working-class women in New York and witnessed the detrimental effects on their health of repeated pregnancies, championed birth control, a term she popularized, as Stopes was doing the same in Britain.

In those parts of Europe where the Catholic Church was powerful and the use of contraceptive devices was frowned upon, women married later in order to avoid early childbearing. Beginning in the 1870s, working-class families began to shrink in size, and by the start of the twentieth century, the average family size for laborers had dropped from four to six children to two to four, only slightly larger than among the middle class.

This reduction in family size caused by falling birth rates in industrialized nations is called the **demographic transition**.

The main job of nearly all city children at this time was education. The industrialized world called for skills that could be learned only in school. Achieving middle-class status depended on obtaining a job for which at least a secondary school education was needed, and providing one for their children was an important goal for middle-class parents seeking to maintain their position in the world. By the end of the nineteenth century, some members of the middle class, especially young men, attended college, but education beyond secondary school was reserved largely for the sons of the wealthy.

Aspirational members of the working class sought to keep their children in school until they had completed the elementary grades, where they acquired basic literacy and learned arithmetic. Some children also attended a few years of secondary school, where they were introduced to mathematics, history, and perhaps a modern or classical language like Latin. A job that required little beyond a basic education, such as store clerk, cashier, or bookkeeper, could raise a child into the higher levels of the working class. If a daughter were to complete secondary school and become a teacher, she crossed the threshold into the lower ranks of the middle class.

By the end of the nineteenth century, industrialized societies had created systems of public education that were able to instill basic literacy in a majority of their populations. In Britain, Germany, and the Netherlands, nearly all people were literate by 1910. Ninety percent of adult Japanese men could read. More than 80 percent of the French and Belgian populations could as well. Even in countries that were slower to industrialize, like Italy, by the beginning of the twentieth century, more than half the population could read.

10.2 Life in the Industrial City

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe the benefits of living in a city in the Second Industrial Revolution
- Analyze the problems of city life and their relationship to industrialization
- Identify cultural and artistic movements of the Second Industrial Revolution

Hand in hand with industrialization went the process of urbanization. Industrial cities grew by leaps and bounds as workers streamed from the countryside and from overseas to find work in factories and other places of employment. City life was challenging, especially for those whose only experience of urban life had been their nearby market town. The rapidity with which growth and change took place often made it difficult to plan for the orderly development of cities. As a result, cities were dirty and overcrowded. However, they did offer exciting opportunities and benefits not available in the countryside.

The Benefits of Life in the Industrial City

In the nineteenth century, people came to industrial cities largely to find work. Some were also attracted by the excitement of city life. There were many drawbacks to living in nineteenth-century cities, but there were benefits too.

One of the advantages was the wealth of opportunities for leisure and recreation, some of which could be found only in cities. For instance, for the wealthy elite and the growing middle class—the sales representatives, engineers, accountants, and managers on whom industrialization was so dependent—there were libraries and bookstores. Many libraries were subscription libraries that loaned books only to dues-paying members, but free libraries also existed in communities ranging from large cities such as Boston, New York, London, Paris, Berlin, Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Tokyo, and Kyoto to small towns like Peterborough, New Hampshire. Newspapers abounded; every city published at least one, and some had many more. Theaters staged concerts, plays, ballets, and operas for the wealthy and middle class, but often the working class could observe the action and listen to the music. Even the city of Manaus in the depths of the Brazilian rain forest featured an opera

house, built between 1885 and 1892, where rubber barons and the wealthy bankers and merchants who served them could attend operas, plays, and concerts.

Members of the working class had other options for entertainment. Music halls in Britain, burlesque theaters in the United States, and cabarets in Paris featured young women singing and dancing. More often than not, skirts were kicked in the air, an exciting prospect at a time when women's dresses covered the tops of their shoes. Dance halls attracted men and women every night. Even after long days in factories and offices, young city dwellers found the energy to dance, and many dances, like the tango, which emerged in the 1880s in the dance halls of Buenos Aires, were developed and popularized by working-class men and women.

By the end of the nineteenth century, cities offered yet more forms of entertainment that even the working class could afford. Arcades contained machines that enabled people to watch short films for a small sum. Early movie theaters appeared in cities at the end of the century, featuring silent films with simple story lines.

Amusement parks, lavishly decorated with electric lights and steam-powered rides, appeared at the end of streetcar and rail lines. Attractions such as roller coasters, Ferris wheels, and target shooting commonly offered visceral thrills like flying through the air or served as outlets for aggression. For men and women used to boring, repetitive labor and forced to suppress their resentment while on the job, the attraction was obvious. Some parks, like Copenhagen's Tivoli (Denmark) and Coney Island's Dreamland (New York), appealed more strongly to families because they were considered more sedate and refined. Dreamland sought to provide a supposedly educational experience by reproducing Swiss landscapes and Venetian canals for visitors (Figure 10.8). It also featured shows with biblical themes that warned of the punishment for sin.



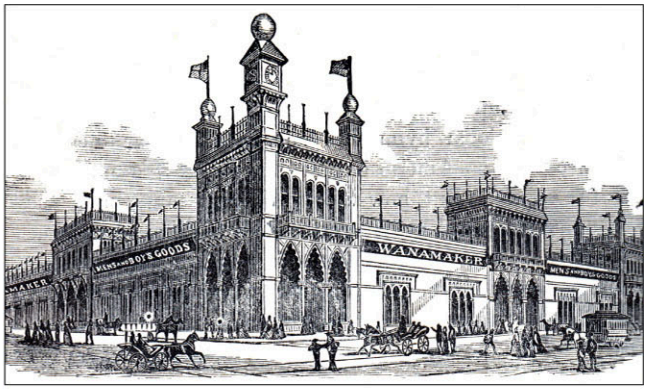
FIGURE 10.8 Dreamland. Dreamland was one of three amusement parks on Brooklyn's Coney Island (New York) in the second half of the nineteenth century. This photograph from 1905 shows the grandiose architecture the park's builder favored. From one vantage spot, visitors could see architectural styles typical of various European countries. (credit: modification of work "Dreamland Park, Coney Island, N.Y. (https://www.loc.gov/item/2016809467/)" by Detroit Publishing, Co./Library of Congress)

Among the delights of city life was shopping. Public transportation and the mass production of consumer goods aided in the creation of the modern department store, with enticing window displays, a wide variety of goods, and electrical illumination. All the world's major industrialized cities possessed at least one such grand store. Philadelphia had Wanamaker's, London boasted Selfridge's, New York had Stewart's and Macy's, and in Paris it was Le Bon Marché (Figure 10.9). Mitsukoshi and Matsuzakaya in Tokyo introduced another innovation

to Japanese society, which normally required people to go unshod indoors: Customers could wear their shoes inside the stores.



(a)



(b)

FIGURE 10.9 The Bon Marché and Wanamaker's. The Bon Marché department store (a) was a favorite place for Parisians to shop. Management went to great lengths to make customers happy, even maintaining a fleet of horse-drawn conveyances to drive them home. Opening to crowds during the Centennial Exhibition in 1876, Wanamaker's (b) in Philadelphia was modeled on the European open-air market, like Les Halles in Paris. In 1878, Wanamaker's become the first department store with electric lighting. (credit a: modification of work "Le Bon Marché" by L'illustration/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit b: modification of work "John Wanamaker's Clothing House" by The Illustrated History of the Centennial Exposition/The Cooper Collections of US History"Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Along with housework and childcare, consumption was an important part of the lives of middle-class women during the Second Industrial Revolution. Stores enticed them with tearooms and ladies' lounges, where they could rest should shopping tire them. Department stores also gave young working-class women opportunities for employment in clean, safe settings. Even those who could not afford to purchase the goods could still delight in looking at them; thus, window shopping was born. The inherent pleasure of the pastime is captured in the French term *lecher les vitrines*, literally, "licking the window glass." By acquainting visitors with the latest styles, department stores helped to shape a developing consumer culture.

The Challenges of Life in the Industrial City

Although city life brought many benefits, it also posed challenges for people of all classes. The first was finding a place to live. Urban populations grew quickly in the second half of the nineteenth century as people flocked to the industrial city from the countryside and abroad. By the middle of the century, more British people lived in cities and towns than in rural areas. Housing construction did not keep up, and cities and living spaces were often cramped and crowded.

Many of the middle class moved to the new suburbs that sprang up around cities, using horse-drawn or electrified streetcars to travel to work. For working-class people, options were more limited. Laborers with families often attempted to live on the edges of cities like London, away from the dirt, crowds, and noise. As urban areas grew, however, these neighborhoods were often absorbed into the city proper. If you could not afford to live far away from the city, soon enough the city would find you.

BEYOND THE BOOK

Charles Booth's Map of Poverty

Access an interactive version of a map made by Charles Booth (https://openstax.org/l/77Boothmap) in 1889. Booth, an English social reformer, drew the map of London indicating where people of different levels of wealth

lived in the city. Click on a box on the map to enlarge it. As you explore, consider the neighborhoods you see. What does this map reveal to us about housing patterns in the late nineteenth century?

- Where were the poorest neighborhoods located?
- Where did the wealthiest people tend to live?
- What else is located in these neighborhoods?
- Why might certain neighborhoods have appealed to (or driven away) certain types of people?

LINK TO LEARNING

This is an online archive of newspaper articles (https://openstax.org/l/77EastEnd) describing London's East End, a poor neighborhood. Most of the articles are from the 1880s, when the serial killer Jack the Ripper hunted his victims there.

Regardless of the city, housing was problematic and usually in short supply. Families with children might find themselves occupying only two or three rooms. Cooking, eating, working, and socializing frequently took place in the same space. Separate areas might be reserved for sleeping and for visiting, but they were cramped as well. A bed for yourself—let alone a room—was an unrealizable dream for members of the working class. Family members might even share a bed with boarders.

Housing configurations varied according to place. In British cities, the preference was for single-family dwellings; houses were narrow, with one room on the ground floor, another on top, and perhaps a third above that. Skilled workers might be able to afford houses with two rooms on the bottom floor and more above. They might even have a small garden. In France and the United States, the preference was for apartment buildings. In the United States, these might be built side by side with several apartments per floor; each working-class family occupied two or three rooms, and apartments on the inside walls might lack fresh air and daylight. In France, the working class might inhabit the same apartment houses as middle-class families but not the same floors. The middle class lived on the second floor (the *étage noble*), and other families lived above them in descending order of rank as they approached the roof; the very poorest lived in the attic where they baked in the summer, froze in the winter, and were regularly rained upon (Figure 10.10).



FIGURE 10.10 Parisian Attic Dwelling. A picture from an 1844 French pictorial magazine shows members of the middle class bringing charity to a poor family in a Parisian attic. (credit: "Visiting the poor" by Le Magasin Pittoresque/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The very worst-off might live in dark basement apartments that flooded when it rained. Others might occupy a single room in what was once a large middle-class home and was now an apartment house occupied by numerous families. Sometimes living spaces were so small as to be almost unimaginable. In 1901, an unskilled *kozukai* (errand man) in Tokyo shared a 100-square-foot room with his wife and two teenage children. Other Japanese lived in even smaller spaces. The poorest laborers rented floor space by the night in a common sleeping room and had to battle other sleepers for the privilege. Bedding was provided only for a fee, and bedbugs and lice were abundant.

Some members of the working class might be provided with housing by their employers. The American railroad car manufacturer George Pullman built a model town for his employees in 1884, on the south side of Chicago near the plant where his famous sleeping cars were produced. Workers were not required to live in the town, but it provided amenities they would likely not have been able to afford elsewhere. There were parks, a store, a church, a school, a library, and a theater. Employees used their wages to pay their rent and to buy what they needed at the store. Each worker's home featured gas lighting and indoor plumbing, and trash was collected every day. Pullman believed that housing his workers in a clean, orderly environment would make them more productive. He also believed that by providing them with a decent standard of living, he could prevent strikes or worse forms of unrest. By 1893, about twelve thousand people lived in the town.

There were problems, however. Workers were never allowed to purchase their homes, which Pullman's agents inspected at random to make sure they were kept clean and well maintained. Workers who lost their jobs were evicted with their families. All were expected to attend church on Sundays. Pullman chose the books to be kept in the library and the plays to be performed in the theater. There was no saloon. In 1894, Pullman cut employees' wages in the wake of an economic depression and laid off many workers. However, he refused to lower their rents, which were already higher than those in the surrounding area. The workers saw no alternative but to go on strike. Other U.S. business owners, like chocolate king Milton Hershey and piano

manufacturer Henry Steinway, also built model towns for their employees for the same reasons Pullman had.

European employers also provided towns for their workers. The first such towns were Copley and Saltaire, in Britain, both founded in the middle of the nineteenth century. In northern Italy, the Crespi family built the town of Crespi d'Adda in 1878 for workers at its textile factory. In addition to single-family houses with gardens, the town had a school, a clinic, a church, and a theater. To encourage a sense of equality among the workers, all the houses were the same except those belonging to the factory manager, the clinic's doctor, and the priest. Towns for miners and factory workers were also established in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, and northeastern Spain. Some were intended simply to provide housing for workers employed by mines or mills located in rural areas. Others, like Port Sunlight and Bourneville in England, were meant to provide not just a place to live but a model community for the working class.

Some laborers were housed in the factories at which they worked. Workers in the Japanese textile industry, most of whom were young unmarried women and teenage girls, lived in dormitories owned by the factories in places like Osaka. Many Russian workers also lived in barracks in the factories where they labored in Moscow and Saint Petersburg. Several families might share a single room. Single men slept in bunks arranged side by side to the ceiling with no privacy. When factories lacked space, workers might sleep in shifts, and single women and families might sleep in the single men's dormitories as well.

Just as great as the challenge of overcrowding and poor housing was the problem of dirt. Some cities had alleviated many aspects of this problem by the end of the nineteenth century, but others remained. The major source of dirt in the nineteenth century was waste—factory waste, human waste, and animal waste, especially horse manure. As cities grew larger, public transportation became a necessity. The solution most cities settled on was horse-drawn streetcars and omnibuses. Thousands of urban dwellers made use of them.

These forms of public transport, however, meant the introduction of more horses, beyond those needed to pull freight wagons and the carriages of the wealthy, and horses fouled the cities' streets. The average horse produces thirty to fifty pounds of manure each day. In 1878, there were approximately 78,000 horses in Paris. At about this time, horses dropped some 600,000 tons of manure in Chicago's thoroughfares each year. When they died in harness, their bodies were often left to rot in the streets. To horse manure and carcasses was added the waste of humans who lacked indoor toilets in their homes and did not wish to visit outdoor latrines in the dark. The buckets and chamber pots they filled during the night were often emptied into the streets in the morning along with kitchen waste. The piles of garbage and manure attracted rats and flies.

This problem was somewhat alleviated when new forms of public transportation appeared. Commuter railway lines that transported middle-class people to and from the suburbs actually increased the number of horses in cities at first, because horse-drawn streetcars were needed to transport commuters from rail stations to their destinations within the city. It was only with the electrification of streetcar lines and the building of underground railroads in the late nineteenth century that cities started to become cleaner. New York City introduced electrified streetcars in 1881. Prague did so in 1891, and London in 1901.

Although London lagged in introducing electric streetcars, it was a pioneer in building underground railroads, opening the world's first subway, the Metropolitan line of the London Underground system, in 1863. Other cities quickly followed. Glasgow and Budapest opened their undergrounds in 1896, as did Paris in 1900, New York in 1904, and Buenos Aires in 1913. These modes of transportation also had the benefit of being faster and less expensive than conveyances that traveled on crowded surface streets.

As for water, urban factories, slaughterhouses, and tanneries often dumped waste directly into nearby bodies of water. Through the process of capillary action, contaminated water and liquefying waste, like that deposited in latrines, could travel to the sources of public drinking water. As a result, this water was dirty and sometimes smelled worse than the streets. The stockyards and slaughterhouses of Chicago tossed the manure, blood, and unused organs of cows, sheep, and pigs into a fork of the Chicago River. The methane gases produced from the decomposing organic matter caused bubbles to rise to the surface, giving this stretch of the river the name

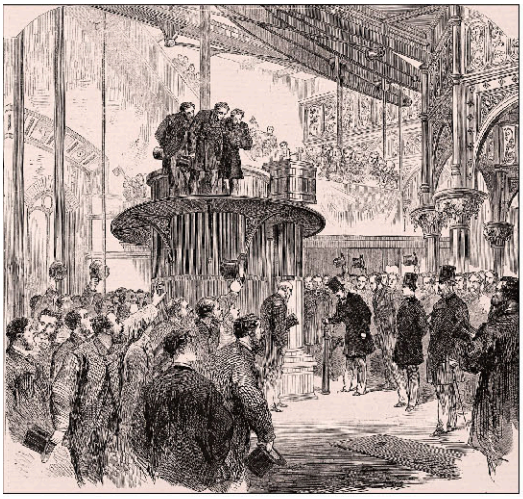
Bubbly Creek (Figure 10.11). The amount of waste produced by the stockyards and slaughterhouses was so great that people traveling to Chicago by train in the middle of the night reportedly could smell the city long before they saw it.



FIGURE 10.11 Bubbly Creek. In this 1911 photograph, a man stands on an island formed by solidified waste in Chicago's Bubbly Creek. The waste surrounding the creek was so deep that observers reported seeing chickens sink into it and disappear from sight. (credit: "Bubbly Creek" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Flush toilets prevented human waste from being deposited in backyard latrines or tossed into the streets, but they were only part of the solution. The waste still needed to be disposed of somewhere. In too many cities, household drains simply carried it to sewer systems that ultimately dumped it into the same rivers from which water for drinking and bathing was taken. By 1858, six feet of waste had piled up along the banks of the Thames in London, and the stench was so intense that custodians at the Houses of Parliament covered the windows with curtains soaked in chloride of lime, a disinfectant, to keep the politicians inside from passing out. The smell was dubbed the Great Stink, and carbolic acid, another disinfectant, was poured into the river to alleviate the problem.

The Great Stink inspired the rebuilding of London's sewer system by railway engineer Joseph Bazalgette between 1859 and 1875, as shown in Figure 10.12(a). Bazalgette was knighted for his work. The disposal of London's sewage was further refined when the city began purifying waste at two major pumping systems in the 1880s and then transporting it to be dumped in the North Sea, a process that continued until 1998. Other cities built similar systems over the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some cities even established public toilets, as shown in Figure 10.12(b).



(a)



(b)

FIGURE 10.12 Sewage System Improvements. (a) This engraving shows the Prince of Wales, the heir to the British throne, attending the 1865 opening of Crossness, one of the major pumping stations of Joseph Bazalgette's new sewer system. (b) A photograph of an elaborately designed nineteenth-century *chalet de necessité*, a public toilet, in a Parisian park. Such conveniences helped to keep that city clean. (credit a: modification of work "The Prince of Wales Opening the Metropolitan Main" by The Illustrated London News/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit b: modification of work "Cabinets water closets Dorion, Champs-Elysées" by State Library of Victoria/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

City air was also dirty in the late nineteenth century. Coal was burned to generate both steam power and electricity, and coal smoke plagued industrial cities as they grew in size. Soot lay upon every surface, including people's clothing. Anyone who accidentally left windows open found their furniture covered with it. London residents noted how air pollution transformed the color of sunsets. For some this was a mark of pride, and schoolchildren in Osaka, Japan, learned that their hometown was "the City of Smoke."

Hard on the heels of dirty streets, water, and air came disease. Respiratory problems caused by the inhalation of coal smoke affected many in the nineteenth century. Emphysema, chronic bronchitis, and asthma were common. Approximately one-third of child deaths in nineteenth-century England were attributed to respiratory ailments. Throughout the century, waterborne diseases such as cholera and typhoid claimed thousands of lives in the cities. Both these illnesses, which kill through dehydration from vomiting and copious diarrhea, are transmitted through water or food that has come in contact with the feces of infected people.

Many cholera pandemics occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century, before industrial technology made the building of secure water and sewer lines possible and good personal hygiene feasible. However, many outbreaks occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century in cities that had not yet modernized their water and sewer systems, and in the poorer neighborhoods of cities that had (Figure 10.13). Three thousand people died of cholera in Vienna within the span of a few months in 1873. In 1892, in the German city of Hamburg, more than eight thousand people died of it. A vaccine was finally developed in 1885.



FIGURE 10.13 Cholera Outbreaks. The cover of an issue of the French magazine *Le Petit Journal* from 1912 depicts cholera as the Grim Reaper mowing down populations. (credit: "Cholera" by Le Petit Journal/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Finally, overcrowding also contributed to disease. Although tuberculosis affected people in rural areas too, the overcrowded homes and workplaces of industrial cities encouraged it to spread quickly and claim many lives. All social classes suffered from the disease, but it had its greatest impact on the poor, for whom overcrowding was the worst and whose homes often lacked sunlight, which kills tuberculosis bacilli.

Although not necessarily fatal, alcoholism was also a significant health problem in nineteenth-century cities, especially among working-class men. Cities contained numerous saloons, taverns, pubs, cafés, and beer halls, and working-class men routinely sought them out after a hard day. Alcohol relieved boredom, calmed frustrations, and eased the physical pain of factory workers, miners, and dock hands. Establishments that served alcohol commonly offered other services as well, including free or inexpensive food, an employment exchange where men might learn of new jobs, and a place to hear the newspaper read or have a letter written. Men also used drinking establishments as places to discuss politics.

On Sundays, the only day of rest for European and American workers, alcohol consumption was high as many men spent the day drinking. Supervisors reported that it was not uncommon for men to come to work on Monday mornings hungover or still intoxicated. In an attempt to combat this problem, employers began to cut work hours in half on Saturdays, in the hope that if men started drinking earlier, they would finish earlier. Eventually, and largely owing to significant lobbying from labor unions, workers received two full days off on the weekends.

Prostitution, both formal and informal, was common in nineteenth-century cities. Some prostitutes were professionals who lived in brothels, but many others were simply young single women who could not survive

on their meager wages alone. Instead of a fee, they might simply want a man to purchase them dinner or new clothing. Even the institution of prostitution modernized in the nineteenth century, and brothels advertised themselves in books of "things to do" in town that could be purchased at railway stations. When asked why they lived such a lifestyle, some women reported that they had been trapped by means of seduction, but many professional prostitutes said the job paid better, required less work, and offered them more privacy than did a job as a factory worker or domestic servant. Sexually transmitted diseases were rampant, however. Many prostitutes and their clients suffered from syphilis, and married men sometimes infected their wives. The result was infertility or babies who were stillborn or blind or had mental disabilities. With no effective cure, syphilis killed its victims after years of agony.

Cultural Movements of the Second Industrial Revolution

The industrial city was more than a place for people to live, work, and entertain themselves. It was also the subject of late nineteenth-century art and literature. Industrialization influenced the cultural creations of the time just as much as it did the methods of production and transportation.

The first significant cultural response to industrialization began in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with **romanticism**, an artistic movement that valued emotion and imagination and took as its subjects the themes of nature, the ordinary person, the exotic, the ancient, and the supernatural. Romantic writers and artists stressed the beauty and awe-inspiring power of nature and decried the effect that cities and industrial development had on people and the physical environment. William Blake's description of England's factories as "dark satanic mills" perfectly expressed the romantics' attitude toward modern life.

Another important artistic and literary movement of the nineteenth century was **realism**. Realism focused on everyday life in the contemporary world instead of on the exotic, the ancient, and the faraway as romanticism had. Realists depicted life as it was, even if that meant presenting scenes of its uglier side, although some realist painters such as Rosa Bonheur and Jean-François Millet chose to depict life in the countryside and painted rural horse fairs, oxen straining at the plow, and men sowing fields. Modern cities and their inhabitants were the focus of many others such as John Sloan and George Luks, who portrayed the inside of barrooms and the teeming streets of working-class neighborhoods.

Writers also took the city as their subject. One of the greatest realist writers of the nineteenth century was Britain's Charles Dickens. In his many and widely read novels, Dickens sympathetically depicted the hardscrabble lives of poor, working-class, and middle-class urban dwellers, setting scenes in foundling homes, prisons, impoverished neighborhoods, and dark city streets. Some critics charged him with being unrealistic in his depiction of the virtuous poor, but his portrayals (and his activism) helped raise awareness, especially of the plight of children, and bring about some social change. Other writers focused even more intently on the shabbier side of life. In Russia, novelist Fyodor Dostoyevsky described the streets of St. Petersburg, the rundown quarters in which the poor were condemned to live, and the cheap saloons in which they sought relief. Honoré de Balzac of France depicted the seedy side of life in French cities, often focusing on stories of crime. In *Madame Bovary*, another French novelist, Gustave Flaubert, wrote of a rural doctor's young wife whose desire for consumer goods and urban pleasures leads to her ruin. American writer Kate Chopin also addressed the problem of women who felt stifled by married life and the social conventions of the time.

In the late nineteenth century, realism was joined and surpassed by **naturalism**, a style that featured detached and impersonal depictions of characters whose actions were molded by their environment in ways they often had no ability to control. The French novelist Émile Zola was the creator of naturalism, and his numerous works depict people trapped by their environment or their heredity into acting in ways for which they cannot be held fully responsible. For example, in *Thérèse Raquin*, Zola's first naturalistic novel, which he published in installments in the magazine *L'Artiste* in 1867, the title character is an orphan forced by the woman who raised her to marry her sickly son, a man Thérèse does not love and eventually murders, with the help of a brutish man to whom she finds herself drawn by irresistible sexual impulses. Literary critics were shocked by *Thérèse Raquin*, as they also were by later works of naturalism, and decried it as immoral.

American readers were similarly shocked by *McTeague*, an 1899 novel by Frank Norris. In this story, McTeague, a dentist, marries Trina, with whom his friend was in love. McTeague's friend works his revenge by destroying his dental practice, leading McTeague to run away after stealing money from Trina. When he returns, having spent all that he had stolen, Trina refuses to help him, and he beats her to death. He then runs from the law with his former friend in pursuit. The novel ends with McTeague stranded in the desert, handcuffed to the body of his friend, whom he has killed. In the world depicted in *McTeague*, people are greedy, faithless, and violent, and there is no escape from the horrors of life.

10.3 Coerced and Semicoerced Labor

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Discuss the abolition of slavery and serfdom during the Second Industrial Revolution
- Describe forms of coerced and semicoerced labor that existed during the Second Industrial Revolution

Most workers in industrialized countries during the period of the Second Industrial Revolution were free. "Free" in this context is a relative term, however. Their employers could not buy or sell them or their labor. They were legally able to leave their places of employment if they chose. But the extreme poverty of many workers makes it difficult to think of them as truly free. They toiled for long hours at dangerous jobs they hated because the alternative was homelessness and starvation. Nevertheless, they had advantages and choices, even if limited ones, that many other nineteenth-century workers did not have. For many people, to one degree or another, employers still had the legal right to compel their labor.

Slavery and Serfdom

By the end of the nineteenth century, chattel slavery, in which one human being is owned by another and can be bought or sold, lingered in only a few places on the globe. Some nations had already abolished slavery before the Second Industrial Revolution began. Japan officially did so in the sixteenth century. Britain abolished the slave trade and ended slavery completely in 1834. France banned slavery in 1848, freeing nearly all enslaved people in the Caribbean. In India, the Penal Code of 1861 punished those who attempted to enslave others. The Netherlands and the United States were among the last industrialized nations to end the practice, with the Dutch freeing enslaved people in the South American colony of Suriname in 1863 and the United States abolishing slavery with the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to its Constitution in 1865.

Most Latin American nations ended slavery following their wars of independence in the early nineteenth century. Brazil, however, with its primarily agricultural economy, long resisted reformers' calls for emancipation. In 1850, the country finally bowed to pressure from its chief trading partner, Great Britain, which had assumed the moral duty of abolishing slavery around the world soon after it liberated its own enslaved people. Brazil ended its slave trade, and in 1871 it passed a law that freed all children born to enslaved women from that point forward. In 1885, it decreed that all enslaved people would be free when they reached their sixtieth birthdays. Finally, it completely abolished slavery in 1888.

Along with British pressure, other factors influenced Brazil's decision. The battlefield performance of enslaved men during Brazil's 1864–1870 war with Paraguay led many White soldiers to admire the Afro-Brazilian fighters, and they became reluctant to recapture runaways. Many White Brazilians also believed their nation could not become modern and industrialized if it possessed a large population of African ancestry. For them, getting rid of slavery was the first step on the path to creating a Brazil that was more White.

Serfdom also largely disappeared in the second half of the nineteenth century. Serfs were unfree peasants who were legally bound to work the land on which they lived, land that was owned by another. Russia held nearly all Europe's remaining serfs. Approximately eleven million were owned by private citizens, and another twelve to thirteen million were owned by the state. Tsar Alexander II abolished serfdom in Russia in 1861. This did not

necessarily improve serfs' lives, however. Though emancipated, they were required to serve their masters for two more years. They were then allowed to remain on the lands they had worked, but they had to purchase them, often at high prices. Domestic serfs, those who had been household servants, received no land. In some parts of the Russian empire, serfdom lingered on for a few more decades.

LINK TO LEARNING

This is a 2017 report on modern slavery (https://openstax.org/l/772017slavery) in which many interesting and surprising facts can be found in the first few pages.

Contract Labor and Debt Bondage

While slavery and serfdom disappeared from the industrialized world in the nineteenth century, other means remained for securing a long-term or permanent labor force for both agricultural and industrial production. Two such systems are **contract labor** and **debt bondage**. Contract labor, a system in which people sign contracts promising to perform work in exchange for a fee, still exists today. Indentured servitude is a form of contract labor in which people pledge to work for an agreed period of time for an agreed form of compensation. Although indentured servants are not enslaved, while their contract is in force, their employers have nearly total control over them, and they are not allowed to leave their service. Debt bondage is a system in which a person who owes money works (or provides someone else to work) for the creditor until the debt has been repaid through labor. Indentured servitude and debt bondage are similar and were common in the later nineteenth century; they differ from slavery in that, theoretically, at a point in time the bondage will end.

In the United States, indentured servitude had been common during the colonial period, and it was the means by which many Europeans obtained passage to North America. The practice had largely died out in the United States by the middle of the nineteenth century but still existed in a few places. In Hawaii, plantation owners used contract labor from Portugal, China, Korea, Japan, and the Philippines to grow their crops, especially sugarcane. Many Chinese immigrants also came to the United States as contract laborers. They were not working under a contract with their employer. Instead, they had agreed to work for one of their compatriots to pay for their passage to the United States. Many Chinese workers were taken abroad by the Six Companies, a Chinese-owned business formed to transport Chinese immigrants to North America, and they had to repay their debt to the company before they were allowed to return home.

Other parts of the world also relied on various forms of contract labor once slavery had been abolished. During the nineteenth century, Australia depended on indentured laborers from the islands of the Pacific, such as the Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, Samoa, and the Gilbert Islands (now called Kiribati). A flourishing trade also provided Chinese and Indian laborers to work in Latin America, the Caribbean, Southeast Asia, and European colonies in Africa. These laborers were underpaid, overworked, brutally disciplined, and given only enough food to allow them to work. Reports about their poor treatment convinced many industrialized countries to end participation in the trade. Britain prohibited its ships from carrying Asian laborers to Cuba and Peru, two of the main destinations. In 1874, Portugal, following Britain's example, prevented the trade from being carried on in Macao, a Portuguese colony in Asia through which many Chinese laborers were shipped elsewhere in the world.

Debt bondage was also a common source of labor in some parts of the world in the late nineteenth century. In the 1880s in Japan, faced with an economic depression that led many to bankruptcy and starvation, parents "rented" their children, especially daughters, to factories. The girls were provided with food and shelter, and money they earned was sent home to their parents. Daughters might also be hired out to brothels; dutiful ones might make the decision themselves to spare their parents the pain. In the United States, debt bondage was a common means by which southern farmers kept a labor force of African American people and poor White people at their disposal. It also trapped many Asian laborers who immigrated to South America, even after their contracts had expired.

In some places, debt bondage was nearly impossible to escape. Sharecroppers and tenant farmers working other people's land depended on the harvest for their income. In the time before the harvest, they purchased necessities like food on credit from a local store, which was usually owned by the landlord. They also often needed to purchase seed and use equipment owned by the landlord. When they sold their crops following the harvest, they repaid their debts. Often, the prices of goods and the interest charged by the store owner were so high that income from the harvest was insufficient to satisfy the workers' debts, and the unpaid portion was added to the amount borrowed against the next harvest. Some employers paid their workers with scrip, a substitute for money that could be exchanged only at the store the employer owned; because they could not shop elsewhere, laborers had no choice but to go into debt. In Japanese brothels, the young women were not paid in scrip, but the cost of everything provided for them, including clothing and food, was recorded, and the women could not go free until they had repaid both the original sum exchanged for them and the total cost of their upkeep.

Penal Labor

Forced labor assigned as punishment to those convicted of crimes, known as **penal labor**, was also employed in the second half of the nineteenth century. From 1788 to 1868, British convicts, most of whom had been found guilty of nonviolent crimes, were given the choice of languishing in a cell or being transported to the colony of Australia. If they chose Australia, after an ocean journey that might last eight months, they had to endure seven to ten years of labor. The unlucky might be assigned to work gangs, building roads or constructing government buildings. Others went to work for farmers or merchants. After they had served their sentences, they were free to remain in Australia as settlers or return to England.

Like Britain, Russia used convicted prisoners to satisfy the need for labor in distant parts of the empire, where it was difficult to attract voluntary settlers. The *katorga* system sent prisoners to Siberia and the Russian Far East (Figure 10.14). The men, often political prisoners, typically felled timber or worked in mines. Sometimes they were rented out to private employers.



FIGURE 10.14 The Katorga System. Prisoners building the Amur Cart Road through an isolated part of Russia in the early twentieth century pose for a photograph. The railway extended for hundreds of miles through forests and swamps. (credit: "Russian prisoners of Amur Railway" by Library of Congress/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Penal Labor in Russia

This excerpt is from the 1887 book *In Russian and French Prisons* by Peter Kropotkin. The book is based on Kropotkin's experiences as a young military officer in the 1860s, when he first became interested in the question of crime and punishment and served on a committee for the reform of the Russian penal system. In this excerpt, he describes the treatment of prisoners working at a Siberian gold mine, including punishments such as the blackholes—"the warm one, and the cold one underground with a temperature at freezing point."

> As a rule, the hard-labour convict must be kept in prison, at the mines, only for about one-third of the time to which he has been condemned. Beyond this time, he must be settled in the village close by the mine, in a separate house, with his family, if his wife has followed him; he is bound to go to work like other convicts, but without chains, and he has his own house and hearth. It is obvious that this law might be an immense benefit for the convicts, but its provisions are marred by the manner in which it is applied. The liberation of the convict depends entirely upon the caprice of the superintendent of the mine. Moreover, with the absurd payment for his labour, which hardly reaches a few shillings per month in addition to the ration of flour, the liberated convict falls, with but few exceptions, into the most dreadful misery. . . . The punishments depend also entirely upon the fancy of the superintendent of the works, and mostly they are atrocious. The privation of food and the blackhole . . . are considered as merely childish punishments. Only the plete, the cat-o'-nine-tails, distributed at will, for the slightest delinquency, and to the amount dictated by the good or bad temper of the manager, is considered as a punishment. It is so usual a thing in the minds of the overseers, that "hundred pletes," a hundred lashes with the cat-o'-nine-tails, are ordered with the same easiness as one week's incarceration would be ordered in European prisons.
>
> —Peter Kropotkin, *In Russian and French Prisons*

- Based on this excerpt, explain why the author later calls the superintendent of the mines "a king in his dominions."
- Why do you think the privation of food and the "blackhole" are considered "childish punishments" in comparison to a whipping?

Many other countries, such as the United States, also used convicts for labor or rented them for use by private citizens. After the abolition of slavery, the southern U.S. states often required African American men to sign yearly contracts with White employers. A man who did not have such a contract could be arrested for vagrancy and then forced to sign a labor contract and work in agriculture. People found guilty of and imprisoned for actual crimes were also often required to perform free labor, either inside or outside the prison. Prisoners were often used to build roads in the southern United States.

10.4 Communities in Diaspora

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Compare the experiences of European and Asian emigrants in the mid- to late-nineteenth century
- Analyze the response of Africa and the Americas to the immigration of Europeans and Asians in the mid- to late-nineteenth century

As the world transformed in the second half of the nineteenth century, large numbers of people found themselves displaced by the changes. A series of wars, political upheavals, and natural disasters drove people from their homes in southern and eastern Europe, East Asia, and India, while at the same time industrialized

nations sought people to work in mines and factories, and countries that had developed export economies needed hands to work in their forests and fields. These forces combined to promote a mass migration of people across the face of the earth, assisted by new industrial technologies.

European Immigration

Over the course of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, approximately sixty million Europeans sought better economic opportunities on other continents. Most came from relatively nonindustrialized or agricultural regions, such as southern Italy and Sicily. Approximately twenty-eight million Europeans and Canadians immigrated to the United States during this time, the majority between 1890 and 1914. Most were peasant farmers from southern and eastern Europe. Many also continued to arrive from Germany and Ireland, the countries that had been responsible for the greatest influx of immigrants in the first half of the nineteenth century. Along with those fleeing poverty came victims of religious persecution, especially Jewish people of the Russian empire. They had faced discrimination and anti-Semitism, which often culminated in waves of violence called **pogroms** that left people dead and their property destroyed. Political dissidents and craftspeople displaced by industrialization made up the rest.

After the United States, it was Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay that received the largest numbers. Some 4.5 million emigrants went to Argentina, where at one point they made up 30 percent of the population. Latin America attracted many Italians and Germans as well as Spanish and Portuguese settlers. Canada was the destination of approximately 5.1 million people between the 1850s and the 1920s. Other common landing places for European immigrants were Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Particularly attractive after gold was discovered there were Australia in 1851 and South Africa in 1886.

Once in their new homes, European immigrants performed a large variety of jobs. Many worked in factories. Jewish people were especially active in the garment industry in places like New York City. In the United States, Polish people and other eastern Europeans worked in the steel industry in Pittsburgh and in Chicago's stockyards. The Portuguese often worked in the fishing industry or, in New England, alongside French Canadians in textile mills. Italian immigrants did a variety of work in agriculture, mining, and the building trades. The Welsh found jobs as miners in the West. Irish immigrants worked in mines, built railroads, and labored in factories throughout the United States. Women from all these ethnic groups entered domestic service.

The response of the countries where immigrants settled often depended on the newcomers' ethnicity. In the United States, the "foreign" ways of Germans and eastern European Christians might be mocked but were largely accepted. Irish newcomers, most of whom were Roman Catholics, had been rejected when they first began to migrate to the largely Protestant United States in large numbers in the 1840s and 1850s, but by the second half of the nineteenth century, they and their children had established themselves as politicians, business owners, and police officers. Jewish people and Italians, however, who were more recent immigrants, often faced discrimination, and anti-Semitism was prevalent.

By the end of the nineteenth century, many native-born Protestants of northern European ancestry in the United States began to call for changes in immigration laws. These calls were met in 1924 with the passage of the Johnson-Reed Act, which set a quota on the total number of immigrants allowed to enter the United States from outside the Western Hemisphere. In addition, the act limited the number of immigrants of each nationality to 2 percent of the number already living in the United States in 1890. Thus, a person might be turned away if the permitted number of immigrants of that particular nationality had already been admitted, even if the total limit had not been reached. Before 1890, most immigrants had come from northern and western Europe and relatively few from southern or eastern Europe. Thus, the 2 percent quota allowed far more English, Irish, and German people to enter than Italian, Polish, or Russian Jewish people. Immigration from Asia, with the exception of the U.S. territory of the Philippines, was banned.

In Latin America, the situation was much different. Argentina and Uruguay, for instance, had never had large

populations because they lacked their neighbors' mineral wealth and climates conducive to the growing of sugar and coffee. The arrival of European immigrants there was thus a welcome boost. Brazil and Venezuela deliberately sought out European immigrants to make their predominantly African, Native American, and biracial population more White.

Asian Exodus

In the nineteenth century, many people of East Asia and India left home to seek work abroad, just as many Europeans did. Most who left China were escaping poverty. Primarily men, they came largely from the southern provinces, especially Fujian, where the quality of the land had always made agriculture difficult, and Guangdong. In the middle of the nineteenth century, many Chinese people fled hardships occasioned by the deadliest civil war in the history of the world. From 1850 to 1864, more than twenty million Chinese people died in the Taiping Rebellion, an uprising led by Hong Xiuquan, who believed himself to be "God's Chinese son" and sought to impose a new moral order on society. The war's destruction of towns, farms, livestock, and crops left millions dead or dying from famine.

The Chinese diaspora in the nineteenth century was perhaps the widest of any ethnic group, dispersing emigrants around the globe. Chinese laborers came to the Kingdom of Hawaii to work on sugarcane plantations. They sought work in the United States building railroads, mining, and working as agricultural laborers and in service occupations. Thousands of Chinese people performed similar jobs in the Canadian province of British Columbia. Chinese people also immigrated to Europe, primarily Britain, as well as to Indonesia, Malaysia, Australia, and South Africa. They were hired as contract laborers in South African gold mines when the owners realized they would work longer hours for lower wages than would native Africans, who often left the mines after a few years.

LINK TO LEARNING

Most people have heard of Ellis Island, the immigration station in the New York City harbor that welcomed millions of European immigrants to the United States. Less well known was Angel Island in San Francisco Bay (https://openstax.org/l/77AngelIsland) that served as the station through which most Asian immigrants were processed while they awaited permission to enter the United States or were returned to their home countries. Today, it is a national historic landmark.

Large numbers of Chinese people also sought opportunities in South America and the Caribbean. In Peru, the abolition of slavery in 1854 left the country desperate for workers, and the government subsidized the importation of laborers. Approximately 100,000 Chinese people immigrated as contract laborers between 1849 and 1874 to fill the need for workers to mine guano (bird and bat excrement used as fertilizer), build railroads, and toil on sugarcane and cotton plantations. Their contracts typically bound them to work for four to eight years. During that time, they were subjected to harsh punishments, including whipping and confinement in plantation jails. When their contracts ended, those who did not find themselves trapped in debt bondage often moved to the cities.

Chinese people emigrated to other places in Latin America and the Caribbean as well. Many built railroads in the Spanish colony of Cuba; concerned that they were being mistreated, China signed a treaty with Spain in 1896 to end all labor contracts that bound Chinese laborers. In the 1870s, Mexico's president Porfirio Diaz encouraged Chinese people to immigrate to Mexico and settle in the northern part of the country. Diaz had first invited European and White U.S. settlers to Mexico to build railroads as part of a plan to "civilize" the northern part of the country, with its largely Native American and *mestizo* (biracial European and Native American) population. When these laborers found life in the desert undesirable, Diaz invited the Chinese to settle instead.

In Japan, economic depression also led many young men and women to seek their fortunes abroad. Unable to pay their taxes or purchase food because of a decrease in the price of their rice, farmers were desperate. One response was to allow sons, and sometimes daughters, to go to the city to look for work that, if found, paid

wages too low to live on, let alone send to families left behind in rural villages. In the eyes of many Japanese, leaving the country completely for a new life elsewhere made more sense. For families that had to sell their farms to pay their debts, it may have seemed the only choice.

The Japanese government encouraged emigration and entered into contractual agreements with other countries to provide labor. In 1885, it selected men and women most likely to promote Japan's reputation as a respected, civilized nation and instructed them on how to behave when abroad. Japanese immigration was largely confined to the Pacific region and to the Americas. In 1868, Japanese contract laborers were sent to Guam and the Kingdom of Hawaii. Others went to Australia and the Philippines. Hawaii remained a major destination after it was annexed by the United States, because the owners of sugarcane plantations sought laborers. Many Japanese also settled on the West Coast of the United States and in the Canadian province of British Columbia (Figure 10.15).

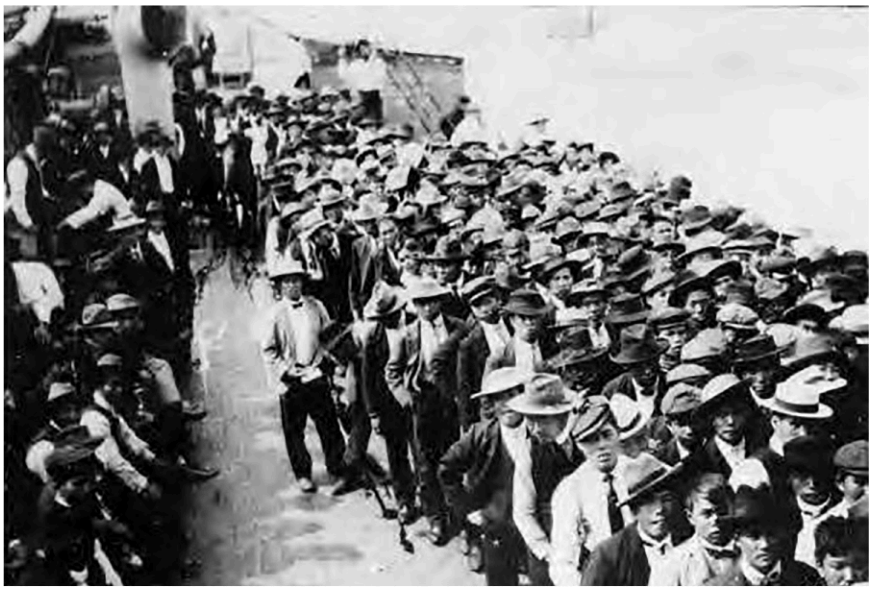


FIGURE 10.15 Japanese Emigration to Canada. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Canada attracted many Japanese laborers. These men waiting to debark on Vancouver Island would most likely have sent for their wives to join them later. The marriages were arranged for them by their parents in Japan. (credit: "Passengers arriving in Vancouver" by UBC Library Digital Collections/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Like the Chinese emigrants, Japanese emigrants also went to South America in substantial numbers. Japanese immigration to Peru began in 1899. In 1907, Japan reached an agreement with the United States to limit the influx of Japanese people to that country. The Japanese government then signed an agreement with Brazil in 1908 allowing for the immigration of laborers to work on coffee plantations. Brazil had initially sought Italian laborers in an effort to make its population more White, much as Diaz had done in Mexico, but the Italians and other European workers found the wages too low and the living conditions too difficult. Many early Japanese immigrants to Brazil had sought to earn money and then return home, but they often found themselves trapped in debt bondage to their employers and so remained even after their contracts expired. In the twenty-first century, the largest concentrations of Japanese people outside Japan are in Brazil and Peru.

Indians also found their labor in high demand during the Second Industrial Revolution, and many were driven by poverty to become indentured laborers, primarily on plantations growing sugarcane. Some 3.5 million Indians worked on plantations in Africa. In East Africa, Indians also built railroads. They grew cash crops in South America and the Caribbean, to which they brought cannabis, called *ganja*, which they preferred to alcohol as a means for relaxation. They also became part of the labor force in other island nations. In 1879, the first Indian laborers entered Fiji to grow sugarcane; so many immigrated there that they now form a substantial portion of the country's population.

THE PAST MEETS THE PRESENT

Indians in Fiji

Indians first arrived in Fiji in the late nineteenth century to grow sugarcane. Both they and Fiji were transformed by the experience. The Indian immigrants came from a variety of regions, the Hindus among them were from a variety of castes, and men greatly outnumbered women. Because there were not enough Indians in the early years to form separate communities, they were forced to live together, which weakened adherence to the caste system. The skewed sex ratio also meant that members of different castes had to intermarry, which destroyed the caste system entirely. The need to live and work together led to the creation of a common language composed of elements of various Indian languages. It is now spoken by many indigenous Fiji Islanders as well.

At times, Fijians of Indian descent have comprised just as large a proportion of Fiji's population as have Indigenous Fijians. Many members of the Indigenous population resent this development and have been reluctant to share political power with Fijians of Indian ancestry. In 1987 and 2000, strong nationalist sentiments among Indigenous Fijians led to coups aimed at depriving Indians of political rights. Anti-Indian violence caused many to leave the country where their families had lived for one hundred years. Only within the last few years have nationalist feelings died down and people of Indian ancestry become widely recognized as true Fijians.

- How did immigration to Fiji end up destroying the caste system of Indian immigrants?
- What effect(s) did the arrival of Indian immigrants have on Fijian culture and society?

Asian immigrants found themselves more unwelcome than European immigrants were. In 1882, the United States passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which prevented all Chinese laborers from immigrating to the country. The Johnson-Reed Act banned all immigration from Asia, with the exception of people coming from U.S. territories in the Pacific. Although Canada did not ban Asian immigration, in 1885 it placed a tax of $50 on all Chinese people entering the country to work. Students, scientists, merchants, and government officials were exempt, but in subsequent years, the tax was raised.

Asian immigrants to South America also faced hostility. Violent attacks on Chinese people took place in Peru in the nineteenth century, as they had in the United States before Chinese immigration was banned. Portuguese-speaking Brazilians regarded the Japanese people, who resisted becoming bilingual and maintained schools and newspapers in their own language, as unassimilable, and in 1923 the government imposed a strict quota on immigrants from Japan.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Australia also wished to limit immigration to only Europeans. In the 1850s, it tried to discourage the entry of Chinese people by prohibiting the arrival of the families of those already in the country. It also imposed a tax on Chinese immigrants. At the urging of members of the working class, who believed the willingness of the Chinese people to work for low wages hurt them, Australia required that all furniture made by Chinese workers bear a label stating that fact. All this was part of the White Australia Policy, a movement to exclude Asians and Pacific Islanders from the country.

The White Australia Policy culminated in the passage of the Immigration Restriction Act in 1901, excluding anyone who could not pass a dictation test administered in a European language. This specification automatically disadvantaged Asians and Pacific Islanders, which the Japanese people heartily protested. Since the law gave them the discretion, examiners were also careful to choose languages that test takers were unlikely to know.

10.5 Regulation, Reform, and Revolutionary Ideologies

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Analyze the effectiveness of government regulation of the industrial workplace and of city life
- Analyze nineteenth- and early twentieth-century labor and social reform movements
- Describe the development of socialism as a means of addressing industrial workers' needs

Industrialization and urbanization offered opportunities to many people and improved their lives in many ways. However, they also brought much suffering and discontent. The period of the Second Industrial Revolution gave birth to a number of reform movements and legal efforts to eliminate the problems that urbanization and industrialization caused. Some efforts were successful; many were not. When things did not change—or did not change fast enough—people sometimes turned to violent conflict and threatened revolution.

Regulation and Reform

The challenges of the industrial age must have seemed overwhelming to observers of the time, and the difficulties insurmountable. Nevertheless, governments attempted to solve some of the most important problems. Their motives varied. Many officials were sensitive to the criticisms of social activists and reformers, and some politicians came from their ranks. They genuinely wished to improve the lives of city dwellers and the working class.

Politicians often acted to please the wealthy and middle class, however, who found themselves threatened by dirty air, smelly streets, and infectious diseases that domestic servants might bring into their homes (Figure 10.16). Florence Kelley, an American activist who sought to end child labor, objected to it not only because it deprived young people of the freedom of childhood, but also because she feared the products made by children in tenement apartments might be dirty and infect her own family.



FIGURE 10.16 Tenement Factory. Jacob A. Riis, an American social reformer and documentary photographer, often took photographs depicting urban life, such as this image of men and women sewing and ironing in a tenement factory around 1889. (credit: "Necktie workshop in a Division Street tenement (https://www.loc.gov/item/

2002710291/)" by Unknown/Library of Congress)

Many politicians at both the local and national levels also realized that protecting workers' health and welfare made the nation stronger. Sick workers were unproductive, and travelers avoided cities suffering epidemics. Numerous laws were passed to combat disease and render cities clean. In 1848, Britain took a step forward by passing the Public Health Act, which created the National Board of Health to regulate such matters as the dumping of sewage. In 1863, Britain's Alkali Act sought to reduce hydrogen chloride emissions by empowering investigators to suggest changes to factory owners, though without the power to compel obedience. In the 1880s, several American cities, including Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Cincinnati, passed ordinances to limit smoke emissions. None of these laws were very successful. Businesses ignored them, and cities usually did not enforce them.

Housing also became a concern of governments during the Second Industrial Revolution. Regulations often outlawed dangers such as apartments without windows or ventilation, where infectious diseases rapidly bred. Some municipalities built housing for the poor or tore down slums and relocated workers to other parts of the city. Between 1853 and 1870, Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann redesigned Paris; as part of these efforts, workers' dwellings in the center of the city were razed. Naples, Italy, was rebuilt between 1889 and 1918 to prevent the return of cholera. In the 1880s and 1890s, Japanese officials in Tokyo and Osaka also tried to clear slums and remove the poor from districts inhabited by the middle class. These efforts were often unsuccessful, however, and poor neighborhoods often abutted even the most prestigious ones. In 1906, one Japanese newspaper reported that the emperor's palace was affected when the poor neighborhood adjacent to it flooded.

LINK TO LEARNING

Learn more about the modern buildings (https://openstax.org/l/77redesignParis) designed to fill the streets of Baron Haussmann's redesigned Paris.

In 1883, Germany passed the Health Insurance Law, requiring that employers provide health insurance for their employees, using money drawn from workers' pay and added to employers' contributions. In 1889, the German government extended insurance to the elderly and those with disabilities. In 1898, France also provided insurance to those injured at work. In 1911, Britain's National Insurance Act provided for the health care of about one-third of British workers. In 1912, Russia passed a similar law.

Concern for safety in the industrial workplace, especially of women and children, also inspired much legislation. Early laws applied to only certain industries like textiles and mining. Factory Acts passed in Britain in the 1860s through the 1880s expanded the types of businesses covered by the older laws. In 1860, the Coal Mines Regulation Act made twelve years the minimum age for boys to work in mines, and in 1891, Britain made eleven years the minimum age for factory work.

Many U.S. states passed laws limiting work hours for women in strenuous industries like laundry. Employers challenged these actions, though, and courts, favoring a policy of laissez-faire, commonly overturned protective legislation. Limiting adults' working hours was thought to deprive them of their freedom of contract as well as burdening employers. Many efforts to limit hours or ban women and children from certain jobs altogether were also often resented by the working class. For those commonly paid by the hour or the piece, more time in the workplace meant more money, and people who were desperate often had to take the only jobs they could find.

The creation of urban parks was the goal of reformers who saw green spaces as a solution to the dirt and chaos of the city. The nineteenth-century middle and upper-middle classes, like good Romantics, believed in the redemptive power of nature. Not only was fresh air good for city dwellers' lungs, but the very sight of green grass, trees, and flowers was thought to be a source of moral uplift. Politicians were swayed by their claims. New York City built Central Park in 1858. The government of Japan decreed in 1873 that parks be built in

urban areas (Figure 10.17). German emperor Wilhelm I ceded his rights to the Tiergarten, a royal hunting park, and made it part of the city of Berlin in 1881. The middle class sometimes feared the working class would behave inappropriately in parks, and places like Central Park often prohibited visitors from picnicking on the grass, picking flowers, and playing games on the lawn.



FIGURE 10.17 Tsuruma Park. In 1873, the government of Japan decreed that public parks be established in the cities. Tsuruma Park opened in Nagoya in 1909. In its center is a European-style bandstand, shown here. (credit: "Tsurumai Park 1910" by Japan to-day/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Regulations and laws sometimes failed to yield the improvements many social activists thought were necessary. Reform movements arose both to change private behaviors the middle class believed harmful or immoral, such as drinking or having extramarital sex, and to pressure governments to make broader changes. Sometimes they were successful. In the United States, for example, prostitution was made illegal in many cities. In other countries such as France, prostitution was not prohibited, and new laws attempted to regulate it and prevent the spread of venereal disease.

The excessive consumption of alcohol was another problem addressed primarily through reform efforts. The middle class blamed drinking for myriad problems including poverty, street crime, worker absenteeism, workplace accidents, and domestic violence. Efforts to address these generally took one of two approaches—temperance, which forbade hard liquor and encouraged moderate consumption of other alcoholic beverages, and prohibition, which attempted to ban the manufacture and consumption of *all* alcoholic beverages.

Temperance and prohibition movements made the greatest headway in countries with large Protestant populations, such as the United States, England, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland. The United Kingdom Alliance for the Total and Immediate Suppression of the Liquor Traffic by the Will of the People, usually referred to simply as the United Kingdom Alliance, intended to prohibit the trade in alcohol entirely. In the United States, the Anti-Saloon League attempted to close places where alcohol was served, including by physically destroying barrooms.

Women played crucial roles in many of these reform movements; such activism was considered an appropriate occupation for wealthy or middle-class women and directly related to their interests at the time. Husbands who visited prostitutes could bring disease home. Alcoholic men could leave families in financial ruin, and drunken husbands and fathers physically abused wives and children. Cleaning up the city was often equated to cleaning up the home.

The women engaged in reform movements usually realized they could be more effective if they had the right to vote, run for public office, or control property. Access to university education and the professions would also boost their ability to improve society. Many were therefore also active in women's rights movements.

Reformers often regarded problems like poverty and drunkenness as the result of a lack of self-discipline and of a strong moral compass. The poor could best be helped, they believed, through moral uplift. The Scottish writer Samuel Smiles, for example, believed morality was the key to success. Adopting that attitude, charitable societies and religious organizations often established missions in poor neighborhoods through which they hoped to encourage the working class to change their ways.

Nineteenth-century reformers also insisted the poor not become dependent on charity. British housing reformer Octavia Hill was an advocate of this position. She worked with art critic John Ruskin to provide attractive housing for the poor, but the housing was not free, and while rents were low, those who failed to pay on time risked eviction. Hill also evicted tenants who allowed their homes to become overcrowded or failed to send their children to school.

Others believed the poor were irredeemable and that their personal traits, many of which were thought to be hereditary, made change impossible. Thus, attempts at charity and moral uplift were seen to do no good. Social Darwinism, a pseudoscientific belief that some people were better equipped for survival than others, was advocated by British sociologist Herbert Spencer. Spencer believed it was useless to help the poor because they were destined to die out. He regarded them as having "lost" the competition of life because they did not possess the traits necessary to rise to the top. He did not believe the poor should be helped to survive and opposed offering them financial assistance.

DUELING VOICES

Helping the Poor

How best to help the poor was a great concern of nineteenth-century society. Some people, like Samuel Smiles, believed the poor could help themselves by adopting more disciplined habits. Others, however, like the Reverend Osborne Jay, believed they could not change. Jay came to hold this position after working with the poor in Bethnal Green, a working-class neighborhood in London's East End. In the first of the two excerpts that follow, Samuel Smiles discusses the importance of self-improvement. In the second excerpt, the Reverend Jay, the minister of Holy Trinity Church in Shoreditch, a poor district in East London, answers questions posed by a reporter about the cause of "the degradation" of the poor and the best response to it.

> National progress is the sum of individual industry, energy, and uprightness, as national decay is of individual idleness, selfishness, and vice. What we are accustomed to decry as great social evils, will, for the most part, be found to be but the outgrowth of man's own perverted life; and though we may endeavour to cut them down and extirpate them by means of Law, they will only spring up again with fresh luxuriance in some other form, unless the conditions of personal life and character are radically improved. If this view be correct, then it follows that the highest patriotism and philanthropy consist, not so much in altering laws and modifying institutions, as in helping and stimulating men to elevate and improve themselves by their own free and independent individual action.
>
> —Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help*
>
> There is no temptation like that of poverty. It is the greatest that can fall in the way of any man or woman. It fills our prisons and turns honesty into crime and virtue into dishonor. But it must also be remembered that at the very outset of our social problem we are met by the incontrovertible fact that the major portion of the submerged and semi-criminal class are in their present position through physical, moral, and mental peculiarities. . . . Cunning, not wisdom; sharpness, not intelligence, are stamped even on their faces. And yet all the time the well-to-do virtuous classes, walled off from

> temptation, surrounded by all that conduces to right living, wrap themselves in the wretched mantle of their detestable hypocrisy and pretend to believe that all in this life have equal chances, and must be uniformly fairly judged. But science in unmistakable accents teaches the reverse. . . . There is, it seems to me, only one solution to this problem. Education has failed, religious work cannot he expected to do what is needed, the Poor Law and prison systems are alike ineffective, and universal charity cannot rightly be considered a real factor in the case. The only method, I think, is to stop the supply of persons born to be lazy, immoral, and deficient in intellect. This can only be done by sending the present stock of them to what I will call a penal settlement. . . . The fact is, all men are not equal, nor can they be treated as such. This, through no fault of their own, I grant; but we can prevent them bringing into the world children stamped with the character of their parents.
>
> —Osborne Jay, "To Check the Survival of the Unfit"

- What would Smiles have thought about efforts to solve social problems by, for instance, outlawing the sale of alcohol or banning prostitution?
- Would Jay have agreed with the approach Smiles recommended? Why or why not? Would Jay have agreed with the ideas of Herbert Spencer?
- In what ways are the attitudes of Smiles and Jay similar to or different from attitudes toward the poor today?

A particular type of reform movement resulted in the creation of trade and labor unions to represent workers in dealings with management. In **trade unions**, workers organized within a particular craft or industry. In **labor unions**, skilled and unskilled workers of all kinds joined together to promote and defend their interests. In Britain, trade unions were at the forefront of change. In 1866, the Trades Union Congress, a federation of English and Welsh trade unions, was formed primarily to represent the interests of skilled workers. In 1871, the British government legalized their existence, and in 1875, Parliament made it legal for workers to strike as well. The result was that trade union membership increased from about 100,000 to about one million by the middle of the 1870s. Coal miners, iron and steel workers, and textile factory employees were the first to unionize. In the 1880s and 1890s, unions began to make concerted efforts to organize unskilled laborers. Two million people had joined British trade unions by the beginning of the twentieth century.

Workers' demands focused largely on improving wages, hours, and working conditions. Establishing an eight-hour day was the goal of many unions. When these goals were not met, they struck. In 1881, women in British match factories went on strike. They wanted relief from fourteen-hour days and the hazards of working with white phosphorous. Between 1910 and 1914, a period known as the Great Unrest, miners, dockworkers, and railway workers across Britain went on strike repeatedly, and workers in other industries walked off the job to place added pressure on the strikers' employers to give in to their demands.

In the United States, both trade unions and labor unions existed. The American Federation of Labor (AFL), originally called the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, was established by Samuel Gompers in 1886. Like the British Trades Union Congress, it included many different unions, though originally, only skilled White male workers could join. The AFL supported strikes, but Gompers preferred to avoid them. Even if he had favored strikes, it would have been difficult for members to use them. Employers routinely called in the police, private detectives, or the military to disperse striking employees, and union leaders could be jailed.

When Pullman employees went on strike in 1894, more than 100,000 American railroad workers refused to handle any train with cars manufactured by Pullman's company. Rail travel ground to a halt, and the transportation of the U.S. mail along with it. Violence broke out as striking workers and those who supported them burned buildings and attacked African American men who had been hired by railroad owners to replace the strikers. The U.S. Army was brought in to end the strike by attacking the workers. Many strikes ended the

way the Pullman strike had.

Revolutionary Ideologies

In Britain and the United States, the organization of unions developed independent of politics. In places such as Germany, France, and Russia, however, political ideology spurred the development of unions. The predominant political ideology that influenced their growth was socialism. Today, socialism is a political theory that advocates the ownership of the means of production by the government. Socialism in the nineteenth century was somewhat different and took many forms. The only unifying features were a dislike of laissez-faire capitalism, a desire to improve the lives of the poor, and a belief that the government should be responsible for solving problems caused by capitalism and industrialization.

In the early nineteenth century, *utopian socialism*, which focused on perfecting society, dominated. French visionaries like Henri de Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier wrote of ideal societies based on sharing and cooperation. They sought to completely alter society and often advocated innovations like communal housing, free love, and women's rights—all considered radical at the time. Some reformers tried to establish utopian communities based on these ideals. For example, Robert Owen, a British textile manufacturer, tried to put some of these ideas into practice in the British village of New Lanark, where the employees of his father-in-law's textile mill lived, and in the town of New Harmony, Indiana. Residents worked an eight-hour day, lived in decent housing, and raised their children communally.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, utopian socialism had been largely replaced by *scientific socialism*. The term "scientific socialism" was first used by French economist and philosopher Pierre-Joseph Proudhon to refer to the ordering of society according to the dictates of reason and was popularized by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Marx and Engels published their ideas in *The Communist Manifesto* in 1848, a year in which political revolutions swept Europe. As a result of these revolutions, voting rights for men were established or expanded in France and Prussia. By the end of the nineteenth century, men in France and Germany (which united with Prussia in 1871 to form the most powerful German-speaking state) had used the vote to change their countries. Many espoused the socialist ideology described by Marx and Engels.

Marx and Engels believed that historical change took place as a result of struggles between opposed social classes. In the age of industrialization, the struggle would take place between the bourgeoisie, who owned the means of industrial production such as the factories, mines, and railroads by which wealth was generated, and the proletariat, the underpaid workers whose labor they exploited. Marx and Engels believed capitalism would be destroyed when the have-nots rose up in revolution and overthrew their bourgeois oppressors. All people would then be equal, and all property would be held in common. Class divisions and class conflict would become a thing of the past. This philosophy became known as Marxism and formed the basic ideology of those who called themselves socialists in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Marx never attempted to put his philosophy into practice. However, during the period of the Second Industrial Revolution, many workers turned to his ideas as a basis on which to organize unions and establish political parties. In 1864, socialists founded the International Workingmen's Association (IWA) in London. Many different types of socialists belonged to the IWA, including Marx, and conflict soon arose over a variety of issues. Some socialists advocated the use of violence to effect change, while others advocated more peaceful, democratic means. Those who favored peaceful means are often called **social democrats**.

One of the largest and most influential of the political parties that espoused social democracy was the German Social Democratic Party. Formed in 1875, it advocated laws to improve the conditions of the working class, and many of its members were elected to the German parliament. One of their chief goals was to reduce the number of hours people worked, and they were active in establishing many trade unions and passing laws to protect workers. Similar parties formed in other countries. The Federation of the Socialist Workers of France (FSWF) was established in 1879. The Social Democratic Party of Austria was founded in 1889.

These parties competed for workers' support with those that advocated more revolutionary action. The French

Workers' Party was established in 1880 to provide an alternative to the more gradual path to socialism favored by the FSWF. The Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, established in 1898, united many smaller socialist organizations. The Socialist Revolutionary Party, which engaged in the assassination of government officials, formed in Russia in 1902. It ignored Marx's emphasis on industrial workers and sought to organize peasants as well. Most Russian socialist groups that took a more orthodox Marxist approach became members of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party when it formed in 1898. The Bolshevik faction of this party, which advocated revolution, gained control of the Russian government in 1917.

Another source of conflict among socialists was the role to be played by government in the construction of the ideal socialist state. Although Marx wrote of government eventually disappearing once class divisions had been erased and equality achieved, he also indicated that, until then, a government of the workers would be needed to manage society. Some socialists feared the existence of this new government would simply lead to the creation of a new group of authorities to oppress the people. They believed government should be abolished, an ideology known as **anarchism**. One of the foremost anarchists of the nineteenth century was Mikhail Bakunin, a Russian revolutionary. Bakunin joined the IWA in 1868. However, he clashed with Marx over the role government should play in bringing about socialism. In 1872, at the Fifth Congress of the IWA, his disagreement with Marx led to his expulsion from the group.

Business owners and members of the middle and upper classes in general disapproved of and feared socialist and anarchist movements. They believed business owners performed a valuable service by providing goods and services at reasonable prices, making the economy prosper, and keeping their countries strong and competitive. They were thus entitled to earn what they believed was a fair profit for assuming the financial risks of engaging in business. To do that while keeping prices low, they could not pay wages as high as their employees would have liked.

Opponents of socialism and anarchism argued further that workers were free to accept the terms of employment or leave if not satisfied. If business owners were not allowed to earn a profit, they would not take the financial risks on which the economy depended. If people were not allowed to accumulate private property, they would lack the incentive to work. Violence and the destruction of property benefited no one. Workers would be better served by striving to improve their position and that of their children through education and the habits of thrift and self-discipline than by listening to the promises of demagogues who preached disloyalty to employers and spun utopian fantasies of workers' paradises.

Key Terms

anarchism an ideology advocating that government be abolished
contract labor a system in which people sign contracts promising to perform work in exchange for a fee
debt bondage a system in which a person who owes money works (or provides someone else to work) for the creditor until the debt has been repaid
demographic transition a reduction in family size in the late 1800s caused by falling birth rates in industrialized nations
labor union an association that organizes workers of all kinds, both skilled and unskilled
naturalism a literary style that emphasized realistic, detached, impersonal depictions of characters whose actions were molded by their environment in ways they often had no ability to control
penal labor forced labor assigned as punishment to those convicted of crimes
pogroms violent attacks on Jewish people in the Russian empire
real wages wages measured in terms of the amount of goods and services that can be purchased with them
realism a literary and artistic style that realistically depicted everyday life in the contemporary world
romanticism an artistic movement formed in response to the Industrial Revolution that prized emotion and imagination and took as its subjects the themes of nature, the ordinary person, the exotic, the ancient, and the supernatural
social democrat people who favor the creation of a socialist society through democratic means
Taylorism a system of management that sought to improve workers' productivity by curbing wasteful movements
trade union an association that organizes workers in a particular craft or industry

Section Summary

10.1 Inventions, Innovations, and Mechanization

During the Second Industrial Revolution, life in industrialized nations changed dramatically. The electrified, mechanized workplace meant long hours and low wages for unskilled factory workers. Work was often dangerous and unemployment precarious. Nevertheless, industrialization did bring benefits. Mass-produced consumer goods were priced so that by the end of the nineteenth century, members of the working class could afford to purchase less-expensive versions of items that had once been available only to the middle and wealthy classes. The mechanization of agriculture and the development of refrigerated railroad cars made food more available and less expensive. Improved sanitation and medical advances reduced infant mortality and increased adults' life expectancies. Important demographic changes took place at the same time. By the end of the nineteenth century, both middle-class and working-class families were having fewer children as laws restricting child labor and mandating education made it more difficult to employ children.

10.2 Life in the Industrial City

By the end of the nineteenth century, cities in industrialized nations were filled with people in search of work. These cities offered many benefits. For those who preferred high culture, plays, concerts, operas, and ballets were regularly staged. Music halls, arcades, and burlesque shows catered to the popular taste, as did amusement parks. Libraries and parks were open to everyone. Department stores gave people the opportunity to buy the latest fashions—or to dream about them through the window.

There were negative aspects to city life as well. Housing, especially for immigrants and the working class, was usually overcrowded, and rooms often lacked fresh air and sunlight. Both the water and the air in industrial cities were polluted, and infectious diseases such as cholera and tuberculosis were common. Poverty drove many to drink, and some women resorted to prostitution to survive. The literature and art produced by romantics, realists, and naturalists depicted all aspects of life in the industrial age.

10.3 Coerced and Semicoerced Labor

Although working-class people in industrialized nations had limited choices about the place and terms of their employment, many other workers did not have even this small degree of freedom. Slavery continued into the second half of the nineteenth century in the United States and Brazil, as did serfdom in Russia. In other forms of unfree labor, contract laborers and indentured servants performed agricultural and other work on every one of the six inhabited continents. Debt bondage also trapped many people, including African American sharecroppers in the United States and female textile workers in Japan. Prisoners were also often sentenced to perform labor as part of their punishment. These systems of coerced and semicoerced labor remained intact throughout the nineteenth century in various parts of the world.

10.4 Communities in Diaspora

Witnessed in the second half of the nineteenth century was the migration of large numbers of people fleeing poverty, violence, and natural disaster. Europeans emigrated to North and South America, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Asians traveled to western Europe, the Americas, and Africa. Immigrants performed largely low-paid, physically demanding work on plantations and railroads and in factories. Non-European immigrants also faced racism in societies dominated by Europeans. Some countries attempted to restrict the immigration of particular groups. The United States, Canada, and Australia took steps to prohibit Asian migration. The United States also sought to limit immigration from southern and eastern Europe.

10.5 Regulation, Reform, and Revolutionary Ideologies

Attempts to solve the problems caused by industrialization and urbanization took a variety of forms. Some governments passed laws to abolish child labor, provide insurance for workers, ensure safe housing, prevent air and water pollution, and regulate prostitution. Middle-class reformers sought to improve society by altering personal behavior. They stressed the importance of morality and often attempted to restrict or prohibit the consumption of alcohol. Many also advocated for women's rights. Members of the working class tried to better their lives by forming unions to force employers to reduce their hours, raise their wages, and provide safer working conditions. Many also turned to politics as a way to protect their interests. Influenced by the ideology of socialism, which theorized that the destruction of capitalism was the solution to social ills, they joined social democratic parties that organized unions and forced governments to pass legislation to protect workers. Other socialists advocated the violent overthrow of the ruling elites, as did some anarchists.

Assessments

Review Questions

1. What was the goal of scientific management?
   a. to increase workers' efficiency
   b. to raise workers' pay
   c. to make factories safer
   d. to shorten the workday

2. How did assembly lines affect workers?
   a. They made workdays shorter.
   b. They provided greater protection from injury.
   c. They made jobs boring and repetitious.
   d. They lowered pay.

3. What was an important result of electrifying the workplace?
   a. It made jobs more dangerous by exposing workers to electrical currents.
   b. It enabled factories to stay open later and people to work at night.
   c. It provided better heating in the winter.

d. It reduced the strength needed to perform certain tasks, creating more jobs for children.

4. How did married working-class women in western Europe commonly supplement the family's income in the late nineteenth century?
a. They did piecework at home.
b. They worked in mines.
c. They taught school.
d. They gave music lessons.

5. To what nineteenth-century event does the term "demographic transition" refer?
a. the disappearance of skilled crafts
b. the decrease in the age of first marriage
c. the decrease in family size
d. the movement from rural areas to cities

6. What was an important medical innovation of the late nineteenth century?
a. the smallpox vaccine
b. x-rays
c. CAT scans
d. the stethoscope

7. Which artistic style features impersonal depictions of characters compelled to behave in ways over which they have no control?
a. romanticism
b. realism
c. impressionism
d. naturalism

8. What was the Great Stink?
a. a stench coming from the polluted River Thames that nearly disrupted British government
b. the name given to the poorest neighborhood in Chicago
c. a nickname that city dwellers gave to peasants recently arrived from the countryside
d. a nickname for the Paris sewer system

9. What common disease of the period was caused by contaminated water?
a. tuberculosis
b. asthma
c. cholera
d. syphilis

10. What innovation made nineteenth-century cities cleaner?
a. streetlights
b. electric streetcars
c. outhouses
d. public water fountains

11. What were Selfridge's, Le Bon Marché, and Matsuzakaya?
a. famous saloons
b. urban department stores
c. company towns built for miners

d. newspapers

12. Which artistic and literary movement glorified nature, common people, exotic places, and the historical past?
a. romanticism
b. modernism
c. naturalism
d. classicism

13. What was a common way in which contract laborers could fall into debt bondage?
a. renting a home in a nearby city
b. buying goods at a store owned by the employer
c. borrowing money from a friend
d. running away

14. What was the *katorga* system?
a. a form of penal servitude in which criminals were sent to labor camps in Siberia
b. a form of debt bondage used in Brazil
c. a British system of contracting for passage to another country in exchange for labor
d. the practice in French brothels of charging prostitutes for food and clothing so they always remained in debt

15. What was the primary reason contract laborers were taken to Hawaii?
a. build railroads
b. grow sugarcane
c. work in salt mines
d. fish for abalone

16. Which country pressured others to end the slave trade?
a. Canada
b. the United States
c. Britain
d. Germany

17. Other than criminals, what kinds of people often ended up in the Russian *katorga*?
a. debtors
b. alcoholics
c. political prisoners
d. unfaithful partners

18. What was a negative result of the abolition of Russian serfdom?
a. Domestic serfs received no land and no longer had a place to live.
b. Serfs were required to leave the farms on which they had always lived.
c. Serfs were no longer entitled to food and clothing from their employer.
d. Serfs were no longer protected from arrest by their employers when they committed crimes.

19. Why did Brazil attempt to attract European immigrants in the second half of the nineteenth century?
a. to make its population more White
b. to employ them in factories
c. to employ them in mines

d. to have them establish schools and universities

20. Immigrant laborers from which country were completely excluded from the United States in 1882?
a. Russia
b. Germany
c. China
d. Japan

21. What event caused many Chinese people to flee their country in the middle of the nineteenth century?
a. dust storms in Manchuria
b. the fall of the Ming Dynasty
c. a typhoon that struck Kowloon Island
d. the Taiping Rebellion

22. What kinds of immigrants did Australia try to exclude in the early twentieth century?
a. Jewish people
b. non-Europeans
c. Irish people
d. unskilled laborers

23. Jewish people fled the Russian empire in the late nineteenth century to escape poverty and _____.
a. epidemic disease
b. anti-Semitic violence
c. civil war
d. famine

24. Which city was rebuilt by Baron Haussmann in the second half of the nineteenth century?
a. Rome
b. London
c. Vienna
d. Paris

25. Which social movement was more successful in Protestant societies than in others?
a. housing reform
b. anti-prostitution campaigns
c. temperance and prohibition
d. health insurance advocacy

26. What was Britain's Alkali Act intended to do?
a. protect drinking water from contamination
b. ensure that processed foods were safe to eat
c. prevent cholera
d. alleviate air pollution

27. Which country was the first to provide health insurance for workers?
a. the United States
b. Germany
c. France
d. Russia

28. Which of the following was an important difference between socialist parties in Europe?
    a. Some parties accepted women and some did not.
    b. Some believed the bourgeoisie should be executed and others did not.
    c. Some advocated revolution and some a more gradual democratic approach.
    d. Some supported workers' rights and some did not.

Check Your Understanding Questions

1. In what ways did nineteenth-century industrialization lead to lower death rates and longer life spans?
2. Why did child labor in factories become less common in western Europe and the United States by the end of the nineteenth century?
3. How did industrialization affect family size in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?
4. What made nineteenth-century industrial cities so dirty?
5. What were the causes of disease in nineteenth-century industrial cities?
6. What were the advantages of city life?
7. By what means did White people in the southern United States legally force African American people to work for them after the abolition of slavery?
8. What steps led to the abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888?
9. For what similar reasons did European and Asian emigrants move to other countries in the nineteenth century?
10. To what extent was race a factor in the treatment of immigrants by their host countries?
11. Why did the working class sometimes resent the attempts of the middle class to pass legislation intended to help them?
12. How did nineteenth-century governments and reformers try to prevent the spread of disease in the industrial city?
13. What were Samuel Smiles and Herbert Spencer's ideas regarding the poor?

Application and Reflection Questions

1. On the whole, did industrialization improve the life of the working class or worsen it? Why?
2. How did conditions faced by working-class people in the nineteenth century compare to those working-class people face today? Are the problems the same or different? If different, how?
3. On the whole, do you think there were more benefits to nineteenth-century city life, or more drawbacks? Why?
4. Is city life better today than it was in the late nineteenth century? Why or why not?
5. How did conditions faced by those emancipated from slavery in the United States in the late nineteenth century compare to others around the world facing similar conditions? Are the problems the same or different? If different, how?
6. There has been much talk of giving reparations (monetary compensation) to the descendants of enslaved African American people to compensate them for their ancestors' labor. Do you believe this should be done? Why or why not? Should other countries in which slavery or serfdom existed do the same? Why or why not?
7. Why do many people oppose immigration today? Are these reasons similar to or different from the

reasons of people in the nineteenth century? In what ways?

8. What role does race play in the response to immigrants today?

9. How do we try to help the poor today? Has our approach changed from the nineteenth century? What do we now think are the reasons for poverty?

10. Are governments today concerned with protecting the rights of workers? Are they more concerned with the rights of workers or the rights of employers?

11. What kinds of private reform movements exist today? What are they focused on changing?

The War to End All Wars

11



FIGURE 11.1 Wreckage of War. Australian artillery soldiers walked through the ruins of Château Wood outside Ypres, Belgium, in 1917. (credit: modification of work "Chateau Wood Ypres 1917" by Australian War Memorial/ Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

CHAPTER OUTLINE

11.1 Alliances, Expansion, and Conflict
11.2 The Collapse of the Ottomans and the Coming of War
11.3 Total War
11.4 War on the Homefront
11.5 The War Ends

INTRODUCTION World War I served as a clear demarcation line. By separating the world of empires from an emerging and more modern world, the conflict set the stage for a redrawn map of Europe. It featured many characteristics that have since become common in warfare—total war, civilian losses, massive numbers of troops in armies, and warfare that relies on military technology as well as the courageous charge of soldiers against enemies (Figure 11.1). The war was a surprise to many and was welcomed by some when it broke out in 1914. Its level of destruction, however, came to shape public opinion about war for decades.

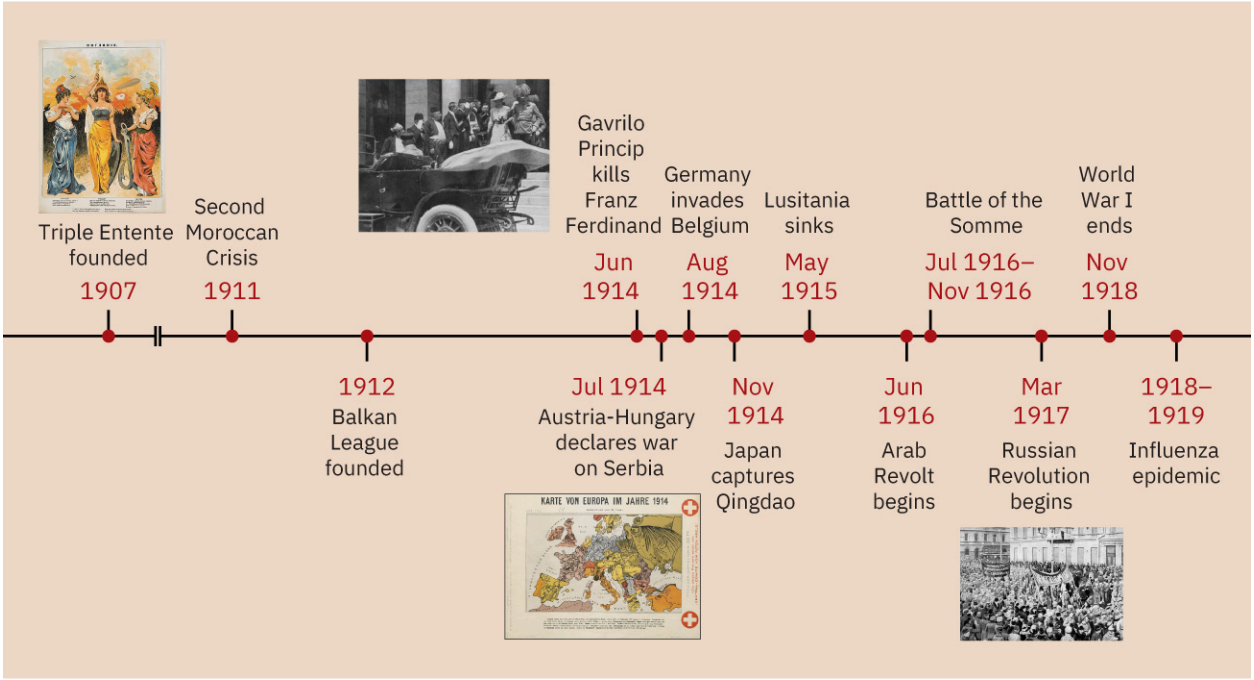


FIGURE 11.2 Timeline: The War to End All Wars. (credit: "1907": modification of work "Triple Entente" by Unknown, Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain; credit: "Jun 1914": modification of work "Franz Ferdinand & Sophie Leave Sarajevo Guildhall" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, CC0 1.0; credit: "Jul 1914": modification of work "Cartoon Map of Europe in 1914" by Berlin State Library/The Public Domain Review, Public Domain; credit: "Mar 1917": modification of work "Soldiers demonstration. February 1917" by socialist.memo.ru/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

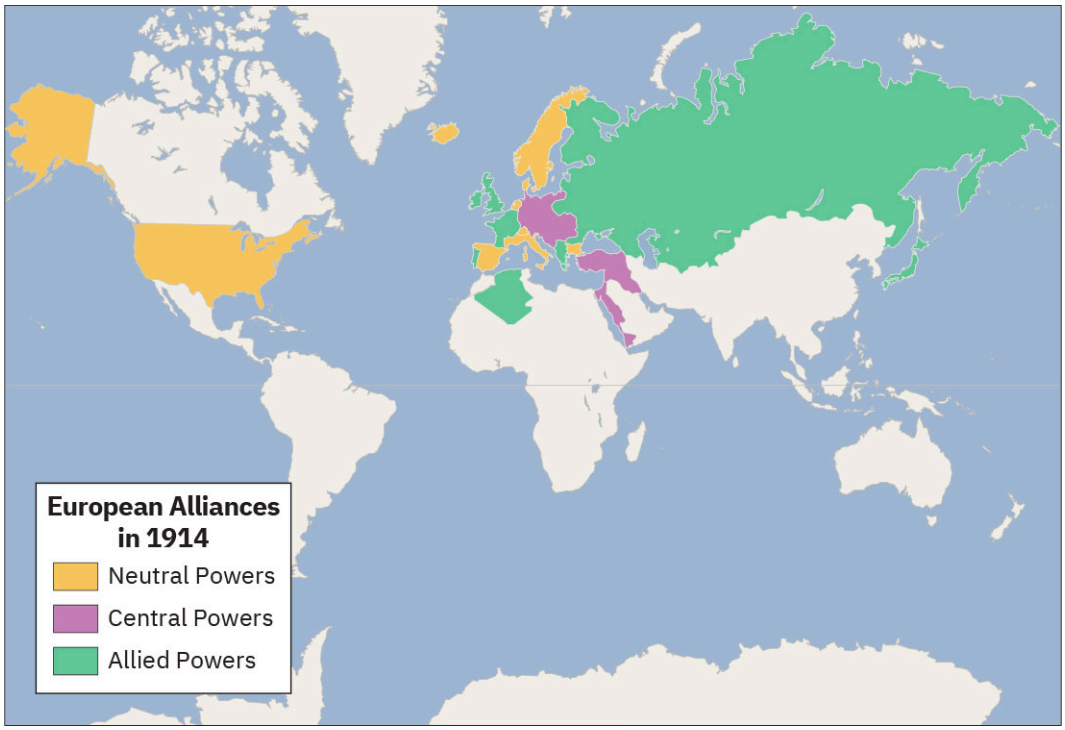


FIGURE 11.3 Locator Map: The War to End All Wars. (credit: modification of work "World map blank shorelines" by Maciej Jaros/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

11.1 Alliances, Expansion, and Conflict

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe political conditions in Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century
- Analyze the nature of the alliances made among European powers by 1914
- Explain how the desire for colonies destabilized the balance of power in the early twentieth century
- Describe the competition to build modern navies in the early twentieth century

By the early twentieth century, Europe had achieved outward stability through a series of alliances. Such accords were a hallmark of nineteenth-century diplomacy and had maintained peace for decades on the continent, compressing the wars that did occur into finite conflicts. In the 1900s, these alliances had solidified two opposed groups, each with major powers that allied with one another and then developed relationships with smaller nations. Germany's territorial ambitions put it in direct conflict with other imperialistic powers as it sought to expand its colonial holdings. Its desire to be taken more seriously and become a force in global affairs threatened to destabilize the peace when its goals brought it into competition with other countries hungry for land and power, notably Great Britain, and led to military buildups. A specter of war soon hung over Europe.

The Long Peace

The decades before the world erupted into the Great War, as World War I was known, were generally marked by great stability. The work done in 1815 to create a balance of power among European nations in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars had been quite successful. The Concert of Europe—an informal agreement to maintain the status quo—had been able to absorb some internal conflicts and the growth of more liberal political thoughts without incurring political or territorial instability. There were occasionally military conflicts, but these were usually of short duration and limited in scale.

Prussia, however, with its militarized culture, clearly did still see warfare as a means of achieving its own ends, as did other nations such as France. Austria-Hungary and Prussia went to war in 1866. The conflict lasted only about seven weeks and was handily won by Prussia, which had invested in better military technology and weaponry and now annexed several German states. Austria was effectively barred from participating in German affairs from that point forward, and Prussia became the dominant German state. The war also forced Austria into accepting the dual monarchy system, an unwieldy alliance with Hungary. Austria agreed because it needed allies after being ousted from German affairs, but it and Hungary had separate national governments and parliaments (and different goals) despite being part of the same empire.

The Franco-Prussian War in 1870 and 1871 was another fairly brief conflict that resulted in major change. France declared war against Prussia after a dispute over who would inherit the Spanish throne. The fighting lasted only a few months, but Paris was besieged by the Prussian army, and Napoléon III was captured. The treaty that ended the conflict forced France to pay a large war indemnity to Prussia. France also had to pay for the occupation forces, while losing the territories of Alsace and Lorraine (which changed hands again several times during the first half of the twentieth century). This was a humiliating defeat for France, though it paved the way for the unification of the German Empire. The signing of the treaty in the Hall of Mirrors at the Palace of Versailles cemented Prussia's leadership of the new empire and its successful achievement of what had been left undone by the revolutions of 1848: Germany automatically emerged as a major power in Europe.

The fighting in these wars was localized, and because they were short, the conflicts did not require the mobilization of a country's economy or full resources. They did not involve numerous countries either, and the fighting rarely spilled over into other nations' lands. With the exception of the Franco-Prussian War, their impact on civilian society was minimal, with little loss of civilian life or destruction of property. In a sense, their very nature lulled much of Europe into expecting that although there might be future wars, they would be swift and small affairs.

Treaties and Alliances

Since he first rose to power in 1862, German chancellor Otto von Bismarck had pursued conservative policies that strengthened first Prussia and then Germany itself. In particular, Bismarck hoped to check the power of Russia and France by developing a series of alliances that would keep them from growing more dominant and presenting a threat to German leadership in the region. A military alliance with Austria-Hungary was created to stand up to Russia. This alliance later grew to include Italy and became formalized as the **Triple Alliance**. In 1894, Russia and France signed a treaty pledging military support for one another if attacked and requiring each to mobilize its armies if the other did so. In 1907, the **Triple Entente** was created between Russia, France, and Britain, growing out of a shared distrust of German aims.

By the early twentieth century, then, a series of alliances had effectively divided Europe into two blocs of power. A bloc is a group of countries united for a common purpose. One bloc included Russia, France, and Britain, and the other Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. While these two groups stood opposed to one another, there were nuances in the arrangements. Britain, for example, had not promised any mutual aid in times of war when it signed its initial agreement with France, nor had it done so in its agreement with Russia, while France was bound to provide military support for Russia if Russia were attacked and not the aggressor.

What these new alliances also did was provide fuel for the German emperor Wilhelm II's growing concern that he was surrounded by hostile nations (Figure 11.4). Some of this preoccupation was undoubtedly justified. Germany faced a hostile France to its west and Russia to its east. But Wilhelm's fixation on it drove him and Germany to adopt even more aggressive stances toward their "enemies" that helped create the cataclysm of World War I.



FIGURE 11.4 The Kaiser's View of Germany. This satirical German map from 1914 reflects Kaiser Wilhelm II's growing concern that Germany was encircled by its enemies. (credit: "Cartoon Map of Europe in 1914" by Berlin

State Library/The Public Domain Review, Public Domain)

Colonies and Conflict

The view that imperial strength should be devoted to colony building was still very much in place in the late 1800s. Still industrializing, and having unified as a country only in 1871, Germany soon felt the pressure to build an overseas empire, just as the other industrializing nations of the world—Britain, France, Belgium, the United States, Russia, and Japan—did. But there were limited locales it could target.

Germany began to look to the Pacific as a place where it could establish itself as a colonial power. The United States, Britain, France, Japan, and the Netherlands already held extensive territory in the Pacific. Germany soon claimed part of New Guinea, part of the Solomon Islands, and the Marshall Islands. In 1899, Germany's growing power in the Pacific led to the partitioning of the Samoan Islands with the United States. Germany also gained some of the smaller island groups—Palau, Caroline Islands, and Mariana Islands—by the beginning of the twentieth century. In addition, it planned to join the "Scramble for Africa" in which European nations were engaging to shore up their colonial holdings on the African continent.

When Germany went in search of African colonies, there was not much left. Britain, France, Belgium, and Portugal had already seized control of most of the continent and did not welcome the claims of yet another European nation. Germany took a portion of East Africa and Southwest Africa, which had a large border with the British colonies. Togoland and the Cameroons also became part of the German colonial empire (Figure 11.5).

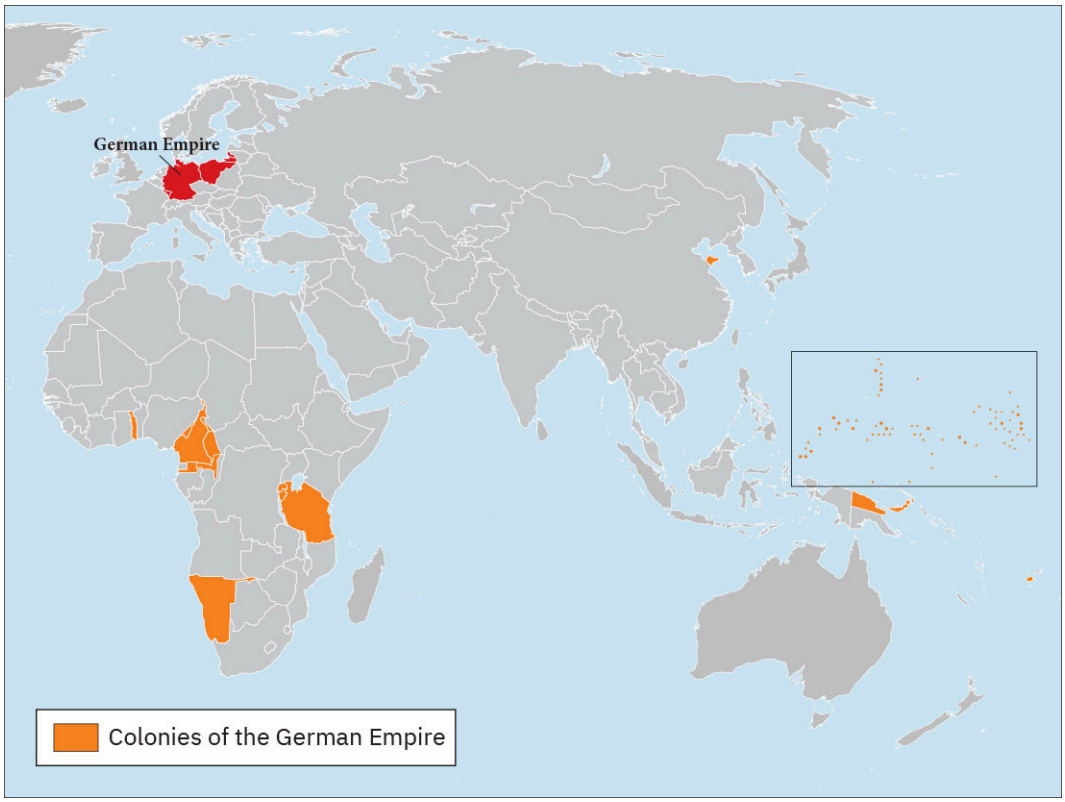


FIGURE 11.5 German Colonies in 1914. This map shows the regions around the world that Germany had claimed as colonies by the beginning of World War I. (credit: modification of work "BlankMap-World" by CIA World Factbook/ Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In 1905, Germany clashed with both France and Britain in North Africa. Kaiser Wilhelm II arrived in Morocco that year and made a speech in which he threw his full support behind its being an independent state led by the sultan. He also voiced his expectation that Germany would enjoy the same benefits of trade in the region that France and England did. Wilhelm hoped to divide Britain and France by thus claiming a place for

Germany in North Africa equivalent to that held by other European nations. Instead, in response to this First Moroccan Crisis, Britain and France established stronger bonds of friendship.

A few years later, another crisis erupted over Morocco, though this one was more media driven and involved more national posturing. The Second Moroccan Crisis started in 1911. France and Germany had been negotiating over what say Germany would have in rail lines under construction in Morocco and over some territory in the French Congo that Germany wanted. Britain and France had earlier become alarmed by Germany's plans to build another railroad in concert with the Ottoman Empire that would link Berlin to Baghdad. This railway would provide Germany with more direct access to both Persian Gulf oil and its African colonies. Moving oil and other goods by rail would also make Germany less vulnerable to potential British naval attacks.

In May 1911, France, fearing rebellion in Morocco, sent troops to the city of Fez. In July of that year, Germany sent a gunboat to Agadir, a Moroccan port on the Atlantic, to ensure that it would be compensated for any loss of control over Moroccan territory that resulted from French intervention. Germany also undoubtedly intended to frighten Britain and force it to back out of its alliance with France. Soon British politicians and the media seized on the opportunity to attack Germany for its demands. The British said they were not yet sending in the Royal Navy but would be monitoring the situation. In the end, France and Germany held successful negotiations over the issues, with Germany receiving territory in the French Congo in exchange for acknowledging French dominance in Morocco, but the international effect of the crisis was broader. Britain was reinforced in its view that Germany posed a threat to its own colonial ambitions. On the German side, the military leadership gained greater political influence in the capital in Berlin.

The Growth of Militaries

Naval power assumed a greater role in world affairs in the late nineteenth century. As more of the industrialized nations embarked on empire building, and as reaching international markets became an expected part of their strategy, the value of having strong navies to protect commercial trade only grew. Maintaining supply and fueling stations around the world to service these navies and fleets of merchant ships became a key argument in favor of developing more colonies.

At the start of the twentieth century, Great Britain was still the unmatched naval power in the world. Kaiser Wilhelm II was determined to counter Britain's sea power by building up the German navy. In this, he was ably assisted by Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz. Tirpitz had similarly grand dreams for the navy, and through his various positions in the naval high command, he set out an ambitious building program for new battleships.

LINK TO LEARNING

This website has statistics on the naval ships (https://openstax.org/l/77NavalStats) that Britain and Germany possessed prior to World War I. England contended that it saw Germany as a viable threat. Do the numbers back up its claim?

Germany's fear of naval inferiority became especially strong after 1906. In that year, Britain debuted an entirely new class of ship when the HMS *Dreadnought* set sail. What made this ship different was its ten 12-inch guns, some of them mounted on rotatable turrets, and its faster speed, powered by steam turbines. Other ships of the period had only a handful of guns and not all of this size. No other warship could match it in battle. Germany tried to keep pace by constructing ships similar in size, but although it clearly hoped to one day outbuild Britain, at no point before or during the war did its fleet ever match the British numbers (Figure 11.6).

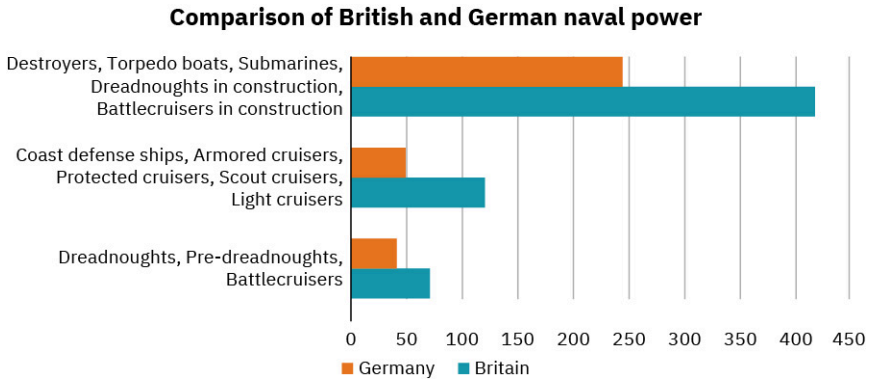


FIGURE 11.6 Comparison of British and German Naval Power. This graph compares British naval power to German naval power at the start of World War I. The Germans were never able to match the numbers of the British. (data source: P. G. Halpern, *A Naval History of World War I*, (London: UCL Press, 1994); attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

A German Perspective

In 1911, General Friedrich von Bernhardi, a German military commander, published a book entitled *Germany and the Next War* in which he asserted that Germany was correct to establish itself as a major power and defend its rights in Europe and the world. This translated passage addresses the situation in which Germany believed itself to be in the years before the war.

> When a State is confronted by the material impossibility of supporting any longer the warlike preparations which the power of its enemies has forced upon it, when it is clear that the rival States must gradually acquire from natural reasons a lead that cannot be won back, when there are indications of an offensive alliance of stronger enemies who only await the favourable moment to strike – the moral duty of the State towards its citizens is to begin the struggle while the prospects of success and the political circumstances are still tolerably favourable. When, on the other hand, the hostile States are weakened or hampered by affairs at home and abroad, but its own warlike strength shows elements of superiority, it is imperative to use the favourable circumstances to promote its own political aims. The danger of a war may be faced the more readily if there is good prospect that great results may be obtained with comparatively small sacrifices. [. . .]
>
> Thus in order to decide what paths German policy must take in order to further the interests of the German people, and what possibilities of war are involved, we must first try to estimate the problems of State and of civilization which are to be solved, and discover what political purposes correspond to these problems.
>
> —Friedrich von Bernhardi, *Germany and the Next War*

- What does it sound like Germany is contemplating? Explain your answer.
- Who are the "hostile States" Bernhardi mentions? What are the "warlike" preparations to which he refers?

Germany's army, however, was much larger than Britain's. Compulsory military service was the norm in Germany and Austria-Hungary. Germany placed high reliance on its active military units, which totaled close to four million soldiers, and had numerous units on reserve as well. Germany's ally Austria-Hungary had a smaller force of under 500,000. In reaction to the growth and power of the German army, other nations also built up their armies.

In Russia, military service was required. Although its armies were poorly trained and outfitted, its peacetime forces numbered nearly 1.5 million, and millions more could be called up as part of military mobilization. France had also adopted compulsory service (at the time it required three years of service from all men) and fielded an active army of almost 1.3 million. Those who had already done their compulsory service were classified as reservists and could be mobilized as well.

The British army, which relied on volunteer troops, was still relatively small at the onset of the war. The Old Regulars, as they were known, numbered only a little over a quarter-million. The strength of Britain lay rather in its navy. The British reveled in what they called the "splendid isolation" of their island, an acknowledgment that issues on the European continent did not directly touch it.

The United States, which did not enter the war until 1917, had also chosen to keep a small military force, numbering fewer than 130,000. It had built up its navy beginning in the 1890s, when its imperial advances necessitated a more efficient and up-to-date force, though it did not have the ship numbers that European powers possessed. For the United States, keeping a small force was compatible with the isolationist tendencies it had maintained through the 1800s. With oceans on two sides, the country was relatively protected from overseas entanglements and had diplomatically tried to avoid them.

Besides building up their armies and navies, military planners in several European countries also began designing how operations would occur in the next war. Germany anticipated that, encircled by enemies, it would have to fight on two fronts—against Russia on one side and France on the other. Developed by Field Marshal Alfred von Schlieffen in the early 1900s, the **Schlieffen Plan** held that Russia would be slow to mobilize, so Germany should use that time to attack Belgium and France and then pivot to fight Russia. This plan would make the conflict a short one. The French designed Plan XVII, which called for a major French offensive through Alsace-Lorraine to target the industrial heartland of Germany. Russia developed Plan 19, which would order Russian attacks on East Prussia once Germany was engaged against France.

11.2 The Collapse of the Ottomans and the Coming of War

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify the causes of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire
- Analyze the rise of nationalism among minority ethnic groups within Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire
- Explain how the assassination of Franz Ferdinand triggered the start of World War I
- Describe the first few months of World War I

Former German chancellor Otto von Bismarck supposedly commented that the next big problem for Europe, most likely the next big war, would come out of "some damned foolish thing in the Balkans." This prediction proved to be remarkably precise. The events of 1914 did not happen in a vacuum and were the result of many years of rising tensions in a volatile region of Europe, coupled with diplomatic maneuvers among the great empires of the continent. Yet even as the prelude to the war unfolded, most people did not truly expect conflict to be the outcome.

The "Sick Man of Europe"

The Ottoman Empire had always been predicated on expansion. It drew its strength from its territorial gains and the exploitation of the best and brightest from these new territories to serve the leader of the empire, the sultan. The strategy had worked for a number of centuries, even delivering an Ottoman army as far as the gates of Vienna in 1683 before it was pushed back. At its height, the empire encompassed areas of the Middle East, northern Africa, and significant swaths of southeastern Europe (Figure 11.7).

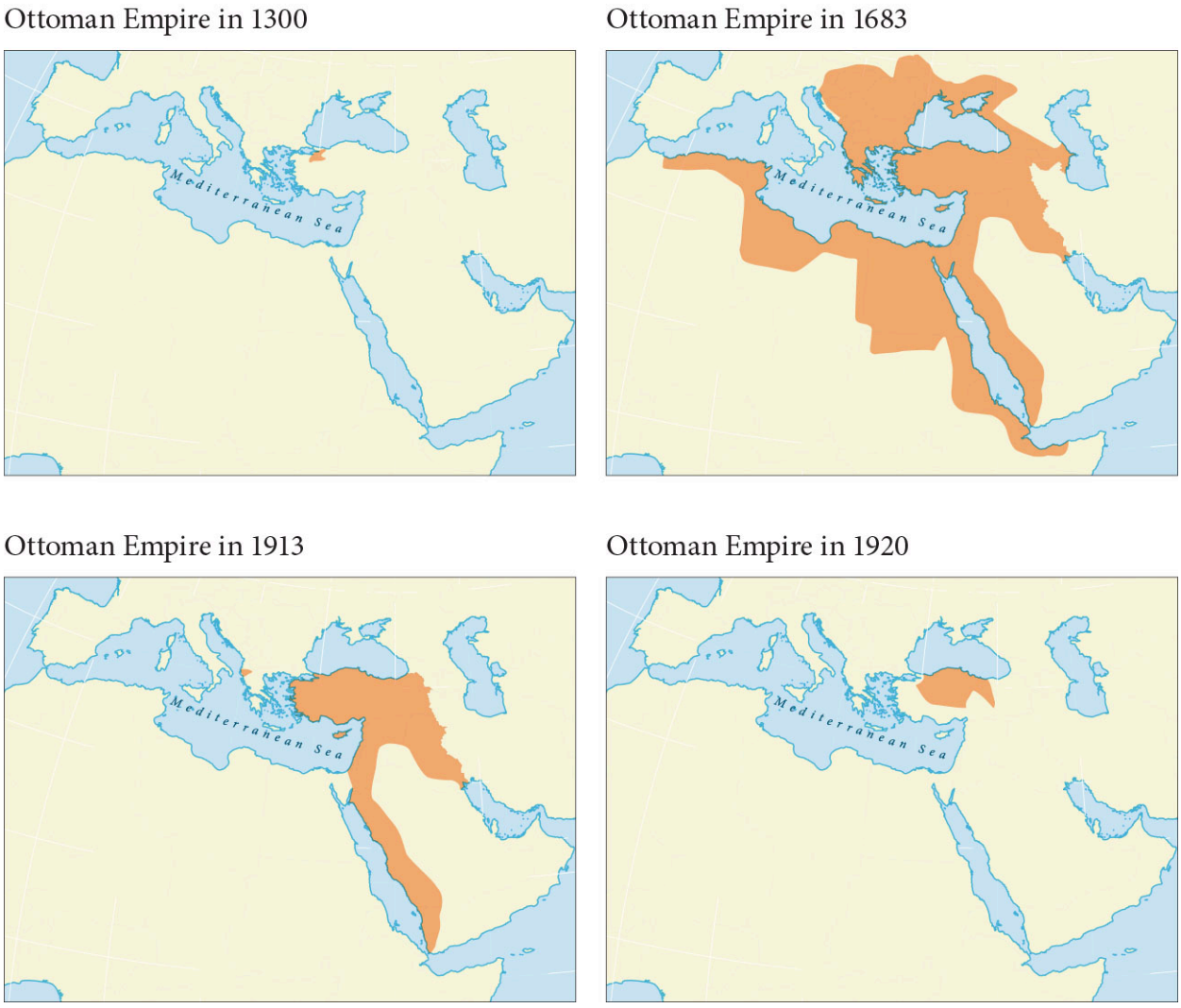


FIGURE 11.7 The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1920. These maps show the extent of the Ottoman Empire at its birth in northern Anatolia, at its height in the seventeenth century, on the eve of World War I, and after the war's conclusion. (credit: modification of work "Territorial changes of the Ottoman Empire" by "Esemono"/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Starting in the 1800s, however, the Ottoman Empire entered a period of waning power as it grew unable to respond to nationalistic challenges. In the 1820s, nationalist leaders in Greece began fighting the Greek Civil War, and in 1830 Greece gained its independence from the Ottomans. More countries split off from the Empire in the 1870s, including Serbia, Romania, and Bulgaria. By the end of the nineteenth century, the demise of the empire, now known as "the sick man of Europe," was being predicted; only the timing was in question. The Ottoman Empire was no longer strong enough to hold onto its outlying areas, and these grew ever more destabilized. The other powers in Europe watched with concern as the Ottoman Empire became weaker and other countries stepped in to fill the power vacuum, occupying and administering a region but not annexing it as Ottoman influence withdrew.

The ideology of nationalism was taking hold across Europe in the 1800s, and in the 1900s it only grew. The prospect of having a country for each nationality was tantalizingly appealing: Poland for the Poles, Serbia for the Serbs, and so on. In an empire, however, nationalism was a powerful danger. Empires were built of many different nationalities, and they would disintegrate if each group were granted its own land and nation. The Ottoman Empire had already seen such pressures develop in its eastern sections, and Austria-Hungary faced this problem as well: more than ten different nationalities could be found within its borders. The concept of

nationalism threatened the Austro-Hungarian Empire's very survival (Figure 11.8).

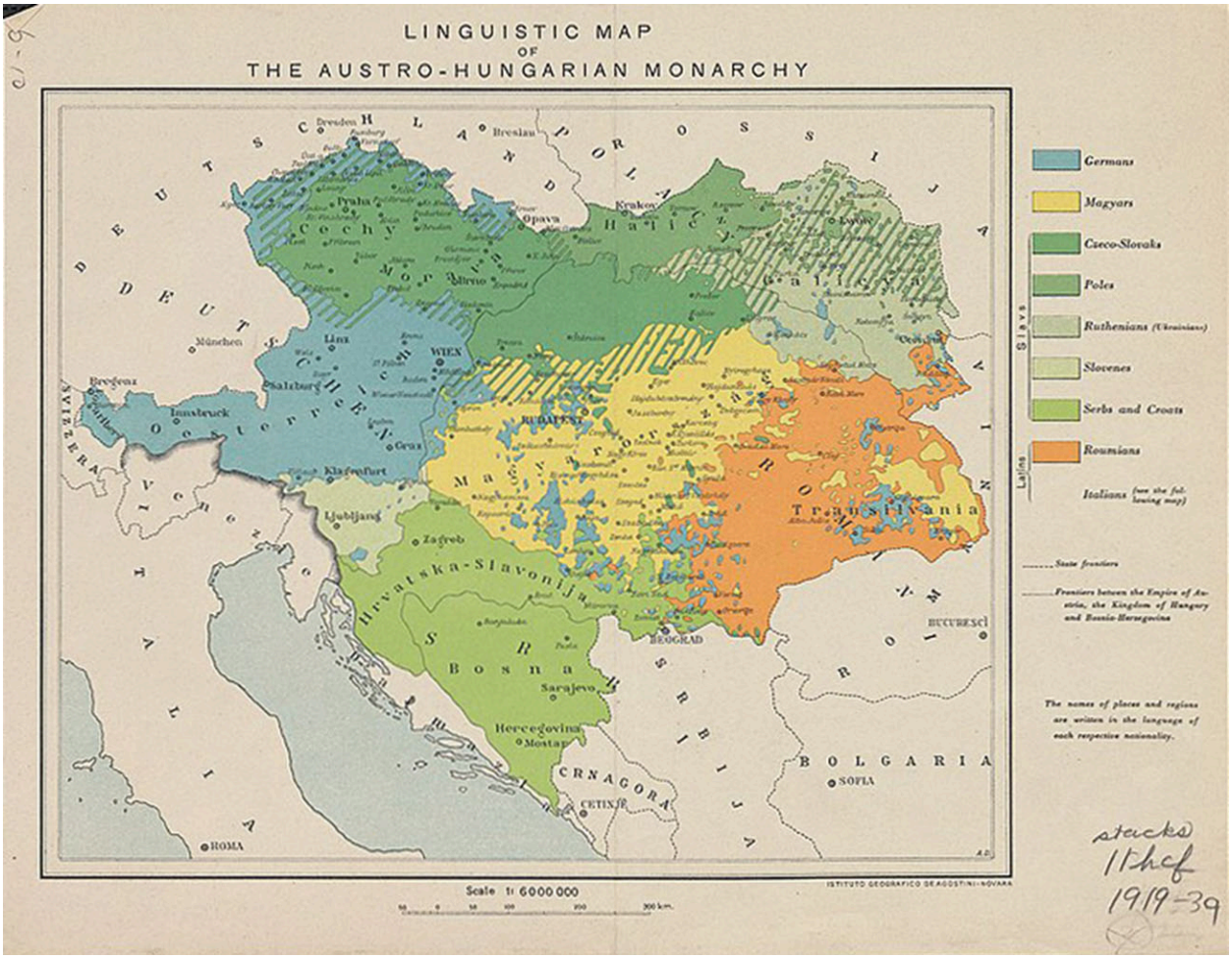


FIGURE 11.8 Ethnic Groups in Austria-Hungary. This map displays the various nationalities that all resided within the empire of Austria-Hungary at the time of World War I. (credit: modification of work "Linguistic map of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in the 1910s" by Yale University Library/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The theory of pan-Slavic nationalism, which would unite all Slavic people under one rule, was a powerful one too. Slavic peoples have a shared historic culture and similar languages that include Bulgarian, Russian, Croatian, Serbian, Slovak, Czech, and Polish. They extended throughout the Balkan region and shared many of the same animosities toward the imperial powers of Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire. By the twentieth century, Serbia had emerged as the leader of the pan-Slavic position in the Balkans. Its policy was characterized by hatred of Austria-Hungary and opposition to that empire's forays into Balkan issues. Russia, too, was a Slavic nation and showed great interest in what was happening to its historic kin in the Balkans. Indeed, Russia saw itself as the natural leader of any potential pan-Slavic political entity that might emerge in the Balkans. Russia also saw Austria-Hungary and the Ottomans as rivals in the region and did not want either power to make any territorial gains. Russia hoped that by gaining influence in the Balkans, it could gain direct access to the Mediterranean Sea. Before 1914, however, Russia was not prepared to risk war to maintain this stance.

The Balkans was a prime example of both the threat of nationalism and the threat from the weakening power of the Ottoman Empire. The region housed people of different nationalities and different religions. The Ottomans had been steadily losing power there and were certain to continue to do so. The nearby empire of Austria-Hungary looked covetously upon the Balkans, seeing an opportunity to take over more territory. In 1908, Austria-Hungary moved to block Serbian expansion in the Balkans by taking over administration of

Bosnia-Herzegovina, with its capital of Sarajevo (Figure 11.9).



FIGURE 11.9 The Balkans before the War. This map shows the Balkan region in the period before World War I. Note the size of Serbia and its proximity to Sarajevo in Bosnia-Herzegovina. (credit: modification of work "Bosnia and Herzegovina" by CIA/The World Factbook, Public Domain)

Serbia continued its plan to exercise more control through the Balkans and helped found the **Balkan League** with Greece, Bulgaria, and Montenegro in 1912. The league then touched off the First Balkan War in October 1912 by attacking Macedonia, which was still held by the Ottomans. In May 1913, the Balkan League comprehensively defeated the Ottomans and forced them to give up most of their territory in Europe. Disagreements among the victors in the Balkans soon devolved into the Second Balkan War as Bulgaria attacked Serbia and Greece in 1913. Bulgaria was soon defeated, but this loss drove it to forge a deeper alliance with the Central powers—Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire—when World War I broke out.

The Balkan Wars also forced continued displacement of Muslims from the region. After Serbia's independence decades earlier, there had been systematic efforts to force Muslims to leave. This drive spread throughout the Balkans as Christians increasingly attacked Muslims, causing hundreds of thousands to relocate to the Ottoman Empire. As the empire withdrew from the Balkans, many of these Muslims left with it, although substantial Muslim populations remained and still live in the Balkans today. The Ottoman Empire then had to cope with a substantial population increase at the same time that its standing in the world was on a decline.

The Spark That Lit the Powder Keg

Emperor Franz Josef of Austria-Hungary had no surviving son in the 1900s, so upon his death, a nephew, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, was set to inherit control of the empire. The archduke was not particularly well-liked by his uncle. For one thing, he had new ideas that actually supported more autonomy for the Balkan region within the empire. He was scheduled to travel to the Balkans in the summer of 1914 for a review of troops and survey of the region of Bosnia-Herzegovina. A tour of the city of Sarajevo was planned for June 28,

an important date for the Serbian people. It was a day of mourning for the 1389 Battle of Kosovo, which the Serbian people had lost to the encroaching Ottoman Empire but which also marked the birth of Serbian unity. A visit on such a day by Franz Ferdinand, the symbol of another encroaching empire, was seen as a slap in the face (Figure 11.10).



FIGURE 11.10 Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Duchess Sophie. This photo shows Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife the Duchess Sophie of Hohenberg in Sarajevo shortly before their assassination on June 28, 1914. (credit: "Franz Ferdinand & Sophie Leave Sarajevo Guildhall" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, CC0 1.0)

Late in June, a small band of would-be Bosnian Serb (ethnic Serbs who lived in Bosnia-Herzegovina) assassins armed with weapons from the Serbian military crossed the border from Serbia into Bosnia-Herzegovina. They belonged to an organization called the Black Hand. Their goal was the separation of Bosnia-Herzegovina from Austria-Hungary and its annexation by Serbia to form Greater Serbia, a state comprising all regions of importance to ethnic Serbs. The Black Hand's plan was to assassinate Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo. On June 28, they threw a bomb at his motorcade but missed the archduke. However, that afternoon, one of them, Gavrilo Princip, found himself right next to the archduke's touring car after it had taken a wrong turn. Princip, then nineteen years old, pulled out a gun and shot both Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie. Both died that day. Princip was arrested immediately.

LINK TO LEARNING

See an animated re-creation of the route (https://openstax.org/l/77FerdRoute) taken by Franz Ferdinand's motorcade. After passing the bombers, it proceeded to the town hall. Franz Ferdinand and Sophie were on their way to the hospital to visit victims of the first attack when the second one occurred.

Over the course of the next several weeks, a series of investigations was undertaken and ultimatums began flying from Austria-Hungary to Serbia. Austria-Hungary demanded Serbian subservience to atone for harboring the terrorist organization that planned and carried out the assassination. Austria-Hungary

essentially wanted to destroy Serbia's independence. For its part, Serbia did not want to go to war with Austria-Hungary and would have agreed to many concessions, but it could not effectively agree to give up its independence. As the situation grew more desperate, Serbia turned to its ally Russia. Appealing to the Slavic heritage of both nations, Serbian leaders extracted a promise that Russia would come to their aid if Austria-Hungary attacked.

For Austria-Hungary, the prospect of war with Russia was much more complicated than war solely with Serbia would be. Austria-Hungary turned to its longtime ally Germany for a show of support. Germany then extended a "blank check" to Austria-Hungary, asking for no details about what Austria-Hungary was planning but essentially agreed to back it no matter what. Germany expected that Austria-Hungary would make a quick move against Serbia, but as the weeks passed, its "blank check" came to look like an endorsement of Austria-Hungary's hostile behavior.

Over the next month, what had been an argument between two nations was enveloping the entire continent. It was becoming clear that if war broke out, it would pull into it many countries bound by their treaty obligations to one another. Many people were alarmed, believing such a war would have few winners. One group that loudly protested a possible war were Europe's socialist leaders. They were already predisposed to reject monarchial arguments in favor of a war, since the industrial masses would be the ones fighting it. Even once the war started, socialists such as Keir Hardie, one of the founders of the Labour Party in Great Britain, were still trying to organize workers to strike in protest against it.

In France, as the war approached, the socialist leader Jean Jaurès was increasingly concerned about how it would affect the French people. Jaurès had been speaking out in favor of pacifism for many years and had opposed France's three-year conscription law in 1913. In 1914, he continued to agitate against the prospect of a general European war. Arguing that no workers anywhere would benefit from a war of the elites, he even tried to work with German socialists in opposition to the war, attending the congress of the Socialist International in Brussels in July 1914. On July 31, however, Raoul Villain, a young man with French nationalist sympathies, shot and killed Jaurès in Paris, where he was dining after his return from Brussels. The outcry over Jaurès's death threatened to further disrupt France's precarious position, while other countries were already mobilizing their troops.

For socialists across Europe, the war became a defining moment. Their shared ideal of international socialism came up against their nationalist sympathies and love of country. Once the war did break out, they came out in support of it and endorsed funding it. Russian socialists were less likely to support the war effort, though later they played a role in the war as the Russian monarchy collapsed. In Italy, factional splits among the socialists helped lead to the rise of Benito Mussolini. Unlike other Italian socialists, Mussolini supported Italy's entry into the war because he believed it was the spark needed to launch a socialist revolution. He was expelled from the party as a result. Mussolini's support for the war made him appealing to Italian nationalists who later formed the backbone of the postwar fascist movement.

Emboldened by support from Germany's "blank check," Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia on July 28, 1914, after Serbia failed to meet the demands of the Austrian ultimatum. Russia ordered mobilization of its troops on July 30 in response. Germany now found itself pulled into the fight whether it wanted to be or not, declaring war on Russia on August 1 and ordering full mobilization. France then ordered its own general mobilization, partly because it was bound to by treaty terms with Russia but also because it feared what a mobilized Germany might do to it, with memories of the Franco-Prussian War in mind. As it turned out, France was right to be apprehensive.

The military planners in Germany had been readying for war for many years in the absence of any actual combat. The Schlieffen Plan for fighting a short, two-front war had been continuously amended after its initial development, but in 1914 its basic form still rested on the belief that Russia would be slow to mobilize and unable to field troops for many weeks after a declaration of war. Since Germany was prepared for immediate mobilization, it would use these weeks to attack France and capture Paris, causing France's surrender (as it

had in 1871), and then it would turn its troops to fight Russia.

The expectation of a short war was not just on Germany's side. Other countries also believed in 1914 that even if a war broke out that summer, the troops would be home by Christmas. Some even saw war as a catharsis for all the tension in Europe and felt it would be a welcome event. Many young men, not having experienced a war in their lifetimes, excitedly followed news of the diplomatic wrangling and the early calls of mobilization.

LINK TO LEARNING

See a map of Europe in 1914 (https://openstax.org/l/77Europe1914) and a list of the countries/territories. Click on a country to access an overview of it, various aspects of its participation in the war, and primary source documents relating to it. Take some time to explore several countries and learn about what happened to them during the war.

Germany's plan for war on France called for moving westward and then sweeping south to head for Paris. To do this, the German armies would need to march across the country of Belgium. On August 2, 1914, they reached the Belgian border and asked for permission to enter and cross to France. Belgium was a small country, with a small military and no way to successfully fight a German advance. The German military leaders and their troops believed it would quickly agree to let them through. But the King of Belgium declined. In 1839, the German Confederation (the predecessor of Germany) as well as other countries in Europe had been signatories to a treaty that guaranteed the independence of Belgium. The king believed that allowing Germany entrance would undermine its independence, and he could not allow that. He ordered the Belgium military to begin blowing up bridges to prevent an easy German crossing.

The German armies entered anyway but were immensely frustrated by their slow progress and Belgium's obstinacy. As they made their way, they took their revenge on the Belgian civilians. For weeks they laid siege to the fortress town of Liège, demolishing the dozen forts that surrounded it. In some cities, believing they were being shot at by civilians, German troops rounded up some of the men in the community and executed them. Ultimately, hundreds of civilians including women and children were killed. The German army wrought wholesale destruction, burning more than a thousand buildings, including the library in Louvain.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

The Burning of Louvain

The following is an eyewitness account of the burning of the city of Louvain during the 1914 German invasion of Belgium, written by a professor at the local university who describes the fire and a subsequent encounter with German soldiers.

> Wednesday, 26th August, 1 o'clock in the morning. Awakened by the glare of burning houses. Went up to the roof of the College. Several houses in succession broke into flames. By the Old Market Place, on which the University Library building abuts, houses blazed up and collapsed one after another. Watched the progress of the fire anxiously.
>
> 1.30 a.m. The houses next to the Library were on fire.
>
> 1.45 a.m. The first flames darted through the roof of the Library. The Library was entirely consumed. [. . .]
>
> We then saw, brought between two soldiers with fixed bayonets and accompanied by two officers, Father Eugène Dupiéreux. He held in his clasped hands his crucifix and rosary. We understood. [. . .]
>
> [The following is the text of a paper found on Father Dupiéreux and read aloud at the scene.]
>
> "At the beginning of the war we laughed when French newspapers spoke of the invasion of barbarian

hordes. Those who, like us, have seen the conduct of Germans at Louvain, now know what to expect. . . . After the burning of the Library and the University, the barbarians can no longer have a word to say against Khalif Omar for burning the Library at Alexandria. And all in the name of German culture!"

When the paper had been read and translated there was silence for a moment. Father Dupiéreux asked to be allowed to receive absolution. "Absolution! What is that?" was the brutal reply. He answered "To see a priest." They assented. A priest advanced. Father Dupiéreux knelt down, and the priest heard his confession and give [*sic*] him absolution. When the Father arose his confessor grasped him by the hand, and after a few words had been exchanged, Father Dupiéreux advanced alone in the direction of the wood. He was pale but quite calm. [. . .]

Thirty yards from us Father Dupiéreux was ordered to halt. Four soldiers came and lined up ten yards in front of us. The order to fire was given by a non-commissioned officer. Father Dupiéreux fell. There was silence for two minutes. The Father's arm still moved. We were made to turn round. The victim was despatched by a bullet in the temple and buried.

We do not know whether Father Dupiéreux was tried. In any case, it may be calculated that the trial cannot have lasted ten minutes. Moreover, the officers present had an imperfect knowledge of French and Father Dupiéreux did not know German. Nobody can have helped him in his defence.

While this was going on it was explained to us that we were hostages and that if anyone fired on the troops we should all be shot.

—Author unknown, "Brief account of the events that took place at Louvain on the 25th, 26th and 27th August, 1914"

- What type of destruction did the writer witness?
- What happened to Father Dupiéreux?
- What happened to the writer on this day?

These weeks, more than any others, shaped the world's perception of the war and of Germany. The "Rape of Belgium" cast Germany as an aggressor nation that behaved inhumanely in war. It fed the propaganda machines of the **Allies**, the nations that united to oppose Germany and Austria-Hungary and originally consisted of Russia, France, and Britain.

Britain was carefully monitoring events and news at the beginning of August. Foreign Secretary Edward Gray delivered a speech on August 3 describing what was at stake in failing to react to the threat hanging over Belgium. Germany and France went to war with one another on August 3, and on August 4 Britain declared war on Germany. The British Expeditionary Force of close to a quarter of a million soldiers arrived in France and helped support the French troops as they tried to withstand the German war machine.

The combatants rushed to begin recruiting more troops for their militaries. Conscription laws in some countries meant that adult men had already received some military training and were assigned to reserve units, so there was a straightforward means to organize and deploy these troops. Other places, such as Great Britain, had a volunteer military. Either way, there was mass enthusiasm as the war broke out, and men thronged to recruiting stations (Figure 11.11).

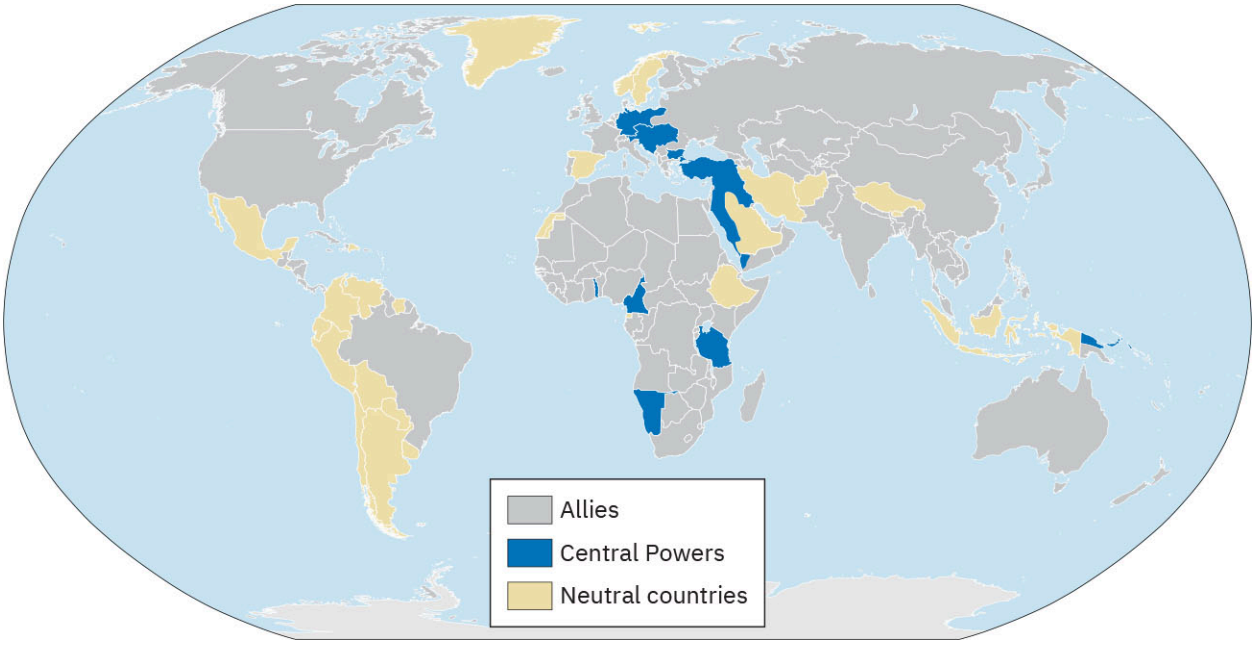


FIGURE 11.11 Allegiances in World War I. This map shows all the countries that ultimately participated in World War I and their allegiances. (credit: modification of work "BlankMap-World" by CIA World Factbook/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The World at War

Some German units never made it out of Belgium, and fierce fighting there continued for the duration of the war. Other units swept south and continued their advance through northern France. French troops moved swiftly to block them. The Battle of the Marne in September 1914 created front lines where a stalemate lasted several years as both sides dug a trench system from which to fight. German armies were moving toward Paris when the French were able to exploit a gap between two of the divisions. A series of flanking maneuvers ensued as the French and Germans both raced to the sea. Additional French troops were called up, and at one point the French reserves even commandeered the taxicabs of Paris to ferry themselves to the front. The Battle of the Marne went on for a week before the German advance was stopped. The battle was fought so close to Paris that civilians could hear the sounds of the fighting. Given an information blackout due to government censors, rumors about the threat to Paris were rampant. Approximately 800,000 people left the city, anticipating a German invasion.

LINK TO LEARNING

Examine sheet music covers (https://openstax.org/l/77SheetMusic) for the popular songs of World War I, such as "It's a Long Way to Tipperary" and "Pack Up Your Troubles in Your Old Kit Bag and Smile, Smile, Smile" at the Smithsonian. What do they tell you about the way these songs sought to inspire people on the battlefield and the home front?

In the east, Germany found itself facing the Russians in battle much earlier than expected. Due to its size, the potential of the Russian military was great, but the reality was quite different; the troops were poorly equipped and poorly trained. At the Battle of Tannenberg, for example, communication problems developed among the Russian high command, while the troops suffered from lack of supplies; the country's limited rail lines could not keep up with their needs. The Germans decimated them. They took more than 90,000 prisoners, and another 50,000 Russians had become casualties in the week of fighting. The Germans suffered fewer than 20,000 casualties in comparison. The general in command of the Russian army committed suicide.

The Russians' dearth of supplies also featured in a major engagement with the Austro-Hungarian forces as

Russia laid siege to Przemyśl in modern-day Poland. As the siege continued from the summer into the fall and then the winter, Russian soldiers lacked coats and boots to withstand the plummeting temperatures, though Russia ultimately took the city in 1915. The Austro-Hungarian forces bore the brunt of the siege and fighting in the nearby mountains to relieve the fortress, experiencing well over 900,000 casualties—an astronomical number.

The naval power of Great Britain was soon brought to bear. The British instituted a blockade of German ports that made it exceedingly difficult for Germany to import the goods it needed. The country's industrial strength helped it survive this blockade for a good portion of the war, but by its last year, shortages were being felt by every German family. Its navy was not large enough to implement a retaliatory blockade against Britain, but Germany did consider the North Sea a war zone and used mines and submarines to sink ships sailing there.

In Asia, the coming of the war caused nations to take sides. The Japanese Empire, emboldened by its success against Russia less than a decade earlier in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), saw the opportunity to increase its standing in the world and sided with the Allies. Japanese forces attacked the German colonial port at Qingdao (Tsingtao), a city on the Chinese coast that Germany had held for less than twenty years as the planned headquarters of its Asian empire. In mid-August 1914, Japan demanded that Germany abandon Qingdao. When it refused, Japan blockaded the port and began bombarding it. The attacks continued for two months until Germany surrendered the city in November. Japan was able to cement its relationship with Great Britain and give its modernizing military another victory that increased its pride.

The Allies rejected offers of military troops from China at the beginning of the war. By 1916, however, the situation had changed, and Britain and France allowed Chinese laborers to come to Europe. China had been willing to send combat troops, hoping to gain leverage in treaty negotiations after the war and support for ousting Japan from its borders, but Japan, which had taken control of Qingdao and hoped to establish itself as the unquestioned military power in Asia, would not permit it. Thus, approximately 130,000 Chinese laborers arrived in Europe, to repair equipment and dig trenches but not to fight.

Other combatant powers entered the war after the summer of 1914. In October, the Ottoman Empire engaged in combat on behalf of the Central powers by attacking Russia's fleet on the Black Sea. For the Ottomans, entering into the war was a calculated risk. The empire hoped to regain some standing in the world and even possibly more territory, and clear bonds had developed between the Ottoman leadership and that of Germany over the past years. Other countries soon followed suit. Bulgaria entered the war via secret agreement in 1915 on the side of the Central powers, also hoping for territorial acquisition at the conclusion of the fighting. On the other side of the spectrum, Italy had announced its neutrality when the war broke out, but many Italians harbored a dislike of Austria-Hungary, and there had been many disagreements about the border between the two countries over the years. In May 1915, Italy declared war against the Central powers, having first secured Allied support through a secret agreement in April. The hope of reclaiming land lost to Austria-Hungary was paramount in its decision.

Isolationism had been a consistent practice of U.S. foreign policy, and the United States planned to maintain it, while at the same time selling products to both the Allied powers of Britain and France and the Central powers of Germany and Austria-Hungary. It was clear from the outset, however, that "the vast majority of American trade went to the Allies," partly because of Britain's substantial role in U.S. naval, merchant, and credit operations but also because the British blockade made it difficult for anyone to trade with Germany. U.S. banks were soon extending loans and lines of credit to both sides as well, although approximately $2 billion had been extended to the Allies by the spring of 1917 and a mere $27 million to the Central powers.

Among the American public, there was little support for or interest in entering this European war. Not hampered by censorship of the news as the combatant powers were, American readers could easily learn about the casualty numbers and the horror of the war. They congratulated themselves that they were not party to this insanity and showed little desire to enter it.

There were additional complicating issues for the United States. The country's volunteer army was quite small and would have little impact on the war if it entered at this time. While businesses and banks were siding with the Allied cause, a substantial number of Irish immigrants were vehemently anti-British because of ongoing conflicts in Ireland, and it was questionable how they would react to the United States entering a war on the British side. There was also a significantly large German population in the United States that could oppose siding with the Allies. President Woodrow Wilson had shown little interest in foreign policy in his previous career as a professor of government and history; instead, he saw domestic reform as his administration's main focus when he came into office. He had been willing to intervene in Latin America as a neighboring region but did not have that same approach regarding Europe. However, his commitment to the freedom of the seas and the rights of neutral nations in times of war soon put him on a collision course with Germany.

11.3 Total War

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Explain how new technology affected combat in World War I
- Describe the experience of the average soldier on the battlefield in World War I
- Discuss the role combatants' colonies and colonial troops played in World War I
- Analyze the effect of racism on the actions of the major powers in World War I

World War I was a truly modern war. The combatants used then-new weaponry such as tanks and airplanes as well as machine guns and poison gas, making the soldiers' experience unlike anything earlier generations had faced in battle. The massive numbers of troops and weapons meant that fighting and destruction regularly intruded on civilian life, often with devastating results. Thus, not only armies but entire nations had to do their part and bear the brunt of the war. The widespread use of colonial troops brought mass travel to the globe, and the interactions of many different peoples played out against the backdrop of combat. For all these reasons, and in recognition of its vast extent and destructiveness, World War I came to be called a **total war**, a war fought using all available resources, with no restrictions on weapons or their targets.

The Unending Horror of War

Military technology had changed greatly by the beginning of the twentieth century, and these changes were not often understood or appreciated by either soldiers or commanders when the war broke out. The recent spread of industrialization meant that more weapons with greater firepower could now be turned out of factories. Just as the guns of the naval arms race had quickly increased in scope and power, the introduction of machine guns, long-range artillery guns, aircraft, and submarines revolutionized warfare in World War I.

Artillery was one clear example of the way warfare had changed. In the 1800s, cannons were moved by horses. In World War I, however, some long-range artillery could be moved only by rail, and in some cases, railroads even had to be specially built due to the weight of the guns. Artillery became a key tool for fighting the war. The German arms manufacturer Krupp unveiled new artillery throughout the war, each time offering greater firepower, but its "Big Bertha," a 420-mm howitzer, was used extensively from the beginning of the war to its conclusion. In 1918, the Germans began using the so-called Paris Gun to shell the French capital. While its payload was not overly large, this piece of artillery could fire over a distance of eighty miles, propelling a missile into the stratosphere before it came back to earth. Most battlefield casualties in World War I were the result of artillery fire.

The power of machine guns, first seen at the turn of the century in the Boer War, also completely changed the battlefield experience in total war. Many of the machine guns of World War I were based on a design unveiled by inventor Hiram Maxim in 1884. They could fire four to six hundred rounds per minute, utterly transforming what an infantry attack looked like. It was this mechanized weaponry that caused the horrific injuries and mass casualties suffered during the war. A soldier courageously running across a field against an enemy was now undertaking a suicide mission. Barbed wire also became a common sight, strewn across the no-man's-

land between the opposing sides' frontline trenches. It snagged and caught troops as they advanced, slowing them down as they used wire cutters to break through and making them an easy target for machine gun nests on the opposite side.

Poison gas, outlawed worldwide today, was employed as an instrument of war by all sides, first by German troops fighting Russian units in 1914. Different types of gas were used. Chlorine gas with its greenish hue appeared early in the war, thick and heavy mustard gas came later, and phosgene was used throughout the combat. Mustard gas could burn the eyes, nose, and skin with injuries that took weeks to heal; for the unlucky, it could cause permanent blindness and lifelong respiratory problems, and sometimes death. Phosgene gas was colorless and could be more immediately deadly, through symptoms might not appear for many hours. Historians estimate that 85 percent of deaths from gassing were due to the effects of phosgene.

By the midpoint of the war, gas masks had become a regular part of a soldier's kit. When a call of "Gas!" went out, soldiers would quickly don them, though they were tight and severely narrowed the wearer's range of vision. Soldiers came to fear gas attacks more than any other kind. The prospect of not being able to see your enemy was unnerving, and the gas might not even be noticed until the first few soldiers collapsed from it.

Flamethrowers were employed by both sides as well but were first introduced by Germany, with substantial use beginning in 1915. These were intended to spur enemy soldiers out of their trenches in a battle. The most effective flamethrowers were mobile ones carried by individual soldiers. Their effect was also psychological, much like that of poison gas.

In 1916, the British unveiled a new invention to support their infantry—the tank (Figure 11.12). Early tanks showed promise in that they made large artillery mobile and could travel with advancing infantry, which could help end trench warfare. However, they often malfunctioned and got stuck in the mud too easily. Commanders at first did not fully understand what a boon to the infantry tanks could be, but in the ensuing years they learned.



FIGURE 11.12 A New Weapon of War. This photo is of an early British tank in the fall of 1916. It was probably being held in reserve for the Battle of the Somme. (credit: modification of work "British Mark I male tank Somme 25 September 1916" by Imperial War Museums/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

On the sea, the submarine debuted in World War I and heralded a new age of naval combat. Its stealth was its biggest tactical advantage; it could sneak up on unsuspecting vessels and fire a torpedo that would sink them. The German navy called its subs *Unterseeboots* or **U-boats** and focused on expanding this part of its fleet during the war. U-boats were seldom submerged because the batteries on which they ran would not allow them to stay underwater for too long. In the early months of the war, German submarines warned ships before sinking them so that the crew could abandon ship, as was the custom in naval warfare. However, after German submarines were destroyed by armed British merchant ships when they made their presence known, they began to attack without firing any warning shot or allowing the crew on the targeted ship to abandon it. This was used by the Allies as evidence that Germany was a crueler foe than other nations. By 1917, German U-boats "had destroyed about thirty percent of the world's merchant ships."

All combatant armies used aircraft for reconnaissance purposes, and pilots soon began engaging one another in aerial "dogfights." Skilled pilots who were able to shoot down enemy planes became known as "aces." They kept track of their kills and were heralded for their bravery. The sky was one of the few arenas where skill and courage could make a difference in a confrontation with the enemy.

The use of all these weapons to wage war on an industrial scale meant soldiers suffered more in this war than in past conflicts. The number of casualties was immense. Approximately nine hundred French soldiers died every day on the western front. Even more German soldiers died each day. The need to care for the wounded was also enormous. Huge numbers of doctors, nurses, and stretcher-bearers were needed to get them safely from the battlefields and trenches to medical care. Medical science had improved significantly, leading to a much greater understanding of infection, and new technologies such as the x-ray made care far superior to what soldiers could expect in the 1800s. Soldiers could now survive their wounds, but they then faced a number of problems earlier generations had never experienced. Some needed plastic surgery to repair broken or blown-away bones or metal masks to hide them, and when repairs to arms or legs were not possible, amputation might leave a soldier facing the future with prosthetic limbs.

Physical wounds were fairly straightforward for doctors and nurses to tackle. The psychological wounds were much more problematic. Never before had so many people been subjected to such intense bombardment as in the trenches and battles of World War I. Doctors began diagnosing cases of "shell shock" early in the war, a diagnosis not new but newly named because it was thought to have been brought on by the intense shelling that accompanied the war. However, medical science later learned that it was the intense psychological pressures on the soldiers rather than the shelling itself that caused the condition. Shell shock went by other names in later wars, such as battle fatigue and, today, post-traumatic stress disorder. Some symptoms were mild, like a shaking hand or constant twitch. Others were more serious, including flashbacks to battle, inability to speak, loss of contact with reality, or fear of any unexpected sound. Those dealing with shell shock often had to be sent to hospitals far from the frontlines, and recovery was exceedingly slow as psychologists tried to help them reenter peacetime society.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

A Poet's View of War

Siegfried Sassoon was an English poet who rose to the rank of captain while serving in World War I. In his poetry, he described the horrors of the battlefield and critiqued those he saw as responsible for the war. "Counter-Attack" describes the experience of combat for an ordinary soldier on the day of a counterattack. *Allemands* (literally, the Germans) refers to the opposing German forces.

> We'd gained our first objective hours before
> While dawn broke like a face with blinking eyes,
> Pallid, unshaven and thirsty, blind with smoke.
> Things seemed all right at first. We held their line,

With bombers posted, Lewis guns well placed,
And clink of shovels deepening the shallow trench.
The place was rotten with dead; green clumsy legs
High-booted, sprawled and grovelled along the saps
And trunks, face downward, in the sucking mud,
Wallowed like trodden sand-bags loosely filled;
And naked sodden buttocks, mats of hair,
Bulged, clotted heads slept in the plastering slime.
And then the rain began,—the jolly old rain!

A yawning soldier knelt against the bank,
Staring across the morning blear with fog;
He wondered when the Allemands would get busy;
And then, of course, they started with five-nines
Traversing, sure as fate, and never a dud.
Mute in the clamour of shells he watched them burst
Spouting dark earth and wire with gusts from hell,
While posturing giants dissolved in drifts of smoke.
He crouched and flinched, dizzy with galloping fear,
Sick for escape,—loathing the strangled horror
And butchered, frantic gestures of the dead.

An officer came blundering down the trench:
"Stand-to and man the fire step!" On he went . . .
Gasping and bawling, "Fire-step . . . counter-attack!"
Then the haze lifted. Bombing on the right
Down the old sap: machine-guns on the left;
And stumbling figures looming out in front.
"O Christ, they're coming at us!" Bullets spat,
And he remembered his rifle . . . rapid fire . . .
And started blazing wildly . . . then a bang
Crumpled and spun him sideways, knocked him out
To grunt and wriggle: none heeded him; he choked
And fought the flapping veils of smothering gloom,
Lost in a blurred confusion of yells and groans . . .
Down, and down, and down, he sank and drowned,
Bleeding to death. The counter-attack had failed.

—Siegfried Sassoon, "Counter-Attack"

- How does Sassoon perceive war? Does he think it is heroic? Why or why not?
- How does Sassoon believe soldiers are treated in the war?

New military technology plus armies consisting of millions of troops meant battles were no longer quick. They would rage for months and exact a devastating toll of human life. In February 1916, for example, the Battle of Verdun began. The Germans intended this battle to take out as many French troops as possible, to make "France bleed," as German General Erich von Falkenhayn stated. They chose Verdun because it had great historical and cultural significance to the French nation, and France would do anything to protect it. Only one long road ran into the city, and the French were forced to bring hundreds of thousands of troops and supplies along it. The battle raged from February to December. France managed to stave off the German attacks but

suffered approximately 450,000 casualties, and Germany about 300,000.

The British and the Germans had their own battle of attrition along the Somme River. Starting on July 1, 1916, the Battle of the Somme began with British infantry charges that caused tens of thousands of deaths on the first day alone. Britain continued to launch offensives as the Germans rebuilt their line slightly farther back. British commanders finally called an end to the battle in November, unable to break the German line and having advanced only a handful of miles. By the time it ended, total casualties from both sides totaled a million.

As the land war droned on, the power of the submarine was being starkly demonstrated on the high seas. In May 1915, the RMS *Lusitania*, a passenger liner owned by Cunard, was sailing from New York City to Liverpool. Unbeknownst to the passengers, the British owners of the ship had chosen to transport four million rounds of ammunition in the cargo hold during the return voyage to Britain. The German government learned of this plan and had previously announced that any ship carrying military weapons or equipment was subject to being sunk. This threat put the *Lusitania* in the cross-hairs of the German submarines. Off the coast of Ireland on May 7, a German sub torpedoed the liner, which sank in about twenty minutes. More than twelve hundred people died in the chilly waters, including 128 U.S. citizens.

The outcry was immediate. Early news reports focused on the fact that civilians and families had been on board an unarmed passenger ship, again casting Germany as a violator of the norms of warfare. In the United States, however, the public frustration did not result in a push for war with Germany. While aware of what the war was like via the uncensored news stories in the American media, most still felt it was better not to get involved.

Their focus on a naval arms race before the war did not result in many battles between the surface fleets of Britain and Germany. In fact, there was only one major naval engagement, the Battle of Jutland, fought in 1916 by about 250 ships. Both sides sank or damaged many enemy craft, and both claimed a win, though no decisive victory was gained by either. The German navy, however, never again dared to confront the British navy.

It was truly with submarines that naval warfare was fought in World War I. Through 1915 and 1916, German submarines continued to patrol the war zones off the coasts of Britain and France, sinking an increasing number of vessels. In 1916, German submarines torpedoed the *Sussex*, a civilian ferry, and several U.S. citizens were killed. This provoked outrage in the United States, and President Wilson demanded apologies and restitution. Germany responded by apologizing and agreeing to only engage in restricted submarine warfare. That is, German submarines would not target U.S. ships and would endeavor not to fire on ships that had U.S. citizens on board. Implementing such restrictions was impossible, however. Theoretically, Germany would have to have had all U.S. citizens leave a ship before torpedoing it.

The compromise did allow the United States to remain neutral even as tensions mounted. But in 1917, the terms changed. Germany announced in January of that year that it would engage in unrestricted submarine warfare. This meant that any ship in a war zone was a target for sinking even if it were sailing under the flag of a neutral power, so U.S. merchant ships were now subject to being torpedoed.

Germany made this decision because it felt that Britain would be forced to pull out of the war if the lifeline of cargo coming to it from the United States were cut off. Germany had suffered food shortages beginning in 1915. By 1917, as a result of the British blockade and the enlistment of male farm laborers for war, the nation's urban population was starving, and its troops were on reduced rations. Unless Britain withdrew from the war soon, Germany would be forced to surrender. Obviously, Germany knew this decision would anger the United States and could well cause it to enter the war itself, but it was a gamble its leaders were prepared to take. They fully believed that Germany could achieve victory if it could force the British to surrender before the United States could enter the war.

The United States Enters the War

Further exacerbating tensions between Germany and the United States was the publication on March 1, 1917, of the **Zimmermann Telegram**. This message had been sent to Mexico by Germany's foreign minister, Arthur Zimmermann, offering a deal. In 1916, there had been numerous disturbances along the border between the United States and Mexico due to the exploits of Francisco "Pancho" Villa as he attacked U.S. towns. The U.S. Army had responded by sending thousands of troops to track Villa down. Germany wanted the Mexican government, in the event of war with the United States, to actively cause more disturbances along the border, keeping even more U.S. troops there and thus unavailable for deployment to Europe. In return for Mexico's cooperation, upon its victory, Germany would grant it the region of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, territory it had lost in 1848 as a result of war with the United States.

In reality, it was unlikely that the Mexican government would have been able to participate in such a plan even if it had wanted to. In 1917, Mexico was embroiled in violent conflict among numerous revolutionary factions, of which Villa's forces were one. The trouble had begun in 1910 when the liberal politician Francisco Madero had announced his candidacy for the Mexican presidency, an office that had been held continuously since 1884 by the dictatorial Porfirio Díaz, whose regime had favored wealthy landowners and business owners. Díaz handily won the rigged election and had Madero arrested, an action that led to uprisings throughout the country. In 1911, Díaz was forced to resign and went into exile.

However, when Madero, who had been declared president, failed to deliver on expected reforms, revolt broke out against his administration as well, and in 1913 he was forced to relinquish his office. He was replaced by Victoriano Huerta, a general who commanded rebellious forces within the Mexican army, and he was executed soon thereafter. Huerta, however, attempted to rule in a dictatorial fashion, and opposition quickly arose. In the south, Emiliano Zapata led a rebellion among Indigenous peasants who hoped to force a program of land reform. In the north, the revolution was led by Venustiano Carranza, Alvaro Obregon, and Pancho Villa. U.S. president Woodrow Wilson supported Carranza and supplied his forces with munitions. Wilson also used the occasion to order U.S. marines to invade Mexico to prevent damage to U.S.-owned property. In April 1914, the U.S. Navy took control of the Mexican port of Veracruz.

Throughout the summer of 1914, the various rebel factions did battle with one another as each leader sought to replace Huerta, who fled into exile in July. Carranza declared himself president over the objections of Villa and Zapata. In retaliation for U.S. support of Carranza, Villa attacked the town of Columbus, New Mexico, in March 1916, prompting Wilson to dispatch five thousand troops across the border to capture him. Villa evaded them, and within a year they had retreated. The U.S. invasion damaged U.S. relations with Carranza, however, who refused to countenance the insult to Mexican sovereignty. By 1917, he was firmly in power, but rebellion continued, led by Villa in the northern state of Chihuahua and by Zapata in Morelos in the south.

Thus, when Germany approached Carranza with its offer of an alliance against the United States, Carranza was not in a position to accept even if he had wanted to. Nevertheless, when this offer was made public, the United States was livid. It was not yet a combatant, and Germany was already planning how to dismember it. U.S. banks, which realized the loans they had extended to the European Allies would go unpaid if Germany won, already supported their country's involvement, as did businesses that hoped U.S. assistance would encourage the Allies to grant them greater access to global markets. Now popular support for going to war against Germany swelled. In April 1917, the United States, already angered by the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the *Sussex*, entered the conflict on the side of the Allied powers.

Life in the Trenches, the Mountains, and the Desert

The trenches of the western front, born of the stalemate in which the Allies and Central powers found themselves in the fall of 1914, became synonymous with the war. The horror of unrelenting artillery fire coupled with unending mud made this arena of fighting unique. Troops literally dug in for protection from enemy artillery barrages and then found themselves stranded in these locations. From the beginning, the

German troops dug deeper and more elaborate trenches, as if planning to stay for a long time. The early Allied trenches were more rudimentary but became more highly developed over the years.

At its height, the trench system traversed nearly five hundred miles. At the front were soldiers who generally stayed in position for several days before being moved back to the second-line support trenches and the third-line reserve trenches. Farther back was the long-range artillery. Behind the trench system lay field hospitals and villages across the French and Belgian countryside.

Soldiers found life in the trenches tedious. There was little to do but always the prospect of death just above the parapet. It rained regularly, and the trenches became filled with mud. Soldiers put down wooden planks to help, but it was hard to avoid some measure of hypothermia. Constant moisture on feet and legs caused trench foot when the skin could not dry and began to split and come off. It was intensely painful but hard to avoid. Trenches also became strewn with debris and trash, and disease easily spread in these close quarters.

The proximity of the two armies could lead to rare exchanges, however. In one example, at Christmas the first year of the war in 1914, German and British soldiers faced one another from their respective trenches, and some began calling out across the no-man's land between them. First one side and then the other sang Christmas carols. Finally, soldiers from both sides cautiously began climbing out of their trenches and ended up meeting in the no-man's land between them, where they exchanged cigarettes, candy, and souvenirs. Many soldiers reported similar experiences. The Christmas truce displays the humanity that could still be seen in the war, but it also angered those at headquarters. Such camaraderie was not allowed to occur again.

LINK TO LEARNING

Read and listen to accounts of the unofficial Christmas truce (https://openstax.org/l/77XmasTruce) between British and German soldiers in the trenches on the western front in 1914, presented by the Imperial War Museums.

In other combat regions, the armies were more mobile, but the fighting came with its own set of problems. For example, battles between Italian and Austro-Hungarian forces ranged over the Italian Alps, forcing soldiers to fight at high altitude with few opportunities to resupply. Besides the need to live in caves or scale mountain heights, troops also faced regular snowfall and subfreezing temperatures. The threat from frostbite and avalanches was real, and the poor conditions accounted for more than half the casualties suffered during this mountainous fighting. The narrow passes of the Alps also offered little chance to retreat.

Fighting in the Caucasus between the Russians and the Ottomans began in 1914. The front was isolated, and the Ottomans did not have the rail lines to supply operations far from the front. The snow was many feet deep, and temperatures plunged below zero as the troops fought. The Ottoman troops were unable to continue given their lack of supplies, and they suffered tens of thousands of casualties. In arid climates around the Mediterranean and the Middle East, armies had to ensure adequate water supplies in the desert. It was difficult to find enough feed for horses, so particularly in the Middle East, troops became more reliant on camels as a means of carrying supplies and even people.

Colonies, Race, and the War

As the imperial powers went to war with one another, so too did their colonies in multiple ways. In some cases, colonial troops came to Europe to fight, such as those the French brought from Senegal or the British brought from India. In other cases, such as in Africa, fighting took place in the colonies themselves.

France had extensive colonial holdings throughout Africa and enlisted more than 600,000 soldiers there, most of them from the continent's west and north. France also employed troops from French Indochina (modern-day Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia). More than ninety thousand people from French Indochina were brought to Europe, about half of them as laborers for the French armies. Britain made great use of roughly 1.3 million soldiers from India (Figure 11.13). Many were brought to Europe where they fought in the trenches of France

and Belgium. Others went to the other theaters of the war—Mesopotamia, Africa, and the Mediterranean. More than three million Africans participated in the war, either as soldiers or in a support capacity. While many fought in Europe, many others fought in French, British, and German colonies in Africa.



FIGURE 11.13 Colonial Troops. This photo shows troops from India marching in France during World War I. Colonial troops from all over the world served in various capacities in Europe. (credit: "Indian Troops in France" by *The Great World War: A History* edited by Frank A. Mumby/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Germany's colonial forces in Africa were mainly located in East Africa. Colonel Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck commanded thousands of German troops, along with thousands of African porters who carried all the supplies. The plight of African porters underscores the effect racism had on the way the war was fought and who was considered expendable. Porters were given strict rations, in some locations only one thousand calories a day, and forced to march many miles while carrying sixty-pound loads. The death rate among porters was 20 percent over the course of the war, higher than the death rate for British soldiers.

In addition to colonial troops, the troops of British dominions fought in the war as well. From the very beginning of the conflict, soldiers were organized from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand and sent to the Mediterranean and European theaters. Some of the battles in which they fought became key episodes in their growing national histories.

For example, the ANZAC forces representing Australia and New Zealand saw heavy action in the Mediterranean in 1915. The idea behind the British plan was to launch a ship-based artillery attack at the Dardanelles and then land troops on a peninsula called Gallipoli. This would allow the British to link up with Russian forces and coordinate a push against the Turks to isolate the Ottoman Empire and seize control of the important Turkish straits leading to the Sea of Marmara (Figure 11.14). The brainchild of Winston Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, the operation suffered problems from its start in February. The first ships took heavy fire and were crippled by mines. The Turks were prepared for a ground invasion and began firing on the Allied troops from secure positions. Those who made it ashore were unable to do more than establish beachheads and did not drive far into the interior. The situation continued through all of 1915 before the British decided to evacuate their troops. Casualties from both sides totaled approximately 900,000, losses commemorated in Australia and New Zealand each year on ANZAC Day, April 25. Churchill resigned over the

debacle.



FIGURE 11.14 The Ill-Fated Gallipoli Campaign. A British plan to land troops in order to open up the Dardanelles (Strait of Gallipoli) and advance with Russian forces to isolate the Ottoman Empire met overwhelming resistance in Turkey and ultimately failed, costing Prime Minister Churchill his job. This map shows the Turkish defenses in February and March of 1915, including eleven lines of naval mines, two anti-submarine nets, and sixteen major forts. (credit left: modification of work "Italy — Details" by The World Factbook/CIA, Public Domain; credit right: modification of work "Dardanelles defences 1915" by "Gsl"/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

For Canadian forces, the fighting in 1917 at Vimy Ridge, south of Calais, became the key battle to memorialize as a nation. It was fought for a week in April, with Canadian forces charging the German line to take the ridge. More than 3,500 Canadian soldiers were killed and approximately 7,000 were wounded. Canada's victory became a national rallying point and source of pride.

Prejudice and discrimination were widely evident within the major powers in the war. For example, the interplay between colonial and regular troops and policy decisions about who would be drafted were all reflected in the diversity of the armies engaged in the war. The multitude of nationalities that fought in this war meant that people were regularly engaging with allies from different backgrounds and ethnicities. The prospect of tension in these relationships was clear.

In the United States, the military was still officially segregated. All-Black units had been formed as early as the Civil War, but the military did not integrate any of its branches until after World War II. When the country entered World War I, African American men volunteered in substantial numbers, though the government soon set ceilings on the number it was willing to accept. Once the draft was enacted, southern draft boards were quick to select a disproportionately high number of African Americans in an effort to protect local White men from combat. While most African American soldiers from the United States worked in labor units in Europe, some did see combat, such as the infantry unit dubbed the Harlem Hellfighters.

The situation developing in the far reaches of the Ottoman Empire also reflected both diversity and prejudice. Turks dominated in Istanbul, the capital, and in the Anatolian Peninsula. However, large areas of the empire were inhabited by Muslims of other ethnicities, primarily Arabs. During the war, some of these Arab Muslim populations, led by the sharif (ruler) of Mecca, began to fight against the Ottoman overlords in the Arab Revolt of 1916. The British government seized this opportunity to further drive a wedge in the operations of the Ottoman Empire by offering support to the rebels and promising them an independent Arab state free of Turkish control. One British officer, T.E. Lawrence, began working with Faisal ibn Hussein, a son of the sharif. The Arab Revolt was successful in targeting railways and causing problems for the Ottoman forces, but it did not achieve the goal of independence for Arabia. However, when the war ended with the Ottoman Empire defeated and soon dissolved, Arabia was able to separate itself from Ottoman control.

European powers approached Arabia and the Middle East with the same colonial conventions under which they had operated in the nineteenth century. They believed that even after the war they would be the ones deciding the fate of these lands. In 1916, the **Sykes-Picot Agreement**, a covert deal made between Britain and France with the approval of Italy and Russia, divided the areas of the Middle East under two spheres of influence, with what are today Lebanon, Syria, and northern Iraq going to France and the areas of Jordan, Kuwait, and southern Iraq going to Britain. Britain, France, and Russia were to share control of Palestine (Figure 11.15). Britain and France understood that the world's growing reliance on oil would make this region a major player in the future. The Sykes-Picot Agreement also supported the creation of an independent Arab state, but this did not come to pass.

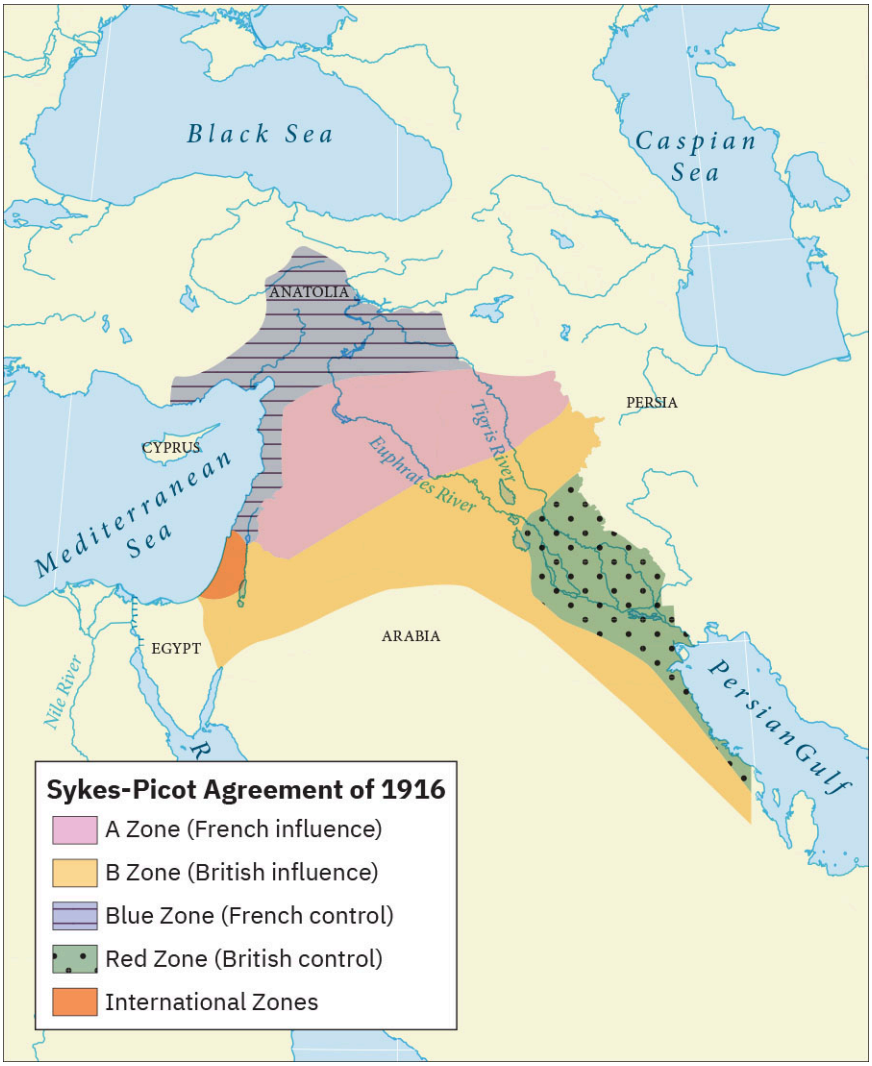


FIGURE 11.15 Sykes-Picot Agreement. This map reflects the proposed boundaries of the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement. It shows how much territory the French and British were prepared to claim in the Middle East, and it helped set the stage for many of the tensions in the region over the next decades. (credit: modification of work "Fertile Crescent blank base map" by "NormanEinstein"/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The Sykes-Picot Agreement was kept secret at the time, and promises that contradicted it were explicitly made to some of those involved in the Arab Revolt, such as the British promise of Syria to Faisal ibn Hussein. News of the agreement leaked out by 1918, angering many throughout the region. The Balfour Declaration that soon followed also contributed to frustrations in Palestine by making it clear that Britain supported a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

For its part, Germany sought to appeal to Muslim troops, in part by making sure its Muslim prisoners of war were properly treated and pledging them its support for Islam. The Germans even built a mosque so their prisoners could properly pray. The aim was to persuade them to fight against the Allied powers instead of Germany. The Turkish sultan (a German ally) endorsed this view, calling for all Muslims to fight against their oppressors, the Allies. Few prisoners of war heeded the call, however.

One of the more violent examples of prejudice during this period affected the Armenian population of the Ottoman Empire. Armenians were a Christian minority and resided in both Ottoman lands and Russia. Due to their background, religion, and location, they were seen as potential collaborators with the Russians, who were also Christians. Believing that local Armenians had been working against the Ottoman army, in 1915 Ottoman troops began murdering them. The Armenians defended themselves, and the Ottoman government ordered

their removal from the region, granting its officials permission to repress resistance. Over the next few months, approximately one million Armenians died from forced marches or were executed by the Ottoman government. The Ottomans did not acknowledge this genocide at the time, and to this day, the Turkish government does not admit it occurred.

THE PAST MEETS THE PRESENT

The Armenian Genocide

The Armenian people continue to memorialize the genocide that occurred in 1915. They also fear similar actions today. The following account is by Jen Langley, a descendant of one of the survivors of 1915 who lives in the United States.

> My great-uncle also came from Van and in 1915 saw his entire family murdered. I grew up with him and his stories. I knew that he had to sleep next to a wall—a way to keep him in his bed as he relived the events of 1915 in his dreams, even as an 85-year-old man.
>
> We did not talk about recognition when I was growing up. Instead, I just experienced the culture that survived—I ate the food, sang the songs, and heard the stories of the "old country." As a child, I did not understand yet that the sharing of survivor's stories in my family was heavy with the need for acknowledgment. [. . .]
>
> Every Armenian in America has experienced meeting someone who doesn't even know that Armenia is actually a country, never mind that an unrecognized genocide was committed against their people in 1915. Along with those who are simply unaware, there is the denial that continues to this day. For all of the beauty and richness of my Armenian culture that survived, I've come to learn that it's profoundly difficult to heal as a people and as individuals in the absence of recognition.
>
> In 1996, eminent genocide scholar Gregory Stanton defined the eight states of genocide. And though "extermination" is one of the stages in his framework, it is *not* the final stage as one might expect. On the contrary, the final stage in Stanton's framework is denial. This illustrates so well that without recognition of the incalculable violence and losses faced by Armenians, the physical process of extermination begun in 1915 continues in nonphysical forms.
>
> Being told again and again that our losses have not been profound and that the violence done to us is not worthy of the label "genocide" denies our humanity as a people and pushes our chance for collective healing onto an ever-receding horizon.
>
> — Jen Langley, "Why Genocide Recognition Matters"

- What elements or aspects of the genocide affect Armenians today?
- Why is the genocide still such a difficult topic for Armenians?

11.4 War on the Homefront

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Explain how the combatant nations were transformed by the need to fight World War I
- Analyze the role played by women in World War I
- Describe life on the home front during World War I
- Discuss the events that led to the Irish Rising in 1916

The conflict of World War I mobilized not just soldiers but entire societies as civilians rose to meet the production levels needed to support the war effort. Home fronts were transformed as women took up new

roles to replace men who had left for the war zone, families coped with shortages of food and consumer products, and civilian protests became more critical of the war and the national governments. Those governments often stepped in to set priorities and quotas for civilian entities like private manufacturers and even voluntary nursing associations in their efforts to prepare for and carry out their war aims. Some of these efforts were more successful than others. Meanwhile, Britain faced an additional challenge when tensions with Ireland reached a crisis point in 1916.

Nations Remade for War

The length and all-encompassing nature of the war forced each combatant's home front to adapt. In the Allied countries of Britain and France, volunteer enthusiasm and conscription meant that many skilled laborers were now serving in the military, leaving manufacturing and production in need of new workers whose training took time. For other countries, such as Germany, the shortage of raw materials due to the Allied blockade forced a search for new sources.

Issues of production now also became political issues. In 1915, British commanders alleged that part of the reason they had been turned back during an attack was that they did not have enough artillery shells. This "shell crisis" raised the question of who was at fault in an industrialized government-directed economy. Was the government to be blamed for not making sure enough shells were produced? Were the workers not working hard enough at producing shells? The British government ended up blaming the army, claiming the military had not ordered enough shells. As a result, shell output from British munitions factories (and, in fact, from all combatants' munitions factories) increased throughout that year.

The British government found itself under immense pressure during the war. The Liberal Party was in control, but historically it had been anti-war, so the coming of World War I threw the party into disarray. The shell crisis and the failures at Gallipoli made the government appear weak. Continued maneuvering against the prime minister by David Lloyd George, minister of munitions and a fellow Liberal, solidified divisions within the party that came to a head by the end of the war.

Once the United States entered the war, its government moved to control industrial output in a way it had never done before, with the creation of the **War Industries Board (WIB)**. Run by financier Barnard Baruch, the WIB was charged with controlling prices and organizing production to support the war. However, because it had never embraced central planning or centralized economic control, the U.S. government did not have the command of war production that a country like Great Britain did. In the end, the WIB made some progress, but it never was in a position to dictate to industry and was immediately shut down at the end of the war. Its creation did foreshadow some of the examples of government control that became necessary in World War II, however.

Many national governments coped unsuccessfully with financing the war. Generally, less than a third of the cost was paid through taxation. Instead, borrowing by selling war bonds to the public, printing more money, and taking on more debt became the main method of paying for the war. Price inflation hit new highs as the combination of debt, the printing of money, and product shortages squeezed civilian budgets.

As the British army found itself in need of more troops, it began active recruitment campaigns. One popular tactic tried in the first half of the war was the development of "pals" units. Young men would sign up together and be guaranteed assignment to the same unit, a unit of their pals. While certainly an enticement to serve, this method of organizing units also meant that neighborhoods and villages might see nearly all their young men wounded or killed in the same engagement. The practice was discontinued after the high-casualty Somme campaign in 1916.

For Russia, the war highlighted how far the country still needed to go in industrializing its economy. Railroads were not sufficient to move troops to the locations needed while also getting foodstuffs to the cities to feed factory workers. Arms manufacturers could not keep up with the numbers of guns and bullets necessary to supply the soldiers. The lack of equipment had serious consequences for the morale of the troops, who did not

feel supported by their government and began to question its decision-making.

Women's Work

As the war progressed and more men set off to fight, women in many countries found job opportunities in traditionally male-oriented fields, most notably the defense industries and munitions plants. In Britain, women made up a significant percentage of war workers (Figure 11.16). They were sometimes called "canaries" because of the yellow hue cast on their skin and clothes from the TNT they worked with daily. Women in France were also disproportionately engaged in the manufacture of arms and armaments. In Germany, this pattern continued. While some women had worked in factories before the war, the need for more labor drew those who had worked in domestic service and other capacities, and they often earned more in the factories than in their old jobs.



FIGURE 11.16 British Women on the Home Front. This photo depicts women war workers in Great Britain during the war. They worked in munitions, providing the shells needed by the artillery in the British army. (credit: "Women at work during the First World War" by Imperial War Museums/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

LINK TO LEARNING

To read a first-hand description of the work British female war workers undertook and the way munitions are made, read an excerpt from the diary of G.M. West, a Voluntary Aid Detachment cook at a munitions factory (https://openstax.org/l/77MunitionsDiary) in 1916. (There are images from some pages of her diary and a link to a typed transcript.)

Women also did significant work in the medical field during the war. Few were doctors; most served as nurses. Among them were both professional nurses (women who had been nurses before the war) and volunteer nurses who came from both the elite and middle classes. Volunteer nurses from the United States even began to flow into French hospitals in 1915. The Red Cross organized both nursing and hospital building across France and Belgium as the war progressed. Women also served as ambulance drivers and worked in x-ray units, especially mobile ones. French scientist Marie Curie's daughter, Irène Joliot-Curie, worked with and

trained others for x-ray units.

Black women who wished to serve found their opportunities limited, just as they were in peacetime. In the United States, the absence of male workers meant that in restricted cases, African American women were hired for factory and office work. Overseas, African American women served with the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) to aid U.S. soldiers, but they numbered fewer than twenty-five. Only two African American women served as social workers with the YWCA during the war in France. Black women in Britain were similarly constrained, though a few were nurses and munitions workers.

The sense of independence and the novelty of making their own money spurred many women involved in the war effort to see political reform and voting rights as the next step. For example, many women in Britain viewed the extension of voting rights as a way to reward them for their war work. Suffragists had been protesting for years about the need to include women among the voting population in numerous countries such as Britain, Germany, and the United States. In 1918, Britain extended the right to vote to property-owning women over thirty. Germany gave women the vote in 1918, the first country to grant universal adult female suffrage, as did the United States in 1920.

Another way those on the home front felt the war's effects was through deprivation and doing without. Shortages and later rationing came about in some countries, targeting a number of different resources but most often food. The idea was that the government would control the allotment of certain food items such as meat and sugar so they would be more equitably distributed among the population. Britain started rationing in 1918. The United States did not mandate food rationing but encouraged people to adopt it voluntarily.

Britain was particularly vulnerable to shortages because it imported approximately 60 percent of its food. Ensuring there was enough to feed the soldiers and the civilian populace was the job of the **Women's Land Army**. In this wartime program, nearly 100,000 British women volunteered to move to rural counties and keep farms running after farmers had volunteered or been conscripted into the war. The British government also assisted with moneys for new tractors on many farms whose horses had been requisitioned by the army.

All these changes meant that after the war, women had different expectations for the future and no longer felt as constrained by traditional mores. Even fashion had altered considerably during the war to accommodate the new kinds of work that women did. Long restrictive skirts were no more, and skirts were several inches shorter than in the early 1900s. Many European women also found themselves remaining single. The millions of men lost in the war left many unable to find a mate.

LINK TO LEARNING

This episode of the podcast *Dressed: The History of Fashion* (https://openstax.org/l/77Dressed) focuses on changes in French fashions during World War I and how keeping the fashion industry healthy during the war was important for the French economy as a whole.

The Civilian Response

While many civilians fully supported the war effort, others voiced opposition to and criticism of the war itself and the reasons behind it. This disapproval became stronger as the war and the shortages went on and morale on the home front suffered.

In Germany, for instance, soldiers were prioritized in the food supply chain, so while they might not enjoy the food they were given, there was usually enough of it even if many civilians found it very difficult to find food. This was especially true for the elderly and those who were not contributing to the war effort through their work. The British blockade of Germany, which ran from 1914 until the end of the war, only compounded the problem. Bread rationing began in Germany in 1915. The winter of 1916–1917 was particularly severe, and much of the potato crop was lost, leaving many tens of thousands of people with nothing but turnips to eat. Food shortages also prompted food riots from 1915 on in Germany.

Food shortages also occurred in Austria-Hungary, which did not have as intricate an infrastructure as Germany and therefore had fewer options for transporting food. It too was focused on making sure soldiers were supplied at the expense of the civilian population. As in many combatant countries, the disruptions to their food supply caused some civilians to begin questioning the government's job in fighting the war and generally hurt morale at home.

Civilian discontent also rose as more young men were needed for the armies. The war dragged on, and the early enthusiasm evidenced by young recruits in 1914 disappeared. Some recruits did not have confidence that the national armies would be able to win battles or that it was worth risking their lives in service. Other young men were conscientious objectors who for religious and philosophical reasons did not believe in fighting wars and therefore did not wish to serve. Some would-be soldiers in the empires increasingly questioned the value of fighting for imperial glory. Canada experienced a conscription crisis in 1917 when it had to resort to a draft to fulfill Britain's imperial demand for troops. The military was called to quell a protest in Quebec City and fired on the protesters, killing several.

The use of censorship became a common tool to manage civilian discontent by limiting the information distributed about the war effort. Newspapers presented only vague descriptions of battles and losses, and government-sponsored propaganda showed civilians pro-war posters and commentary. Censorship efforts began in all combatant nations in 1914 and expanded to the United States when it entered in the war in 1917. The U.S. government created the Committee on Public Information to put out pro-war propaganda via public speeches and posters that were remarkably effective. Most posters depicted the German troops as bloodthirsty monsters who would cross the Atlantic to attack the United States if they were not stopped.

BEYOND THE BOOK

Propaganda Posters

Propaganda came into wide use in all the combatant nations during World War I. Here are two posters from the United States that showcase the all-encompassing nature of these propaganda campaigns.

The following lithographed poster was part of the United War Work Campaign conducted in association with the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) (Figure 11.17). Note how it shows a variety of attire for women, conveying that women could fill many different roles to support the war. Its title also encourages women to realize that female workers, "our second line of defense," were needed in the same numbers as male soldiers for the war effort.



FIGURE 11.17 "Our Second Line of Defense." This 1918 propaganda poster was aimed at American women during World War I. (credit: modification of work "For every fighter a woman worker Y.W.C.A. : Back our second line of defense (https://www.loc.gov/resource/ppmsca.40823/)" by Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division/Library of Congress)

The following lithographed poster was put out by the U.S. Food Administration in 1917 (Figure 11.18). It gives specific advice to those at home for helping make sure there is enough food for all the soldiers, such as by eating less wheat and meat items and not wasting anything.



FIGURE 11.18 "Don't Waste It." This U.S. government propaganda poster was meant for the general public

during World War I. (credit: modification of work "Food—don't waste it (https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3g09739/)" by Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress)

- What are these posters encouraging? How could civilians show support for the war?
- Do the posters offer a realistic assessment of the war? Why or why not?

LINK TO LEARNING

See more WWI posters (https://openstax.org/l/77WWIPosters) presented by the Library of Congress. Which one do you think is most effective at communicating its message?

The U.S. government's effort to squash criticism of the war began in 1917 with the **Espionage Act**. It set limits on what could be mailed, banning any type of anti-war newspaper or pamphlet. In 1918, Congress passed the **Sedition Act**. This forbade "disloyal, profane, scurrilous, and abusive" language about the decision to enter the war, the draft, the flag, and armed forces' uniforms. It was not about what might be true, but about what could be seen as disloyal. Anti-war speech was considered disloyal and therefore seditious. People were unable to openly question why the United States was in the war or speak out against it without risking imprisonment or hefty fines. Today we see the Sedition Act as a violation of the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, which promises protections for free speech. Despite this, the Supreme Court upheld the act, and approximately two thousand people were prosecuted under it. Perhaps the best-known prosecution targeted the Socialist Party's presidential candidate Eugene V. Debs. Debs was sentenced to ten years (and served more than three) for comments he made against the war, such as questioning why working-class men had to lose their lives in a war they had no voice in declaring.

While Debs was imprisoned, others such as Russian immigrants and those who supported socialist causes were viewed as disloyal and targeted for deportation by the U.S. government. Emma Goldman, a self-avowed anarchist, had come to the United States from Lithuania as a teenager. She had grown interested in radical politics and by the time of the war was speaking out against the draft. Along with more than two hundred others, she was deported to Russia in 1919 under wartime legislation in the United States.

Questioning the war could certainly take other forms than direct political speech. The poets Wilfred Owen, Siegfried Sassoon, Rupert Brooke, and William Butler Yeats published work that put the inhumanity and suffering of the war on full display. No heroic charges were celebrated in their stanzas. Visual art such as the work of German artist Käthe Kollwitz conveyed the misery of the war. Kollwitz lost her son in the fighting and explored the experience of mourning and suffering in her works. These personal depictions of the horror of the war came clearly across to their audiences and helped fuel criticism of the war.

Due to the use of aircraft in the war, civilians in Europe also had the experience of being displaced from their own cities. The German military utilized zeppelins as early as 1915 to fly to London and bomb the city. Later in the war, they used Gotha bombers to attack the British capital. Hundreds of civilians were killed and thousands injured through this bombing campaign. Those who survived the destruction of their homes became refugees in their own country. The psychological impact of this bombing was immense. For the first time, civilians were at risk in a country where no ground fighting was happening. The role of sheer chance in determining whether a street was hit by a bomb made the danger seem much greater than it was.

Refugees emerged all over Europe. By the end of 1914, more than three million people in France and Belgium alone had left their homes. While many were eventually able to return, the problem of housing millions of displaced people continued throughout the war. On the eastern front, Jewish citizens fled their homes by the tens of thousands, and many found themselves further east in Russia than had previously been allowed due to anti-Semitic laws. Refugees often fled with very little, which made their relocations especially painful.

The Easter Rising

Tensions between Ireland and Britain can be traced to the twelfth century when the English seized Ireland. The political issue of home rule for Ireland was the most contentious one between the two in the early twentieth century. If approved, home rule would offer Ireland its own parliament and rights to deal with domestic issues rather than having to listen to the dictates of London. Support for it had grown significantly, and it had even been partially approved at the time of the war. But Protestant Unionists in the north of Ireland, who approved of the union with Britain and feared a Catholic-dominated Irish government, worried they would be discriminated against if home rule were enacted. The question was tabled while the British government focused on the war effort.

Irish nationalists were frustrated by the delay, however, and some wanted even more change, not simply home rule but an independent Ireland. The cause of Irish nationalism drove Ireland to begin talks with Germany, since the two shared the common enemy of Britain, and the Irish Republican Brotherhood organized an uprising to be supported by German weapons. When the weapons failed to arrive, the Brotherhood decided to continue with the rebellion anyway. The **Easter Rising** began on April 24, 1916, and lasted for several days. Irish nationalists announced the establishment of the Irish Republic and seized key buildings in Dublin. The British responded with military force, and the clashes between the two groups resulted in thousands of casualties, including many civilians. As the Irish revolutionaries surrendered, unable to withstand the trained military troops, they found themselves subject to harsh punishment, and many of the rebellion's leaders were executed.

The British response further drove the radicalism of many Irish youth. After the war, the counties of the south organized to form the Irish Free State, which today has become the Republic of Ireland. The northern counties are still part of the United Kingdom.

11.5 The War Ends

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe tsarist autocracy and the challenges to it in pre–World War I Russia
- Analyze how and why the Bolshevik Revolution began and its effect on Russian participation in World War I
- Explain why World War I came to an end in November 1918

World War I spelled the end of an era. The growth of socialist ideology and of the Bolshevik Party turned Russians' thoughts away from the war and toward revolution, ending both tsarist rule and Russia's involvement in the war long before the armistice of November 1918. German success early in 1918 was halted by the size of the armies it faced later that year. With the world fighting not only a war but a deadly influenza virus, the last year of conflict saw even more death and set the stage for a rebuilt world to emerge in the aftermath.

The 1905 Revolution

Long-standing problems in Russia such as a stagnant bureaucracy became exacerbated by the war. The Romanov tsars, in control since the 1600s, saw themselves as absolute rulers who governed without being questioned, but more liberal ideologies emerging in Europe in the 1700s and 1800s reached parts of Russian society, inspiring a desire for reform and reducing public tolerance for those in power. Socialist and Marxist ideologies, in particular, took hold among many young Russians, who felt the time had come to overthrow the tsarist state. In the early 1900s, a political faction known as the **Bolsheviks** appeared that followed these ideologies. Its members believed that violent revolution was necessary to oust the tsar and that the revolution needed a strong leader who could control the working class. Their push for reform and its accompanying violence eventually caused Russia to withdraw from the war.

On January 5, 1905, many workers gathered to protest peacefully outside Tsar Nicholas II's Winter Palace in St. Petersburg. They were led by a local cleric and appealed to the tsar (who was not in residence) for improvements to their working conditions, as well as a government that would share power with a popularly elected assembly. They made this direct appeal because they saw the tsar as their "Little Father," someone who would care for his people. Instead, military troops fired on the crowd. Around one thousand people were killed in the melee as blood spilled all over the snow, and the day came to be called "Bloody Sunday."

The backlash against the tsar was brutal. Workers in numerous cities went on strike to protest the bloodshed as part of the Revolution of 1905. Many strikes turned violent as more troops were ordered to put them down. With no end in sight, Nicholas II was forced to concede that he would no longer rule autocratically, and that a national legislature would meet to create a new voice in the government. The legislature was called the Duma and first met in 1906. It was composed of middle-class men and peasants, but it had two houses. One was indirectly chosen by an electoral college whose members were selected by men over age twenty-five. The other house had members appointed by the tsar. This second house dominated the Duma, limiting the legislature's ability to function as a true representative assembly. While it was a step forward in line with some revolutionary aims, it did not signal a true sharing of power by the tsar.

Peace, Land, and Bread

Russia had significant difficulty achieving victories in World War I. Its armies were massive but also suffered enormous casualties, and millions were killed, wounded, or taken prisoner, sometimes thanks to incompetent commanders and lack of supplies. Morale was low, and soldiers were aware that food shortages had caused long lines and even riots in the cities and towns they had left behind. Shortages of guns and other munitions further compromised the effectiveness of the military. The tsarist government did not seem up to the challenge of fighting the war.

Also undermining popular support for the monarchy was Tsarina Alexandra's steady reliance on the advice of the monk Rasputin, who appeared able to relieve the suffering of her young son Alexei, who had hemophilia and was heir to the throne. The favor shown to Rasputin, along with rumors of his romantic exploits, made for many questions about his true relationship with Alexandra, who was German and whom the Russian people had never really liked. After the tsar went to the front to direct the fighting in the autumn of 1915, Russia's losses could be attributed to him, and leaving Alexandra (and her adviser Rasputin) in charge of the country when the tsar was away was an unpopular decision that helped bring about the break between the Russian people and their "Little Father."

The end of the tsarist government began with the February Revolution in 1917. In March (February under the Julian calendar used in Russia), close to 100,000 people went on strike in the capital of Petrograd (meaning "Peter's City" in Russian and replacing the German name St. Petersburg after war with Germany began in 1914). The strike spread over the next several days as more workers took to the streets (Figure 11.19). The government tried to repress these protests and called out soldiers to disperse the crowds. While some soldiers fired on the workers, killing them, as the days passed, the soldiers' sympathy with the workers grew, and they refused to fire. Their defection marked a turning point in the city.



FIGURE 11.19 The February Revolution. This photo shows protesters and soldiers in the February Revolution in Petrograd in 1917. (credit: "Soldiers demonstration. February 1917" by socialist.memo.ru/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The soldiers formed the Petrograd Soviet (a council representing workers, soldiers, and peasants) to establish power in the city. A group of moderate politicians then established a new government for Russia under the auspices of the Duma. This provisional government was led by Alexander Kerensky, a lawyer who had become popular for assisting revolutionaries in the past. Tsar Nicholas II was forced to abdicate, paving the way for the end of three hundred years of Romanov rule.

Kerensky was dedicated to continuing Russia's participation in World War I, partly because he feared that aid he needed from the West to support Russia's economy would be lost if he withdrew from the conflict. However, this position became increasingly unpopular with the Russian people. The provisional government and the Petrograd Soviet (which was becoming more anti-war) then vied for power in Russia.

DUELING VOICES

The Provisional Government

Various political parties in Russia responded in their own ways to the abdication of the tsar and the creation of the provisional government. As you read these excerpts from several such statements, look for similarities and differences.

> The task of the working class and the revolutionary army is to create a Provisional revolutionary government which will stand at the head of the new-born republican order. The Provisional revolutionary government must draw up temporary laws to defend the rights and liberties of the people, to confiscate church, landowners', government and crown lands and transfer them to the people; to introduce the eight-hour working day, and to summon a Constituent Assembly on the basis of a suffrage which is universal, without regard to sex, nationality or religion, direct, equal and secret. . . .

— Manifesto of the Central Committee of the Social Democrats, February 27, 1917

The conference considers that support for the Provisional Government is absolutely necessary whilst it carries out its declared programme: an amnesty, the granting of individual freedoms, the repeal of estate, religious and national restrictions, and preparation for the Constituent Assembly.

The conference reserves the right to change its attitude should the Provisional Government not adhere to the implementation of this programme. The conference also recognises that any attempts to undermine the work of the Provisional Government in the fulfilment of its programme must be combated.

—Resolution of the Conference of the Petrograd Socialist-Revolutionaries, March 2, 1917

The old regime has gone. . . . All citizens should have confidence in their regime and should combine their efforts to allow the government created by the Duma to complete its great task of liberating Russia from the external enemy and establishing peace inside Russia, on the basis of law, equality and freedom. . . .

Forget all your party, class, estate and national differences! Each class, estate and nationality should be able to express its opinions and achieve its aims. The most important slogan now is 'Organisation and Unity', organisation and unity for victory over the external enemy, organisation and unity in internal construction.

—From the Central Committee of the Constitutional Democrat [Kadet] Party, March 3, 1917

All Russians should put aside their disagreements and should unite around the Provisional Government, now the sole legal authority in Russia, dedicated to defend order and the state system and to the successful conclusion of the war. . . . Each one of us should direct all our strength and actions to harmonious work with all devoted sons of our homeland.

—A Resolution of the Council of the United Nobility, March 10, 1917

- What do these responses have in common? What are their key differences?
- What do the responses reflect as a hope for Russia?

Germany saw an opportunity to take advantage of Russia's disintegrating political situation. A young Russian named Vladimir Ilyich Lenin had supported the cause of revolution in his native country for many years. His older brother had been executed for involvement in an attempt to assassinate Alexander III, Nicholas II's father. Lenin had then left Russia, branded a radical and forced into exile. Germany helped him return to Russia to energize the revolution there and undermine the tsarist government's conduct of the war.

Lenin's arrival in Russia was like a lightning bolt. He quickly became the leader of the revolutionary cause, and the group he led, the Bolsheviks, challenged Kerensky's provisional government. In the October Revolution in 1917, Lenin led a coup and seized power from the other political factions in Petrograd. He spoke of creating a government in which the Soviets would hold power. Capitalizing on a campaign of "Peace, Land, Bread," Lenin's government moved to end the war with Germany. Germany was only too happy to work out an agreement that would allow it to focus solely on the war on its western front.

Lenin's goal was to end the fighting as quickly as possible, so he agreed to terms that were fairly advantageous for Germany and the Central powers. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed on March 3, 1918. In it, Russia gave up significant territory to the Central powers, including areas of Poland and Ukraine, Finland, and the Baltic states (Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia), which gave Germany new ports (Figure 11.20). In return, Russia was able to end its participation in the war as Lenin focused on building a Communist state, the Soviet Union.



FIGURE 11.20 Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. This map shows the area affected by the 1918 Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, including territory in what are now the states of Estonia, Latvia, Belarus, and Ukraine. Germany gained substantially from Russia, but the concessions were worth it to Lenin to extricate Russia from the war. (credit: modification of work "Europe 1920 simplyfied" by London Geographical Institute/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In 1918, after being held under house arrest for two years, the former tsar, his wife, and their five children were executed. A civil war broke out that year pitting the White Army, which opposed Lenin, against the Red Army, which supported the Bolshevik government. This conflict lasted until 1923, when the Red Army proved victorious.

The Final Year

The final year of the war started auspiciously for Germany. In March, its troops began an offensive against the British and quickly took the advantage. Poor weather and fog created confusion, and the British may have retreated farther than they needed to. The Germans again moved toward Paris and resumed bombarding the city as they had in the early weeks of the war. Germany also worked out treaties with Russia and Romania,

which exited the war and ceded territory in the process. By the summer of 1918, these successes meant that Germany held more territory than at any time in the past.

In that same summer, however, the mass of U.S. troops finally arrived. After four long years of war, the French and British welcomed the aid. China and Greece also entered the war, as did Brazil in October 1917. (Haiti, Cuba, and most of the nations of Central America also declared war on the Central powers between the spring of 1917 and the summer of 1918, but none sent troops or played a decisive role in the fighting.) While the Central powers had been successful in the first half of 1918, the Allies' sheer numbers gave them a nearly three to one advantage that the Central powers could not withstand for long.

The Allies began offensive maneuvers, gaining some victories and setting the stage for the events of the fall. The last major engagement of the war was the Meuse-Argonne offensive in France, which began in September 1918. This Allied counterattack had been planned for many months. Hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops joined the British and French forces, employing tactics that included infantry attack and the use of poison gas, tanks, and aircraft. The Allied armies quickly advanced several miles. The German armies held on, but over the next month, the tide turned against them.

The situation for Germany was bleak. Food shortages were causing widespread panic and despair. Troops began deserting, and civil unrest spread throughout Germany and Austria-Hungary. German naval commanders wanted to achieve one last moment of glory by sailing the fleet out in late October to engage the British. The German sailors, however, knew there was no chance of victory and had no wish to go on a suicide mission. About one thousand of them mutinied and refused to set sail. In Kiel, home to a major German naval base, both sailors and workers refused to follow orders. The revolt soon spread to other cities.

In Berlin, the far-left Socialist Party's politicians seized on the burgeoning revolt as a way to force a major change in the government and restore order. They called for the abdication of the Kaiser and the establishment of a republic. Wilhelm II abdicated on November 9, 1918, leaving the country for the Netherlands where he lived until his death in 1941. The civilian political leaders of the more moderate Social Democrats now proclaimed a provisional government, making Germany a republic. The German military agreed to work under this new civilian government. Political leaders then took up the negotiations that had already begun for an **armistice**, or cease-fire agreement, with the Allies. They believed Germany could not win the war and was best served by ending it. This maneuver helped isolate the socialist radicals.

Compounding the problems the Central powers faced in the final months of the war was the entrance on both the battlefield and the home front of another foe—influenza. By the fall of 1918, a flu pandemic was raging throughout Europe and the United States. The first cases had been reported in the United States earlier that year, and the mass movement of troops across the Atlantic Ocean had undoubtedly facilitated the virus's spread. The flu proved quite deadly, especially among young adults. As the pandemic continued unabated, tens of millions of people around the world died before the virus burned itself out the next year.

LINK TO LEARNING

This website covers the influenza epidemic in the United States (https://openstax.org/l/77Influenza) in 1918 and 1919. You can search on any of the cities listed to see information about how the flu affected them. There is also an archive and image gallery through which you can search.

Austria came to terms on an armistice on November 3, 1918, and Hungary followed on November 13. For Germany, an armistice was set to go into effect on November 11 at 11:00 a.m., imposing a cease-fire on all units. The armies continued to fight up until the precise minute. Then, at the appointed time, the guns fell silent. Men climbed out of their trenches and came from behind their batteries. The decision by the Allies to request an armistice instead of a surrender was important. A surrender meant that one side had to accept defeat. This was not something Germany was prepared to do in 1918. The armistice, however, simply meant that a cease-fire would be imposed while formal negotiations occurred. Germany believed these negotiations

would allow it to preserve some of its gains in the war and extract itself from the fighting with a measure of honor and dignity.

Under the terms of the armistice, German troops had to withdraw from their occupation of parts of France and Belgium and return to Germany. (The fact that German troops were still in possession of foreign soil when the war ended was a point that later leaders such as Adolf Hitler exploited in the coming decade.) Germany also had to turn over its military equipment to the Allies, along with its navy. Most of the ships ended up at Scapa Flow, in the Orkney Islands off the coast of Scotland, where their German crews scuttled them the following year rather than turn them over to the Allies intact.

The casualties from the war were staggering. They included not only those who died or were wounded but also those who were taken prisoner or classified as missing. Russia had more than nine million casualties, France more than six million. Germany and Austria-Hungary topped seven million casualties each. In all, more than 8.5 million soldiers died in the war, and twenty-one million were wounded. The numbers of civilians who perished or were wounded were also in the millions.

LINK TO LEARNING

This website covers the casualties of the countries (https://openstax.org/l/77Casualties) involved in the war. You can see how many troops were mobilized for each country, how many were killed, how many were wounded, and how many were taken prisoner or listed as missing.

It was in this period, with countries still reeling from the aftermath of the carnage, that treaty negotiations began. They dragged on for six months following the armistice, and Germany was ultimately proven wrong in its expectations of what it could expect from the talks. There was still much damage and suffering from which to recover, but the war was over.

Key Terms

Allies the nations that united to oppose Germany and Austria-Hungary, originally, Russia, France, and Britain
armistice a cease-fire agreement
Balkan League an alliance created in 1912 by Greece, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Serbia against the Ottoman Empire
Bolsheviks a radical majority faction of Russia's Social Democratic Party led by Vladimir Lenin
Central powers a World War I coalition that included the Austro-Hungarian, German, and Ottoman Empires
Easter Rising the 1916 rebellion of Irish Nationalists against the British in Dublin
Espionage Act a 1917 act passed in the United States that made anti-war propaganda illegal
Schlieffen Plan a German war plan to sweep through Belgium and northern France before turning to Russia
Sedition Act a 1918 act passed in the United States that forbade forms of speech considered disloyal to the war effort
Sykes-Picot Agreement a secret agreement reached between France and Britain in 1916 to partition areas of the Middle East after the war
total war a war fought using all available resources, with no restrictions on weapons or their targets
Triple Alliance a treaty of alliance between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy
Triple Entente a treaty of alliance between France, Russia, and Britain
U-boats German submarines equipped with torpedoes that sank thousands of pounds of cargo over the course of World War I
War Industries Board (WIB) a U.S. federal agency created in 1917 to control the economic and industrial output of factories in times of war
Women's Land Army a British program to help women ensure enough foodstuffs were produced on farms while men served in the military
Zimmermann Telegram a 1917 telegram sent by Germany's foreign minister offering an alliance with Mexico in return for Mexico causing disturbances along its U.S. border

Section Summary

11.1 Alliances, Expansion, and Conflict

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Europe was controlled by a series of alliances that served to check any one power from becoming too large. These alliances had worked for a number of decades, and there had been little in the way of warfare on the continent. However, competition existed among the powers, especially in colonial development. In particular, Germany's desire to have more colonies and a correspondingly larger navy put it in direct competition with the British Empire. Meanwhile, innovations in shipbuilding meant that early twentieth-century naval ships were both faster and possessed of more firepower than at any time in history.

11.2 The Collapse of the Ottomans and the Coming of War

The Ottoman Empire was disintegrating due to military losses prior to the war and the push for nationalism within its borders. The same drive toward nationalism occurred in Austria-Hungary. People of different nationalities wanted to live in their own independent nations rather than being forced into an empire that did not serve their needs. When Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated by a Bosnian Serb in June 1914, it caused Austria-Hungary to undertake a war against Serbia, which it blamed for his death. This war drew in Serbia's ally Russia, and Austria-Hungary's ally Germany. Treaty and alliance obligations then brought more countries into the conflict.

In the first months of war, the invasion of Belgium painted Germany as the aggressor nation, and fierce fighting through Belgium and northern France forced civilians to evacuate. With the Battle of the Marne in September 1914, a system of trench warfare was established on the western front. On the eastern front, Russian troops were poorly equipped and poorly trained and therefore experienced heavy losses. The United States planned

to maintain its isolationist foreign policy and continued trading with both sides in the conflict, but Britain's naval blockade of German ports meant that U.S. trade with Germany was somewhat limited.

11.3 Total War

World War I introduced many new technologies seen in warfare today—tanks, machine guns, long-range artillery, and airplanes. Most troops found themselves under constant threat of bombardment, injury, and death, and the casualties and destruction of total war were enormous. The large empires fighting in the conflict brought troops from their colonies and dominions to fight. Fighting also took place outside Europe, across other continents such as Asia and Africa. Despite the diversity of the forces engaged in the war and the common cause espoused by each side, numerous examples occurred of racial prejudice and discrimination in the decision-making and activities of the war.

11.4 War on the Homefront

The war was so all-encompassing that governments had to find new ways to manage the supplies and support for the war, usually by taking tighter control of industrial output through new legislation. Women entered new types of work such as munitions manufacture to fill the gaps left by male workers now fighting in the military. Those on the home front found themselves confronting food shortages and sometimes civil unrest as people began questioning their government's competence to fight the war. Such questioning was often met with harsh penalties. Other political challenges also arose, such as the Irish Nationalists striking out against British rule in the 1916 Easter Rising.

11.5 The War Ends

In 1905, the Russian people rose in rebellion after the government's killing of peaceful protesters. Tsar Nicholas II allowed the creation of a legislature called the Duma, but he was still not ready to share power with the people. The tsarist government was unable to mount a successful war effort, however, and the tsar was forced to abdicate in 1917. The Bolshevik Revolution led by Vladimir Lenin the following year brought promises of peace, land, and bread to the Russian people.

In 1918, with Russia exiting the war, Germany threw its armies into action in the west, but food shortages and general unrest in the Central powers meant that early victories could not be sustained. The arrival of U.S. troops in mass numbers in Europe helped propel Allied victories by the second half of 1918 and pushed Germany to the brink of collapse. The abdication of the Kaiser and an armistice with a new civilian government in Germany brought an end to the fighting in November.

Assessments

Review Questions

1. Which two nations engaged in a naval arms race?
   a. Great Britain and the United States
   b. France and Germany
   c. Germany and Great Britain
   d. Germany and the United States

2. Where did Germany succeed in establishing most of its colonies?
   a. Africa and Latin America
   b. Africa and the Pacific
   c. Africa and Asia
   d. Asia and Latin America

3. On which commander did Germany rely for its naval-building program?
   a. Otto von Bismarck

b. Count von Bulöw
c. Alfred von Tirpitz
d. Napoléon III

4. Why did Germany have fewer colonies than France and Britain in the early twentieth century?
a. It had a moral hatred of colonies.
b. It had industrialized and unified later than the other countries.
c. It had a succession of monarchs, each lasting fewer than five years.
d. It had little business or industry in the early twentieth century and no need for colonies.

5. Germany was able to unify as an empire at the end of which event?
a. the Franco-Prussian War
b. the Russo-Japanese War
c. the Austro-Prussian War
d. the First Moroccan Crisis

6. The Triple Entente consisted of which three countries?
a. Germany, Italy, and Russia
b. Belgium, Britain, and France
c. Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy
d. Britain, France, and Russia

7. Upon what was the Schlieffen Plan predicated?
a. Germany's need to fight a two-front war
b. German troops being in short supply for the first three months of the war
c. an invasion of Germany by France at the outset of the war
d. the speedy mobilization of Russian troops

8. What helped cause the decline of the Ottoman Empire?
a. financial trouble and increasing debt
b. warfare on its eastern front
c. nationalism spurring revolts and loss of territory
d. factional politics within the Empire that caused turmoil among its top ministers

9. What did Germany think would happen when it approached Belgium en route to France?
a. that it would have to violently invade Belgium
b. that Britain would immediately enter the war
c. that Russia would immediately enter the war
d. that Germany would be allowed to pass through Belgium easily

10. Why did the United States initially stay neutral in the war?
a. The United States did not want to fight either France or Germany, its long-standing allies.
b. The United States had historically stayed out of European affairs.
c. The United States had agreed to follow Canada's lead and stay out of the war.
d. The United States hoped the war would be quick and it could take over European colonies in the Caribbean when the war ended.

11. Why did Germany sink the RMS *Lusitania*?
a. because it had a large number of British passengers
b. because it was transporting troops bound for Europe

c. because it carried ammunition bound for the British army
d. because it was heavily armed and sailing through the war zone to France

12. What new type of military technology was introduced in World War I by the British?
a. Big Bertha
b. machine gun
c. submarine
d. tank

13. Which battle was designed to annihilate as many French troops as possible?
a. the Battle of the Somme
b. the Battle of Verdun
c. the Battle of Vimy Ridge
d. the Battle of Tannenberg

14. Troops from which two countries sustained heavy casualties at Gallipoli?
a. France and Germany
b. Germany and Italy
c. Australia and New Zealand
d. Austria-Hungary and Canada

15. What group suffered genocide at the hands of the Ottoman Turks?
a. the Kurds
b. the Shiite Muslims
c. the Armenians
d. the Croatians

16. Who was deported from the United States to Lithuania because of opposition to the draft?
a. Käthe Kollwitz
b. Wilfred Owen
c. Emma Goldman
d. Eugene V. Debs

17. What was the "shell crisis" in Britain?
a. the public's outrage over the closure of munitions factories
b. the political crisis over whether enough shells were being produced for the war effort
c. the problem of artillery shells that exploded during loading, causing the deaths of thousands of troops on the western front
d. the problems caused by Russia's lack of military supplies for its armies

18. What was extended to women in several countries in the wake of the war as a reward for their war work?
a. the right to attend college
b. the right to become homeowners
c. the right to vote
d. the right to serve in combat

19. Who began the Easter Rising?
a. Irish Unionists
b. Irish Nationalists
c. British troops

d. Catholic clergy

20. How did the tsarist government react to the events of Bloody Sunday?
a. The tsar began holding regular meetings with the workers in St. Petersburg.
b. The tsar began an oppressive crackdown and imposed martial law on the city.
c. The tsar agreed to the creation of a legislature, the Duma, that included elected politicians.
d. The tsar declared war against Germany for the shootings of Russian people.

21. How did Lenin seize power in Russia?
a. the 1905 Revolution
b. the October Revolution
c. the assassination of the leader of the provisional government
d. a takeover of the Duma

22. What territory did Germany gain from the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk?
a. Poland and the Baltic states
b. Turkey
c. Sweden
d. Austria and Hungary

23. What disease was spreading around the world at the end of the war?
a. smallpox
b. influenza
c. food poisoning
d. bubonic plague

Check Your Understanding Questions

1. Why did the United States and Britain have much smaller armies than Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, and Russia?

2. Why did Germany come to believe it was encircled by hostile nations and needed to be ready to fight them?

3. What happened after the assassination of Franz Ferdinand?

4. In what ways did U.S. trade favor the Allies in the early days of the war, despite its intended neutrality?

5. What new types of weapons were available during World War I, and how did they affect the combat?

6. How were colonial troops used in the war?

7. What caused food shortages in Germany and Austria-Hungary during the war?

8. What new powers did the U.S. government assume during World War I?

9. How had Russia tried to cope with revolutionary activity in the early twentieth century?

10. What territory did Russia hand over to the Central powers under the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918? Why did Russia feel it was worth it to do this?

Application and Reflection Questions

1. How did the struggle for colonies around the world divide the nations of Europe?

2. What factors led to the development of two major blocs of alliances in Europe?

3. Did the alliances that developed across Europe encourage the outbreak of war? Why or why not?

4. Did the threat of war lead to the buildup of army and navy forces in Europe, or did the buildup of these forces encourage war to break out? Explain your answer.
5. Why did the Ottoman Empire join the Central powers? What factors played a role in its decision to ally with Austria-Hungary, an empire to which it had lost land?
6. What role did nationalism play in the buildup to World War I?
7. Which country do you think was at fault for starting World War I? What evidence points to your choice?
8. How did the countries that became the Allied powers and the Central powers react to the prospect of war in late July and early August of 1914? Trace each major combatant's reaction.
9. Why might World War I be considered the first "modern" war?
10. How did the colonial attitudes of European powers affect the execution and outcomes of World War I?
11. In what ways were the war roles women played quite traditional? In what ways did women's participation in the war change expectations about their roles in society?
12. Is it acceptable for a government to suspend protections for civil liberties during wartime, as the United States did in World War I? Why or why not?
13. Do you think the Allies should have agreed to an armistice, or should they have insisted upon a German surrender? Why? If Germany had been asked to surrender, is it likely it would have? Why or why not?
14. How might the outcome in Russia have been different if the provisional government had agreed to peace with the Central powers and focused on solving Russia's problems? Would this have undermined support for Lenin and the Bolsheviks?

The Interwar Period

12





FIGURE 12.1 Recovery from War. (left) Early British screen stars pose for a publicity photo at the beach to promote the new wireless radio in 1923. (right) Soviet peasants harvest grain in 1933 during the forced collectivization in their district. (credit left: modification of work "Radio beach party 1923" by World Radio History/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit right: modification of work "Forced collectivization USSR" by U. Druzhelubov, Proletarskoe Foto (Proletarian Photo)/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

CHAPTER OUTLINE

12.1 Recovering from World War I
12.2 The Formation of the Soviet Union
12.3 The Great Depression
12.4 Old Empires and New Colonies
12.5 Resistance, Civil Rights, and Democracy

INTRODUCTION The interwar years of the 1920s and 1930s saw a world recovering from the upheaval of World War I. People reacted differently to the horrors of the conflict, but many chose to embrace the present, and the 1920s were filled with new forms of cultural expression and new opportunities (Figure 12.1). In Europe the economy still lagged, but in other parts of the world economic growth soared. By the 1930s, however, economic instability had become common as the Great Depression plunged nations into poverty and unemployment. Governments dealt with the downturn in a variety of ways, but solutions in several countries included more authoritarian policies.

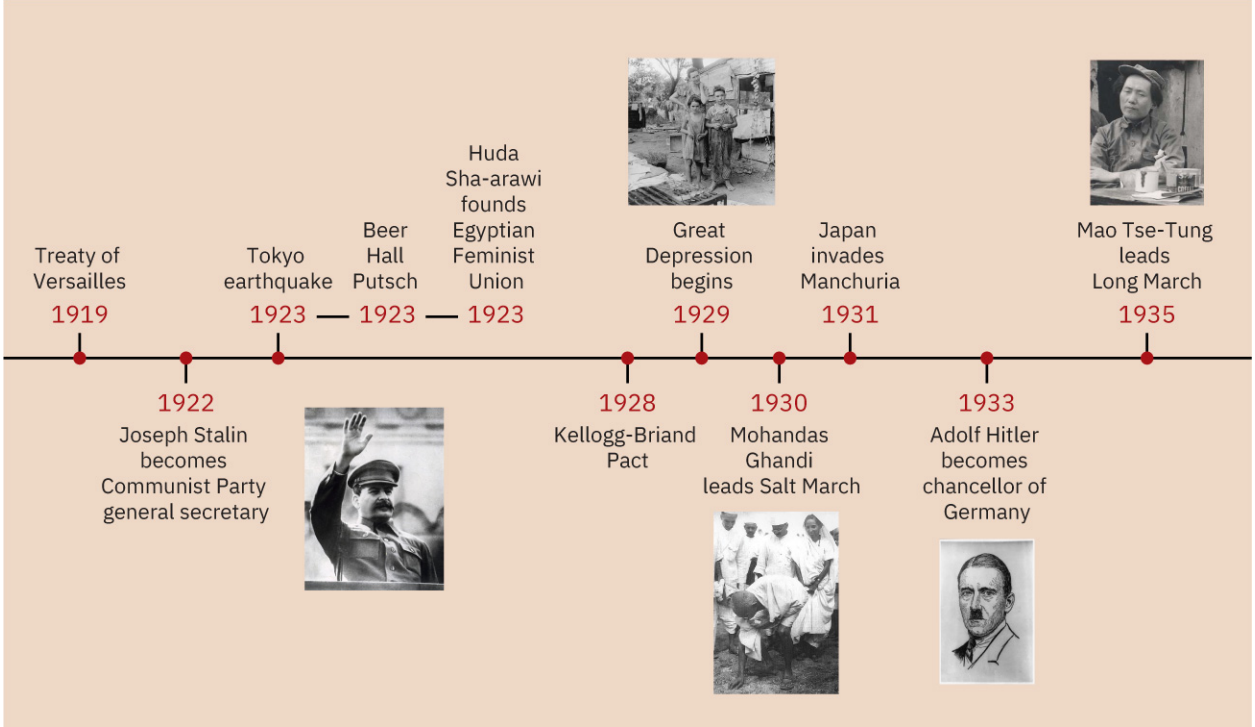


FIGURE 12.2 Timeline: The Interwar Period. (credit "1922": modification of work "Stalin in July 1941" by Nationaal Archief/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1929": modification of work "Poor mother and children, Oklahoma, 1936 by Dorothea Lange" by Library of Congress/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1930": modification of work "Salt March" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1933": modification of work "Adolf Hitler, head-and-shoulders portrait, facing slightly left (https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/89714102/)" by George Grantham Bain Collection/Library of Congress; credit "1935": modification of work "Mao Zedong in Yan'an" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

12.1 Recovering from World War I

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe World War I's immediate aftermath
- List the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles
- Describe how economic issues in Germany helped lead to the rise of the National Socialists
- Analyze World War I's effects on the economies of Europe, the United States, East Asia, and Latin America
- Describe international efforts to prevent future global wars

Two major and competing forces took shape following World War I. One was disillusionment as the sheer horror of the war was finally understood. The other was the tantalizing idea that society had learned from the war and could build a better tomorrow, freed from the senselessness of war, through new institutions such as the League of Nations. Or, in the case of Russia, a new society would be based on more equitable principles. The reality turned out to be far from the ideal.

The Aftermath

As World War I ended in 1918, the world moved to cope with the destruction it had wrought. Military casualties stood between nine and ten million, civilian deaths at approximately ten million, and the number of wounded above twenty-one million. Veterans had both physical and emotional wounds; some needed physical therapy, prosthetics, or vocational training for their postwar lives. The civilian toll meant families had lost not only

sons, brothers, husbands, and fathers but daughters, sisters, wives, and mothers. The war also brought into question the notions of superiority that had permeated Western civilization. People wondered whether the West was declining and could no longer consider itself a moral leader in the world.

In Belgium and eastern France, the physical destruction was immense. Thousands of acres, often of prime farmland, were barren after years of artillery bombardment. Towns such as Ypres in Belgium had been shelled so heavily that many buildings had collapsed (Figure 12.3). People had to filter back to the farmlands and cities they had fled and begin to rebuild their lives. Some towns, such as Thiepval, France, had been so thoroughly destroyed that they were never rebuilt.



FIGURE 12.3 Damage of War. The city of Ypres, Belgium, suffered great damage in World War I, as this 1916 photo of its ruined square shows. (credit: "Destruction on the Western Front, 1914-1918" by Ministry of Information First World War Official Collection/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In the defeated countries of Germany and Austria-Hungary, economies were in free fall. Millions of men returned home to find stubborn economic instability and labor markets in transition, with factories ill-equipped to return to peacetime production. For men from Europe's colonies, it took even longer to return home because European troops were demobilized first. Even the victorious nations faced economic problems. Britain and France had borrowed billions to finance the war and had sizable debts to repay, many to the United States. Industries across the world had to reconvert their machinery and processes to begin producing consumer items again, causing continued unemployment.

The world was still dealing with the flu pandemic of 1918–1920, closing schools and theaters and canceling public activities. People were encouraged to wear masks and limit their movement until the crisis had passed. The flu eventually infected about one-third of the world's population, killing tens of millions, especially younger people. By early 1920, it had stopped spreading, however, and people were able to return to their pre-pandemic lives.

Political change was in the winds. The takeover of Russia in 1917 by a small but determined Bolshevik force

sent shockwaves through many nations as they began to fear similar uprisings within their own borders. In the United States, a "Red Scare" was unfolding in 1919. Fear of immigrants who might be communists or socialists was expressed in the growth of nativism—the idea that the nation should be reserved for native-born people of northern European ancestry. A number of mail bombs sent to politicians, businessmen, and newspaper editors heightened public fears of anarchy, and Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer began authorizing what were later called the Palmer Raids, targeting newspaper presses, immigrant groups, and Russian worker unions, often without proper search warrants. Supposed "radical aliens" were arrested; some were held for months without being charged, and some were deported to Russia. The Palmer Raids demonstrated the power of the government to ignore individual rights. The American Civil Liberties Union was formed in 1920 to provide legal assistance to those targeted by the raids. As the months passed with no clear threat of a communist takeover, the public increasingly viewed Palmer's actions with suspicion, and his political career ended.

The Treaty of Versailles

In January 1919, the leaders of the major Allied powers (except Russia) met outside Paris at Versailles to negotiate the treaty formally ending the war (Figure 12.4). Committees were assigned to resolve the many issues concerning not only Europe but also the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. The conference lasted about a year. In its finished form, the **Treaty of Versailles** was actually a series of treaties, a "massive document that ran to 436 pages containing 433 articles organized into fifteen parts."



FIGURE 12.4 Treaty of Versailles. This large 1919 painting by John Christen Johansen is called *Signing of the Treaty of Versailles, 1919.* U.S. president Woodrow Wilson is shown seated near the center of the group, holding some papers in his hand. (credit: "Signing of the Treaty of Versailles, 1919" by National Portrait Gallery/Smithsonian Institution; transfer from the Smithsonian American Art Museum; gift of an anonymous donor, 1926, CC0)

President Woodrow Wilson arrived in Paris in 1919 to grand parades and a hero's welcome. In January 1918, he had already published a plan he hoped would be the basis of the treaty—the Fourteen Points—embodying his wish to prevent future war by solving issues he believed had led to the recent conflict. Among these points were the rights of neutral nations, freedom of the seas, and the need to break up the empires that had caused the war and create new sovereign states in Europe. Wilson's last point proposed a **League of Nations** where member nations could come together for mutual security and work out problems without resorting to war.

Wilson also strongly advocated self-determination, the idea that each ethnic group should have its own government. The treaty ushered in a major redrawing of Europe, and new countries flooded onto the map. Their borders were drawn by diplomats in Paris, however, and did not always reflect where people of different nationalities lived. Nor could they. In an already diverse empire such as Austria-Hungary, people of different backgrounds lived side by side, so it was no easy feat to draw a border. In some cases, the treaty grouped people in ways that may not have made sense to them. For example, the new country of Czechoslovakia was predominantly composed of Czechs and Slovaks, who did not see themselves as having similar nationalities.

Poland resurfaced after having been partitioned out of existence in the late 1700s. A new Polish nation was carved from territory on the German Empire's eastern side and land Russia had relinquished under the 1918 Treaty of Brest-Litovsk ending its involvement in the war. The German-speaking country of Austria became an independent nation, as did Hungary. The area of the Balkans, the site of so much uncertainty and nationalism prior to the war, received a particularly unfavorable decision regarding self-determination. The Serbs, Croats, Bosnians, Montenegrins, and other Slavic groups there viewed themselves as separate nationalities, yet all were assembled in a single country, to be called Yugoslavia or "land of the Southern Slavs." Yugoslavia was simply a diplomatic creation, and it did not survive the century (Figure 12.5).



(a) Pre-World War I Europe



(b) Post-World War I Europe

FIGURE 12.5 Redrawing Europe. These maps show Europe (a) before and (b) after World War I. Notice the postwar proliferation of new countries created by the Treaty of Versailles. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

Other provisions of the treaty were designed to weaken Germany. Great Britain and France were intent on punishing Germany for backing Austria-Hungary in 1914 and enlarging the conflict by invading Belgium and France. They did not want Germany to simply be blamed for the war; they wanted Germany to literally pay for it, so they began a painstaking financial accounting. Every destroyed house or building was assigned a monetary value. Every lost military and civilian life was assessed an amount based on what that person's

future earnings might have been. These **reparations** totaled over $30 billion in 1919 dollars. (For context, a loaf of bread cost about 9 cents at the time.) Wilson hoped to persuade the other Allied leaders to abandon this course but was unable to, and the treaty reflected their goal of revenge.

LINK TO LEARNING

The full text of the Treaty of Versailles (https://openstax.org/l/77Versailles) is available through the Library of Congress.

Take a few minutes and read through some of the first two parts. The first is about the League of Nations, and the second is about the borders of Germany.

One of the clearest punishments the treaty inflicted on Germany was restrictions on its military capacity. The German Army was limited to 100,000 troops, the draft was ended, and the number of ships, planes, tanks, and submarines was similarly curtailed. The Allied powers hoped that limiting the might of the German Army would limit its aggressiveness. The method of enforcing these limits was not resolved in Paris, however, and it arose as a real issue in the 1930s.

Germany was also shrunk, losing 13 percent of the territory it had held in Europe before the war. The Saar region was to be administered by the League of Nations. The Rhineland in the west (the Rhine River Valley) became a demilitarized zone. Germany also lost western territory to both France (Alsace-Lorraine, previously seized by Germany) and Belgium. In the east, German lands and the port of Danzig (now GdaÅ„sk) were given to Poland. Other lands went to Lithuania and the new country of Czechoslovakia. As a result, Germany lost about one-tenth of its population, approximately 6.5 million people. It also had to give up its colonies in Asia and Africa.

One provision of the treaty related directly to Japan and China. Japan had occupied China's Shandong Province, a former German concession, including the port of Qingdao (Tsingtao), and continued to hold it after the war. Without consulting the millions of Chinese people living there at the time, the treaty makers allowed Japan to retain this territory, which it did until 1922.

The racism of the era was apparent in what was *not* included in the treaty. Japan had requested a clause affirming the equality of all nations regardless of race. This proviso would have set the stage for more open migration and fairer treatment of immigrants (such as Japanese immigrants to the United States). Several powers supported its inclusion, but Australia (which allowed no non-White immigration) and then the United States stated their opposition. Wilson claimed a unanimous vote was necessary to include it, though this was not true for any other clause. In the end, the racial equality clause was absent from the final version of the treaty. As another example, when France and Britain tallied the destruction of the war, they did not include African lives lost in the fighting in Africa. The cost of the devastation there was borne solely by Africans.

It was clear that a significant period of adjustment must follow the treaty's signing as the peoples of the new regions and their fledgling governments established themselves. There was also disappointment. For instance, in 1915, Italy had been promised territory in Dalmatia in return for joining the Allied cause but was forced to relinquish it due to Wilson's opposition. This prompted anger in Italy and some anti-American rallies. France was annoyed that it had received only part of Germany's African colonies of Cameroon and Togo while the rest went to Britain. Japan, besides being angered at the rejection of the racial equality clause, was disappointed that it had not been given all of Germany's colonial holdings in Asia and the Pacific. It received only some, while others went to New Zealand and Australia. Internal ethnic issues had not been fully solved by the treaty (such as in the creation of Czechoslovakia) and could easily resurface given the chance.

The "war guilt" clause of the treaty, blaming Germany for the war, caused many problems for that country over the next decades. Its diplomats felt dishonored by being forced to agree to it, and the harsh monetary reparations left Germany unstable for several years. The government's decision to print more money to pay

these debts caused hyperinflation and made its politicians look incompetent. It was easy for rumors of conspiracy to take hold, particularly among war veterans. The "stab-in-the-back" theory, for example, claimed that German democratic politicians had betrayed the military with the 1918 cease-fire agreement. (In truth, the German military had reached its breaking point in 1918 and was not in a position to continue the war, especially given the continuous arrival of fresh U.S. troops.)

The U.S. Senate's biggest worry about the Treaty of Versailles was that if the United States joined the League of Nations, its troops could be sent anywhere in the world, drawing the nation into foreign disputes that the Senate, then dominated by the Republican Party, wanted to avoid. Senators feared the treaty would thus cost them their constitutional power to declare war. They also objected to Britain and France's desire to control the League. For these reasons, the United States did not approve the treaty and did not join the League of Nations. The organization's ability to mediate and resolve international disputes was weakened by the lack of U.S. participation.

The treaty was more popular in other Allied nations. Britain generally felt it was even-handed and that the punishment of Germany was just. The British people looked forward to joining the League. The French also agreed with the penalties heaped upon Germany, though some felt they should have gone even further because France had suffered more than Britain had. China was frustrated that Japan was allowed to retain Shandong under the treaty, but its protests fell on deaf ears. Anger at China's treatment helped lead to the May Fourth Movement, which began in Beijing in 1919 as a protest by students. It grew to include labor strikes, calls for a boycott of Japanese-made products, and the removal of Japanese-leaning government officials.

Postwar Recession and Prosperity

World War I devastated the world's economies. Four long years of conflict and losses had disrupted the labor force across Europe, not to mention governments' budgetary predictions. The reparations owed by Germany were the means by which Britain and France planned to deal with their own debt, but they also created an economic house of cards that could easily tumble down. Africa, Asia, and Latin America also felt the economic effects of the war. Before the war, African nations had traded extensively with Europe, especially Germany, which had accounted for the majority of European trade with sub-Saharan Africa. When the war began, the difficulty of trading with the combatant nations meant that many European goods became more expensive, and many Africans could no longer afford them.

Following the war, Britain and France looked to their African colonies and to Germany's former colonial possessions for their financial salvation. Both France and Britain focused on agricultural development. Often this meant increasing opportunities for White settlers to reap profit for both themselves and the home country while limiting opportunities for Black Africans. In the portion of Cameroon given to France to administer after the war, French officials encouraged growing coffee for export. But they also allotted licenses to grow the crop primarily to Europeans and restricted the number of acres that Black Africans could cultivate. Lack of opportunity for Black people meant that White coffee growers had a ready supply of agricultural laborers who were forced to accept low wages. Similarly, in British Tanganyika (present-day Tanzania), the right to cut and market timber was reserved for Europeans. Britain and France also invested heavily in railroad building in Africa following the war, and Britain poured funds into mining operations in Nigeria, the Gold Coast (Ghana), and South Africa.

East Asian countries were also affected by the war, and the economies of several, such as China and Japan, underwent a growth period following its end. Though China was not yet heavily industrialized, it benefited from the decrease in global competition caused by Europe's economic issues.

In the Taisho period in the 1920s, the Japanese economy was buffeted by booms and recessions, the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923, inflation, and a serious banking crisis in 1927. Japan had become heavily dependent on trade with the United States, and its urban economy was now undermined by the protectionism practiced by both U.S. and European markets in the form of tariffs on foreign imports. Japan's economy

continued growing in the 1920s, however, as the country increased military production and began making investments in China. Inflation did occur, but the government adopted austerity policies to combat it. Japan was able to increase its exports after the war even more than China did, and trade with the United States, in particular, increased substantially.

Latin American countries saw little real economic change after the war. Many had few industries and still depended on agricultural exports for economic growth. Some faced more competition for these commodities as other regions around the world began to export increasing amounts of items such as rubber. One Latin American commodity that did see growth, particularly in Venezuela, was oil, which was becoming increasingly important in global markets. The heavily industrialized countries of South America, such as Argentina, Brazil, and Peru, provided stable but minor economic growth. They geared their manufacturing to the export market, but tariffs rates and internal changes in monetary policy during the 1920s held them back.

The United States did not suffer the physical devastation of war that the other Allies did. It emerged from the conflict in a position of economic power, a creditor nation to be repaid for its wartime loans to Britain and France. Thus, the 1920s were a decade of prosperity for the country, in which technological innovations added to the sense of affluence. Major retailers were ready to sell consumers new items like vacuum cleaners, electric ovens, and refrigerators through credit lines they paid off over time. Domestic life became significantly easier, wages increased, and unemployment was low. For U.S. citizens, the future seemed bright.

Germany and Reparations

John Maynard Keynes, the creator of Keynesian economics, was a British economist at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. He was so unsettled by the potential financial repercussions of the treaty's terms that he wrote a book contending the large reparations would mean economic ruin for Germany, endangering the entire European economy. His predictions were soon borne out.

Germany faced numerous problems as the 1920s began. It was not only blamed for the war, but its foreign financial assets had also been seized under the treaty, further compromising its economic power, and it had been physically diminished when many rich industrial areas were cut away from its territory. Thus, one of the immediate problems facing the new democratic Weimar Republic government was finding a way to pay the reparations.

The first payment came due in 1921, but Germany was unable to fund the full amount, and the unresolved issue about how to enforce the treaty terms resurfaced. The next year, 1922, Germany defaulted on its payments to France and Britain. In response, French and Belgian troops occupied the Ruhr Valley, the center of German iron, coal, and steel production, as a means to force repayment. The French needed the valley's resources (especially coal). German residents of the valley resisted the occupation, and many were killed in the resulting conflict.

To reach an immediate solution, Germany began simply printing more money. But this created an inflationary cycle, and the economy soon proved incapable of keeping up with the hyperinflation that resulted. The new money was literally not worth the paper it was printed on (Figure 12.6). The government had to print ever-larger denominations of bills, and people took wheelbarrows of cash to the store to buy a loaf of bread. Holding a job seemed ludicrous when pay could not keep up with a rate of inflation that increased by the day. The entire German middle class saw their savings disappear, and with their money went their support of the government.



FIGURE 12.6 Hyperinflation. In the 1920s, hyperinflation in Germany had made the national currency virtually worthless. In this photograph from 1923, Germany children play with stacks of banknotes. (credit: "Hyperinflation in Germany in 1923" by Mount Holyoke College/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In 1924, the United States intervened by arranging the Dawes Plan, by which Germany's installment payments were lowered but set to increase in the future as its economy rebounded. Foreign banks, many in the United States, also loaned Germany money to stabilize its inflationary economy. This enabled Germany to make its payments, but it also meant taking on more debt. In essence, U.S. banks were loaning money to Germany that it was using to pay Britain and France, which in turn used that money to pay back their own debts to the United States.

Reparations continued to present an extreme economic hardship for Germany. In 1929, the United States announced a new proposal. The Young Plan stretched German reparations across a fifty-nine–year payment schedule, slightly lowered the total to $29 billion, and arranged hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of additional loans. Germany continued to make payments until 1932, when the worldwide Great Depression made it untenable to continue. Later agreements canceled more of the remaining debt, and the last payment was finally made in 2010. In all, Germany paid only about one-eighth of the total.

Poor decisions by Germany's Weimar Republic contributed to growing public frustration with the new democratic government. Many political groups attempted to use the country's economic problems to catapult themselves to political power. Among these was the National Socialists or Nazi Party, whose members favored a more authoritarian government. One man who joined the group in the early 1920s was Adolf Hitler (Figure 12.7).



FIGURE 12.7 Adolf Hitler. This portrait drawing of Hitler was made in 1923, when he was about thirty-four years old. (credit: "Adolf Hitler, head-and-shoulders portrait, facing slightly left (https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/89714102/)" by George Grantham Bain Collection/Library of Congress)

Hitler was a veteran of the war who subscribed to the unfounded stab-in-the-back theory and had developed an abiding hatred of the Treaty of Versailles. He became a persuasive orator in the 1920s and rose up the ranks of the Nazis as he recruited more people to the group. In 1923, he decided to launch a takeover of the state government in Munich. The planned **Beer Hall Putsch** (so named because the targeted politicians were to be kidnapped at a beer hall) failed, and Hitler and many supporters were arrested. Over the next year in jail, Hitler wrote the book *Mein Kampf* ("My Struggle"), in which he outlined his plan for the Nazis to achieve political power and their goals for the resurgence of Germany. These goals included the uniting of German-speaking peoples under one government and an expansion eastward in search of *Lebensraum* or "living space." His words found a sympathetic audience in the 1920s.

Disarmament and the Commitment to Peace

Still reeling from World War I in the 1920s, the governments of the major powers generally supported disarmament and limited military buildup. There was great hope that the next decades would be peaceful, and many agreements reached in the 1920s reflected this commitment to goodwill among nations. In 1921, the Washington Naval Conference opened to address the issue of the naval arms race that had taken place before and during World War I. U.S. secretary of state Charles Evans Hughes proposed that the three major naval powers—Britain, the United States, and Japan—each scuttle a number of ships and restrict future construction. The Five-Power Treaty that emerged limited the construction of warships and the size of aircraft carriers, then a new style of vessel in the world's navies. It established ratios for warships whereby Britain and the United States could have the same number, and for every five ships they had, Japan could have three and France and Italy 1.75 each. Britain and the United States were allowed more ships because they maintained fleets in both the Atlantic and the Pacific to protect their colonies.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

The Western View of Japan

Japan often argued that it was not treated fairly by Western powers at either the Treaty of Versailles negotiations or the Washington Naval Conference in the 1920s. One of Japan's leading politicians, Okuma Shigenobu, wrote about how the West perceived the Japanese in *Illusions of the White Race*. As you read his words, look for the evidence he presents for his case.

> The white are obsessed with the mistaken theory that they are superior to all other races. This is the most serious obstacle in the way of the realization of racial equality. Now the Japanese, the Chinese, the Mongolian, the Turks, the Indians, the Afghans, the Persians, the Arabs, the Malayans, the American aborigines, and the African peoples are all non-white. They are all held in contempt by the whites. And it is the common belief among the whites that the darker the skin, the more inferior is the race. It is based neither upon science, nor upon any positive experience. It is mere superstition backed by historical prejudices.
>
> The whites are of the conviction that they are too superior a people to be governed by their non-white fellows. Therefore, they demand the privilege of extraterritoriality in the countries of the Asiatic races. They establish their own courts and trample under foot the laws and courts of Asiatic countries. . . . Of all the non-white countries, Japan had taken the lead in adopting the best parts of European civilization—including its military side. She codified her laws, and reformed her police and judicial systems, her military and naval forces, thus placing herself almost on an equal footing with that of the European countries. Therefore, the Europeans were compelled to withdraw their extraterritorial rights from Japan. . . . Some whites regard the development of Japan as an unjustifiable encroachment upon their own rights. They either instigate a non-white race against Japan or plan to organize a league of the white nations to perpetuate a white supremacy in the world. Be it remembered, however, that no unjust and unreasonable agitation against this country will ever succeed, as God never sides with an unjust cause.
>
> —Okuma Shigenobu, *Illusions of the White Race*

- What points does Okuma Shigenobu make about Western views?
- What evidence does he use to back his assertions?

By the late 1920s, optimism was high that the pain of war might be a thing of the past. It was in this spirit that the **Kellogg-Briand Pact** was written. The pact was a negotiation between U.S. secretary of state Frank Kellogg and Aristide Briand, the French foreign minister, renouncing war as an instrument of national policy. Fifteen nations signed it in 1928, and another forty-seven followed over the next years. However, there was no way to enforce it, and no repercussions for signatories that failed to live up to its ideals. Thus, it did little to curb the aggressive military policies of many nations during the following decade.

The same could be said of the League of Nations. Based on high ideals, the League could issue statements, restrictions, or condemnations, but it could not compel other countries to limit their activities. Assessing trade restrictions on a country might have some (minor) impact, but the League had no military arm that could physically intervene in a member country's actions. Thus, as the 1930s began, it was regularly challenged by aggressive acts across the globe that it was powerless to influence. Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931. Italy invaded Libya in 1931 and Ethiopia in 1935. The League did protest, especially over the Ethiopian invasion, but it could do little more than impose economic sanctions against Italy, and even these were not upheld by all countries. It was clear the League had no real power and no country need fear it.

12.2 The Formation of the Soviet Union

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe the Soviet Union's early years and the structure of its government
- Analyze the effects of Stalin's first Five-Year Plan on the Soviet economy
- Describe life in the Soviet Union under Stalin

Russia underwent massive political upheaval during the Bolshevik takeover in 1917. A bloody civil war was fought for the next three years before the Bolsheviks and their leader Vladimir Lenin were victorious. Russia was then reorganized as the Soviet Union in the early 1920s. Lenin's early death created an opening exploited by Joseph Stalin, an autocrat who reshaped the "worker's paradise" of the Soviet Union to bring it fully under his authoritarian control.

The Birth of the Soviet Union and the Rise of Stalin

After the Bolshevik seizure of the government and Russia's hasty departure from World War I, Lenin moved to consolidate power in Russia. Civil war raged from 1918 to 1921 between the Red Army of the Bolsheviks and the White Army representing all the groups that opposed them, including the Russian upper classes, forces loyal to the monarchy, and Lenin's enemies within the Russian Social Democrats, such as the Menshevik faction. Members of the White Army disagreed on whether they sought an anti-Bolshevik communist government or the return of a tsarist government. The Red Army, though smaller, had a focused goal and was better organized.

British, French, Japanese, and U.S. troops all invaded Russia in support of the White Army and stayed until 1920, but they were unable to stop the Bolsheviks from seizing control. The civil war ended in 1921 with the Bolsheviks in control. Approximately 1.5 million soldiers had died in the fighting, but the civilian death toll was substantially higher—about eight million.

During the civil war, Lenin and the Bolshevik leadership also sought to take over lands outside Russia that had been controlled by the now-deposed tsar. Lenin approached these regions with the goal of creating a federal state of republics governed by a *soviet*, an elected committee of workers' representatives. Each republic in this new "Soviet Union" would represent an ethnicity and be nominally independent but ultimately under the central government's control. Many of these areas fiercely resisted incorporation by the Bolsheviks.

In 1919, for example, the Red Army invaded Ukraine and faced strong resistance, but by 1920, the Bolsheviks had taken control. Belarus was also established as a Soviet republic fairly easily. Both Ukraine and Belarus had some autonomy but had to rely on Lenin's government to direct foreign policy. Other areas, like the Caucasus, proved more contentious. Azerbaijan and Armenia were incorporated by the Bolsheviks in 1920. The government in Georgia was heavily Menshevik and resisted Bolshevik rule, but in 1921 the Red Army took control of this region as well. In 1922, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was established. It incorporated the country of Russia and the regions Russia had absorbed as soviet republics under a new centralized national government quite different from what the revolutionaries had envisioned only a few years before (Figure 12.8).



FIGURE 12.8 The USSR. This map shows the region of the former Soviet Union with the post–Soviet Union states detailed. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

The Bolsheviks had used the civil war to strengthen their control over the economy. This included wielding oversight of industrialization and taking steps toward the elimination of private property. The national government decided what could be produced and rationed goods throughout the country. Such control was held up as necessary to meet government and military needs, but the focus on top-down administration vied with the revolution's slogans about workers having more power under communism.

World War I and the civil war had created massive dislocations in the Russian economy. Industrial production had dropped significantly below prewar levels, as had agricultural production and particularly grain output. People were out of work, and prices had risen. The economy was essentially bankrupt. To combat these problems, Lenin abandoned the earlier economic approach, called war communism, and introduced the **New Economic Policy (NEP)** in 1921. The NEP kept the government in overall control of the economy, but it introduced some aspects of capitalism, such as giving peasants the ability to sell their produce on the market and allowing small businesses to operate through private not state ownership. This was not the pure socialist state Lenin had envisioned. Instead, it was an emergency response to significant hardships and growing discontent among the Russian people.

By the end of the civil war, Russia's Communist Party bureaucracy had grown quite large and intricate. There were multiple layers of leaders, from the local through the regional and national levels. One who began to exploit his understanding and control of this bureaucracy was Joseph Stalin (Figure 12.9). Stalin had grown up in poverty in the Russian Empire's state of Georgia. He adopted the surname Stalin in adulthood because it meant "man of steel," and he became a Bolshevik in the early 1900s. In 1922, Stalin became the Communist Party's general secretary. This was not a high-level position, but Stalin realized he could use it to consolidate power behind the scenes. He controlled all appointments within the party and could ensure that only those who agreed with him achieved these positions.



FIGURE 12.9 Joseph Stalin. This 1941 photo shows Stalin in a style of military tunic that other Soviet officials adopted and that later came to be named after him. (credit: "Stalin in July 1941" by Nationaal Archief/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Lenin's death in 1924 opened a power vacuum and a debate over the future of policy in the Soviet Union. There were two very different paths the country could follow. Favoring one path were leaders such as Leon Trotsky, the man responsible for making the Red Army a dependable fighting force during the civil war (Figure 12.10). Trotsky hoped to both increase industrialization and end the more capitalistic policies of the NEP. In particular, Trotsky hoped the Soviet Union could serve as an example to spur more revolutionary movements around the world. On the other side were those who wanted to continue the NEP and pursue a slower, less radical path to industrialization. Stalin, then in his forties, strove to keep out of these specific debates. He and Trotsky held opposing views on communist ideology and the future of the Soviet Union, but Stalin's control over the Communist bureaucracy gave him leverage.



FIGURE 12.10 Leon Trotsky. This photo shows Trotsky in the 1930s, when he was in exile from Russia. (credit: "Leon Trotsky, 1930s" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In 1927, Stalin expelled Trotsky from the Communist Party. In 1929, Trotsky was forced into exile. He was assassinated by a Soviet agent in Mexico in 1940. By the end of the 1920s, although the new Soviet government did seek to fulfill some of the promises Bolshevism had held out, the collective approach of the early years of the decade had devolved to one-man rule.

The First Five-Year Plan

Stalin's domestic agenda was codified in the form of **Five-Year Plans** outlining economic achievements the Soviet Union was to have made by each plan's conclusion. The timeline was ambitious, if not impossible. Yet officials tried to achieve the goals; they risked losing their jobs or even their lives for not meeting production quotas.

The first Five-Year Plan was designed to rapidly industrialize the Soviet Union. Stalin abandoned his earlier support of slow growth in light of the need to produce more farm equipment for the peasants and the desire to undercut those who had been advocating for more industrialization. Cities devoted to specific industries were developed and funded. Iron and steel production was to be raised dramatically under the plan, and new electrical power stations were to be built. Many of these goals were achieved, and overall industrial capacity increased by approximately 50 percent.

Stalin's intention to exert state control over all aspects of life in the Soviet Union foundered when it came to agriculture. The **collectivization** of agriculture consisted of the shift from individual farms to large state-run farms, and when Communist Party officials moved to quickly meet production quotas that were increased after the first Five-Year Plan was implemented, they did so with little regard for the realities of agricultural production. The peasants heavily resisted the intrusion of government officials into their workdays. As the plan began to be implemented, they even resorted to violent means. The revolution had promised them better lives, but these would not be possible under the terms of the plan.

Across the country's agricultural communities were a number of peasants labeled *kulaks* by the government. *Kulaks* had prospered under the more liberal policies of the NEP. In the early 1920s, Soviet policy had specifically defined a *kulak* as someone who hired seasonal farm laborers for an individual farm of twenty-five to forty acres. Very few farmers fell into this category, but they became scapegoats for Stalin. He blamed them for the difficulties in implementing collectivization and cast them as enemies of the state, which made them subject to arrest and even execution. Even their family members were prevented from holding certain jobs or pursuing university educations.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Collectivization in the Soviet Union

The following resolution was adopted during a Soviet Politburo meeting and details plans for punishing villages and *kulaks* who opposed collectivization. Many places opposed this policy and were seen as disloyal by government officials. As you read, note what government officials would be looking for and what types of punishments they planned to mete out.

> In view of the shameful collapse of grain collection in the more remote regions of Ukraine, the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee call upon the oblast executive committees and the oblast [party] committees as well as the raion executive committees and the raion [party] committees: to break up the sabotage of grain collection, which has been organized by *kulak* and counterrevolutionary elements; to liquidate the resistance of some of the rural communists, who in fact have become the leaders of the sabotage; to eliminate the passivity and complacency toward the saboteurs, incompatible with being a party member; and to ensure, with maximum speed, full and absolute compliance with the plan for grain collection.

The Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee resolve:

To place the following villages on the black list for overt disruption of the grain collection plan and for malicious sabotage, organized by *kulak* and counterrevolutionary elements: . . .

The following measures should be undertaken with respect to these villages:

Immediate cessation of delivery of goods, complete suspension of cooperative and state trade in the villages, and removal of all available goods from cooperative and state stores.

Full prohibition of collective farm trade for both collective farms and collective farmers, and for private farmers.

Cessation of any sort of credit and demand for early repayment of credit and other financial obligations.

Investigation and purge of all sorts of foreign and hostile elements from cooperative and state institutions, to be carried out by organs of the Workers and Peasants Inspectorate.

Investigation and purge of collective farms in these villages, with removal of counterrevolutionary elements and organizers of grain collection disruption.

The Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee call upon all collective and private farmers who are honest and dedicated to Soviet rule to organize all their efforts for a merciless struggle against *kulaks* and their accomplices in order to: defeat in their villages the *kulak* sabotage of grain collection; fulfill honestly and conscientiously their grain collection obligations to the Soviet authorities; and strengthen collective farms.

—Addendum to the minutes of Politburo [meeting] No. 93, December 6, 1932

- What are the *kulaks* accused of?
- What punishment is being assessed on them?

Stalin speeded the drive to collectivization, and local officials did what they could to comply with the new targets for grain collection. By 1939, more than 90 percent of the peasants had been forced to live and work on collective farms. If they resisted, they could be arrested, and many were sent to labor camps in Siberia. While some poor peasants complied with collectivization because they had little of their own property to lose, middle-class peasants continued to oppose it, even killing their livestock rather than turning flocks over to the Soviet government. More than half the nation's livestock was lost under collectivization in the 1930s, and the numbers did not recover until the 1950s. In some areas, spring planting did not occur due to the upheaval.

The failures of collectivization spelled deaths for millions in the Soviet Union. Approximately two million died resisting or in prison, and between five and ten million additional lives were lost in a famine caused by the chaos of the process, the peasants' choice to slaughter their livestock, and government policies that took food from the peasants. The grain-producing region of Ukraine was hit especially hard; government decisions there caused mass starvation. Some officials actually went into homes and took whatever food they could find. Approximately 3.9 million Ukrainians are estimated to have died in the famine they called the Holodomor ("death by famine" in Ukrainian).

The problems surrounding collectivization also led many within the Communist Party to question the wisdom of Stalin's decisions. In 1934, the assassination of Sergei Kirov, a high-ranking Soviet politician, led to an investigation that uncovered what Stalin believed was a plot to kill him. Kirov's death, together with the unrest caused by collectivization, the anti-Soviet rhetoric of Germany's Nazi Party (which had taken control of Germany in 1933), and his knowledge that many Soviet politicians did not share his vision of the USSR's future, fed Stalin's growing feelings of paranoia. His belief that he was surrounded by enemies led to a reign of

terror in which the Soviet secret police arrested millions of Soviet citizens on suspicion of disloyalty. Many were sent to prison camps in Siberia where they perished as a result of starvation and overwork. Some were executed immediately following brief trials. Some did not even receive trials. Among those imprisoned or killed were *kulaks*, former tsarist officials, intellectuals, Russian Orthodox priests, ethnic minorities, workers (labeled "saboteurs") in factories where accidents had occurred under the frantic pace of the Five-Year Plan, Red Army officers, government officials, prominent Soviet politicians, and supporters of Lenin from the earliest days of the Bolshevik Revolution. Historians disagree about how many Soviets died as a result of the political purges of the 1930s, but one million is a likely figure.

LINK TO LEARNING

Check out this repository of Soviet posters (https://openstax.org/l/77Sovietposter) from the 1920s and 1930s.

Engineers of Human Souls

Despite the clear problems with Stalinist rule, many people living in the Soviet Union, about 80 percent of whom were peasants, were still optimistic about the promised equality they believed communism could bring to their lives. The school of **socialist realism** that dominated art in the Soviet Union glorified peasants and industrial workers, depicting heroic, muscular steelworkers and smiling farmers wielding agricultural implements. Paintings and drawings of male and female workers in the 1930s were about patriotism as much as artistic expression.

The reality behind the government's rhetoric about building a worker's paradise often fell short, however. Some improvements in the quality of life were made, literacy increased, electricity was brought to rural areas, and some people found opportunities for advancement not possible under tsarist rule. But not everyone shared in these changes. People whose innovations in the workplace increased production were rewarded with higher pay, recognition, and promotions, but the production goals party leaders laid out were often impossible to meet.

Urban life grew more difficult during the 1930s. Peasants migrated to the cities to fill jobs in the new factories built to speed industrialization. Hours were long, pay was low, and housing, clothing, and food were in short supply. People crowded into small apartments, and because it was hard to find enough to eat in the state-run stores, they became more dependent on dining halls at work or school, where it was also easier for officials to monitor their conversations. At the same time, many Soviet citizens remained excited by their belief that the government would repay their efforts by providing for their needs better than the tsarist government ever would have done.

Religion served to divide the Soviet government and the masses of Soviet people. Lenin had always seen it as dangerous and a competitor to socialism, so from the early days of the Soviet Union, religion was targeted by Communist leaders. Yet the history of Orthodox Christianity among the Russian people was long, and many found it difficult to abandon their faith and traditions despite government policies to discourage them.

Soviet ideology demanded that women play new roles in society and the economy, so millions took industrial or agricultural jobs outside the home through the 1920s and 1930s. Their situation was fraught with discrimination and emotional turmoil, however. Women were rarely given positions of power in their workplaces (or within the Soviet political hierarchy), yet they were expected to produce just as much as men. Nor did the role of homemaker and mother go away. Women had to fulfill both kinds of roles, highlighting the disparity between female and male work.

12.3 The Great Depression

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Explain the causes of the Great Depression
- Describe the immediate effects of the Great Depression on the economies of industrialized and developing nations
- Describe how industrialized nations responded to citizens' needs during the Great Depression
- Explain the attractions of communism to people in industrialized nations during the Great Depression
- Analyze the similarities and differences among fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and Stalin's Soviet Union

The decade of the 1930s was marked by economic collapse around the world. The Great Depression gripped numerous countries, causing widespread unemployment, immense poverty, and financial collapse. There were no easy solutions for any government trying to combat the misery, and different countries adopted different methods to alleviate the suffering of their people. The inability of capitalist countries to fully solve their economic problems made ideologies such as communism more attractive. The Great Depression developed out of a perfect storm of problems, and only the economic stimulation of the onset of World War II brought the world closer to a return of prosperity.

Economic Collapse

When the economic collapse that came to be known as the Great Depression began in the United States in 1929, it ended the postwar boom and sent the entire world's economy reeling. No economic depression is caused by one element alone. One contributing factor, however, was economic instability that the rising stock market in the United States had camouflaged.

The stock market had set new highs seemingly every year of the 1920s. Some of the increase in stock prices and the resulting valuations of companies' worth made perfect sense at the time. Companies were in fact selling new products, and more of them. Electric ovens, washing machines, and radios were all highly desirable new consumer items. However, by the late 1920s, the stock market was beset by a wave of pure speculation, that is, the buying and selling of shares based solely on bets that stock prices would go even higher, though unsupported by increased product sales. This guesswork drove stock prices up until they became dangerously overvalued.

Stock prices began to drop sharply in the fall of 1929 and eventually crashed, bringing bank failures in their wake as banks' investments in stocks lost value. The lack of banking regulations meant that if a bank went bankrupt, those who had placed their money on deposit there lost all their savings. Ironically, when customers began to withdraw their funds because they feared a bank would fail, they often inadvertently triggered that failure, since banks hold only a small percentage of their money as cash in their vaults and invest the rest. Not only did these failures hurt depositors in the banks; they left many communities without the means to obtain loans for businesses or farms, which further compromised the economic health of an area.

Contributing to the Depression was the buying of consumer items on credit. When the Depression came, households struggling with job losses put their remaining income into keeping a roof over their heads and food on the table. Their defaults on their credit payments starved the stores, which then had to lay off more workers to stay afloat. Meanwhile U.S. industry had grown significantly and was producing consumer goods at an unprecedented rate. With consumers both at home and abroad unable to purchase, however, the twin problems of overproduction and underconsumption ground the economy to a halt. Contributing to this financial catastrophe was the unequal distribution of wealth. When the Depression began, the majority of American families (80 percent) had no savings at all, so a job loss quickly led to homelessness and hunger (Figure 12.11).



FIGURE 12.11 The Great Depression. This photo shows unemployed men waiting for food outside a soup kitchen in Illinois in 1931. (credit: "Unemployed men queued outside a depression soup kitchen opened in Chicago by Al Capone" by U.S. National Archives and Records Administration/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930 was an example of the isolationist and protectionist policies the U.S. government followed in the 1920s. An increased tariff of nearly 40 percent had already been enacted in 1922. Smoot-Hawley raised tariff rates another 20 percent on more than twenty thousand kinds of imported goods, supposedly to protect American farmers and industries from foreign competition. These extreme rates caused other countries to institute their own retaliatory high tariff rates on U.S. goods. Therefore, the industrial might of the United States was stymied because its residents were unable to purchase goods due to job losses and lack of income, and its businesses were unable to recoup any of their monies by selling goods overseas. Smoot-Hawley was the highest tariff the U.S. government has ever enacted. It helped stifle world trade, which decreased 30 percent by the early 1930s.

One of the key aspects of the Great Depression was the way it encumbered foreign trade around the globe. Worldwide **gross domestic product (GDP)**—the value of all the goods and services a country produces in one year—decreased by 15 percent between 1929 and 1932. With trade plummeting, many U.S. banks began recalling loans made to foreign businesses and countries, which caused crises in other places.

Worldwide Woe

When the Great Depression occurred, ordinary people bore the brunt of it. Workers lost their jobs and were unable to find new ones as businesses laid off employees. Without the means to pay rent or a mortgage, families were evicted and became homeless. Hunger was a significant problem, particularly in urban areas where there was little chance of having a garden or finding other available foodstuffs. Families coped however they could, sometimes traveling hundreds of miles in the hope that jobs would be available somewhere. Homeless camps and shantytowns sprang up, but life in such a place was precarious because city officials might force the residents to leave (Figure 12.12).



FIGURE 12.12 Life in a Shantytown. This 1936 image by the well-known documentary photographer Dorothea Lange shows a mother and her children living in a shantytown in Oklahoma. (credit: "Poor mother and children, Oklahoma, 1936 by Dorothea Lange" by Library of Congress/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

No part of the world was immune from the effects of the Great Depression. China was still relatively isolated in the 1930s, but it did experience economic problems when prices for two of its major exports, soybeans and silk, dropped. As an island nation, Japan had limited natural resources, and its militaristic new government needed to alleviate scarcities and secure needed resources such as oil and rubber. With a growing population, it also needed reliable food supplies.

All these factors coalesced into a Japanese plan to target certain areas throughout Asia for takeover, relying heavily on the Imperial Navy. Japan moved into Manchuria in 1931, setting up the state of Manchukuo there the following year. Seizing the region meant Japan would not have to pay for the items it wanted, such as rice, important during a depression that had limited its exports and thus its income from trade. The move also further established Japan as a preeminent power in the region.

Many regions of Africa produced agricultural crops—wheat, maize, and cotton, for example. As trade declined, these sectors bore significant losses, and here too the poor suffered most. The colonial areas of Africa often mirrored the economic troubles of their imperial countries. However, South Africa's gold mines produced enough income to keep it more stable than other regions in Africa.

Many Latin American countries were unable to contend with the severe decrease in exports the Depression

brought. Some had financial systems heavily dependent on the export market and little in the way of an industrial sector to make up for the loss. Despite this weakness, however, Latin America weathered the Great Depression quite well. Most countries went off the **gold standard**—a monetary system in which the value of a currency is tied directly to the value of gold—in the early 1930s, but there was no widespread banking collapse as there was in the United States.

European countries fought the Great Depression in different ways. Britain saw its exports drop considerably and in 1931 found it necessary to lower tariff rates within its empire to stimulate trade. Britain's economy was stagnant in the 1920s, so the dip of the Great Depression was not as painful as in the United States, though economic sectors such as mining experienced a greater decline than others. Britain did not adopt widespread work-relief programs, relying instead on more targeted support of specific industries. France implemented austerity programs, hoping to keep taxation levels low. It was only in the late 1930s that the French economy turned around, due to an increase in military equipment production.

LINK TO LEARNING

Check out these unemployment statistics (https://openstax.org/l/77UnempStat) for different European countries during the Great Depression. Compare various countries and consider why some might have been more seriously affected than others.

In the United States, new president Franklin D. Roosevelt unveiled a comprehensive reform plan in 1933. This **New Deal** was designed to restore faith in the banking system, create work-relief programs to put the unemployed to work, increase the bargaining and consumer power of industrial workers, and provide an overall enhanced quality of life. Overhauls to the banking system included more regulations on U.S. banks and regular audit controls. The creation of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) in 1933 meant that depositors could feel their money on deposit was safe. The United States also adopted programs that already existed elsewhere. For example, the Social Security Administration was created in 1935 to provide an old-age pension program for the country. Germany had such a program for several decades, and Britain had already enacted many programs as part of its welfare state that the United States was slow to adopt.

THE PAST MEETS THE PRESENT

The New Deal in a New Century

Numerous programs enacted during the New Deal era still assist people in the United States today. Here are some examples:

- The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) was created in 1933 to insure depositor monies in banks. Originally it covered $5,000 per depositor, but it now covers $250,000 per depositor.
- The Social Security program was begun in 1935 to oversee Old-Age and Survivors Insurance (OASI), unemployment insurance, and aid to families.
- The federal minimum wage was established in 1938 as an increase over the minimum wages in many industries, though some workers, such as domestic workers, were left out.

Some of these programs are the subject of intense debate today. Projections show that Social Security may not be able to meet all its obligations in coming decades, which could lead to curtailing of benefits. The minimum wage originally reflected increased buying power for workers, rather than setting the bottom threshold of pay as it does now. Many states have mandated minimum wages above the federal government's requirement. Some argue that a higher minimum wage today will only increase the prices of products and services. Others contend that the increased buying power of workers with a higher minimum wage will stimulate the economy for all.

- Why do you think certain New Deal programs have lasted as long as they have?

- How might arguments in favor of or against the minimum wage be different today than in the 1930s?

Communism and Authoritarianism

With economic depression dominating the world's nations, frustration built among people who felt their governments were not actively combating the problems. In countries with capitalist systems, the gap between the "haves" and "have-nots" was particularly stark in the 1930s. Many of the rich went on with their lives with little change, while other people lost jobs and homes. The appeal of communist ideology grew among some who felt abandoned by the capitalist system, and the prospect of economic equality was its most attractive feature. In other countries, the economic crisis became an opportunity for increased authoritarianism.

The Communist Party experienced substantial growth in many Western democracies in the early 1930s as a way through the problems of the Great Depression. The Communist International, or Comintern, actively pursued the spread of communism worldwide during this decade, led by the Soviet Union. For some, communism offered not simply economic parity but the prospect of racial parity as well. In the United States, segregation laws and continued discrimination against African Americans caused some to turn to the egalitarian society promised by communism as a new avenue to pursue. The Communist Party in the United States also sought to overturn racist policies.

In Western Europe, the allure of communism grew as governments sought to handle the Depression. In France, different cabinets were formed and repeatedly reorganized, and the disordered political realm threatened to become a vacuum that far-right politicians could exploit. In 1936, a coalition of leftist groups known as the Popular Front managed to win power in the government. They introduced progressive and pro-labor policies such as forty-hour workweeks and minimum wages, both hallmarks of Western democratic responses to the Great Depression. But as other countries had done, France found it could not resolve the Great Depression through policy changes alone.

On the pretext that certain actions were necessary for the good of the populace in this time of crisis, some leaders took advantage of the opportunity to impose authoritarian rule. This was particularly true in Italy, Spain, and Germany, which all embraced **fascism** in the 1930s. Fascism was a political movement focused on transforming citizens into committed nationalists striving for unity and racial purity, to remedy a perceived national decline. To forge a unified nation, fascists espoused using violence, abandoning democratic norms and the rule of law to eliminate enemies real or imagined, and employing **totalitarianism**, the total control by the government of all aspects of a person's life. The interwar period and the problems of the 1920s gave rise to disillusionment with democratic and parliamentary governments worldwide.

In Italy, Benito Mussolini was firmly in power by the 1930s. He had begun his rise to national prominence in 1919, partly by denouncing the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, which many Italians believed had cheated their country of land it was owed as a reward for fighting on the Allied side. Like Hitler, Mussolini used fear and terror to gain political power and used a band of supporters dubbed the Blackshirts to threaten his opponents with physical violence. In 1924 his Fascist Party won a majority in parliament, and Mussolini, referring to himself as *Il Duce* ("the leader"), became the head of Italy. He then outlawed future elections. The fascists in Italy had wanted to focus on industrial development in the 1920s and 1930s, which had lagged, especially in the southern half of the country. In the 1930s, in a bid to prop up the industrial sector, Mussolini took over many industrial entities as banks failed across the country. The Italian government also dismantled labor unions.

In Spain, a military dictatorship was instituted in 1924. After it ended in 1930, a republic was established that quickly sought to modernize the nation. It tried to eliminate the Catholic Church's dominant role in society and politics and attempted other changes such as land redistribution and the institution of voting rights for women and more liberal divorce laws. However, a serious military coup erupted in 1936. Fascists calling themselves

Nationalists had co-opted much of the Spanish military and drawn the support of right-wing conservative authoritarians.

The popular general Francisco Franco, former head of Spain's military academy, was opposed to Republican ideologies. Fighting against modernity, the radicalism of the Republicans, and the specter of communism, Franco was able to call upon fellow fascists Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini for support. Though it is debatable how militarily effective the German and Italian bombing of civilian targets like Madrid and Guernica was, it did cause people to shudder at the increased horror of warfare (Figure 12.13). British, French, and other European powers pursued a policy of nonintervention, however, believing it prudent given Japanese expansion in Asia and elsewhere and the U.S. policy of neutrality. The League of Nations also failed to take action.



FIGURE 12.13 Guernica. This outdoor mural in Guernica, Spain, is based on Pablo Picasso's famous depiction of the horrors of aerial bombings of the town in his 1937 painting *Guernica.* The mural's title calls for Picasso's painting to be returned to the town from its current home in a Madrid museum. (credit: "Mural del "Guernica" de Picasso" by Fernando Vásquez, Panoramio/Wikimedia Commons, CC BY 3.0)

Lasting from 1936 to 1939, the Spanish Civil War resulted in as many as 500,000 casualties. When the gunfire ceased, Franco created his fascist regime. Throughout the 1930s, Spanish fascists claimed that Catholic Spain was threatened by a Jewish-Bolshevik-Masonic conspiracy against property and social order, which justified the liquidation of hundreds of thousands of Republicans and opponents of Franco. Franco melded fascism with all other political parties to create a single political movement. The Catholic Church, the army, and the bureaucracy all continued to exercise a degree of independence not permitted in other countries that developed forms of fascism. As in Italy, Spanish women were recruited to serve through propaganda work and the rearing of patriotic children. Franco's brand of fascism and his revulsion of popular democracy, liberal ideals, secularism, feminism, and communism were similar to those of Mussolini and Hitler.

In Germany, the Depression followed a decade of economic uncertainty and massive inflation, conditions that offered the National Socialist Party (Nazi Party) under Adolf Hitler an opportunity to consolidate power. The

rise of fascism in Germany was also the result of Germany's devastating military loss in World War I. Having been assured of victory, the German population took the news of the armistice as a profound shock. The country's political parties had forced the kaiser to abdicate in favor of a new constitutional government, the Weimar Republic. Given the timing of these events, many Germans therefore believed civilian politicians were responsible for their defeat in the war. In 1919, monarchists, socialists, and communists began to disrupt politics and violently contest for control of the streets in Berlin and elsewhere.

The Nazis received a substantial boost from their criticism of the Weimar Republic's handling of the hyperinflation of the 1920s and its response to the onset of the Depression. The Nazis adopted nineteenth-century theories of the hierarchy of races that proclaimed the Germanic Nordic or Aryan races to be master humans. In garnering political support, whether through acceptance or intimidation, the German fascist militias branded journalists as liars, attacked political opponents and Jewish people, and labeled them filthy, unclean, vermin, or subhuman. The intimidating violence and anti-Semitism of fascists became central to the political life of the nation after World War I.

Hitler got a second chance to capitalize on the perceived victimization of Germany as the Great Depression put as many as four million Germans out of work. Public dissatisfaction with the economic turmoil enabled the Nazis to increase their representation in the Reichstag (the national legislature). Taking advantage of a history of anti-Semitism in Europe (most notably in Austria), Hitler and the Nazis also claimed that Jewish bankers and business owners had caused the Great Depression and promised they would no longer be allowed to create such havoc. Frustrated German voters readily accepted their arguments. The Nazis were becoming the largest party in the legislature. President Paul von Hindenburg was therefore pressured to appoint Hitler chancellor in January 1933.

Hitler accumulated power quickly. Just a month after he became chancellor, an arsonist set the German Reichstag building in Berlin ablaze. In keeping with Nazi opposition to communism, the crime was falsely blamed on a Dutch communist and communist instigators in general. The climate of crisis convinced conservative members of parliament to temporarily grant Hitler emergency powers through the Enabling Act passed in March 1933. Hitler was then able to rule essentially without the involvement of parliament or any constitutional limitations. In 1934, he declared himself führer ("leader"), fusing the offices of president and chancellor into one all-powerful role.

Aiding Hitler were some who had been with him since the Beer Hall Putsch. Hermann Göring, a former World War I fighter ace, became the second most powerful Nazi leader, in charge of organizing the national economy and commanding the German air force, the *Luftwaffe*. Heinrich Himmler transformed the paramilitary militia, the ***Schutzstaffel* (SS)**, from a small force of 290 to over a million strong and was responsible for promoting German culture and institutions and overseeing the enforcement of Nazi racial policies.

The various German security and secret police agencies were combined to create the Gestapo, which became the main dispatcher of violence and enforcer of order. Propaganda increasingly utilized the evolving medium of mass communications. A powerful example is the work of the German film director Leni Riefenstahl. Her film of the 1934 Nazi rally in Nuremburg, entitled *Triumph of the Will*, is still considered an important step in the development of cinematic technique and the documentary form.

LINK TO LEARNING

You can view a short clip from *Triumph of the Will* (https://openstax.org/l/77Triumph) at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum website. It depicts Hitler arriving at the 1934 Nuremberg rally.

The educational system was reorganized to emphasize the physical development of youth and their thorough indoctrination into Nazi ideology regarding race and racial history. Eventually all teachers were required to join the Nazi Teacher's Alliance and use prescribed Nazi textbooks in their teaching. Outside the classroom, German children were organized into tiered levels of youth organizations, culminating in the Hitler Youth for

boys and the League of German Girls. For boys, the focus was on militaristic training, while girls were taught racial hygiene (the perceived need to bear children with certain traits) and the domestic skills to be good housewives and mothers.

The Nazis quickly moved to put their promises into action. Laws were passed limiting job opportunities and social activities for Jewish people, and restrictions only grew harsher as the decade wore on. Hitler banned all political parties other than the Nazis, making Germany a one-party state. All newspapers and media were Nazi controlled, and radios were widely distributed for free to get the Nazi messages to the masses.

The Nazis assured the electorate that they were the only ones who could solve Germany's economic problems and promised to restore its international prestige. Hitler set out to provide jobs to all who needed them with a massive infrastructure program that built new highways and created the Autobahn system. Huge stadiums were constructed for sports events (such as the 1936 Berlin Olympics) and Nazi political rallies. New housing was built, as well as planes, ships, tanks, and weaponry. The work week was expanded to sixty hours; workers could not strike or even ask for raises, but unemployment declined.

Those not working in an industrial capacity could find a place in the ever-expanding Germany military. Ignoring the limits imposed by the Versailles Treaty, Hitler swelled the German Army to nearly a million soldiers, calling the need to provide employment an emergency that must be met. While the world's powers might not have known the full extent of the re-arming underway in Germany, by 1935 they were certainly aware it was happening. If there were an opportunity to stop Hitler's plans, it was now, before Germany amassed the weapons it would need for the next war. However, there was little international will for such intervention. It could very well mean military engagement, and in the throes of the Depression, none of the former Allied nations were interested. Nor was there any popular support in these nations for such actions.

Through employment programs and deficit spending (spending based on borrowing money rather than on raising money through taxation), the economic problems in Germany did begin to turn around under Hitler's government. The unemployment rate dropped from a high of approximately 30 percent to about 10 percent. Many around the world applauded Hitler's handling of the Great Depression. For those on the right side of the Nazis, life could be acceptable if not pleasant, with employment, local and national events and festivals, plenty of vigorous outdoor physical activity, and constant reminders of being part of a chosen people with a special purpose led by a messianic leader. Life for enemies of the regime could be full of deprivation and terror.

12.4 Old Empires and New Colonies

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe the breakup of the Ottoman Empire at the end of World War I
- Explain the division of Germany's colonies among the Allied Powers
- Describe resistance to colonization in Africa and Asia

It was not just Europe that underwent major changes in the interwar years. The Ottoman Empire ceased to exist, and the region it had dominated now became a multitude of various powers, of which Turkey retained the largest Ottoman legacy. The colonies Germany had held in Asia and Africa were distributed among the victorious countries and came under new governments. The rhetoric of self-determination of nations was not applied equally around the world, but its focus on nationalist ideologies filtered through many societies, spurring the growth of nationalist movements around the globe.

To the Victors Go the Spoils

Already beset by internal problems and increasing difficulty controlling its holdings throughout Arabia and the Middle East, the Ottoman Empire had signed the Armistice of Mudros on October 30, 1918, bringing its participation in World War I to an end. During the war, a number of proposals for dismembering the empire had been considered. In 1919, Allied forces seized areas in the former Ottoman Empire, Greece captured

Western Anatolia, and other Allied forces moved into Istanbul. The Turkish National Movement that resisted these occupations was led by Mustafa Kemal, later renamed Atatürk ("father of the Turks") and already a Turkish hero for his performance at the Battle of Gallipoli.

The 1920 Treaty of Sèvres partitioned the empire, leaving the Ottomans with control over only Istanbul and Thrace. The Turks led by Mustafa Kemal won battles on several fronts, however, and forced a renegotiation of the treaty. The Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 provided for an independent Turkey to succeed the Ottoman government. It also established League of Nations mandates in the Middle East. Under the **mandate system**, the administration of territories once controlled by the Ottomans was transferred to France or Britain, which were expected to govern these regions until some unspecified point in the future when the people there were deemed ready to govern themselves. Among the mandated areas were modern Iraq, Israel, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Palestine (Figure 12.14).

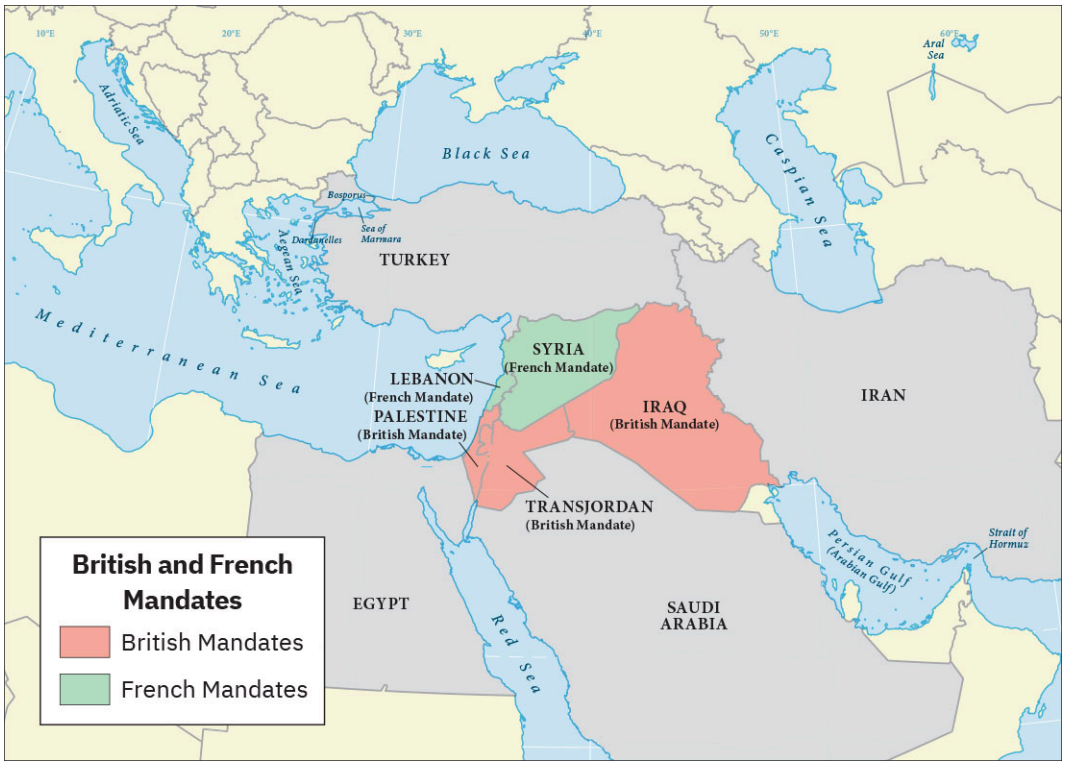


FIGURE 12.14 The Mandate System. This map shows the British and French mandates in the Middle East and their proximity to the new nation of Saudi Arabia. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

Arabia was not easily controlled by the European powers. Warfare continued to break out over access to sites such as Mecca and Medina, both holy places in the Islamic faith. By the mid-1920s, the Saud family had taken control of areas of the Nejd (the bulk of the Arabian Peninsula) and the Hejaz (the peninsula's western region), and soon after they consolidated that control by forming a new nation, Saudi Arabia, which came into being in 1932.

During the war, Britain and France had each begun to outline spheres of influence for themselves in the defunct Ottoman Empire. A French mandate covered Syria and Lebanon, and a British mandate the area of Iraq, Palestine, and the Transjordan (the East Bank). Despite their talk of self-determination, Europe's surviving imperial powers clearly planned no deviation from the traditional course of empires in this region. Neither Britain nor France consulted the people who lived in the mandate areas about the decisions their governments would be making for them.

It soon became clear that the mandate system would not ensure full European control. For example, the British

mandate over Mesopotamia, renamed Iraq, came under pressure from nationalists throughout the 1920s and 1930s. King Faisal (to whom the British had promised the rule of Syria) accepted being ruler of Iraq, but Britain controlled most of the government. The next king of Iraq had to accept similar conditions, but Iraqi nationalists became increasingly vocal about their frustration with the British presence.

The British complicated matters in another part of their mandate with the **Balfour Declaration**. This statement, one of many conflicting promises Britain made to various groups during the war, was issued by British foreign secretary Alfred Balfour in 1917. Balfour wrote that Britain supported a "national home" for Jewish people in Palestine. Ever since the nineteenth century, many European Jews had worked through Zionist organizations to encourage the return of Jews to their ancestral homeland in the Middle East. The Balfour Declaration marked the accomplishment of the goal that pro-Zionist groups had worked toward for years. Palestine was a British mandate after the war but mainly inhabited by Arab peoples; the move to introduce a substantial number of Jewish residents (with government support) promised to cause problems, and in fact it touched off religious and property disagreements that continue to this day.

The British began by summarily making an area of Palestine available to Jewish immigrants and, between 1922 and 1935, the Jewish population as a percentage of the total population increased threefold, from 9 percent to almost 27 percent. The Palestinians immediately complained of being treated as second-class citizens in their own land and about Britain's failed promise to grant Arabs independence. Riots and protests became so common that Britain ultimately restricted immigration to Palestine, cutting off a route of escape for Jewish people fleeing the anti-Semitic policies of the Nazis.

DUELING VOICES

A Jewish Homeland in Palestine

The subject of a Jewish homeland in Palestine was quite controversial. Here are two voices on opposite sides of the issue. First is an excerpt from Theodor Herzl's pamphlet advocating a Jewish homeland. (A diaspora is the scattering of a population; a *gestor* is someone who intervenes.) The second excerpt is from a letter written by a Jewish politician who opposed Britain's support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

"Negotiorum Gestio"

> The Jewish people are at present prevented by the Diaspora from conducting their political affairs themselves. Besides, they are in a condition of more or less severe distress in many parts of the world. They need, above all things a *gestor*. This *gestor* cannot, of course, be a single individual. Such a one would either make himself ridiculous, or—seeing that he would appear to be working for his own interests—contemptible.
>
> The *gestor* of the Jews must therefore be a body corporate.
>
> And that is the Society of Jews.

"Benefits of the Emigration of the Jews"

> The States would have a further advantage in the enormous increase of their export trade; for, since the emigrant Jews "over there" would depend for a long time to come on European productions, they would necessarily have to import them. The local groups would keep up a just balance, and the customary needs would have to be supplied for a long time at the accustomed places.
>
> Another, and perhaps one of the greatest advantages, would be the ensuing social relief. Social dissatisfaction would be appeased during the twenty or more years which the emigration of the Jews would occupy, and would in any case be set at rest during the whole transition period.
>
> —Theodor Herzl, "The Jewish State"

I lay down with emphasis four principles:

1. I assert that there is not a Jewish nation. [. . .] It is no more true to say that a Jewish Englishman and a Jewish Moor are of the same nation than it is to say that a Christian Englishman and a Christian Frenchman are of the same nation. [. . .

2. When the Jews are told that Palestine is their national home, every country will immediately desire to get rid of its Jewish citizens, and you will find a population in Palestine driving out its present inhabitants, taking all the best in the country, drawn from all quarters of the globe, speaking every language on the face of the earth, and incapable of communicating with one another except by means of an interpreter. [. . .

3. I claim that the lives that British Jews have led, that the aims that they have had before them, that the part that they have played in our public life and our public institutions, have entitled them to be regarded, not as British Jews, but as Jewish Britons. [. . .

4. I deny that Palestine is to-day associated with the Jews or properly to be regarded as a fit place for them to live in. [. . .] I would not deny to Jews in Palestine equal rights to colonisation with those who profess other religions, but a religious test of citizenship seems to me to be the only admitted by those who take a bigoted and narrow view of one particular epoch of the history of Palestine, and claim for the Jews a position to which they are not entitled.

—Edwin Montagu, Memorandum on the Anti-Semitism of the British Government

- Compare the two positions and explain why some Jewish people would have favored the Balfour Declaration while others did not.
- Which of these arguments do you find more convincing? Why?

The Asian and African holdings of the German Empire were also divided among the victors. Some of Germany's Asian lands had been relinquished early in the war, such as Samoa, which New Zealand formally took over after the war. Australia took German New Guinea and Nauru. The Japanese Empire gained German-held islands north of the equator, such as the Marshall Islands and the Caroline Islands (Figure 12.15).

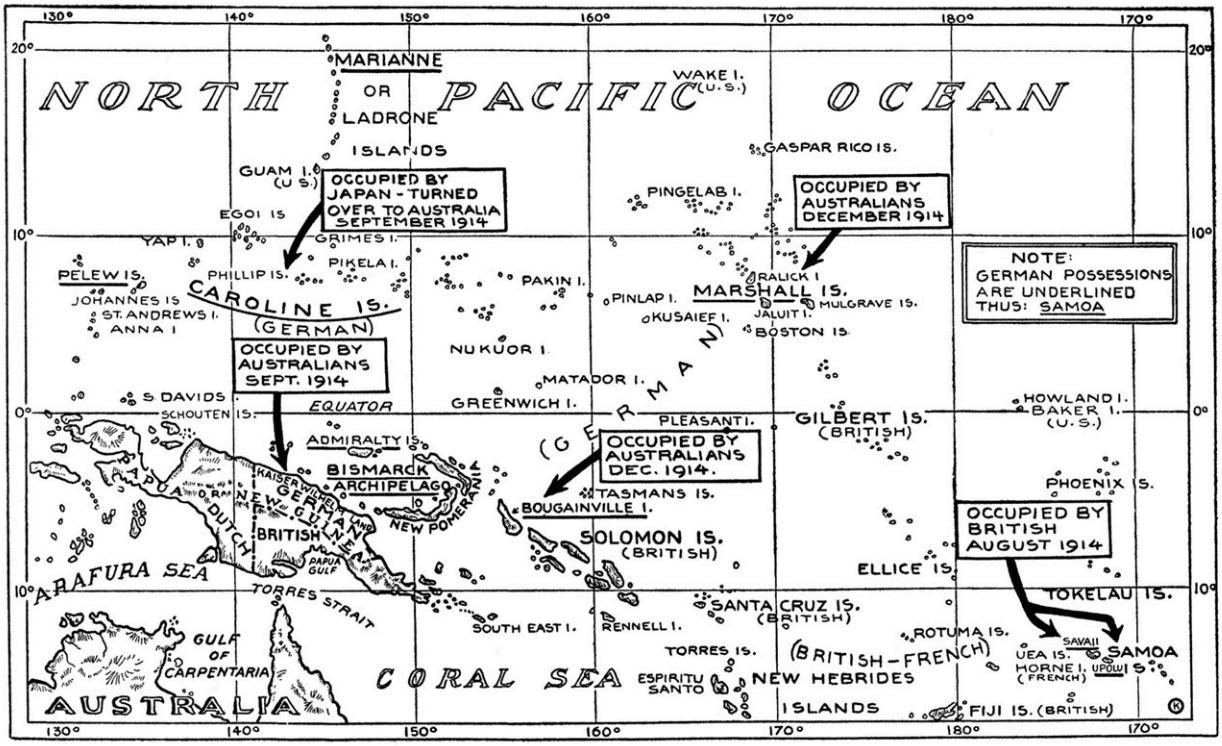


FIGURE 12.15 German Colonies in Asia. Most of Germany's Asian colonies were occupied by the Allied nations early in the war. This 1915 map reflects those changes and foreshadows the way the Allied powers continued to control these regions after the war. (credit: "German Pacific Colonies 1915 Map" by Project Gutenberg/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In Africa, Germany had held Kamerun (including modern Cameroon as well as areas of Chad, Gabon, Nigeria, and the Congo), German East Africa (Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania), Togoland (Togo and part of Ghana), and German Southwest Africa (present-day Namibia). These became mandates after the war. Both Britain and France gained land in Togo and Cameroon, South Africa took Southwest Africa, and the Belgians received land in Burundi and Rwanda. No one consulted the African peoples in making these divisions, and in fact the borders cut through ethnic groups, leaving some groups divided between two governments. Self-determination of nations was clearly not at work in Africa, and increasingly louder voices questioned whether Europe had any real moral authority over African colonies.

The Fight for Self-Determination in Africa

Most Africans were not considered citizens of the empires of which they were part. Imperial powers exploited the colonies for their mineral wealth and other resources. They did little to better the lives of Africans, and the rhetoric of "civilizing" the continent was based on ingrained assumptions of White superiority. However, participation in World War I changed things for many Africans. More than one million Africans had fought in the war. The sense that their contribution should be rewarded with new political power was one result. Another was their exposure to international issues and the recognition that the principle of self-determination applied directly to themselves.

A number of groups had begun to argue for more African involvement in colonial governments beginning in the late 1800s. In 1918, the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) was formed to pressure the British government to turn legislative work over to elected assemblies in its West African colonies. This initiative marked a political awakening in the four British colonies of West Africa. The NCBWA sought to have them work as a cohesive political unit. The war itself had caused many European officials to depart Africa, turning a number of services over to Africans to administer and thus providing new roles for them to play in

the running of their countries. Many imperial powers also squeezed their African colonies to produce more for the war effort but failed to pay fair prices for these items. This clear exploitation, along with a growing sense of their power, led many Africans to embrace nationalist movements after the war.

With the Great Depression came increasing pressure to "do more" with African colonies, as a way for imperial countries to deal with their economic problems. Those that could cultivate greater economic development in the colonies would benefit from increased resources and develop a colonial population with greater buying power for its own goods. Such development was a slow process in the 1930s, however (Figure 12.16). The British government enacted a Colonial Development Act at the end of the 1920s that funneled small amounts of money into its African colonies. But larger investments did not flow into Africa until after World War II.

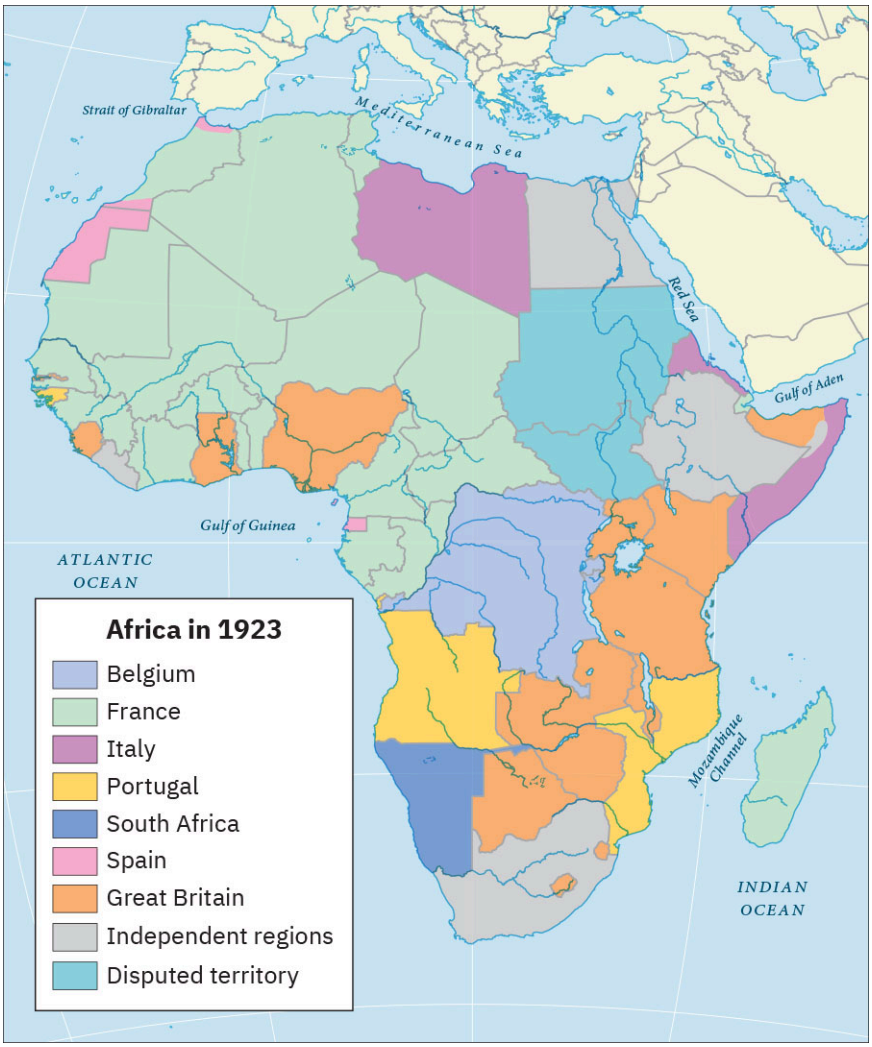


FIGURE 12.16 Colonial Africa. This map shows European nations' colonial holdings in Africa during the 1920s and 1930s. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

A growing **Pan-African movement** also developed in the early twentieth century, with the goal of uniting African peoples to achieve greater independence. The first Pan-African Congress met in 1918 in Paris, organized by African American activist W. E. B. Du Bois. Its goal was to influence the Paris Peace Conference to support self-determination for the African colonies. Its impact was minimal, but it did contribute to the ideas of African nationalism that were growing at the time.

Another influence on the growth of African nationalism was the work of Marcus Garvey. Garvey was born in Jamaica and lived in the United States for many years. He founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association, which hoped to unite all people of African descent into one body with one government. Garvey's

work was focused on specific plans for a migration of African Americans from North America to the West African country of Liberia. These "Back to Africa" plans fell apart, however. Sufficient funds did not exist to make the migration possible. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the largest African American civil rights organization in the United States, also refused to endorse Garvey's ideas, and the migration never materialized.

One way people in Africa expressed their independence of thought was by developing an African-based church system. Christianity in Africa had been inextricably tied to the missionary model, in which Europeans came to Africa and established church missions to spread the Christian faith. The independent African churches that began emerging in the late 1800s were formed in places like Ethiopia and Nigeria with the idea that Africans should be in charge of them rather than Europeans, whose churches were often seen as simply an extension of colonialism. The independence that African-led churches advocated in religious matters soon evolved into support for independence in political matters as well.

An Independent India

The significant role their troops in the British Army had played in World War I offered Indians some hope that Britain might now extend them more rights than before. Indians were also anxious to have the British government's restrictive wartime measures lifted. However, it soon became clear that Britain had no plans for change. So, as in many other countries, in India a growing nationalist movement now advocated independence from colonial rule. The clash between Indian Nationalists and British rulers began almost immediately after the end of World War I.

In early April 1919, Indians began to gather in a walled square in Amritsar, a city in Punjab that was sacred to the Sikh population. They were protesting the passage of the Rowlatt Act, which allowed Indians suspected of engaging in revolutionary activities to be detained for two years without trial. At times the protests turned violent. Then, on April 13, the British Indian Army opened fire on the protestors, who had little chance of escape from the closed-in space. Hundreds were killed and more than a thousand wounded. The British commander of the unit ultimately resigned after an investigation. The massacre prompted the British government to make some legislative changes in India regarding who was eligible to vote and how many Indian representatives could sit in the national assembly. However, this small concession did not quell the continued criticism from Indian nationalists, who urged independence and self-rule. The Indian National Congress argued that India should be ruled by Indians. Its members proposed continued nonviolent disobedience and boycotts against British goods, along with a refusal to pay certain taxes.

In this chaotic and emotional situation, a lawyer named Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi began to take center stage. Gandhi adopted and advocated the practice of civil disobedience and nonviolence, wore traditional modes of dress, and renounced material possessions. In the 1920s, the movement for self-rule became a grassroots operation preaching civil disobedience to people throughout India. Gandhi became head of the Indian National Congress in 1921, and it soon became the party of the masses.

LINK TO LEARNING

This link presents a video clip of a British newsreel showing Mahatma Gandhi's 1931 arrival in England (https://openstax.org/l/77GhandiEngland) for discussions regarding India's constitution. Note the condescending tone of the narration.

Many British rules flew in the face of Indian traditions, such as those regarding the collection of salt, a common element of the Indian diet. Under the colonial system, Indians could not gather or sell salt; instead, they had to purchase it from the British and pay a heavy tax. On March 12, 1930, Gandhi began a protest known as the **Salt March,** in which he led his supporters on a two-hundred-mile, twenty-four-day march to the Arabian Sea to collect salt from the seawater. Despite British efforts to obscure the salt deposits at the beaches, Gandhi and his followers did collect salt, in violation of British law (Figure 12.17Figure B12_04_GandhiSalt). He and

approximately sixty thousand others were arrested for these acts of civil disobedience. In numerous locations over the next several weeks, other nationalists similarly began collecting salt at coastlines in defiance of the law. Gandhi was not released from jail until the following year and agreed to suspend the mass act of civil disobedience.



FIGURE 12.17 The Salt March. Mahatma Gandhi collects salt at the shore of the Arabian Sea in 1930, in defiance of British law. (credit: "Salt March" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

While the British were not inclined to embrace India's independence movement, within a few years they did begin to relent on the question of self-rule. While retaining control of the military and foreign policy functions, they turned other government operations over to Indians via the Government of India Act in 1935. This was an important step toward more autonomy for India. Muslim representation in India remained an issue, however. For example, the Indian National Congress was dominated by the Hindu majority, but rather than recognizing that body as representing all those living in India, the British recognized the separate Muslim League as the representatives of the Muslim population. The Indian National Congress had achieved a measure of its agenda in favor of self-rule, but India was still clearly under British control.

12.5 Resistance, Civil Rights, and Democracy

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe the expansion of liberty and civil rights in Western Europe and the United States during the interwar period
- Analyze the development of democracies in Asia during the interwar period and the challenges they faced
- Explain the rise of militarism in Japan in the 1920s and 1930s
- Describe the growth of popular culture in the 1920s and 1930s

War is often a catalyst for societal change, and this was certainly true of World War I. Women had long fought for increased political rights, and the next decade saw the franchise for women expand in several countries. Women also adopted freer styles of dress and defied traditional gender roles by working outside the home and dancing and drinking in public. Likewise, the status of African Americans in the United States drew more

attention as civil rights leaders emphasized the contributions of African American veterans to showcase the need for fair treatment, and writers and musicians used their work to give voice to the Black experience and to honor their heritage. Many countries embarked on efforts to incorporate more democratic principles. It was not an easy process, and many nations continued to face significant challenges in achieving their goals. The 1920s and 1930s also witnessed the growth of new forms of popular culture—the radio and movies—that appealed to the masses.

The Expansion of Democracy

When the war ended, the suffrage movement had been going on for several decades in the United States and Britain. Those who protested in support of women's right to vote, called a **suffragist**, had sometimes taken radical action to highlight their cause, such as Emily Davison who threw herself in front of the King of England's horse at a derby in 1913 and was killed. Suffragist leaders in both countries were often arrested, and many went on hunger strikes while in jail, enduring forced feedings to draw more attention to the cause.

Women's support of the war and their physical work in war industries and the medical corps led politicians to look more favorably on the idea of women voting. Women won the right to vote in the United States in 1920, though it was couched as a reward for their war service. Britain adopted a phase-in approach. First, women over thirty who met a property qualification were given the right to vote in 1918. Then in 1928, the vote was extended to women twenty-one and older. The property qualifications for men were abolished in 1918, and all men twenty-one and older were allowed to vote. For those in the military, the age limit was lowered to nineteen.

Other countries joined the trend. German women won the right to vote in 1918. The new country of Poland extended the vote to women immediately. Other countries still imposed limitations, such as property qualifications or the need to be a war widow in order to vote. France and Italy lagged behind; women could not vote in either country until 1945. In Japan, female activist groups argued for a role in politics throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Japanese law changed to allow women to attend political rallies, but women did not receive the right to vote until after World War II. Rising feminism in China linked to the May Fourth Movement helped women obtain individual property rights under the law.

Individual female voices were also heard. Huda Sha'arawi founded the Egyptian Feminist Union in 1923 and stopped wearing her veil and headscarf. She had already been engaged in providing education for girls and was active in the Egyptian independence movement. She became vice president of the International Women's Union in the 1930s. Zaynab al-Ghazali founded the Muslim Women's Society in Europe in 1936. Al-Ghazali contended that women could play a role in politics outside the home while still being adherents to Islam.

LINK TO LEARNING

As an activist in her native Egypt, Huda Sha'arawi advocated women's rights for decades. This link takes you to the text of her brief opening and closing speeches at Egypt's First Arab Feminist Conference (https://openstax.org/l/77EgyptFem) that met in 1944. As you read, look for the many rationales she offers for the legitimacy of women's rights.

Several minority groups in the United States hoped military service would gain them wider acceptance and rights. More than eleven thousand Native Americans served in the military during the war, and many hoped this volunteer service would provide them U.S. citizenship. Native Americans were in fact granted citizenship in 1924. Another group hoping for change were African Americans. Long subject to discriminatory laws and racial segregation, African Americans felt World War I offered them an opportunity to prove themselves loyal citizens. The United States operated a segregated military, and all-Black service member units serving overseas had a unique chance to see how other places treated them. Those in France, in particular, were struck by the freedom of movement and acceptance they found there. They were allowed in combat, while U.S. units kept them largely in support roles. There was genuine optimism that life in the United States would be

different after the war.

However, after 1918, many found that little had changed. Discriminatory laws remained in place, and poor treatment even of veterans was commonplace. What was new was the prospect of mobility. In 1917, the lure of good-paying industrial jobs producing items for the war began drawing African American workers and families north. This movement continued after the war as factories began to pump out consumer products. By 1920, more than a million African Americans had left the south in a Great Migration, which continued through the next decades as well.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Marcus Garvey on Race in the United States

Marcus Garvey was a Jamaican-born activist who spoke and wrote about Pan-Africanism and the need to address racial issues worldwide. This is an excerpt from his 1923 speech, "A Last Word Before Incarceration." As you read, notice his characterization of African Americans.

> Those of you who have been observing events for the last four or five weeks with keen eyes and keen perceptions will come to no other conclusion than this—that through the effort to strangle the Universal Negro Improvement Association—through the effort to silence Marcus Garvey—there is a mad desire, there is a great plan to permanently lay the Negro low in this civilization and in future civilizations. But the world is sadly mistaken. No longer can the Negro be laid low; in laying the Negro low you but bring down the pillars of creation, because 400,000,000 Negroes are determined to [be] a man, to take a place in the world and to hold that place. The world is sadly mistaken and rudely shocked at the same time. They thought that the new Negro would bend; they thought that the new Negro was only bluffing and would exhibit the characteristic of the old Negro when pushed to the corner or pushed to the wall. If you want to see the new Negro fight, force him to the wall, and the nearer he approaches the wall the more he fights, and when he gets to the wall he is even more desperate.
>
> —Marcus Garvey, "A Last Word Before Incarceration"

- According to Garvey, how have African Americans changed?
- In what ways are African Americans not what Whites in the United States expect them to be?

Racism was not absent in the North. The summer of 1919 was marked by race riots in many cities, and in the 1920s the Ku Klux Klan, a White supremacist group formed after the Civil War, spread throughout the nation. Nevertheless, northern racism seemed mild compared to what African Americans' southern experience had been, and greater opportunities for jobs and education continued to draw people to the cities of the North and Midwest. New livelihoods and membership in civil rights groups such as the NAACP drew many into the **New Negro movement** in the 1920s. This drive "promoted a renewed sense of racial pride, cultural self-expression, economic independence, and progressive politics." One of the movement's first tasks was to agitate for a federal anti-lynching law. Lynching had become a vigilante crime whose targets were overwhelmingly African American. Anti-lynching activists knew that White men who murdered African Americans would not be punished by southern state courts. By making lynching a crime that would be tried in a federal court, however, they hoped to achieve greater justice. An anti-lynching bill came up for a vote in Congress in 1922 but was rejected, and again in 1935. White southern politicians resisted any federal intrusion, even in humanitarian causes.

Racial pride also influenced the artists of the Harlem Renaissance, an outpouring of African American literature, art, and music named for a neighborhood in New York City in which many African American participants in the Great Migration settled. The Harlem Renaissance, which was in full bloom in the 1920s, brought into the mainstream the work of many African American writers, such as poet Langston Hughes and

Zora Neale Hurston, who wrote about the racial struggles of twentieth-century African Americans in her novels, short stories, and plays. The music of African American communities in Harlem and elsewhere featured the distinctive blues and jazz styles, which both became international genres and provided the soundtrack for the dynamic changes of the decade following World War I.

LINK TO LEARNING

This short video about the origins of jazz music (https://openstax.org/l/77JazzOrigins) was made by the Museum of American History and features both words and music.

The Harlem Renaissance, especially the works of Jamaican-born Claude McKay, in turn inspired the Négritude movement, a literary movement that emerged in French-speaking parts of Africa and the Americas. The movement was founded by Léopold Sédar Senghor, a Senegalese poet and university professor. Négritude, a term coined by Aimé Césaire, a poet and playwright from the Caribbean island of Martinique (at that time a French colony), called upon Blacks to reject European culture and values in favor of African ones.

Democratic Yearnings

The dismantling of empires at the end of the war was clearly a boon for democracy, but it was not always easy for fledgling countries to adopt new political systems. The tense situation in Ireland of the 1920s was just one example.

In 1922, the **Irish Free State** was created through the Anglo-Irish Treaty. This 1921 pact ended the Irish War of Independence that had begun in 1918 when the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the Irish Nationalist Party fought British rule. Groups such as **Sinn Féin** ("We Ourselves"), organized in 1905 to fight for an independent Ireland, were often associated with the IRA and sometimes adopted more violent measures than the more moderate Irish Nationalist Party. They had the same goal but very different methods.

The Anglo-Irish Treaty initiated a vote on the future of Ireland. The six northern counties, largely Protestant, voted to remain part of the United Kingdom, but the other twenty-six formed the Irish Free State and received dominion status in the British Empire. As a dominion, the Irish Free State could make and enforce its own laws, make treaties, appoint ambassadors, and send its own representatives to international organizations. A sizable number of Catholics remained in the northern counties, however, which ultimately led to long-term violence. And while the new arrangement was a significant improvement over the past, it did not fully satisfy many Irish republicans, who wanted complete independence for Ireland. Sinn Féin itself was split; some members wanted greater sovereignty for Ireland and for the entire island to be rid of the British presence. A brief civil war broke out between the IRA and the Free State, but the Free State emerged victorious. In 1937, it was reorganized under a new government headed by Éamon de Valera, an anti-treaty leader, and took the name "Ireland."

Japan also took steps toward becoming more democratic for a brief period after World War I. In 1912, a new emperor, Taisho, had ushered in a period of liberalism with democratic and progressive politics. For example, labor strikes, such as the rice riots in 1918 in which tens of thousands of people protested the government's failure to pay market prices for rice, became increasingly common as workers fought for better wages and working conditions. Women became active in labor unions and politics for the first time, and the number of unions more than tripled in the 1910s. During this period, Japan was viewed as a triumph of constitutional government.

However, the progressive period did not last long. In 1923, the Great Kanto Earthquake, measuring 7.8 on the Richter scale, destroyed two major cities, Yokohama and Tokyo. Nearly 150,000 people died in the earthquake and the resulting fires and tsunamis (Figure 12.18). Rumors quickly spread that Koreans in the area were taking advantage of the chaos, were plotting political insurrection, and had already poisoned wells to contaminate the drinking water. Several thousand Koreans were targeted and killed in response. The

devastation also provided an opportunity for the conservative and pro-military forces in the Japanese government to exercise increased control over society. Martial law was declared, and the repression of radicals was stepped up. Political activists who questioned government policies disappeared.



FIGURE 12.18 A City Destroyed. This 1923 photograph shows the extent of destruction in Tokyo caused by the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923. (credit: modification of work "The Great Kanto Earthquake" by "urbz"/Flickr, CC BY 2.0)

When the emperor died in 1926, his son Hirohito ascended to power, and the Shöwa period began. Japan's political system now became increasingly dominated by the military, and the emperor's role was shrouded in secrecy and worship. The country's military leaders believed more aggressive actions were needed for Japan to control the Pacific as they wanted to.

Operating with a heightened sense of duty and honor, Japan's military establishment and certain factions of its army became increasingly contemptuous of civilian leaders. By the late 1920s, they saw these politicians as incapable of solving domestic issues or addressing challenges from China and the Soviet Union. Some disaffected Japanese field commanders in China and the Japanese colony of Korea began to engage in direct actions, forming criminal conspiracies and cover-ups to secure the future of Japan as they saw it, even as they served the emperor.

Nationalistic secret societies such as the Cherry Blossom Association and the Blood-Pledge Corps blossomed within the Japanese armed forces, particularly in the prestigious Kwantung Army stationed in Korea. The Japanese chafed at perceived unequal treatment in world affairs, such as at the Washington Naval Conference. Anxiety rose about the growth of Chinese nationalism under Chiang Kai-shek and the nationalist **Guomindang** government, and what it might mean for Japanese interests in China.

Manchuria, which bordered Korea, was a semiautonomous province of China. In 1931, to precipitate a political crisis that would enable Japan to intervene, hyper-patriots in the Japanese army conspired to blow up a portion of the South Manchurian Railway near the Manchurian city of Mukden (Shenyang) and blamed the incident on Chinese nationalists. The local Japanese commander took the opportunity to occupy Mukden, and

field commanders in Korea dispatched reinforcements without any orders from Tokyo to do so. Japanese public opinion supported the army's action.

As the Japanese army fanned out in Manchuria, the Kwantung Army approached the former Chinese Emperor, Pu Yi, who had been living in the Japanese concession (an area of the city granted to Japan) in Tianjin since 1925 (Figure 12.19). The Japanese convinced Pu Yi they had acted in the interests of the Manchurian people to preserve law and order in his homeland. They then smuggled him back to Manchuria, and by March 1932, he had been persuaded to accept the position of "chief executive" of the newly born state of Manchukuo, otherwise known as Manchuria. As the Chinese government called for the League of Nations to intervene and pledged to accept its rulings, a British diplomat in Japan warned of "an atmosphere of gun-grease" in Japan.



FIGURE 12.19 The Last Emperor. This photograph shows Pu Yi, China's last emperor and Manchukuo's first and only "chief executive," in the 1930s or 1940s. (credit: "Pu Yi, Qing dynasty, China, Last emperor" by Unknown/ Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In the fall of 1931, the League established the Lytton Commission to look into the situation. In January 1932, U.S. secretary of state Henry Stimson announced the Stimson Doctrine, which refused to recognize Manchukuo as an independent state.

Chinese public opinion was aroused, and in January 1932, clashes erupted between Japanese marines and Chinese troops in the outskirts of Shanghai. In Manchuria, the Lytton Commission found that the Guomindang government of China "was no longer exercising any political or administrative 'authority in any part of Manchuria.'" Japan formally recognized the establishment of Manchukuo, its client state (a subordinate and dependent area), as a theoretically free, completely sovereign, and independent nation (Figure 12.20). The Lytton Report, published in October 1932, found fault on both sides but did not recommend full autonomy for Manchukuo. Japan responded by withdrawing from the League in March 1933. Japan ran the government in Manchukuo as a puppet state, controlling the native Chinese officials. Pu Yi continued as "head" of the government there until the end of the war, after which China took back control.



FIGURE 12.20 A Disputed Client State. Manchukuo (Manchuria) was a client state in Japan's imperialistic sphere of influence from the 1930s to the end of World War II. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

The Japanese secret societies within the military were animated by an exaggerated sense of Japan's destiny. They began a campaign of violence against the Japanese civilian government. Elements of the Imperial Navy launched a coup in March 1932 by executing Japan's former finance minister, Junnosuke Inoue, and Baron Dan, the head of Mitsui Corporation, as traitors to the Japanese people. On May 15, Prime Minister Inukai Tsuyoshi was shot to death by eleven young naval officers. Between 1930 and 1935, the Japanese witnessed twenty terrorist incidents, the assassination of four political leaders, the attempted murders of five others, and four coup attempts.

In the first half of the twentieth century, the dominant political party in Japan was a fusion of Meiji oligarchs, government bureaucrats, and recruits from other political parties. The *Seiyukai*, as it was named, consistently supported a march toward authoritarian government. Beginning in 1932, "national unity" governments dominated by high-ranking military officers increasingly assumed power and repressed threats and enemies. Authoritarian government took hold from the top down in the mid-1930s, as the military intimidated and overpowered civilian governance and created a military dictatorship.

The situation in China was quite fluid through the 1920s and 1930s. Revolutionary activity grew but splintered, and the opposing views of Communists and Nationalists led to civil war. The Guomindang was led by Sun Yat-sen from 1912 until his death in 1925. Sun Yat-sen developed a more inclusive party and made an alliance with those who followed the communist path. After his death, Chiang Kai-shek arose as the leader of the Nationalists. Chiang focused on more traditional positions, and in the late 1920s, he chose to formally oust the communist members of the Guomindang.

One of the people who had joined the communist ranks was a young member from Hunan Province, Mao Zedong (Figure 12.21). Mao had had intermittent schooling but was drawn to the revolutionary fervor of the Russian Revolution of 1917. He had supported both the communist cause and the Guomindang, but after

Chiang ousted the communists, Mao took up arms against him.



FIGURE 12.21 Mao Zedong. This photo of Mao, who was born in 1893, was taken before World War II. (credit: "Mao Zedong in Yan'an" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Mao viewed communism and Marxism in a rather unorthodox way. Generally, Marxism relied on the proletariat, the industrial workers in the factories, gaining class consciousness. However, this model did not exist in China, a land of mostly agricultural peasants and little industrialization. So Mao came to believe that a Marxist state could be built on the peasantry rather than on industrial workers. Chinese communists would seek to overthrow not the capitalists but the landlords who controlled the land. This was a powerful tonic for the mass of Chinese peasants, who hungered for land reform. Such reform would oust the landlords and return all the land to the hands of the peasants who worked on it.

The Nationalists themselves had encouraged assistance from the Soviet Union in the early 1920s, and the Soviet Union had responded with aid and training. Once Chiang became head of the Nationalists, however, he decided to break with the Communists and planned an extermination of the Communist forces. This forced many into hiding, but in 1935, Mao was able to lead them on the **Long March** to a safe retreat in northern China. Many flocked to Mao and his oratory about a new government in China that reflected the will of the people. In 1937, however, the Japanese Empire invaded mainland China. Chiang offered Mao a truce, setting aside the civil war in favor of fighting against the invading forces. Still, the internal battles between these two sides weakened the war effort against the Japanese.

In Southeast Asia, themes of nationalism were also growing in popularity. Following his inability to be heard at negotiations for the Treaty of Versailles, Ho Chi Minh had returned home to the northern part of French Indochina (Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia) and organized guerrilla fighters to begin ousting the French. Championing Vietnamese nationalism, Ho had received training from the Soviet Union and hoped communism would provide a path for his country to achieve independence.

Turkey welcomed the spread of democratic institutions in the 1920s. After the triumph of his nationalist party in the early 1920s, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk established a republic with a constitution and regular elections. The Republic of Turkey disassociated itself from the old Ottoman rule by adopting many Westernized elements. Women had the right to vote, the Arabic alphabet was no longer used, and traditional dress (veils for women and the fez for men) was outlawed. European fashion became the norm. Another major shift in Turkey was its adoption of a fully secular society. The legal system was overhauled to focus on a civil code like those of other European countries rather than on Islamic law.

Latin American countries, too, had some success expanding democracy in the 1920s. In 1910, revolution broke out in Mexico. A struggle over leadership followed in which Mexico was governed by a succession of revolutionary generals without any established way for the next president to come to power. The creation of a political party was meant to fix this, and by the 1920s, the PRI (the Institutional Revolutionary Party) had been formed. Though subject to name changes through the decades, this party dominated Mexican politics until the twenty-first century. There were regular elections and an expansion of voting, reflecting at least the outward acceptance of democratic institutions. However, the PRI effectively ran a one-party state, and all presidents and nearly all the members of the legislature were members of the party. In 1938, a new president, Lázaro Cárdenas, focused on the plight of ordinary workers in Mexico. He supported labor unions, nationalized the oil industry, promoted land reform, and attempted to bring more socialist policies to Mexico.

Other countries throughout Latin America extended voting rights in the early 1900s. Chile suffered its share of chaos as reformers tried to seize political power there. Ultimately, Chile was able to build a series of coalition governments in the 1930s that brought stability for many years. By the 1920s, political instability was increasingly common in other places like Argentina. In September 1930, General José Félix Uriburu seized power in the capital, Buenos Aires. Uriburu had been heavily influenced by the Italian version of fascism. He banned political parties and suspended the constitution. His was the first of several military coups that occurred in Argentina in the ensuing decades.

A New Culture for the Masses

Alongside the expansion of democracy, the 1920s also shepherded in a new world of mass culture and mass media. Technological innovations let people connect nearly instantaneously and have shared experiences without being in the same place. Where the infrastructure existed, it was radio and the movies that made this possible.

Radio wave technology had been pioneered in the late 1800s, but its widespread use and cultural influence were still decades off. By the 1920s, radio's value as a news medium was becoming clear, but its true influence came from commercial radio shows, supported through another new medium called advertising that filled the airwaves in the mid-1920s. From that point through the interwar years, people could gather to hear the latest episodes of entertaining soap operas, mystery shows, and westerns, along with news items and live reporting of sports events.

Silent films had ruled movie theaters in the 1900s and 1910s, but beginning in the late 1920s, "talking pictures" emerged and quickly became the dominant form of motion pictures. Mass media technologies meant people could watch the same movies, follow the same soap operas, and cheer for the same teams despite being hundreds or thousands of miles apart. These experiences created a mass culture for the first time, uniting people whose lives had once been dominated by regional and local concerns.

The film industries in many countries developed somewhat differently in the 1930s. In the United States, the industry was centered in Hollywood, a district in Los Angeles, California. The bosses of movie studios wanted to make films that were popular with audiences and relatively cheap to produce. In other countries, the film industries were similarly popular, but many were also supportive of artistic experimentation in film. The German film industry took a modernist approach, seen in the silent 1920 horror film *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, for example, and many of its films critiqued politics and society in the postwar era. In Japan, the film industry went through a period of reform in the 1920s as producers and directors began adopting different filmmaking techniques instead of simply recording a theatrical production. Some films took leftist positions that reflected the growth of unions in Japanese society, but other genres such as those featuring *samurai* characters also became popular and well known.

People were also embracing new ways of living in the 1920s. Women, in particular, were ready to fulfill their updated expectations for themselves. The "New Woman" of this era abandoned the traditions of the past to enter an exciting future. Women in many countries were also adopting new plans for their lives, such as

pursuing higher education, although a college degree was still quite rare among women. There were also many new jobs in the workplace that women were eager to hold. In Europe and the United States, secretarial work was becoming dominated by women rather than the men who had held such jobs in the 1800s. Nursing also became an important career option for women.

The New Woman was a significant departure from the nineteenth-century Western woman, who wore her long hair piled high on her head and dressed in high-necked blouses and ankle-length skirts. Young women in the 1920s wore knee-length skirts, discarded corsets, and cut their hair short. They went out in the evenings to drink and dance and socialize. A woman who adopted these behaviors became known as a **flapper** in the United States, due to the way these women danced with arms flapping from their sides (Figure 12.22).



FIGURE 12.22 A Flapper. This early photo of American film star Clara Bow personifies the flapper image. After starring in *It*, a romantic comedy in which she played a salesperson working in a department store, Bow became known as the "It Girl" and symbolized the New Woman of the 1920s. (credit: "Photo of Clara Bow in 1921" by Brewster Magazine/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The spread of this modern image of a woman demonstrated the influence the West and especially the United States already had on popular culture. The New Woman appeared around the world on signs, in books, in song lyrics, and throughout the burgeoning movie industry. Advertisers, in particular, were quick to adopt her image, making it one to which female consumers could aspire. Each country had its own version—the *moga* (modern girl) in Japan, the *garçonne* (tomboy or flapper) in France.

BEYOND THE BOOK

The New Woman in China

Flip through the pages of the Chinese women's magazine *Ling long*, (https://openstax.org/l/77LingIong) a weekly publication that was highly popular in the 1930s. Look for examples of Western influence on Chinese culture. (Be

sure to click the arrows on the *left* to move forward through the pages, in keeping with the way Chinese books were formatted in this period.) The site includes a feature that will read the content aloud in Mandarin.

Access multimedia content (http://openstax.org/books/world-history-volume-2/pages/12-5-resistance-civil-rights-and-democracy)

- What are some examples from the magazine of Western influence on Chinese culture?
- Does anything strike you as unusual in the collection of images in this magazine? How would you characterize the images as a whole?

Key Terms

Balfour Declaration a 1917 statement by British foreign secretary Alfred Balfour publicly supporting the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine
Beer Hall Putsch a 1923 attempt by Adolf Hitler and his followers to take over the city of Munich
collectivization the taking over of agriculture by a national government
fascism a political movement focused on transforming citizens into committed nationalists striving for unity and racial purity to remedy a perceived national decline
Five-Year Plans domestic plans adopted by the Soviet Union in the 1930s to target industrial and agricultural output goals that were usually unrealistic
flapper woman of the 1920s who embraced an independent lifestyle while wearing shorter skirts and hairstyles
gold standard a monetary system in which the value of a country's currency is tied directly to the value of gold
gross domestic product (GDP) the value of all the goods and services a country produces in one year
Guomindang the Chinese Nationalist Party founded by Sun Yat-sen and later led by Chiang Kai-shek
Irish Free State a state formed by the twenty-six southern counties in Ireland and later called Ireland
Kellogg-Briand Pact a 1928 treaty signed by more than sixty countries to renounce war as a foreign policy tool
League of Nations a multinational organization created by the 1919 Treaty of Versailles to promote the goal of collective security
Long March a northward march of communist supporters led by Mao Zedong that saved them from extermination by the Guomindang
mandate system a system in which control of an area was transferred from one government to another under the oversight of the League of Nations
New Deal a U.S. program of economic reform under Franklin Roosevelt that created work-relief programs
New Economic Policy (NEP) Lenin's policy that introduced some aspects of capitalism in response to hardships and growing discontent among the Russian people
New Negro movement a movement that developed in the 1920s as African Americans agitated for increased civil rights
Pan-African movement a movement based on the idea that all people in Africa could work together to achieve greater independence
reparations monetary payments to be made to the Allied nations by Germany to compensate for destruction they suffered in the war
Salt March a two-hundred-mile march led by Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi in India in 1930 to protest the British prohibition on collecting salt and the heavy taxes on its purchase
***Schutzstaffel* (SS)** German Nazi paramilitary organization designed for security and intimidation
Sinn Féin a political party organized in 1905 that argued for greater sovereignty for Ireland
socialist realism an artistic movement in the Soviet Union that took the worker as a subject and was about patriotism as much as art
suffragist a person who protested in favor of women's right to vote
totalitarianism a form of government in which the state controls all aspects of a person's life
Treaty of Versailles a 1919 treaty that formally ended World War I, redrew the map of Europe, and created the League of Nations

Section Summary

12.1 Recovering from World War I

A period of significant change followed World War I. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles fully blamed Germany for the war and sought to punish it by assessing reparations of more than $33 billion and physically shrinking the country. New countries emerged through the redrawing of Europe's maps. Massive physical rebuilding was necessary in former combat areas in Europe, while the United States emerged as a major player in world

politics and a creditor nation on the brink of prosperity. The economic repercussions of the treaty proved devastating in Germany, where economic instability and mistrust of the new government opened the door for the rise of the Nazi Party. In Asia, Japan was growing in both political and military power, positioning itself as a force throughout the Pacific. Yet in the 1920s and 1930s, hope still prevailed that no such conflict would ever occur again, underscored by international efforts to both prevent war and intervene in aggression before it rose to the status of war.

12.2 The Formation of the Soviet Union

The Bolsheviks' effort to wrest control of Russia did not go unchallenged, as evidenced by the civil war that unfolded after World War I. Though ultimately successful in consolidating power, throughout the 1920s the Bolsheviks continued to disagree among themselves about the proper application of communist principles. The power vacuum left after Vladimir Lenin's death allowed Joseph Stalin to emerge as the leader of the new Soviet Union. Stalin's Five-Year Plans brought not only more centralized economic control but a more authoritarian government that compelled obedience, no matter the resistance or the impact, including death and famine. Life in the Soviet Union became more structured and rigid as the government asserted control over all aspects of civilian life. Anyone even remotely suspected of disloyalty faced imprisonment or death.

12.3 The Great Depression

The Great Depression of the 1930s was an economic downturn unparalleled in modern history. The interconnectedness of the world's economies became clear as countries around the globe suffered the effects. While no single event caused the Great Depression, few people were left unscathed. Nations tried innovative ways to provide for their people, enacting work-relief programs, food programs, and new economic policies to bring their economies back under control. While many programs helped mitigate the pain of the Depression, none fully solved it, and some people embraced new political parties that offered different solutions. In the case of Italy and Germany, these new parties and politicians exploited the decade's economic instability for their own ends in a grab for greater power.

12.4 Old Empires and New Colonies

The Treaty of Versailles created new countries and new governments and encouraged many groups' desire for independence. However, independence did not come without struggle. European powers hoped to retain their hold over resource-rich regions around the world through the colonial or mandate system. Still, many Jewish people celebrated the promise of a Jewish homeland, while rising nationalism in Africa began to reshape the politics and geography of that continent. The struggle for independence in India took both violent and nonviolent forms as leaders chafed against British rule.

12.5 Resistance, Civil Rights, and Democracy

The years following World War I left many democratic yearnings unfulfilled around the globe. African Americans in the United States were able to seize new job opportunities and greater mobility, but they still faced marked racism and limitations. Efforts toward self-rule in Ireland made substantial progress but were also tainted by violence. The promise of greater democracy in China was subsumed by civil war. In Latin America, the hope of greater equality among social classes was frustrated by political instability and the first appearance of more authoritarian leaders. Many aspects of Western society wound their way around the globe via the new technologies of mass media. Peoples around the world clearly wanted change, but implementing it sometimes proved exceedingly difficult.

Assessments

Review Questions

1. What group or group did the Palmer Raids in the United States target?

a. antiwar protestors

b. Russians and suspected radicals
c. the Ku Klux Klan
d. Republican politicians

2. Why did the U.S. Senate oppose the Treaty of Versailles?
a. It was too long a document.
b. The new borders drawn in Europe were believed to be unworkable.
c. The Senate did not want to join the League of Nations, which was established by the treaty.
d. The treaty was dangerous and could cause another war in Europe.

3. What economic situation developed in Germany in the early 1920s?
a. deflation
b. depression
c. hyperinflation
d. rising gross domestic product (GDP)

4. What did the Kellogg-Briand Pact do?
a. It outlawed war as an instrument of foreign policy.
b. It established a French-American alliance for the next five decades.
c. It called for Germany to be blamed for World War I.
d. It set up loans to Latin American countries to cope with economic recessions.

5. What was a result of the New Economic Policy?
a. It brought the economy completely under government control for the first time.
b. It kept the government in control of the economy but introduced aspects of capitalism.
c. It was rejected by Lenin as too radical.
d. It was rejected by Stalin as too conservative.

6. What is collectivization?
a. the development of state-run farms for the entire agricultural sector
b. the grouping of children destined for certain career paths
c. the group of politicians in the national legislature who worked to oppose Stalin
d. the foreign policy centered on exporting revolution to other countries

7. What were *kulaks?*
a. Soviet bureaucrats
b. specially trained soldiers
c. medals awarded for special services to the Soviet Union
d. wealthier peasants

8. What did cities experience during the 1930s in the Soviet Union?
a. little population growth
b. a decrease in population as people left to work on collective farms
c. new theaters that opened to present Western plays
d. housing and food shortages that occurred as the population increased

9. What did the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act do?
a. It decreased sales taxes on goods in the United States.
b. It set up a fluctuating tariff system depending on the source of foreign goods.
c. It raised tariffs on foreign goods in the United States and caused other countries to retaliate.

d. It set quotas on foreign goods in the United States.

10. What happened to trade during the Great Depression?
a. Trade remained at its pre-Depression levels.
b. Trade increased through the United States and Europe but fell elsewhere.
c. Trade decreased across the globe.
d. Trade decreased only in Europe but stayed stable elsewhere.

11. Why were people drawn to communism in the 1930s?
a. The Communist Party was the most successful organization getting people elected to office.
b. The Communist Party rebranded itself as a mainstream party in the 1930s.
c. The Communist Party offered an alternative to the capitalist systems being undermined by the Great Depression.
d. The Communist Party exploited people's desire for entertainment by producing movies and holding rallies on a regular basis.

12. How did Hitler first gain the office of chancellor?
a. by leading a march on Berlin
b. by being invited to form a government by President Hindenburg
c. by seizing control of government during the Beer Hall Putsch
d. by solving Germany's economic problems following the Great Depression

13. Spain's General Francisco Franco gained power as a result of _____.
a. a cooperative treaty with the Soviet Union
b. a request by the Spanish king
c. an electoral victory
d. victory in the Spanish Civil War

14. What was the Salt March in India a protest against?
a. the importation of foreign salt
b. the industrial development of coastal areas
c. repressive laws regarding women under the age of thirty years
d. the high British taxes assessed on salt

15. What was one consequence of the Balfour Declaration?
a. Palestine was turned over to French control.
b. A Jewish homeland was formed in Palestine.
c. Turkey had to adopt Christianity as the state religion.
d. Iraq became an independent kingdom.

16. What happened at Amritsar in 1919?
a. British troops stormed a holdout of German troops.
b. British Indian Army troops fired on Indian protestors.
c. Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi led a protest to the Indian National Congress.
d. Riots occurred over oil-drilling rights.

17. Which country controlled German New Guinea after World War I?
a. New Zealand
b. Australia
c. Japan

d. France

18. Why did women receive the right to vote in so many places in the 1920s?
a. as a reward for their efforts and support in World War I
b. because of political agreements reached in the late 1800s
c. as a speedy response to women's requests
d. because businesses believed the vote would make women more eager to work outside the home

19. What was different about Mao Zedong's view on Marxism and communism?
a. Mao believed communism had already arrived in many countries in the 1800s.
b. Mao believed it was not possible for China to become a communist country.
c. Mao viewed peasants as the workers and landlords as the capitalists.
d. Mao believed revolution in China could happen only if it came from outside.

20. Which South American country's leader was influenced by Italian fascism in the 1930s?
a. Chile
b. Argentina
c. Peru
d. Colombia

21. Which of the following would a flapper do, unlike women of an earlier era?
a. drink in public
b. go to church every Sunday
c. marry early in life
d. work on a farm

Check Your Understanding Questions

1. How did the map of Europe change under the Treaty of Versailles?

2. What immediate effect did the Treaty of Versailles have on Germany?

3. Give some examples of the world's attempts at preserving peace in the 1920s and 1930s. How successful were they at the time?

4. How were the economy and social legislation in the early Soviet state different from the situation under Stalin's rule? How were they the same?

5. What were the goals and effects of Stalin's first Five-Year Plan?

6. What were the results of forced collectivization?

7. What were the causes of the Great Depression?

8. How did the New Deal help bring relief to American consumers?

9. Look at the following figure and note the changes in the geography of Europe after the Treaty of Versailles. How could some of those changes have stirred up resentments among political leaders and populations that might have contributed to the rise of fascism in the 1920s and 1930s?



(a) Pre-World War I Europe



(b) Post-World War I Europe

10. Which countries gained former German territories in Africa after World War I?

11. To what extent did Britain allow for greater Indian self-rule in the 1930s?

12. How did the Great Kanto Earthquake affect Japan?

13. In what ways did Turkey become Westernized?

14. How did the movies and radio create mass culture in the 1920s?

Application and Reflection Questions

1. How did the Paris Peace Conference and the Washington Naval Conference reestablish the international order in Europe and Asia?
2. What were the long-ranging effects of World War I on the global economy? How did actions taken in the immediate aftermath of the war influence these outcomes?
3. How did the average Russian worker's life change under Stalin? Did workers regard Stalin as a villain or a savior? Why?
4. Is loss of personal freedom in exchange for an improved standard of living an acceptable trade-off? Why or why not? What might a Russian in the 1930s have said?
5. To what extent should a government help its citizens in times of economic crisis? Why?
6. Is a planned economy a solution to the problem of economic depression? Why or why not? If it is, should Western countries soften their commitment to free enterprise? Why or why not?
7. How do the European decisions made in the aftermath of World War I continue to affect Asia and Africa today?
8. Was the current conflict between the Jewish people and the Palestinians inevitable? Why or why not?
9. How did liberties and civil rights expand in Asia during the 1920s and 1930s?
10. What would have drawn people in China to either the Nationalist or the Communist cause? What type of person may have been drawn to each? Why?
11. In what ways were the new forms of culture in the 1920s and 1930s reflections of people's political concerns?
12. In what ways were flappers a reaction to World War I?

The Causes and Consequences of World War II

13



FIGURE 13.1 The Battlefields of WWII. A German soldier prepares to throw a grenade at opposing Russian forces during Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941. (credit: modification of work "German troops in Russia" by National Archives at College Park/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

CHAPTER OUTLINE

13.1 An Unstable Peace
13.2 Theaters of War
13.3 Keeping the Home Fires Burning
13.4 Out of the Ashes

INTRODUCTION The devastation and dislocations of World War I were so profound that much of Europe was hard-pressed to recover in its aftermath. Through the tumultuous 1920s, voters worldwide looked to authoritative leaders and parties to solve their country's problems. This tendency spawned a new approach to governance in the form of fascism and totalitarianism, which gained power and influence in many places across the globe. The resulting regimes propelled the world to a bloodier and more devastating sequel to World War I—World War II. The second global conflict in less than half a century began with Germany's invasion of Poland in 1939 and Britain and France's decision to oppose it. By the summer of 1940, western Europe had fallen to German armies, and in 1941, Germany invaded the Soviet Union (Figure 13.1). As Europe erupted in flames, on the other side of the world, the armies of the Empire of Japan swept through Asia and the Pacific, enmeshing millions more in a brutal conflict.

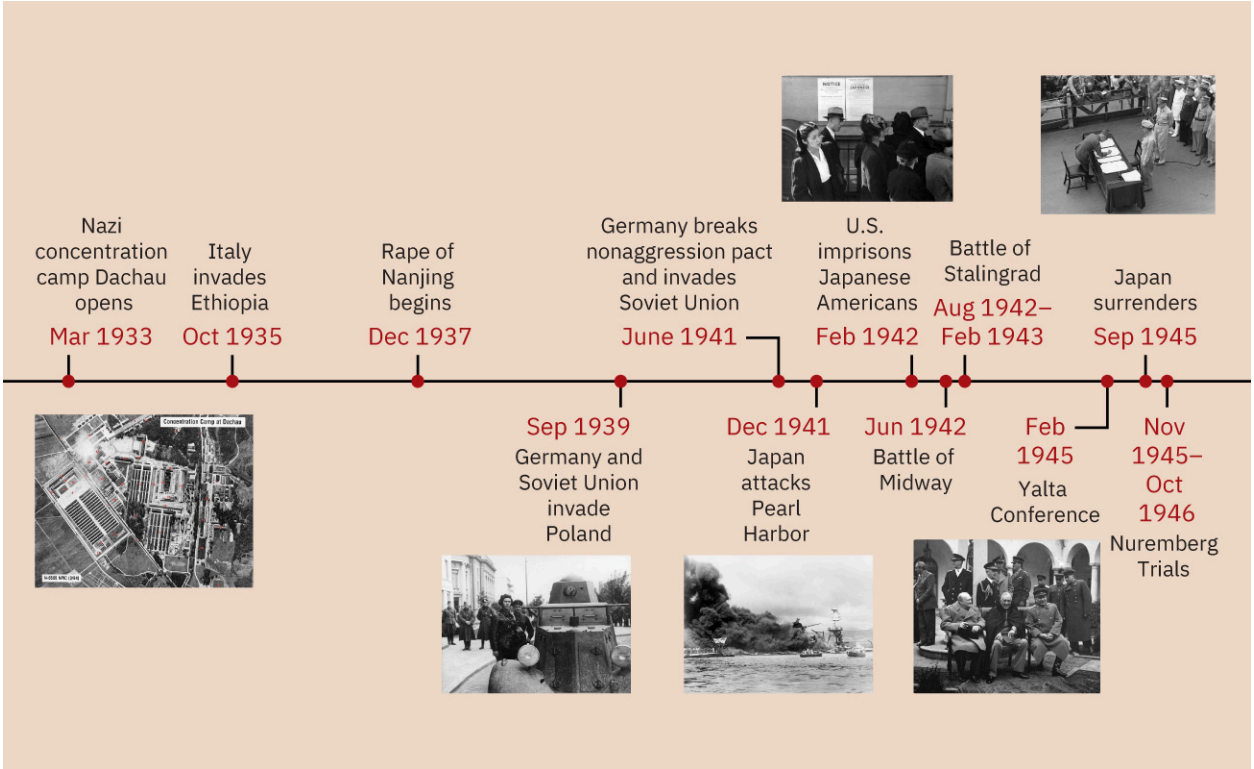


FIGURE 13.2 Timeline: The Causes and Consequences of World War II. (credit "Mar 1933": modification of work "Concentration camp dachau aerial view" by USHMM, courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "Sep 1939": modification of work "The German-soviet Invasion of Poland, 1939" by Imperial War Museums/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "Dec 1941": modification of work "WWII Pearl Harbor Attack (286467015)" by National Archives and Records Administration/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "Feb 1942": modification of work "Japanese internment detainees" by War Relocation Authority/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "Feb 1945": modification of work "'Big Three' met at Yalta" by National Archives and Records Administration/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "Sep 1945": modification of work "Japanese surrender, Tokyo Bay, September 2, 1945" by U.S. National Archives/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

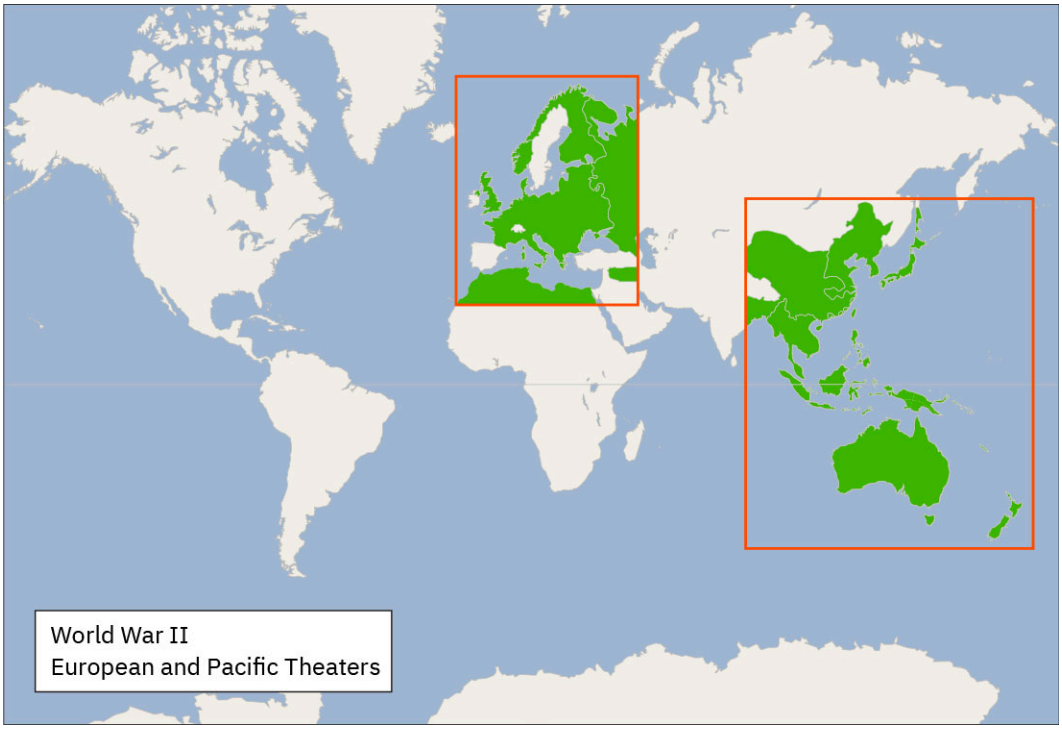


FIGURE 13.3 Locator Map: The Causes and Consequences of World War II. (credit: modification of work "World map blank shorelines" by Maciej Jaros/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

13.1 An Unstable Peace

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Analyze Japan's efforts to expand its empire in Asia and the Pacific
- Discuss Hitler's actions in the 1930s and how they led to World War II
- Explain how and why the United States was less engaged in responding to threats to peace in the 1930s
- Discuss why Japan eventually decided to attack the United States

The attempts by Western nations to build a structure of world peace with the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations ultimately unraveled during the 1930s. National and international grievances, competing ideologies, and economic self-interest all hammered away at the fragile international order.

Asia for Asians

The fight between Japan and China in the 1930s lit the fuse that made World War II a global conflict. The spark may have been Japan's long-standing perception of Western racism, dating back to the nineteenth century and shown more recently in the rejection of Japan's proposed racial equality amendment to the Treaty of Versailles. This had been done at the insistence of Australia and the British delegation. Part of Japan's underlying thinking was to rid Asia of Western colonial influences, although it also clearly saw itself as the new leader of the region.

Since the end of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, Japan had held the right to lease the South Manchuria Railway in northeastern China, a privilege previously held by Russia. However, Japan now claimed rights to control extensive territory in northeastern China outside the railway zone and stationed its troops in the region. In 1931, these troops detonated explosives along the track of the South Manchuria Railway and blamed the act on Chinese saboteurs. This gave Japan an excuse to invade and annex Manchuria (also called Manchukuo) on the pretext that it was defending Japanese interests. To deflect international attention from

this incident, commonly known as the Mukden Incident, the Japanese provoked some sharp clashes with Chinese troops in Shanghai. A cease-fire on May 5, 1932, concluded the First Shanghai Incident.

Simultaneously, the Imperial Japanese Kwantung Army in Manchukuo continued to expand its operations and control. The army pushed southward to the Great Wall, absorbing more Chinese territory into its zone of control. Eventually, on May 22, 1933, the Japanese and China's Guomindang government (GMD, also spelled "Kuomintang") concluded the Tanggu Truce, forming a demilitarized zone that stretched one hundred kilometers south of the Great Wall and essentially detached Manchukuo from the nation of China. Thereafter, Manchukuo, which had rich coal and iron ore deposits, was developed as an economic engine for the Japanese Empire, securing North China, countering any spread of communism or Soviet influence, and preparing the way for a wider conflict (Figure 13.4).



FIGURE 13.4 A Disputed Territory. Beginning in 1933, the Tanggu Truce between China and Japan allowed Manchukuo (Manchuria) to be developed as an economic engine for Japan. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

The nationalist GMD government and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) had been fighting a civil war since 1927. In 1934, GMD troops displaced from Manchukuo by the Japanese had repositioned themselves south of the Great Wall when President Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi)[1] ordered them to attack the Chinese communists under Mao Zedong at their nearby base in Yan'an, Shaanxi Province. Chinese public opinion rejected the idea of Chinese fighting Chinese in the face of Japan's aggression. In December 1936, during the so-called Xian Incident, Chiang Kai-shek was taken prisoner in Xian, China, by Manchurian forces and forced to negotiate a cessation of the Civil War and the creation of the Second United Front—unifying the GMD and the CCP against Japan.

Tensions in North China escalated early in July 1937, as Japanese troops were conducting night exercises near

1 When Chinese words are written using the English-language alphabet, one of two systems is typically used: pinyin or Wade-Giles. The pinyin system is preferred by the People's Republic of China, and most Chinese names in this textbook are written in pinyin. In the case of Chiang Kai-shek, the textbook's editors decided to make an exception and spell his name according to the Wade-Giles system because this is how his name appears in most other history textbooks. Jiang Jieshi is how his name would be written in pinyin.

the Marco Polo Bridge ten miles west of Beijing and firefights erupted between them and Chinese troops. The Japanese quickly overcame the Chinese forces and secured their control of the area around Beijing and Tianjin.

Chiang Kai-shek then decided to shift the fighting to the Shanghai region, where he had better forces and a seeming numerical advantage. The Japanese responded by mounting a major offensive, and by November 1937, the GMD forces had been badly mauled. After losing 250,000 troops, they retreated westward to China's capital in Nanjing. Japanese forces closed in on Nanjing, and Chinese troops continued to retreat westward. On December 12, 1937, Chinese resistance at Nanjing ceased, and Japanese troops entered the defenseless city, commencing a terrifying seven-week reign of terror and plunder. Foreign witnesses in the city estimated that twenty thousand Chinese women and girls were raped. Some thirty thousand Chinese soldiers who could not be evacuated were executed, and perhaps as many as twelve thousand civilians were also killed. Other historians put the number of dead at 300,000. (Such discrepancies in numbers occur because historians may disagree on which deaths can be attributed to an event.) The tragedy became known as the "Rape of Nanking" (the older spelling of Nanjing) and was taken up at the Tokyo War Crimes trials after the war.

Japan redoubled its efforts to subdue China. Having retreated farther west to defend the GMD's new provisional capital at Chongqing, some GMD armies put up stiff resistance in places, but by 1938, they had been pushed back significantly. To prevent further Japanese advances, Chiang Kai-shek ordered the opening of the dikes on the Yellow River, flooding large portions of central China, killing an estimated 400,000 people and dislocating ten million more. In December 1937, the Japanese sank the USS *Panay*, a gunboat on the Yangtze River that was extracting American and Chinese civilians from Nanjing at the time. The Japanese government accepted responsibility and apologized for the *Panay* incident, paying restitution of more than $2 million (at least $37 million in today's money). Through all this, public opinion in the United States, while increasingly shifting in favor of China, was still undecided about entering any war.

The Great Depression and the rise of fascism in Europe seemed to signal the decline of the older Western-dominated world order. Japanese intellectuals, politicians, military leaders, and mass media envisioned that Japan could fashion a "new order" of regional supremacy for itself. In an August 1940 radio address, Japanese foreign minister Yosuke Matsuoka broached his vision for a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere as a blueprint for Japan's ascent to world-power status. A year later, he published a book further developing his ideas for liberating Asians from European domination and expelling the "white race bloc" suppressing Asia's destiny. By 1941, creating the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere had become the publicly articulated objective of Japan's Asian aggression, and it remained so until Japan's defeat in 1945.

Eventually, finding themselves in a stalemate in China and needing more natural resources to sustain the war and the goal of creating the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, the Japanese military and civilian governments began to consider a thrust into Southeast Asia. Such a move would inevitably mean a confrontation with the United States and its colony the Philippines. Japan conceived a desperately hopeful plan of war against the United States and an initial knockout strike on the U.S. Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii.

Peace in Our Time

In furtherance of his promise to revive Italian glory, Benito Mussolini (popularly known as *Il Duce*, "the leader") sought to expand the Italian protectorate of Somali in East Africa. A border dispute with Ethiopia, which Italy had long sought to colonize, arose in November 1934, and the Ethiopians took the matter to the League of Nations on January 5, 1935. When a full-scale Italian invasion of Ethiopia began on October 3 of that year, the League Council immediately declared Italy the aggressor, and fifty-one member nations approved sanctions against Italy. Unwilling to defy Mussolini, however, the British and French undermined the League in a secret agreement permitting Italy to absorb Ethiopia into a special economic zone. In May 1936, Italian forces took the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa, and shortly thereafter, Italy formally annexed the country. In Italy, Mussolini's popularity grew, especially among Italian youth.

Britain and France were even more reluctant to confront Germany. Adolf Hitler had often pledged to scrap the Treaty of Versailles. His first step came just nine months after becoming chancellor when he conducted referenda to let the German people decide whether they wanted to remain in the League of Nations. The result was predictable, and in October 1933, Germany withdrew from the League.

By the 1930s, some in Britain and elsewhere had come to view Hitler as a deeply patriotic German seeking merely to serve the interests of his battered nation. Others saw him and his politics as potentially dangerous and unsettling to European stability. The British government did, however, negotiate with Germany to contain the size of the German navy, and France sought a Treaty of Mutual Assistance with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Using the French-Soviet cooperation as an excuse, in March 1935 Hitler publicly announced that Germany had already secretly begun to rearm in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles. On March 2, 1936, about three thousand German troops reoccupied the Rhineland, a part of Germany demilitarized by the Treaty. France feared protesting this too strongly because it did not want and was not ready to fight another war. The British public did not see the move as overtly hostile.

Though the Versailles Treaty specifically prohibited unification of Austria with Germany, Hitler moved to accomplish this anyway. Austria's prime minister attempted to stave off unification by calling for a referendum in March, but the next day Hitler preemptively sent troops into Austria. When the referendum was held, the people voted for union with Germany. Flush with his victory over Austria, Hitler continued to "gather the German people," and his eyes turned to those portions of Czechoslovakia called the Sudetenland, containing some three million ethnic Germans, including many who had been folded into that nation by the Treaty of Versailles (Figure 13.5).



FIGURE 13.5 The Sudetenland. Inhabited largely by German speakers, the Sudetenland wrapped around the northern, western, and southern edges of Czechoslovakia, where that nation bordered Germany and Poland. (credit: modification of work "Die Ausdehnung des Deutschen Reiches im Jahr 1939" by Demis/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The Czechoslovaks, in the only real democracy created by the Treaty of Versailles, pinned their hopes for defense against Germany on the western nations and on treaties for mutual defense signed with France in the 1920s and early 1930s. Sudeten Germans had organized their own Nazi Party, however, and began agitating to join Germany. By 1938, it seemed that Britain and France were most concerned with avoiding another major war, so to defuse the situation, the Czechoslovak government granted the Sudeten Germans self-government. Tensions grew. As Hitler pressed for full inclusion of the Sudetenland in Germany and war seemed on the horizon, British prime minister Neville Chamberlain flew to Germany to meet with him. Hitler seemed prepared for war. Instead, Chamberlain proposed to hold a general conference to address the crisis over the

Sudetenland, and Hitler agreed.

The Munich Conference was attended by Chamberlain, Hitler, French prime minister Édouard Daladier, and Mussolini (ostensibly a neutral party but one who had already assured Hitler of his support). On September 30, they produced the **Munich Pact**, in which Czechoslovakia granted territorial concessions to Germany, Poland, and Hungary in what has since been called *appeasement* (Figure 13.6). The hope of Great Britain and France was that Hitler would be satisfied and cease to be aggressive. The alternative meant fighting Germany, which neither government wanted.



FIGURE 13.6 "Peace in Our Time." British prime minister Neville Chamberlain (center, waving a paper) presents the Munich Pact upon returning to London on September 30, 1938. (credit: modification of work "Munich Agreement" by Imperial War Museums/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The Western world had not yet decided which was the greater threat to world peace, a fascist Germany or the communist Soviet Union. Some political conservatives in England and France hoped for a German alliance against the Soviets, as did Hitler. The British military was not confident of its preparedness for war, and the isolationist policy of the United States diminished the hope of any aid from Washington. With anxiety growing in London over Britain's possessions in Asia and Japanese aggressions there, domestic support for negotiated solutions was widespread among liberals, and a bargain with Hitler seemed a reasonable policy. In the ensuing weeks, German troops entered the relinquished areas, and by the spring of 1939, Germany had gone on to absorb the rest of Czechoslovakia.

During these years, the Nazis were progressively implementing increasingly severe persecutions of Jewish people. First, a law enacted on April 7, 1933, banned them from positions in the civil service. That same year, the first and longest-surviving Nazi concentration camp, Dachau, was set up near Munich, intended for political prisoners (Figure 13.7). Several laws collectively known as the **Nuremberg Laws** were promulgated in 1935, institutionalizing Nazi racial theories and discrimination against Jewish people. A Jewish person was defined as anyone with three Jewish grandparents, regardless of whether they were active in the Jewish religious community or how deeply they identified as German. Jewish people were denied citizenship in the new Nazi-led German empire, called the Third Reich, and were forbidden to marry or have sexual relations

with ethnic Germans, designated as "Aryans." They lost the right to vote and most other political rights.

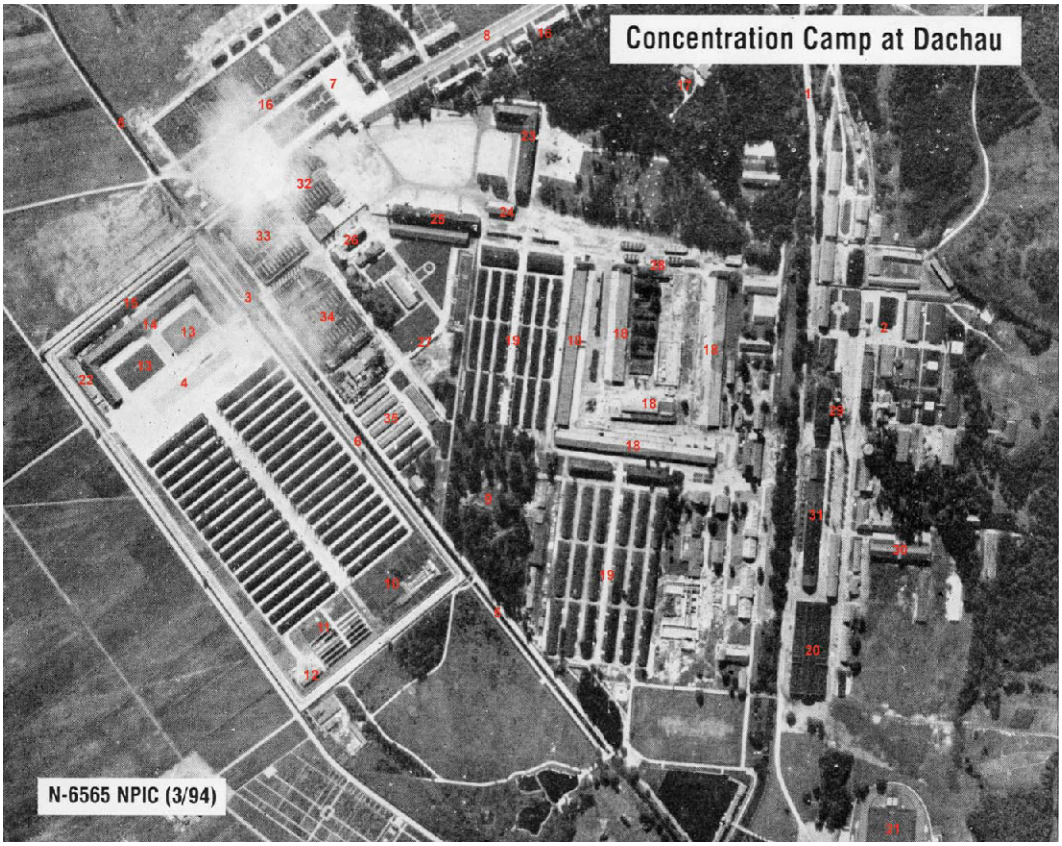


FIGURE 13.7 The Concentration Camp at Dachau. This U.S. Army aerial photo shows the concentration camp at Dachau, which was opened in 1933. The numbers on the photo label different parts of the camp. On the far right are barracks, a hospital, and storehouses for the troops who guarded the camp. (credit: "Concentration camp dachau aerial view" by USHMM, courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, College Park/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Germany was becoming legally structured as an "us" versus "them" nation, and the treatment of its Jewish people demonstrated the fearsome power of the state. Two days of violent attacks on them in November 1938, ignited by the assassination of a German diplomat in Paris by a Polish Jewish man, became known as *Kristallnacht*, the "Night of Broken Glass." Almost every synagogue in Germany was torched during the rampage, as well as 90 percent of Jewish-owned businesses. Some thirty thousand Jewish males were taken into custody and sent to Dachau, which by then had been augmented by camps at Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald. All but about two thousand were released in 1939.

Kristallnacht caused a severe deterioration in Germany's international standing. In Britain, an outraged public pressured Parliament into allowing unaccompanied Jewish children under seventeen to take refuge in England. During the nine months before the war, this *Kindertransport* may have rescued as many as ten thousand children. Across Europe, many Jewish people became refugees as they fled the oppressive politics of the Nazis. A thirty-two-nation international conference was held in France during the summer of 1938 to solve the Jewish refugee crisis, but no country stepped forward to accept any such immigrants. In February 1939, a bill was introduced into the U.S. Congress to allow ten thousand Jewish children to enter the country in 1939 and another ten thousand in 1940. Though popular, the bill failed due to lukewarm political support.

In Asia, Shanghai was an option for Jewish refugees looking for a new home. The city, along with Franco's Spain, was unconditionally open to Jewish migration. Nominally still a German ally in 1939, the Nationalist government in the southwestern corner of China formulated a plan to provide a haven for European Jewish

refugees. It had multiple reasons for doing so, including attracting international Jewish support and gaining favor with Britain and the United States against Japan. A number of schemes were hatched, both by members of the GMD government and by private individuals, one even gaining the support of scientist Albert Einstein. GMD diplomats in Europe like Feng Shan Ho, consul general in Vienna, issued visas to Jewish refugees seeking to relocate to Shanghai. A Jewish community of more than twenty thousand displaced persons had reached the city by the end of the war.

In May 1939, almost one thousand Jewish refugees escaping Nazi persecution took passage on the MS *St. Louis*, a German ocean liner, heading for sanctuary in Cuba. But Cuba refused to admit them. The ship's captain then tried to get Canada or the United States to accept the refugees, but that effort failed as well. While the ship sailed around to no avail, conditions on board deteriorated to the point that it came to be called the "voyage of the damned." Finally, after a month, the ship was forced to return to Antwerp, Belgium, where most of the passengers disembarked. Ultimately, England accepted about three hundred of them, France took some, and a few more went to Belgium and the Netherlands. Of the original passengers, 70 percent survived the war, but more than two hundred were killed by the Nazis.

The ambition to expand eastward had motivated Germany for some time. The hunt for ***Lebensraum***, or living space, had fueled its search for overseas colonies in the late 1800s and was an express goal of World War I. In the lands seized from countries in eastern Europe, Hitler envisioned German families settling and producing large numbers of children, supplanting the native Slavic populations. In this way, physically and culturally "superior" Germans would reclaim Europe from "inferior" Jewish and Slavic peoples. Similar ideologies meant to rationalize the displacement of a territory's residents by a supposedly superior population have appeared in history before, like Manifest Destiny in the United States and Japan's expansionist policies in Korea and Manchuria. To the east of Germany, the Treaty of Versailles had created an independent Poland and awarded parts of Germany to Poland in the process. This "Polish Corridor," in an area where many Polish people already lived, was intended to give Poland access to a port, and the German city of Danzig (Gdańsk), bordering it, was made a semi-independent city-state with its own parliament (Figure 13.8). Poland was a prime target of the Nazis as they looked for *Lebensraum*.

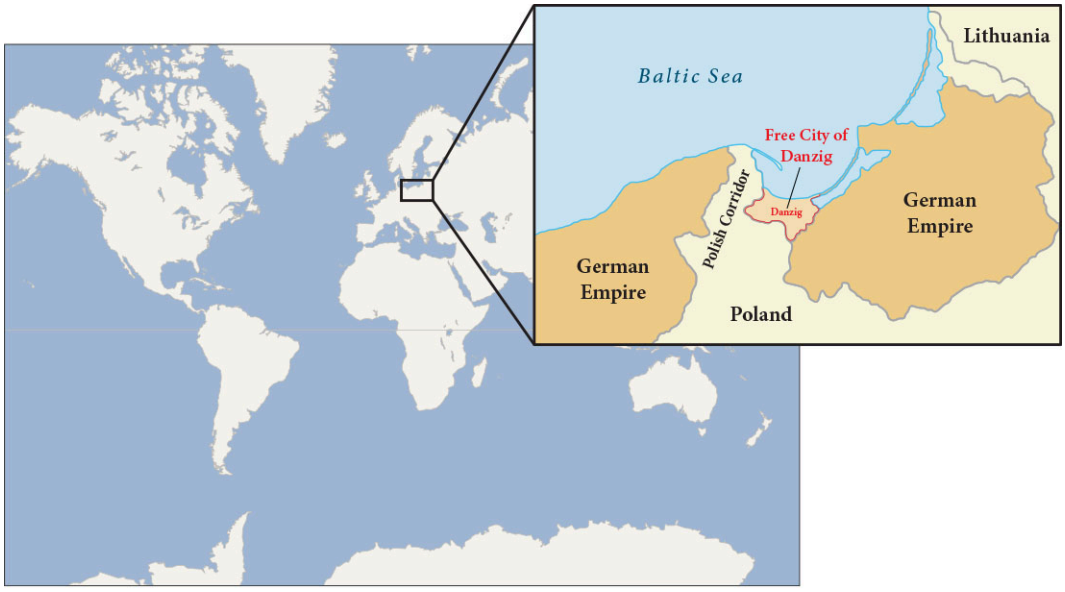


FIGURE 13.8 Access to the Sea. The twenty-mile-wide Polish Corridor was meant to give Poland access to a port after World War I, separating two parts of Germany in order to do so. (credit world map: modification of work "World map blank shorelines" by Maciej Jaros/Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain; attribution close-up map: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

The lessons learned from Hitler's violation of the Munich Pact spurred Britain and France to take action to

protect Poland. They have also been invoked by world leaders ever since, whenever the aggression of one nation threatens the sovereignty or the territorial integrity of another. Using the example of Munich to warn against the perils of allowing one nation to invade another without opposition, whether it be Hitler's Germany or Putin's Russia, is known as invoking the Munich Analogy.

The key to whether Germany could be boxed in was the attitudes of Stalin and the Soviet Union. As early as the summer of 1938, Stalin began to think of making some sort of deal with Germany. During the following summer, relations between Germany and the Soviet Union began to improve. Stalin, aware of Hitler's musings in his book *Mein Kampf*, understood the long-term threat Germany posed and sought to buy time to prepare for possible war. For his part, Hitler wanted to avoid Germany's World War I mistake of fighting on two fronts simultaneously. The result was the **German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact** of August 23, 1939. In this pact, Germany and the USSR agreed not to attack one another or to assist other nations in attacking the other. Included in the agreement were secret protocols that essentially divided eastern Europe between Germany and the Soviet Union. Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and parts of eastern Poland were allocated to the USSR as a reward for cooperating with Germany in the dismemberment of Poland.

Seeing the pact as an ominous green light for a German eastward thrust, two days later Britain signed a mutual defense agreement with Poland. All things seemed ready for the German onslaught, which was launched on September 1, 1939. Britain and France fulfilled their commitment to Poland and declared war on Germany, forming the partnership known as the Allies, but not on the Soviet Union. About two weeks later, Soviet forces invaded Poland from the east. Crushed from two sides, Poland essentially ceased to exist. The European fires of World War II had been ignited.

Poland provided the Germans an opportunity to test their strategy for victory, known as *blitzkrieg* or "lightning war." It consisted of quick, massive air strikes to secure domination of the air, destroy the enemy's ammunition stockpiles and the transportation and communications infrastructure, and generally disorient the enemy and depress morale. Then a massive land invasion of troops, fast-moving armor, and heavy artillery would overwhelm defenses. The Polish army of a million troops lacked modern equipment and was saddled with older strategic thinking that urged confronting the Germans head-on. The relatively flat landscape of western Poland offered few natural barriers to traffic and suited Germany's battle plan well, enabling the Germans to successfully employ several maneuvers to penetrate and encircle.

The British quickly discovered there was no practical way to render much assistance to the Poles. Instead, they relied on the French to engage the Germans. But the French felt they could not sustain an offensive against Germany's western front. They preferred to prepare their defenses for an eventual German offensive against France. Britain joined the French by deploying the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) to defend the French-Belgian border. By then, Poland was already lost and had been folded into Hitler's plans of dominating Europe. During the winter of 1939–1940, little action took place on the French-German border save for a few clashes of patrols and reconnaissance units. That period of waiting has sometimes been referred to as the Phony War or, derisively, as the *sitzkrieg* ("sitting war").

The German advance westward began with some forays into Norway and Denmark to the north on April 9, 1940. Not wanting to provoke German invasions, both Belgium and the Netherlands declared neutrality. This disadvantaged the British and French, since they were then not allowed to coordinate defenses with Dutch and Belgian forces or station troops in their territory. The Germans then launched their full westward offensive on May 10, 1940. Within a matter of weeks, German troops had overrun western Europe, storming through the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Belgium and into France, avoiding the Maginot Line, a system of fortifications and weapons installations that had been built on the French border in the 1930s in order to protect France from another German invasion. Early in the morning of May 23, 1940, the British commander in France, seeing the perils of his position, gave the order to begin a withdrawal toward Dunkirk on the French coast. Eventually, this culminated in the extraordinary evacuation across the English Channel of much of the BEF and thousands of French and other Allied forces between June 15 and 25 using every British boat capable of

crossing the Channel. The retreat saved 200,000 troops.

French prime minister Paul Reynaud resigned rather than sign the armistice agreement with Germany in June 1940. Instead, Marshall Philippe Pétain, a hero of World War I, became the prime minister of a truncated French government based in Vichy, France, that, although nominally independent, cooperated with Germany.

The remarkable success of the German blitzkrieg in Europe during the summer of 1940 presented the Japanese military with some significant strategic opportunities. For instance, the isolation of European colonies in Asia might make them ripe for seizing. Consequently, to provide for mutual defense and perhaps to frighten the United States away from giving more substantial assistance against them, Japan joined Germany and Italy in the defensive military alliance called the Tripartite Pact in September 1940. (Japan and Germany had earlier signed the Anti-Comintern Pact against the Soviet Union, which Japan saw as a rival for dominance in Asia, in 1936, and Italy had joined in a year later. Japan had parted ways with Germany in 1939, however, when the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact was signed, and a new agreement was thus in order.) The U.S. ambassador to Japan, Joseph Grew, felt discouraged in the attempt to maintain peace. He observed to a colleague in February 1941, "I saw the work of eight years swept away as if by a typhoon, earthquake and a tidal wave combined."

Sleeping Giants

Hitler planned to finish off Britain with a cross-channel invasion using air and submarine bases in both Norway, which had surrendered in June 1940, and northern France. Through the late summer and into the fall of 1940, the Battle of Britain raged in the skies over Britain as a duel between the German Luftwaffe and the Royal Air Force (RAF). The Germans initially focused their attacks on shipping in the English Channel and then began to bomb weapons-production facilities. The British gradually built up the RAF with new recruits of non-British volunteers, including a few U.S. pilots. Aided in part by the innovation of radar, which gave some advance warning of German onslaughts, the RAF prevailed. By October 1940, having lost approximately 40 percent of its planes of all types, the Luftwaffe had failed to achieve the air superiority needed to capture Britain. When the Luftwaffe shifted its focus from military to civilian targets, particularly the bombing of London, it inadvertently gave the British the opportunity to rebuild their airfields and defense plants and assemble more planes.

In the 1930s, the United States wanted to insulate itself from conflicts in the rest of the world. Aroused by dramatic hearings into the causes of the country's entry into World War I, Congress passed the Neutrality Acts in 1935, 1936, and 1937, forbidding the export of arms and the making of loans to belligerent nations. These acts effectively handcuffed the government. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who took office in 1933 just two months after Hitler became chancellor of Germany, was prevented from rendering much assistance to China against Japan, to Ethiopia against Italy, or to Republican Spain against fascist General Franco. But the 1937 Neutrality Act granted Roosevelt a little leeway. The United States could render nonmilitary assistance such as oil to a belligerent nation if that nation could both pay cash for the goods and carry them home itself.

As the world watched Hitler annex Czechoslovakia and then invade Poland, Roosevelt sought to offer more substantial military assistance to Britain and France. To beef up the defenses of the United States, Roosevelt pressed Congress to approve a two-ocean navy in 1938 and began to funnel aid to Britain and China within the confines of what was allowable. After much debate, in November 1939 Congress repealed provisions of earlier Neutrality Acts and authorized trade in military hardware on a cash-and-carry basis. With the Luftwaffe struggling in the summer of 1940, the responsibility for subduing England increasingly fell to the German submarine fleet, on the theory that England could be starved to death. Roosevelt created the Atlantic squadron in January 1939 and gradually expanded a U.S. naval patrol and escort service for shipping headed for England.

In one ten-day period in July 1940, German submarines sank eleven British destroyers, prompting the British prime minister, Winston Churchill, to appeal to the United States for help. Liberally interpreting the Neutrality

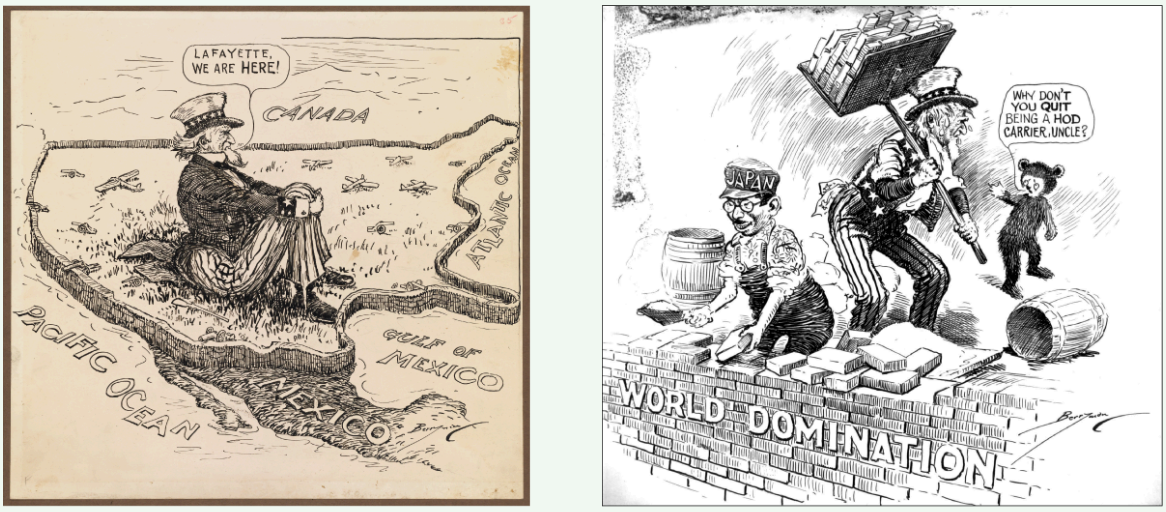
Act of 1939, Roosevelt agreed to exchange fifty World War I–era destroyers for lease rights at British naval bases in Newfoundland and the Caribbean. Critics and isolationists like aviator Charles Lindbergh, a leader of the America First Committee, took Roosevelt to task. But in March 1941, the president persuaded Congress to approve the **Lend-Lease Act**, which allowed the government to "sell, transfer title to, exchange, lease, lend or otherwise dispose of, to any such government any defense article." The United States could now provide these materials to any country deemed vital to its own defense. It was a way to aid those countries already fighting but without taking direct military action.

BEYOND THE BOOK

The Question of U.S. Neutrality

In the 1930s, many in the United States were reluctant to find themselves embroiled in another war. As Hitler's power grew in Europe and Japan expanded its empire in the Pacific, the United States thus adopted a policy of neutrality. This continued even after Japan invaded China and Germany invaded Poland and ultimately western Europe. Although President Franklin Roosevelt favored aiding the British, his opponents in Congress feared the potential consequences. The political cartoonist Clifford Berryman created a number of cartoons in the 1930s and early 1940s whose subject was U.S. neutrality.

Examine the two cartoons that follow. In the first (Figure 13.9), Uncle Sam proclaims, "Lafayette, we are here!" words spoken by Colonel Charles E. Stanton at the tomb of the Marquis de Lafayette after U.S. troops joined the British and French in fighting World War I. (Lafayette had famously fought on the side of the colonists in the American Revolution.) In the second image, Uncle Sam is working as a hod carrier, someone who carried bricks (Figure 13.9).



(a) **(b)**

FIGURE 13.9 The Art of U.S. Neutrality. In both (a) "Lafayette, we are here!" and (b) "Uncle Sam as Hod Carrier", cartoonist Clifford Berryman uses the image of Uncle Sam to comment on the policy of U.S. neutrality. (credit a: modification of work "Lafayette, we are here! (https://catalog.archives.gov/id/6012212)" by Clifford Kennedy Berryman/Washington Evening Star/National Archives; credit b: modification of work "Uncle Sam as Hod carrier (https://catalog.archives.gov/id/6012219)" by Clifford Kennedy Berryman/Washington Evening Star/National Archives)

- What is Berryman saying in these cartoons about the U.S. policy of neutrality? Does he favor it? What does he think will be its consequences?
- How does Berryman convey his ideas in the cartoons?

The defeat of Poland removed a buffer between German-occupied and Soviet territory. When Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939, Stalin began to take steps to prepare the USSR for what might happen next. At the end of 1939, he launched the "Winter War" against Finland to obtain territory near Leningrad (the city formerly known as St. Petersburg or Petrograd) that would bolster Soviet defenses. In April 1941, the Soviets signed a Neutrality Pact with Japan, freeing both nations from the prospect of a multiple-front war. The Kremlin in Moscow received a continuous stream of intelligence warning of an impending invasion. After receiving one such report outlining German battle plans, Stalin called up half a million reservists. Yet, fearing to provoke the Germans into action, he was cautious with his forces.

Having detected flaws in the Soviet Union's invasion of Poland and its struggle against Finland in the Winter War, Hitler was confident he could defeat Stalin. Betraying the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact, he assembled the largest land-invasion force in world history, more than three million troops, including contributions from countries with their own grievance against the Soviet Union such as Finland, Romania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Italy, Slovakia, and Spain. Operation Barbarossa began on June 22, 1941, leading the Soviet Union to formally join the Allies in opposing Germany (Figure 13.10).

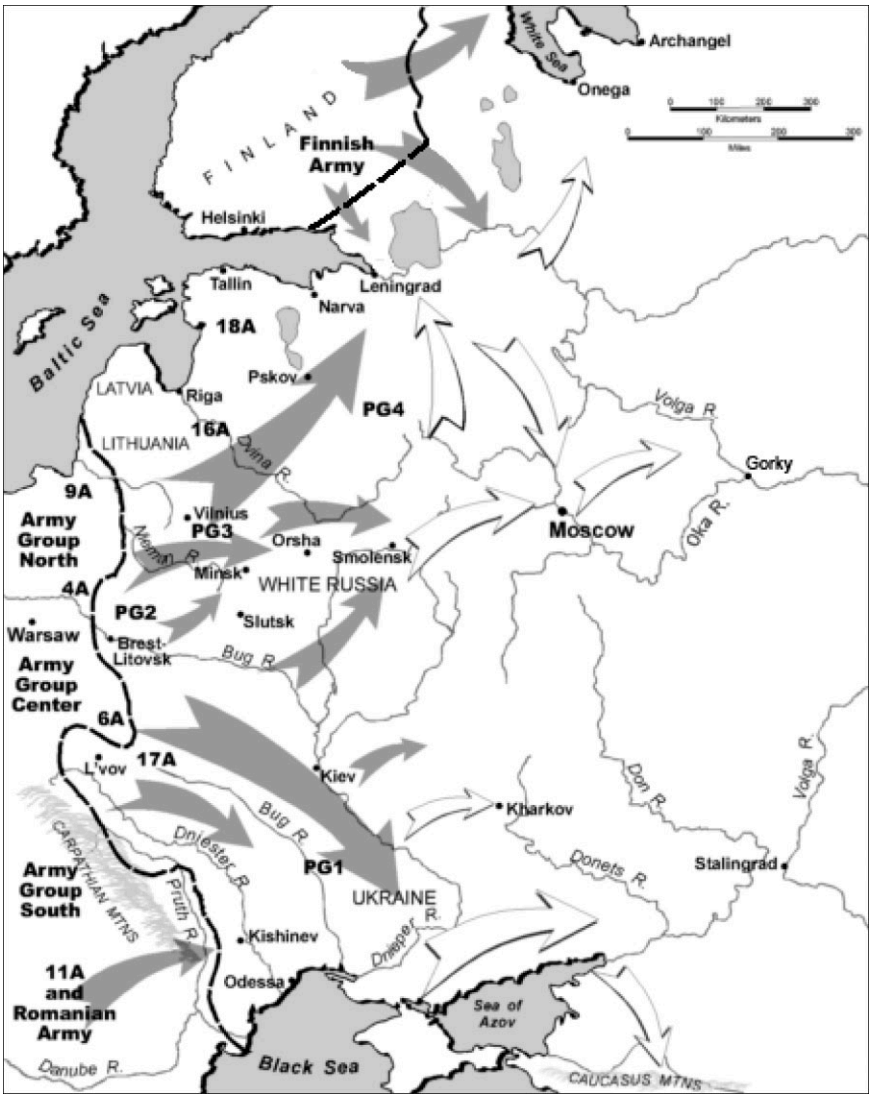


FIGURE 13.10 Operation Barbarossa. The goal of Hitler's Operation Barbarossa was the invasion of the Soviet Union. The arrows show the routes taken by the invading German army (field armies and Panzer groups) and its allies as they moved to capture major Soviet cities such as Leningrad and Moscow and to gain control of ports on the Black Sea. (credit: modification of work "Operation Barbarossa corrected border" by U.S. Army/Wikimedia

Commons, Public Domain)

In the first two days of the campaign, two thousand Soviet planes were destroyed on the ground. The speed of the German attack was greater than anticipated, and within weeks, Belorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia had been occupied by the German army, which was called the Wehrmacht ("defense power"). By August, the Germans had captured Kyiv, an industrial center that contained a large portion of the Soviet economic infrastructure at that time. By November, Hitler had gone farther into Russia than Napoleon had. The German army stood at the gates of Leningrad, on the outskirts of Moscow, and on the Don River. Of the 4.5 million troops with which the Soviets had begun, 2.5 to 3 million were lost; of their fifteen thousand tanks, only seven hundred were left. Moscow was in panic, and a German victory seemed imminent.

But serious problems arose that came back to haunt the Germans. The speed of the advance had strained the delivery of supplies. The force advancing on Moscow needed nearly thirty train shipments of fuel each day to maintain its pace, but by November, it was receiving only three. In August, a shortage of clean water had spread dysentery and cholera among the troops. When the late summer rains came, German soldiers found that they could neither drive fast (because of mud) nor keep themselves and their equipment dry. Once the Russian winter began, it became so cold that bread rations froze and had to be chopped into portions with axes.

The siege of Leningrad lasted 872 days and was one of the longest and deadliest in world history. In early 1942, nearly 100,000 people in the city starved to death each month, and some of the remaining residents resorted to cannibalism to survive. Overall, a million and a half people perished. Facing this, Stalin seems to have momentarily faltered. By the end of 1941, his head of security was instructed to send feelers to the Germans through the Bulgarian ambassador to Moscow, broaching the possibility of peace.

LINK TO LEARNING

Read some excerpts from the diaries of Leningraders (https://openstax.org/l/77Leningrader) during the siege of 1941–1944 in "Voices of War: Memories from the Siege of Leningrad" (presented by Russia Beyond).

With the war expanding into the plains of Russia, Churchill requested a face-to-face meeting with Roosevelt, who secretly sailed to Newfoundland in August 1941 for the purpose. This conference was the first of what have since become commonplace events in diplomacy—summit meetings of the heads of state. The two leaders produced the **Atlantic Charter**, a recasting of the principles articulated in Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points (1918) into eight major points that reflected British and U.S. goals for a postwar world, though not the Soviet Union's goals for Europe. It insisted on the unconditional surrender of the Axis nations—Germany, Italy, and Japan—renounced any territorial expansion, and affirmed the right of self-determination. There would be freedom of the seas, reduced barriers to free trade, and promotion of social welfare through economic cooperation. Peace would be promoted through the disarmament of aggressor nations.

The Attack on Pearl Harbor

Trying to pressure the Japanese into ceasing their aggression, in August 1941 the United States imposed sanctions including an embargo on oil and gas sales to Japan. This action further reinforced Japan's plan to turn to the South Pacific to absorb the natural resources of the crumbling European imperial regimes and the Philippines, a U.S. colony. Seeing the United States as a soft enemy unwilling to make the sacrifices needed to win a war, Japan planned a surprise assault on the naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, while last-ditch efforts at a diplomatic settlement between Tokyo and Washington were taking place. The United States wanted Japan to ultimately withdraw from China, to which it would not agree, and Japan felt the United States would not be open to further negotiations. Its leaders decided they had to move against the United States while they still could.

U.S. intelligence services had broken various Japanese codes, and by late November 1941, warnings were

being sent to U.S. forces that war with Japan was likely, with the Philippines as the probable target. Early in the morning of December 7, a Japanese task force successfully eluded detection in a surprise attack that devastated the U.S. fleet at Pearl Harbor, sinking or damaging eight battleships and damaging other smaller craft, destroying or damaging approximately three hundred aircraft, killing more than two thousand people, and injuring more than one thousand others. Near-simultaneous attacks were launched on U.S. bases in the Philippines, Guam, and Wake Island. The following day, Congress voted unanimously to declare war on Japan. A few days later, following Germany's and Italy's declarations of war against the United States, the country entered the war in Europe as well on the side of the Allies. Following the attack on Pearl Harbor, China also joined the Allies, but it did not join in the fighting in Europe.

U.S. military planners had estimated that it might take nine million troops organized in more than two hundred divisions to secure victory in Europe and Asia. A massive recruitment and draft program had to be instituted to expand the army and prepare it for combat. Eventually, recruitment efforts expanded to African Americans, women, Native Americans, and thirty-three thousand Japanese Americans. Leadership of the troops fell to Dwight D. Eisenhower, who was rapidly promoted through the ranks to become a key aide to Chief of Staff George C. Marshall and commanding general of the European theater of operations.

13.2 Theaters of War

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe the Allied and Axis operations in Europe and Africa during World War II
- Explain why the Battles of Stalingrad and Midway are considered turning points in World War II
- Discuss U.S. operations in East Asia and the Pacific during World War II
- Describe the evolution of the Holocaust after the German invasion of Poland

World War II was perhaps history's most globalizing event. Troops fought battles on three continents, in the air, and at sea. Britain and the United States planned early in the war to focus on defeating Italy and Germany before Japan but left the Soviet Union to battle Germany alone. In Asia, the "liberation" of the inhabitants of European and U.S. colonies by Japanese troops only replaced Western rule with Japanese rule, igniting or giving impetus to nationalist movements. Fought on so many fronts, World War II proved to be the deadliest conflict in history. Among those who perished were millions of noncombatants, including the victims of the Nazi death camps. The experiences of survivors shaped the rest of their lives and the course of the societies to which they returned.

Europe and Africa

Beginning in 1938 and through the spring of 1941, U.S. military leaders produced several plans of action in the event of war with the Axis powers. Immediately after winning an unprecedented third term in 1940, Roosevelt was briefed by his chief of naval operations, Admiral Harold R. Stark, who advised him that the best military strategy was "Plan D"—a Europe First plan. This focused the United States and Britain on defeating Germany and Italy first and adopting a defensive posture against Japan if it entered the war.

Mussolini decided to expand his African holdings and in August 1940 occupied British Somaliland, threatening the British in Egypt. The British counterattacked. Losing ground in Africa from June through December 1940, Mussolini turned his eyes on the Balkans. In October 1940, expecting an easy victory, Italian units invaded Greece but were badly defeated. To forestall further disaster, Hitler dispatched General Erwin Rommel and his Afrika Korps to duel with the British in northeast North Africa. Not only did Germany wish to support its Italian ally, but it also sought to gain control of the Suez Canal and guarantee its access to Middle Eastern oil, which would be crucial in winning the war. To further aid his faltering ally and deal with an anti-German uprising in Yugoslavia, Hitler postponed his invasion of the Soviet Union by several weeks and invaded Greece on April 6, 1941.

Fearing that any substantial British effort against the Germans in Norway or northern France would become a slaughter, Winston Churchill conceived Operation Gymnast, a plan to engage the Germans in northwest Africa instead. On a military mission to London in July 1942, General Eisenhower was deeply disappointed in Churchill's approach, considering how badly the Soviets were suffering from German offensives. General George C. Marshall favored opening a front in northern Europe in order to draw German resources away from its attack on the Soviet Union before the Soviets collapsed. But Churchill prevailed, and the Allies, now including the United States, invaded French North Africa (Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia) in November 1942. Key British possessions Egypt and the Suez Canal were saved, and in a January 1943 summit meeting at Casablanca in French Morocco, Churchill and Roosevelt planned the next phase of the war, Operation Husky, the invasion of Sicily. This choice disappointed Stalin, who had been hoping for an invasion of western Europe instead, to draw German troops away from the fighting in the east and the Soviet Union.

All the while, desperate battles were being waged on the eastern front in the Soviet Union. In August 1941, given the initial success of the German invasion and poised to capture Moscow, Hitler delayed the advance to decide strategy. The German general staff wanted to drive directly for Moscow and take it before winter. Hitler, however, diverted a significant part of his forces to the south. Both Allied and Axis thinkers had long recognized the strategic military importance of oil. For some time prior to the war, the British government had interjected itself into the politics of Iraq, Persia, Afghanistan, and Egypt for this reason. The Germans too had taken a keen interest in the Middle East and central Asia in the 1930s. In 1925, in Iran, Reza Shah had consolidated his rule and commenced a program of modernization, increasing ties with Germany and employing hundreds of Germans.

To block potential German access to Iranian oil, the British first demanded the possibly pro-German Shah expel Germans and sever ties with Berlin. Taking no chances, British and Soviet forces then invaded Iran in August 1941. Iranian resistence collapsed in a couple of days, and Reza Shah was forced to abdicate in favor of his son Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. The Germans were expelled, and the Allied occupation lasted until 1946. During those years, Iran became a funnel through which much Allied aid, especially from the United States, was delivered to Stalin as he struggled to hold out against the Wehrmacht.

By 1939, the global supply of oil was in the hands of seven oil conglomerates—none of which were German. Consequently, Germany was heavily reliant on Romanian and Soviet oil between 1939 and 1941. The oil fields in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, one thousand kilometers from Stalingrad, looked like a possible solution, so the German army moved to capture the city of Baku, the center of the Soviet oil-drilling industry. Thus, both winter and the German drive for oil saved Moscow.

In the summer of 1942, the Germans resumed the offensive on all fronts but were unable to get far, except for approaching Stalingrad. Hitler was determined to take the city and Stalin to hold it. In July, Stalin issued Order No. 227 forbidding Soviet troops from retreating: "Not one step backwards!" By the fall of 1942, German troops had actually broken into Stalingrad, but their progress thereafter was gruesomely slow and difficult. For more than two months, the Battle of Stalingrad raged with ferocity, sometimes building by building (Figure 13.11).



FIGURE 13.11 The Battle of Stalingrad. In 1942, these Russian fighters battled German troops for control of Stalingrad from within the ruins of a bombed building. (credit: "Stalingrad war 1942" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Having assembled sufficient forces, in November 1942 the Soviet Red Army counterattacked at Stalingrad and managed to trap the Germans in a noose. The only way for the Germans to resupply was by air, which was far too limited to sustain them for very long. Despite being specifically forbidden to do so, on January 31, 1943, German field marshal Friedrich Paulus surrendered what was left of his Sixth Army. The Soviets captured close to 100,000 German troops. Total casualties in the battle had reached nearly two million, including substantial numbers of civilians. The Battle of Stalingrad stopped the German advance into the Soviet Union. It was the first clear defeat for Hitler's Germany and the turning point of the war in Europe, setting the Nazis on a defensive course for the remainder of the war.

From the time of his first meeting with Churchill in August 1942, a frustrated Stalin had been calling for a second front against the Nazis in Europe. In the summer of 1943, the Soviets, fresh from saving Stalingrad, went on the offensive against the Germans. The ensuing Battle of Kursk was the biggest land battle of the war and the largest tank battle in history. The Soviet victory damaged Germany's war-making capacity by compromising its armaments.

Mussolini had insisted on contributing 200,000 troops to the invasion of the Soviet Union, and by early 1943, half of them had become casualties. Allied victories in North Africa and Sicily, along with the Allied bombing of Rome in July 1943, further humiliated Mussolini. In Italy, a coalition of former fascist supporters, military officers, the few surviving liberal politicians, and the king himself reached the conclusion that Mussolini must go. The Grand Fascist Council met for the first time in three years on July 24, 1943, and voted overwhelmingly to remove him from power and place him under arrest.

A government was formed under Marshal Pietro Badoglio, who initiated secret negotiations with the Allies. The Allied invasion of the mainland of Italy at the beginning of September provided the impetus for Italy's surrender on September 8, 1943. Four days later, Hitler had German special forces rescue Mussolini. German troops already in Italy then moved to disarm the remnants of the Italian army and established a government

called the Republic of Salo in northern Italy, with Mussolini as its figurehead. However, Italian communist partisans captured and executed Mussolini in April 1945.

Earlier, with Iran secured through the Allied invasion, Tehran had been the site of the first of the World War II conferences between the "Big Three": Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin. From November 28 to December 1, 1943, the Tehran conference addressed relations between the Allies, relations between Turkey and Iran, operations in Yugoslavia, the fight against Japan, and plans for the postwar settlement. A protocol signed at the conference pledged the Big Three's recognition of Iran's independence. The Big Three also agreed on a cross-channel invasion of Europe scheduled for May 1944, in conjunction with a Soviet attack on Germany's eastern border. Stalin dominated the conference, using Soviet victories to get preliminary agreements on the borders of Poland after the war. Churchill and Roosevelt also consented to the USSR setting up governments sympathetic to itself in the Baltic states. Roosevelt and Stalin continued their discussions of a general international organization that had been proposed a few months earlier.

East Asia and the Pacific

When the Japanese invaded the Philippines beginning in December 1941, the limited U.S. and Filipino forces put up stiff resistance in jungle fighting. Outnumbered, however, they surrendered their positions on the Bataan Peninsula on April 9, 1942. The command headquarters surrendered at Corregidor Island nearly a month later. The resulting sixty-mile forced march to an internment camp led to the deaths of more than a quarter of the estimated eighty thousand Allied prisoners and became known as the Bataan Death March. Over the course of the war, the Japanese held approximately 140,000 Allied troops under severe conditions at various camps in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and on the Japanese home islands. By the end of the war, as many as thirty thousand had perished there.

Five months into 1942, the Japanese had gathered a significant portion of Burma, Malaya and the Straits Settlements, Indonesia, French Indochina, and the Philippines into the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (Figure 13.12). While deconstructing White colonial rule, the Japanese began to systematically exploit the liberated areas for their resources in support of a greater Japan. However impressive the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was on paper, however, the Japanese military and civilian administrators were hard-pressed to solve significant problems. The extent of the area under control and the size of the captive population presented governance issues, while geography severely strained communication and transportation networks. Puppet regimes were an attempt to solve some of these problems, such as the collaborationist regime in China under Wang Jingwei in 1940, the Ba Maw government in Burma during the Japanese occupation, and the administration of José P. Laurel in the defeated Philippines.

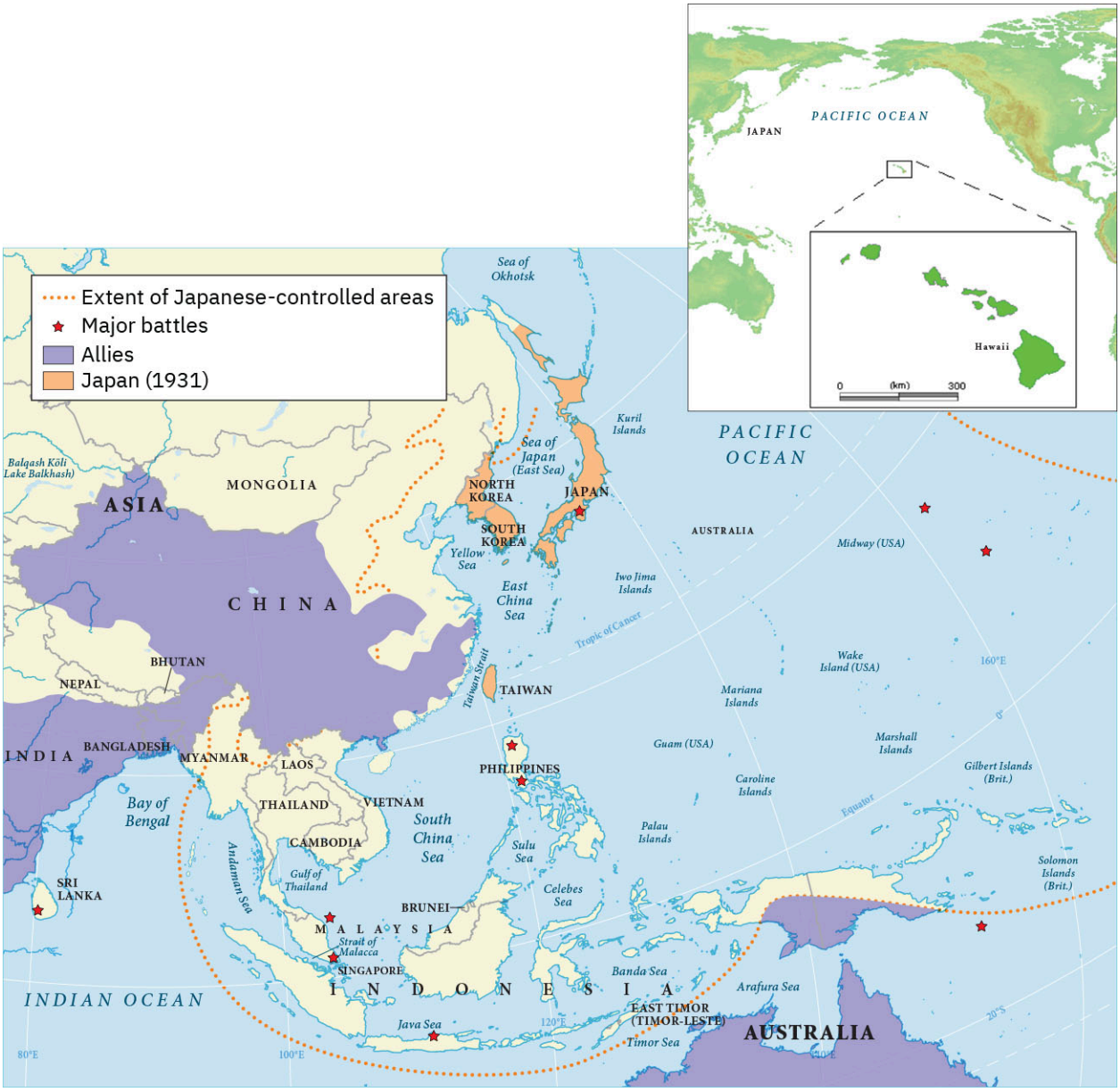


FIGURE 13.12 Japan in the Pacific Theater. Between 1937 and 1942, Japan launched attacks against and gained control of far-flung territory throughout East Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license; credit upper-right: modification of work "Locator map of the Big island of Hawai ʻi" by M. Minderhoud/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Successes were short-lived, however, because in June 1942, the United States decisively won what became the turning point of the war in the Pacific—the Battle of Midway, which stopped Japan's advance across the Pacific. The Japanese lost four aircraft carriers and a heavy cruiser, and other ships were severely damaged. The balance of power clearly shifted toward the Allies, and the Japanese navy never recovered its momentum.

Pursuing an island-hopping campaign to roll back Japanese seizures of land, the United States frequently had to engage the Japanese in dense jungle terrains. For years, the Japanese army had relied on a doctrine that heroic determination would overcome the technology and other advantages of any foe. Thus, fierce Japanese resistance extended these battles, as in the Battle of Guadalcanal, which raged on the Pacific island for six months between August 1942 and February 1943 before Japan finally retreated.

The Japanese military made many missteps across the Pacific. An early attempt to capture part of the Aleutian

Islands failed. The defensive perimeters of Japan's home islands were constantly redrawn over 1942 and 1943. Without reevaluating its strategies, Japan transferred forces from China to plug holes punched in this perimeter. Its total losses in the China campaign, from its initial invasion in 1937 to its surrender in 1945, approached 500,000. (The Chinese lost as many as ten million. Historians disagree regarding how many millions of people were displaced by the war.) An attempted Japanese invasion of India beginning in March 1944 was called off after massive losses in July 1944. The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere began to evaporate into chaos and confusion. Because Prime Minister Hideki Tojo was the face of the war party both abroad and at home, it seemed clear that no peace settlement with the Allies was conceivable if he were in power. Therefore, in July 1944, having lost the support of the emperor for the failure of his strategies, Tojo was forced to resign.

Though the war proved devastating to China, with a severe loss of population, it was able to continue its fight against the Japanese. The western Allied powers hoped China could play a major role in defeating the Axis powers. To that end, Chiang Kai-shek was invited to a conference in Cairo along with other Allied leaders in 1943. In the last phase of the war, Chinese forces were able to advance through Burma and reopen the major road between China and India. Further offensives took back other Japanese-held territory. By the end of the war, China had reclaimed all the land Japan had occupied and emerged as a significant country in world affairs.

South and Southeast Asia

As Japan moved through Southeast Asia, it promised the inhabitants that it ultimately supported independent governments there. In fact, new governments were established in Vietnam, Burma, and other places, and though they were always clearly under the thumb of the Japanese military, there was some optimism that "Asia for Asians" might prove to truly work (Figure 13.13).

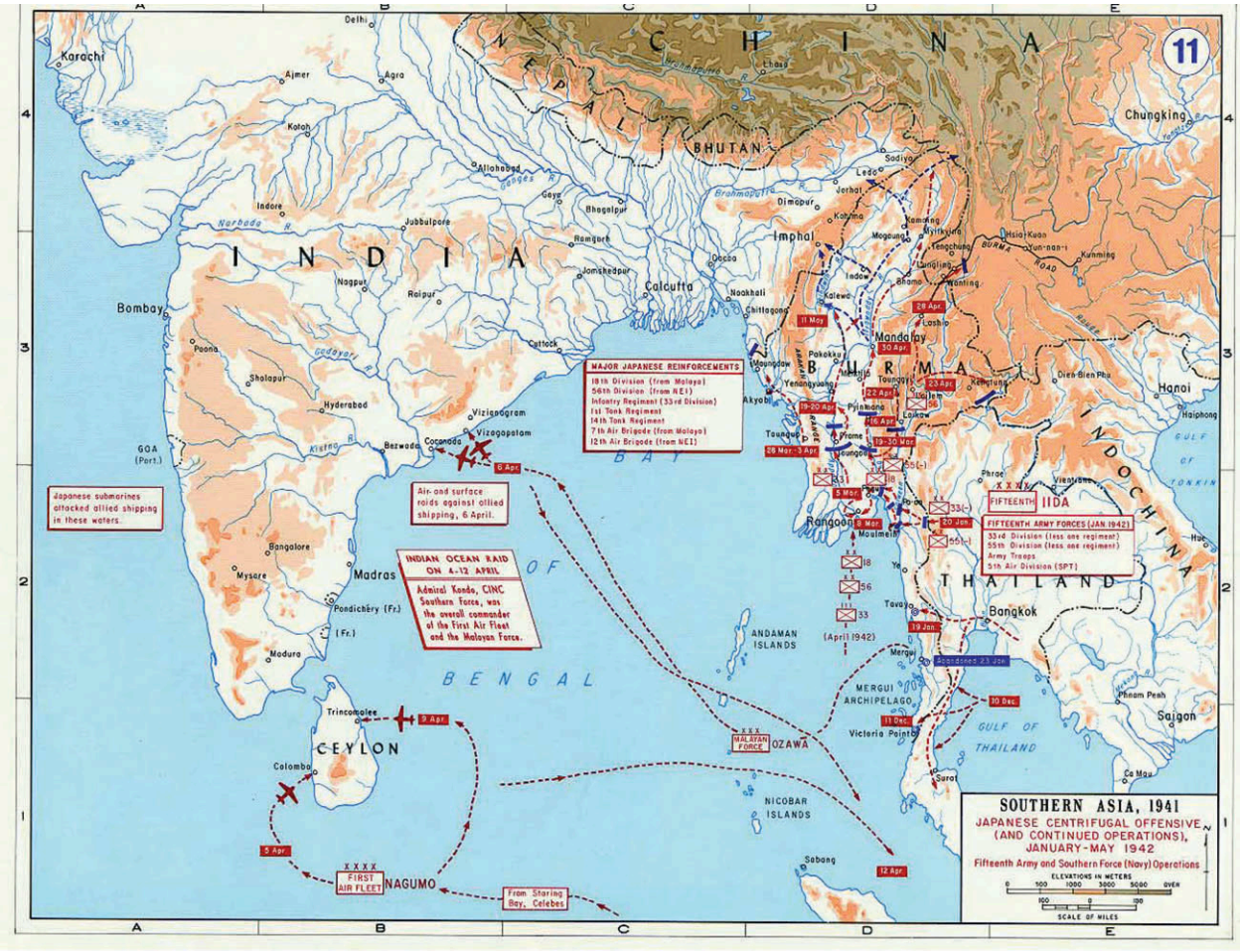


FIGURE 13.13 Japan in Southeast Asia. In an effort to drive the British out of their colonial possessions in South Asia and gain control of them for their own use, the Japanese launched numerous attacks in the region. This map shows that the Japanese focused their offensive in the region on Burma in particular. (credit: "Pacific War - Southern Asia 1942" by U.S. Army/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In many ways, however, the colonial experience continued for these areas, because their natural resources were simply redirected to the Japanese government's needs rather than to Europe's. Japanese occupation proved abusive and high-handed, marked by the denigration of local religions and customs and sometimes by physical abuse, such as against workers building the Burma-Thailand Railway. It became clear to many nationalists that they now had an enemy in the Japanese. In Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh raised his nationalist (and communist) forces against the Japanese in a guerrilla war aided by the United States. In Malaysia, similar guerrilla movements developed to oust the Japanese.

The 1935 India Act had granted significant autonomy to the British provinces of India and introduced directly elected provincial assemblies. Fascism, communism, and nationalist desires for full independence all gained adherents among Indians beginning to more fully engage in politics. The political parties in India were either frustrated over broken British promises or anxious to see what rewards India might obtain for active and full support of Britain. For example, the Muslim League often leveraged its support for Britain for political advantage against the Hindu majority population.

Meanwhile, by mid-1940, anti-British sentiments had begun to erupt across India. In the summer of 1942, while Japanese and Allied forces were sparring in neighboring Burma, Britain's security concerns about India grew, and its attempts to repress Indian agitation heightened political tensions there. In August 1942, the Congress Party, the largest political party in India, granted leadership to the committed nationalist Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi and supported his nonviolent "Quit India" movement. Immediately the British arrested

Gandhi and other Congress Party leaders and detained them through most of the war.

A devastating famine in Bengal reached a peak in 1943. It was caused by the dispatch of Indian food supplies to support the war effort in Europe, natural disasters toward the end of 1942, an influx of refugees fleeing the Japanese offensives in Burma, and general governmental mismanagement. The famine added fuel to the Indian desire for independence.

Continuing to assert its intention to liberate Asia from White rule, Japan successfully recruited the support of the Indian nationalist Subhas Chandra Bose, a political rival of Gandhi and former president of the Indian National Congress. Bose assembled a Free India Legion of fighters that eventually grew into the Indian National Army (INA), about forty thousand strong. Fighting to liberate India, the INA assisted Japanese military operations in Burma. When the Japanese seized the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal in 1942, they set up Bose as the leader of the Provisional Government (Azad Hind) of India, and the State of Burma became another subordinate partner and ally in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere until Japan's defeat in 1945.

The Holocaust

Jewish people had been deeply assimilated into German society and culture since the Enlightenment. But anti-Semitism had been an undercurrent in European history for centuries, and anti-Jewish propaganda and scapegoating began to surface after Germany's defeat in World War I. It continued through the encouragement of the Nazis in the 1920s and 1930s. Joseph Goebbels was the master of Nazi propaganda, charged with convincing Germans that Jewish people were an existential threat. A constant drumbeat in all forms of media began, persuading Germans to accept three propositions meant to morally justify anti-Jewish actions. First, Jewish people were a problem. Second, they were like vermin (a tactic of dehumanization). Third, eliminating them would make for a better Germany and a better world.

When the Wehrmacht streamed into Poland in 1939 and encountered the largest Jewish population in the world, the Nazis had the opportunity to begin the genocide known as the **Holocaust** on a huge scale. Special execution squads called the *Einsatzgruppen* ("operational groups") followed the advancing German troops, killing enemies and undesirables—largely Jewish people. Jewish people were gathered in ghettoes for better control and subjected to forced labor. The largest was the Warsaw ghetto, which by 1941 housed 441,000 people. That same year, six major concentration camps were established, and railroad lines were built specifically to transport prisoners to them. There had been anti-Jewish pogroms (massacres) in Poland before the war, and some Polish citizens joined these German extermination activities.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Einsatzgruppen

Following Germany's surrender in May 1945, a military court was convened in the city of Nuremberg to try Germans accused of war crimes. During questioning by Colonel John Harlan Amen, a U.S. Army intelligence officer and lawyer, Otto Ohlendorf described the work of *Einsatzgruppen* in the Soviet Union. (Ohlendorf, thirty-eight years of age, who was head of the Nazi agency in charge of intelligence and security, was found guilty of war crimes and executed.)

> COL. AMEN: What were [the] instructions with respect to the Jews and the Communist functionaries?
>
> OHLENDORF: The instructions were that in the Russian operational areas of the Einsatzgruppen the Jews, as well as the Soviet political commissars, were to be liquidated.
>
> COL. AMEN: And when you say "liquidated" do you mean "killed?"
>
> OHLENDORF: Yes, I mean "killed."
>
> . . .

COL. AMEN: Do you know how many persons were liquidated by Einsatz Group D under your direction?

OHLENDORF: In the year between June 1941 to June 1942 the Einsatzkommandos [men working for the Einsatzgruppen] reported ninety thousand people liquidated.

COL. AMEN: Did that include men, women, and children?

OHLENDORF: Yes.

. . .

COL. AMEN: Will you explain to the Tribunal in detail how an individual mass execution was carried out?

OHLENDORF: A local Einsatzkommando attempted to collect all the Jews in its area by registering them. This registration was performed by the Jews themselves.

COL. AMEN: On what pretext, if any, were they rounded up?

OHLENDORF: On the pretext that they were to be resettled.

COL. AMEN: Will you continue?

OHLENDORF: After the registration the Jews were collected at one place; and from there they were later transported to the place of execution, which was, as a rule an antitank ditch or a natural excavation. The executions were carried out in a military manner, by firing squads under command.

COL. AMEN: In what way were they transported to the place of execution?

OHLENDORF: They were transported to the place of execution in trucks, always only as many as could be executed immediately. In this way it was attempted to keep the span of time from the moment in which the victims knew what was about to happen to them until the time of their actual execution as short as possible.

COL. AMEN: Was that your idea?

OHLENDORF: Yes.

. . .

OHLENDORF: Some of the unit leaders did not carry out the liquidation in the military manner, but killed the victims singly by shooting them in the back of the neck.

COL. AMEN: And you objected to that procedure?

OHLENDORF: I was against that procedure, yes.

COL. AMEN: For what reason?

OHLENDORF: Because both for the victims and for those who carried out the executions, it was, psychologically, an immense burden to bear.

—Nuremberg Trial Proceedings, Volume 4

- How well organized do the mobile death squads seem to have been?
- What tactics were adopted to prevent the prisoners from resisting their fate?
- Does Ohlendorf seem to show any remorse for his actions? Explain your answer.

The concentration camps were simultaneously labor and death camps. In 1941, Adolf Eichmann, a leader of the German SS (the Nazi Party's elite paramilitary corps), noted the challenges of the coming winter: "the Jews can no longer be fed. It is to be seriously considered whether the most humane solution might not be to finish

off those Jews not capable of labour by some sort of fast-working preparation." In January 1942 at the Wannsee Conference, the **Final Solution** to the "Jewish question" was discussed. It was decided that German state policy would be to eliminate European Jewish people by working them to death, starving them, or otherwise exterminating them. They were persecuted in place or sent to death camps.

Auschwitz in western Poland was the largest of the death camps, originally constructed in 1940 to hold Polish political prisoners. It became a death camp in 1941 when Polish and Soviet prisoners were executed there. That same year, a new camp (known as Auschwitz II or Birkenau) was built nearby. Its main purpose was to kill Jewish people who were brought on freight trains from all over Europe. Other camps also existed at Auschwitz, including labor camps where prisoners worked for the chemical company I.G. Farben. Some 1.3 million people were sent to Auschwitz-Birkenau before Heinrich Himmler, the leader of the SS, ordered the camp closed and evacuated in January 1945 as the Soviet army rapidly advanced on it. Of these 1.3 million, 1.1 million would die there. The vast majority, nearly one million, were Jewish. Most were murdered with poisonous gas, usually immediately upon arrival. Others were shot or beaten to death or died from disease, starvation, or exhaustion caused by hard labor.

LINK TO LEARNING

You can take a virtual tour of Auschwitz (https://openstax.org/l/77Auschwitz) and its sub-camps. At the bottom of the page, select one of the sub-camps within Auschwitz; clicking on "map" will give you an aerial overview of each camp.

Other gas chambers were constructed at Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka in 1942, and arriving prisoners deemed unsuitable for work were usually sent almost directly to the "showers," actually gas chambers. The systematic implementation of these policies required the collaboration of tens of thousands of people from across Europe, which culminated in the murder of more than six million Jewish people and at least three million members of other minority groups, including gay and Roma people, communists, socialists, and Jehovah's Witnesses, before the war was over. Historians disagree about how many died in the camps, and the true number will likely never be known.

There were many instances of resistance, such as the Warsaw ghetto uprising in 1943. This was ruthlessly crushed by the Germans, however, resulting in the deaths of thirteen thousand Jewish people. Unsuccessful uprisings also took place in three of the concentration camps, one of which, in Sobibor, perhaps saved some lives by forcing the closure of the camp. Beginning in 1942, Irena Sendler, a member of the Polish Underground Resistance, participated in the Great Action in the Warsaw ghetto to smuggle out Jewish children. She is credited with saving some 2,500 children before she was discovered. Oskar Schindler, a member of the Nazi Party, ran a factory in Poland and worked to shield his Jewish workers from the Nazis, saving the lives of thousands. Loukas Karrer, the mayor of the Greek island Zakynthos, saved the island's entire Jewish population of 275 by refusing to surrender them and then hiding them. In Bulgaria, Dimitar Peshev, the deputy speaker of the National Assembly, had supported anti-Semitic legislation, but he refused to accept the German request to deport forty-eight thousand Jews and got the government to rescind the order. Still, the Nazis sent millions to their deaths.

13.3 Keeping the Home Fires Burning

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe life on the home fronts in World War II
- Explain how the war affected women's lives in the Axis and Allied nations
- Describe how new technologies developed during World War II and affected its outcome

Those left behind on the home front during the war followed the fates of their absent loved ones wherever they

were. They often coped with shortages of needed items and new workloads as the conflict continued year after year. Research also continued at home as the countries engaged in the war sought to gain an advantage over one another. As a result, new technologies and scientific understandings emerged that affected not only the war and its outcome but the postwar global society as well.

Life on the Home Fronts

For European countries in World War II, the distance between the battlefield and the home front was often very short or nonexistent. Total war, fought using all available resources with no restrictions on weapons or their targets, took the conflict to millions. The occupation of territory and the resulting resistance movements meant that homes, farms, and factories became minor battlefields. Places farther from actual combat, in Africa and the Americas, were more traditional home fronts.

Partisan resistance groups sprang up, the largest among the Dutch, the French, the Polish, the Soviets, and the Yugoslavs. On December 7, 1941, Hitler responded to this resistance with his "Night and Fog Decree" in which he stated that people threatening German security should disappear into the night and fog. Consequently, thousands of brutal reprisals for resistance were visited on local populations. In the Kragujevac massacre in October 1941, Germans killed 2,700 Serbians in retaliation for a partisan attack that had killed ten German soldiers and wounded another twenty-six. Such brutality sometimes recruited more resistance. In Yugoslavia, for example, German cruelty enabled Josip Broz Tito to recruit and lead 650,000 people against the Germans, tie down thirty-five German divisions, and destroy eighteen thousand supply trains. In the Soviet Union, the Germans faced perhaps 150,000 partisans. In the Netherlands, railroad workers went on strike in support of Allied offensives in the winter of 1944, and the Germans retaliated by cutting off their food supplies, leading to thirty thousand deaths by starvation.

The experiences of Europeans under German occupation varied greatly depending on their place of residence (rural or urban), social class, and ethnicity, as well as on the state of the national economy. Since most resources were funneled toward the Germans and away from local populations, much of Europe had to solve the problems of food shortages, rationing, and black markets. In the more industrialized countries, German policy sought to largely maintain the economies and just redirect them toward German needs. In Norway, for example, the Nazi collaborator Vidkun Quisling ruled as minister president in partnership with Josef Terboven, a German civilian administrator. The country lost all its foreign trade partners, and its entire economy became tilted toward Germany. The result was that only about 40 percent of Norwegian production was left for consumption by Norwegians, necessitating rationing (Figure 13.14).



FIGURE 13.14 Shortages and Rationing. Because occupied Norway's production was redirected to supplying German needs, Norwegians lined up for scarce and rationed goods in Oslo in 1942. (credit: modification of work "Oslo queue ww2" by United States Library of Congress's Prints and Photographs division/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Where economies were less modern, it was difficult to increase production. Laborers were lost, either through death or because they were sent to Germany to work. As many as twelve million forced laborers from twenty different countries, mostly in eastern and central Europe, fell under German control, further depressing the production of civilian goods. Despite German hopes, eastern Europe exported to Germany only 800,000 tons of bread over the course of the war, and hunger and starvation became common experiences for resident populations. In Greece, the appropriation of foodstuffs led to a famine that killed a quarter of a million people in the winter of 1941–1942, including 90 percent of the babies born.

Across the globe, the rationing of food and products useful to the war effort affected life on the home fronts. The Germans instituted a four-year economic plan in 1936, and rationing began in August 1939. The first few years of the war brought little change in their standard of living, but by early 1945, rationing had grown uncomfortably tight. The Italians too had to adjust to rationing, which began in 1939 and progressively diminished the standard of living. In 1943, major labor strikes took place in protest against these measures in Italy, even in war-related industries. In the Soviet Union, the loss of Ukraine and other grain-producing areas necessitated strict rationing. China's agricultural economy had been severely disrupted by the Japanese invasion in the 1930s, and the war did little to improve the situation. Food shortages in Japan were severe, and by 1944, the population was surviving on eight ounces of rice a day.

Rationing was a fact of life in Allied countries as well. In Britain in 1939, oil and gasoline were rationed first, then a year later foods such as bacon, butter, meat, cheese, and eggs were rationed. In 1940, the Ministry of Food established canteens in factories and schools throughout the country to provide food and regulate its distribution. In the United States, the Office of Price Administration had been established in August 1941. It commenced rationing sugar, meat, butter, gasoline, tires, and canned goods three weeks after Pearl Harbor.

Many nations sent their children abroad to safer areas. During the blitz of London, one million British children

were evacuated to the countryside or to Canada. By 1942, the Germans, the Soviets, and the Japanese had sent hundreds of thousands of children out of their major cities, and sometimes their civilian parents as well.

The governments of nearly all the combatants sooner or later assumed command of their economies to direct labor and resources to their war efforts. As early as the mid-1920s, the Italian government had begun direct intervention in the economy, and by 1939, Italy had the second-highest percentage of state-owned enterprises in the world; only the Soviet Union had more. The Soviets had instituted state control and a centrally commanded economy in 1928 with the goal of industrializing rapidly. When the Germans attacked, about a third of the western portion of the nation, with most of the Soviet industrial base, fell into German hands. In anticipation of a conflict with capitalist nations, the Soviets had begun to establish industrial bases east of the Ural Mountains. During World War II, they intensified their efforts to save their industrial centers and moved twenty-five hundred factories and twenty-five million people east of the Urals, out of reach of the Wehrmacht. Steadily, Soviet productive capacity regained its balance and began to achieve impressive results.

Germany's four-year plan, begun in 1936, carried them into the early stages of the war, and in 1942 the economy was kicked into high gear. The Luftwaffe had taken delivery of 8,300 aircraft in 1939, a number that exploded to a peak of 39,800 by 1944. British factories similarly began turning out tens of thousands of planes in the last years of the war. The Japanese shifted to turning out planes to defend the nation from air attacks, and work on battleships and cruisers ceased altogether.

Government efforts to spur production led to nearly full employment in many nations. In the United States, unemployment dropped from 15 percent in 1939 to 1 percent in 1943 as seventeen million new civilian jobs were created. Workers achieved a nearly 100 percent increase in productivity and output. All these changes transformed the human landscape as workers from across the United States, and increasingly women and African Americans from the south, were drawn into defense industry work. Half the world's war production came from the United States. The Lend-Lease program sent material and foodstuffs to forty Allied nations, mainly Britain and the Soviet Union but also other nations from Brazil and Belgium to Iran and Uruguay.

Total war meant that the enemy's productive capabilities were fair targets for destruction. While the air raids on Britain often targeted civilian locations, the Allies initially attempted a program of strategic bombing of Axis locations in Europe. The plan was to disrupt industrial production, though reality often fell short of this goal. Bombs missed targets and hit purely civilian ones or simply did not inflict the necessary damage on a factory. Naples sustained nearly two hundred attacks from 1940 to 1944. The Royal Air Force conducted nighttime bombing campaigns over German cities, similar to those Germany carried out over England. The multiday attacks on Dresden by more than one thousand British and U.S. bombers in February 1945 dropped high explosives and firebombs on the center of the city, destroying most of it and killing more than twenty-five thousand people. Some of these bombing runs were deliberately aimed at civilian targets.

The danger air raids posed to civilians was clear. Air raids killed 60,000 British people and injured 86,000 during the Battle of Britain. Nationwide German wartime losses reached 305,000 killed and 800,000 injured, with five million rendered homeless. The Allied bombing of Japan was severe as well. The U.S. Air Force destroyed sixty-nine Japanese cities. The March 1945 raid on Tokyo alone killed between 80,000 and 100,000 people and destroyed the homes of a million more. By 1945, Japan was on the verge of economic collapse.

But life was more than just working in war plants and rationing. Everywhere people tried to maintain some semblance of ordinary life through diversions and entertainment. Radio programming kept them informed and entertained. In England, "We'll Meet Again," probably the most popular wartime song, came out in 1939. The Germans banned jazz, but wherever they went, U.S. soldiers, known as GIs, introduced locals to jazz and the jitterbug, popular back in the States.

Movies were produced everywhere as both propaganda and distraction. German, Italian, Japanese, and Soviet films leaned heavily toward propaganda. Most German films were pro-war and heroic in theme, with significant portions of anti-Semitic propaganda. In general, the Japanese discouraged distractions from the

war effort. Bars had their hours cut to restrict frivolous activities, but movie houses remained open. Japanese pro-war and propagandistic movies began to appear as early as 1937, starting with *Marching Song* about the fighting in China. Beginning in 1941 and often thereafter, many Japanese movies focused on Koreans who volunteered and heroically served the greater cause of Japan. Movie theater attendance in Britain increased 50 percent in 1944 and 1945, and in the United States it also reached new highs.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor had unleashed a cascade of racist assumptions about the Japanese, and it was generally feared that Japanese Americans living in the United States might engage in espionage or sabotage. **Executive Order 9066**, issued by President Roosevelt in February 1942, authorized West Coast military commanders to exclude from designated military areas anyone deemed a threat to national security. It thus allowed the widespread forced relocation of tens of thousands of Japanese and Japanese American families into ten relocation camps administered by the War Relocation Authority from 1942 until 1946 (Figure 13.15).

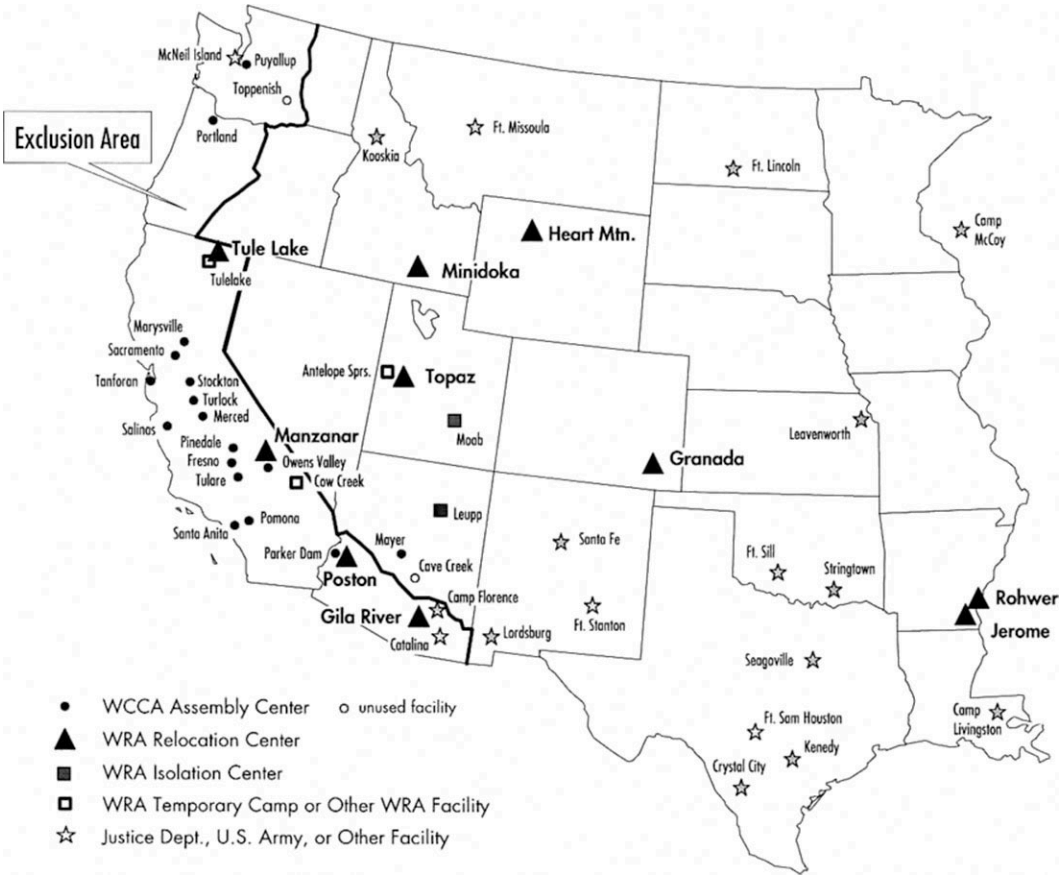


FIGURE 13.15 The Enforcement of U.S. Executive Order 9066. This map shows the sites of relocation camps set up for forcibly displaced Japanese Americans during World War II. (credit: "Map of World War II Japanese American internment camps" by National Park Service/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The internees at these camps, many of them U.S. citizens, were forced to abandon their homes and businesses, and most never recovered them. Conditions in the camps were bleak. Families were separated, and men were often sent to different locations for investigation and interrogation. Most internees complied, many desiring to show their loyalty to the United States. Some even volunteered for and were later enlisted in the army. Others, however, felt betrayed and denounced the United States. An even smaller group were deemed recalcitrant and repatriated to Japan during and after the war.

In 1944, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the relocation, but in the early 1980s, the federal court system reconsidered the issue. Several Japanese Americans who had been convicted for not

complying with the executive order in the 1940s saw their convictions overturned, and in one case vacated. Fred Korematsu, a U.S. citizen, had been arrested in 1942 for defying the exclusion order and fought the abridgment of his civil liberties for forty years. His was one of the convictions finally overturned in the 1980s. In 1988, the U.S. government formally apologized to the people who had been interned and awarded $20,000 in reparations to each survivor. In an interview in 2000, Korematsu said, "I'll never forget my government treating me like this. And I really hope that this will never happen to anybody else because of the way they look, if they look like the enemy of our country."

While most Latin American countries did not participate in combat in the war (Brazil was an exception), none could avoid the harsh realities of the conflict. All became more dependent on trade with the United States and were subject to the shortages, rationing, and price controls that came along with the dearth of needed items on the home front. Some areas saw increased economic opportunity at home, such as Panama, where the canal had become extremely busy during the war as goods were transferred from ocean to ocean.

Along with becoming a theater of battle in its northern lands, Africa was also drawn into World War II when Africans were enlisted into the armies fighting fascism. More than a million African soldiers fought in Europe, North Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific or provided labor for colonial forces during the war. Most were forcibly recruited and paid far less than White European soldiers. The colonial holdings of the European powers throughout the continent meant that Africa's resources were available for the war effort. African labor, for instance, was essential in maintaining the production of such strategic materials as coal, tin, rubber, and food. Mobilizing African comunities for support forced colonial regimes to deal with resentments associated with rising prices, increased taxes, inflation, and control of the economies. Increased urbanization of the continent also offered populations greater freedom of action and expression, calling colonialism into question. Brazzaville was the capital of Free France (France's collected colonial territories) under Charles de Gaulle, and issues of subjugation and racism came into stark relief. Many Africans saw their loyal contribution to the Allies as a down payment for greater self-determination and independence after the war.

Women Mobilized for War

The status and roles of women underwent seismic shifts around the world because of the war. In belligerent nations, with so many men sent to the far-flung fronts, women represented a large available pool of labor that could be tapped, and they increased their participation in their nation's economies significantly.

In 1939, women made up 37 percent of the German workforce, but because the Nazis encouraged them to be homemakers and resisted recruiting them to work, their participation in labor declined between 1939 and 1941. In 1942 when Germany geared up for war, however, more women went into the factories, and their share of the workforce climbed to about 50 percent. From its initial rise to power, the German Nazi regime had also promoted schemes to increase marriages and births, for which economic incentives were offered, while birth control was outlawed.

By 1945, women in the Soviet Union constituted 55 percent of the total workforce. In addition, about 800,000 women served in frontline combat positions, mostly as medical workers. Lyudmila Pavlichenko was a sniper credited with killing 309 enemies. The Soviet women's air unit called the Night Witches conducted more than twenty-three thousand bombing runs during the war. The war years led to the death of as many as twenty-five million Soviet citizens. Therefore, the role of motherhood also gained new importance during the war. In July 1944, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet created the Order of Maternal Glory and the title of Mother-Hero. There were financial incentives for having two or more children.

The Japanese also rewarded women for having children. The 1940, National Eugenics Law prohibited abortion or sterilization for any reason except eugenics (a discredited strategy that focused on cultivating desirable characteristics in a population). Women were encouraged to marry young, have many children, and fulfill their natural role as mothers. Those who did were rewarded, but women aged eighteen to twenty-five were also conscripted into the labor force beginning in 1943.

The Japanese military held views about the needs of men and the subservience of women that led to a vast system of forced prostitution and sexual slavery. Korean and Chinese women were the first to suffer, but the system spread wherever Japanese troops were, victimizing perhaps as many as 400,000 women from China, Korea, and elsewhere in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. This type of treatment helped spur many women to embrace the activism encouraged by the Chinese Communist Party and to celebrate anti-Japanese actions. The nature and scope of the crimes against these "comfort women" remain controversial long after the war.

THE PAST MEETS THE PRESENT

Uncomfortable Controversies

In the early 1990s, surviving Korean victims of sexual exploitation by the Japanese military went to court in Japan demanding recognition of their plight and compensation from the government. Through years of litigation, the Japanese court system consistently rejected their claims. The issue was revived in 2016 when twelve surviving "comfort women" (as they were called) entered South Korean courts to seek justice. In January 2021, the Seoul Central District Court rendered a decision in their favor and ordered the Japanese government to pay them $91,800 each. The Japanese government again rejected this ruling, and people on the political right in Japan, including former prime minister Shinzo Abe, argued that the women had not been forced into anything.

The charges leveled by the women were only one of the issues remaining from World War II with which Japan has yet to come to terms. Both while in office and afterward, Japanese prime ministers have paid visits to Yasukuni Shrine to honor soldiers who died in World War II, including men convicted of war crimes such as Hideki Tojo. Japanese history textbooks, which must be approved by the Ministry of Education, largely ignore the existence of the comfort women and have downplayed or denied the role of the Japanese military in forcing civilians on the island of Okinawa to commit suicide rather than surrender after the U.S. victory there in March 1945.

- Why do you think these issues still exist?
- Why might the Japanese government wish to deny or downplay actions of Japanese troops during the war?

In 1941, all British women between eighteen and fifty years old were declared available for national service. The Women's Land Army recruited eighty thousand women for agricultural work on Britain's farms, and 400,000 served in some other form of civil defense. Eventually, eight million women participated in the British war effort.

Encouraged by their government to think of all jobs as war jobs, six and a half million American women entered the labor force during the conflict and made up 50 percent of it by the war's end. Three million members of the Women's Land Army planted and harvested food. Women also took their places behind desks in hundreds of thousands of government and office jobs and in industries where few women had made inroads in the past. By 1944, for instance, the number of women in the banking industry had doubled to about 130,000 employees. The now-famous "Rosie the Riveter" poster expressed the commitment and competence of women stepping into industrial jobs to replace the men who had gone to war (Figure 13.16). Nearly 350,000 women also served in some branch of the U.S. military during the war.



FIGURE 13.16 Women on the Home Front. The famous poster of "Rosie the Riveter" symbolized the many women in the United States who were rolling up their sleeves to serve the nation during the war. (credit: "We can do it!" by U.S. National Archives and Records Administration/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Scientists at War

World War II, like World War I, brought about scientific and technological developments that soon became matters of life and death. The nature of total war itself prompted a transformation in the relationship between states and scientists. Governments invested in the development of lethal and nonlethal technologies that ultimately became essential to the war and national security. In the fall of 1939, the British scientific community rapidly shifted its focus from matters of pure research to work aiding the war effort.

Advances in the understanding of radio waves led to the development of radar, providing advance warning of enemy attacks. Other advances injected more and better electronics such as microwaves and early versions of digital computing devices into a wide range of military applications, laying the foundation for the commercial proliferation of electronics into everyday life after the war. Allied efforts to break the Nazi spy codes inspired the birth of the first rudimentary computers. The British mathematician Alan Turing and a team of scientists working for the British Secret Service set out to break the seemingly unbreakable Nazi Enigma code. In the process, they built an electromagnetic device that could cycle through hundreds of thousands of possible key/letter combinations in intercepted Nazi messages and eventually succeeded in breaking the code. Another breakthrough in computing was **ENIAC**, the Electronic Numerical Integrator and Computer, which was first developed to calculate artillery trajectories for the U.S Army and performed its calculations at electronic, not mechanical, speed. It is estimated that by 1955, ENIAC had completed more calculations than humans had ever solved to date.

LINK TO LEARNING

Long-term results of World War II include the beginning of computerization. Alan Turing predicted that someday machines would be able to pass the Turing test, which he called the imitation game. That is, machines would behave in ways that were indistinguishable from human actions. This video explains the Turing test (https://openstax.org/l/77TuringTest) in more detail. Presented in this video is an example of the logic of artificial intelligence (https://openstax.org/l/77AILogic) as demonstrated in "Sophia answers the Trolley Problem."

Advances were made in life-saving scientific and medical techniques as well. A major medical development during the war improved the use and mass production of the antibiotic penicillin. Another life-saving advance was the achievement of Charles Drew, an African American physician who developed the process of rendering blood plasma, making it easier to store it for longer periods of time and offering an effective replacement for whole-blood transfusions. But racial bias entered the picture in 1941 when the American Red Cross agreed with a War Department decision to label blood and plasma as either "White" or "Negro." Dr. Drew resigned from the National Blood Bank as a result of this racist and unscientific policy.

Few developments were more dramatic than the massive mobilization of scientific and civilian resources for the building of the atomic bomb. In December 1938, German physicists Otto Hahn and Fritz Strassmann accidentally split atoms and discovered nuclear fission. A few months later, the Germans established a secret weapons program called the Uranium Club to create an atomic bomb. Seeing the implications of Hahn's work, German-born physicist Albert Einstein, who had recently immigrated to the United States, sent a letter to President Roosevelt that had been written by physicist Leo Szilard, warning Roosevelt of this research and urging an increased U.S. commitment to conducting its own.

By the late 1930s, British and other scientists became convinced that an atomic bomb was possible, and teams of physicists, some of them refugees from Nazi Germany, assembled and began experiments with nuclear chain reactions, the catalysts of an atomic explosion. In August 1942, the U.S. government boosted this effort with its top-secret **Manhattan Project**. At dozens of sites across the United States, from Los Alamos in New Mexico to Oak Ridge in Tennessee and Hanford in Washington State, 600,000 workers embarked on a frenetic race to build the world's first atomic bomb. Meanwhile, Germany and Japan were also attempting to build their own. The German effort was hindered by technical and other problems. For example, top German scientists had fled Germany, and some were assisting the Manhattan Project. Further, Hitler preferred to support the development of V2 bombers for the air war with England rather than an atomic bomb. In 1941, the Japanese commissioned physicist Yoshio Nishina to begin working on an atomic bomb, calling the project Ni-Go. But lacking any information shared by the Germans and suffering under successful U.S. air raids, the project did not make much progress.

Eventually, in July 1945, the Manhattan Project bore fruit, and a bomb was successfully detonated in the **Trinity Test** at Alamogordo, New Mexico. William L. Laurence, the official historian of the project, described this first successful trial of an atomic weapon: "On that moment hung eternity. Time stood still. Space contracted to a pinpoint. It was as though the earth had opened and the skies split. One felt as though they had been privileged to witness the Birth of the World—to be present at the moment of Creation when the Lord Said: Let there be light." President Roosevelt had died suddenly in April 1945, succeeded by Vice President Harry S. Truman. It fell to Truman to decide whether to use the new weapon or not.

13.4 Out of the Ashes

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe the final stages of the war in Europe
- Identify the components of the agreements reached at Yalta and Potsdam
- Analyze the decision to drop atomic bombs on Japan
- Discuss the efforts to transform Japan after its surrender

Just as it did after World War I, immense hope prevailed after World War II that genuine and lasting peace might arise. The future of the globe itself seemed to hang in the balance if humans could not avoid using violence to solve their problems. However, the use of nuclear weapons to end the fighting in the Pacific meant the postwar world had to grapple with new ethical and technological concerns. The rebuilding of war-torn and defeated countries added a new dimension to what victory looked like.

Victory in Europe and Plans for Peace

For more than five years after they met in Newfoundland and produced the Atlantic Charter's plan for the end of the conflict, Roosevelt and Churchill exchanged more than 1,700 letters and messages and held many high-level meetings to closely coordinate their efforts at every level. At a specialized conference held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in 1944, representatives of forty-four Allied countries together hammered out the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund, both intended to secure economic security and stability after the war.

As Allied troops marched toward the German border, however, their coalition began to fray. On a visit to Stalin late in 1944, Churchill signed the **Percentages Agreement** in which the two decided to divide up eastern Europe into spheres of influence, with Britain getting a 90 percent share of Greece, the USSR getting 90 percent of Romania, and both holding 50 percent of the political power in Hungary and Yugoslavia. Churchill thought Stalin should burn the document afterward because "it might be thought rather cynical if it seemed we had disposed of these issues, so fateful to millions of people, in such an offhand manner."

Finally, several months after the Soviet victory at Kursk, General Eisenhower prepared to open a second front in the European theater of the war. By May 1944, the German military was facing a dilemma. The Soviet Red Army was relentlessly rolling back German positions in the east, and it seemed obvious that the British and U.S. troops were preparing for an invasion of the continent. Given the brutality of the battles on the eastern front, the Germans chose to retain 228 divisions to counter the Soviets and assigned the defense of Europe to fifty-eight divisions, only fifteen of which were in the vicinity of Normandy, France.

Normandy, however, was the secret site of the coming invasion. After months of assembling and training troops, the Allies began their invasion of France at 2 a.m. on June 6, 1944—D-Day. Having assumed responsibility for nearly every detail but not convinced he had done enough, Eisenhower wrote a letter of resignation the night before in case things did not go well. But they did. By the second day of the operation, approximately 160,000 Allied troops with considerable armor were linking up in a continuous line through Europe and punching holes in German defenses. Paris was liberated just two months later.

A race to capture Berlin then began, with Allied generals vying for the honor of getting there first. As British and U.S. troops approached from the west, the Soviets closed in on the city from the east. While clearing out German forces west of the Rhine River, Eisenhower decided to pause for resupply and prepare for the final push to Berlin.

Hitler believed there might still be hope for a German victory if he could divide the Allied armies from each other. Four days later. he committed 200,000 troops, one thousand tanks, and large numbers of aircraft to the Battle of the Bulge in a forested region of the western front. Eisenhower later admitted the Germans had indeed achieved a tactical surprise in this offensive by penetrating Allied defenses by some fifty miles. Despite the German successes, however, he felt that by capitalizing on their fatigue, he could stem the tide of the war. Germany had in fact suffered major losses in what proved to be their final European offensive and another turning point in the war.

With the conflict nearing its end, the Big Three met again to plan the peace at the Yalta Conference in the Soviet Crimea from February 4 to 11, 1945 (Figure 13.17). Roosevelt's agenda asked for Soviet support in the U.S. Pacific War against Japan, specifically in invading Japan. He also hoped for support for the creation of a new institution—the United Nations—that would be modeled on the premise of collective security but would be a stronger body than the League of Nations had been. Churchill pressed for free elections and democratic governments in eastern and central Europe (specifically Poland), while Stalin demanded a Soviet sphere of political influence in eastern and central Europe.



FIGURE 13.17 The Big Three. The Allies were represented at the Yalta Conference in 1945 by (left to right) Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Britain, U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt, and the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin. (credit: "'Big Three' met at Yalta" by National Archives and Records Administration/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Stalin promised free elections in Poland, despite having recently installed a government in Polish territories occupied by the Red Army. His preconditions for the Soviet Union's declaring war against Japan were U.S. recognition of Mongolian independence from China and of Soviet interests in the Manchurian railways and Port Arthur. These were agreed upon without Chinese representation or consent, and Stalin promised that the Soviet Union would enter the Pacific War three months after the defeat of Germany. Roosevelt met Stalin's price in the hope that the USSR could be dealt with after the war via the United Nations, which the Soviets had agreed to join.

In the Declaration on Liberated Europe, the three leaders agreed that all original governments would be restored in the invaded countries (except France, Romania, and Bulgaria and the Polish government-in-exile in London), and that all displaced civilians would be repatriated. Other key points of the meeting were reaffirmation of the unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany, and of the division of Germany and Berlin into three occupied zones (later expanded to four).

Germany was to undergo demilitarization and denazification and make reparations, partly in the form of forced labor by German prisoners of war and others who would work in agricultural and industrial roles in both Eastern and Western Europe after the war. At the same time, Nazi war criminals were to be hunted down and brought to justice. Stalin insisted that given the pain and destruction the Germans had visited upon the Soviet Union, reparations ought to go to the nation that had suffered the most. Resolution of this issue was postponed to a future conference. After Yalta, Eisenhower conferred with Moscow and laid out a plan, adhering to the Yalta Agreement, for the exact placement of the postwar occupation zones in Berlin. Eisenhower knew the German leaders were preparing to move to another city, making Berlin of only psychlogical significance.

On April 30, 1945, Hitler and his wife of one day, Eva Braun, committed suicide. Various German commanders then began surrendering to Soviet or Allied forces. Hermann Göring surrendered on May 6, and the next day the chief of staff of German forces, General Alfred Jodl, unconditionally surrendered all German forces. Victory

in Europe had been achieved.

Advancing Soviet armies had begun the process of liberating the death camps in July 1944, and in January 1945, they freed those held in Auschwitz. In April, U.S. and British units liberated Buchenwald, Bergen-Belsen, and Dachau. Eisenhower and his staff went into the camps on a number of occasions. To make sure the world became aware of German inhumanity, Eisenhower arranged for American and British reporters to tour the camps as well.

LINK TO LEARNING

The U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum has preserved recorded testimony of Holocaust survivors (https://openstax.org/l/77HolocaustSurv) recounting the end of their imprisonment and their life after liberation.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki

Early in 1945, the Japanese army and navy agreed to adopt the first joint operational plan in their histories. Operation *Ten-go* ("heaven") called for suicide attacks by land and air units for defense in the Pacific, and a month later these attacks were combined with the *shukketsu* ("bleeding") strategy in the Battle of Iwo Jima.

Throughout the war, the Japanese had believed that high casualties would dishearten U.S. troops, who they felt could not tolerate suffering and loss. On Iwo Jima, the Japanese sacrificed twenty-one thousand soldiers and inflicted twenty-six thousand casualties on U.S. Marines (seven thousand were killed and the rest wounded). But the U.S. troops persisted and again absorbed high casualties as they later captured Okinawa. Japan's struggle for Okinawa included the use of the island's civilians, resulting in the death of 100,000 and demonstrating the resolve to be expected from the Japanese in defense of their main islands (Figure 13.18).



FIGURE 13.18 Japanese Women on the Home Front. Japanese female students receive weapons training in 1945. (credit: "Kokumin Giyutai" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The slogan *gyokusai* ("honorable death"), combined with *shukketsu* and commitment to the emperor, was

exemplified by the kamikaze or suicide pilots, essentially human bombs trying to fend off U.S. naval forces. In the face of such near-fanatical defensive efforts, U.S. secretary of war Henry L. Stimson and General George C. Marshall, the U.S. Army chief of staff, estimated that an invasion of Japan could cost between 500,000 and one million U.S. casualties and last well into 1946. President Truman was briefed on these estimates, and they were widely discussed among the military planning circles and staff. Japan's leaders, however, refused to consider an unconditional surrender that, among other things, may have led to the emperor's being tried for war crimes. They came to the conclusion that an invasion of the home islands was inevitable. Private and secret initiatives were floated to persuade the Soviet Union to mediate with the United States and Britain to end the war.

Between July 17 and August 2, 1945, the final Allied summit conference took place at Potsdam, a suburb of Berlin. This time, Harry S. Truman replaced the late Franklin Roosevelt, and Winston Churchill was replaced by Britain's newly elected prime minister Clement Attlee. Truman was already troubled by Soviet actions in Europe. He disliked the concessions Roosevelt had made that allowed the Soviets to install a communist government in Poland. He also disapproved of Stalin's plans, made known at the Yalta Conference, to demand large reparations from Germany. Truman feared the resulting burden on Germany might lead to another cycle of rearmament and aggression.

After issuing a demand for the unconditional surrender of Japan, the conference turned toward the fate of postwar Europe. The Allied leaders agreed to demilitarize Germany and to divide the conquered nation and its capital of Berlin into four occupation zones: three in the west to be controlled by Britain, France, and the United States, and one in the east for the USSR. An Allied Control Council was created to administer occupied Germany, though the choice to make the council's decisions unanimous later proved unrealistic. The German economy was to be decentralized and focused on agriculture and nonmilitary industries.

The debates about reparations stemming from the Yalta Conference were settled with a plan to exchange Germany's western industrial production for its eastern agricultural production. In practice, however, this plan led to economic policies being instituted and managed by zones rather than for the nation as a whole, creating further disunity among the Allies. Finally, a program of denazification for Germany and Austria was confirmed that included punishment of war criminals. The settlement of the final borders of Poland was postponed, but Britain and the United States agreed to the transfer of designated German territory to Poland.

Truman had known little about the Manhattan Project before becoming president and now relied on the advice of his experts. They shared a widely held faith in the justice of the U.S. cause and accepted technological approaches to ending the war. Informed of the success of the Trinity Test while at the conference, Truman noted his thinking about using the bomb in his July 25, 1945, diary entry. He favored using it only against military targets, not civilian ones:

> This weapon is to be used against Japan between now and August 10. I have told the secretary of war, Mr. Stimson, to use it so that military objectives and soldiers and sailors are the target and not women and children. Even if Japs are savages, ruthless, merciless, and fanatic, we as the leader of the world for the common welfare cannot drop this terrible bomb on the old capital or the new. He and I are in accord. The target will be a purely military one and we will issue a warning statement asking the Japs to surrender and save lives. I'm sure they will not do that, but we will have given them the chance. It is certainly a good thing for the world that Hitler's crowd or Stalin's did not discover this atomic bomb. It seems to be the most terrible thing ever discovered, but it can be made the most useful.

The bomb was used, first against Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, and three days later on Nagasaki, both cities populated by civilians including women and children.

A variety of factors likely influenced Truman in making his decision. The desire to save American lives perhaps played the greatest role. The desire to justify the expense of the Manhattan Project also likely influenced him. Some have suggested that Truman hoped to demonstrate to the Soviet Union the technological

superiority of the United States. Others believe that a desire for revenge for Pearl Harbor also played a role. Some have suggested that a long history of anti-Asian sentiment in the United States made the use of the atomic bomb against Japan seem less horrific than its use against Europeans would have been.

DUELING VOICES

Dropping the Atomic Bomb

When it became clear that the Manhattan Project had been successful, a panel of scientists led by Robert Oppenheimer, the project's head, made recommendations about the weapon they had created in a report dated June 16, 1945. A month later, physicist Leo Szilard and sixty-nine other scientists and technicians at the Manhattan Project's Chicago laboratory petitioned President Truman to use caution when deciding how to deploy the bomb.

> The initial use of the new weapon . . . in our opinion, should be such as to promote a satisfactory adjustment of our international relations. At the same time, we recognize our obligation to our nation to use the weapons to help save American lives in the Japanese war.
>
> (1) To accomplish these ends we recommend that before the weapons are used not only Britain, but also Russia, France, and China be advised that we have made considerable progress in our work on atomic weapons, that these may be ready to use during the present war, and that we would welcome suggestions as to how we can cooperate in making this development contribute to improved international relations.
>
> (2) The opinions of our scientific colleagues on the initial use of these weapons are not unanimous . . . . Those who advocate a purely technical demonstration would wish to outlaw the use of atomic weapons, and have feared that if we use the weapons now our position in future negotiations will be prejudiced. Others emphasize the opportunity of saving American lives by immediate military use, and believe that such use will improve the international prospects . . . . We find ourselves closer to these latter views; we can propose no technical demonstration likely to bring an end to the war; we see no acceptable alternative to direct military use.
>
> —Recommendations on the Immediate Use of Nuclear Weapons
>
> The war has to be brought speedily to a successful conclusion and attacks by atomic bombs may very well be an effective method of warfare. We feel, however, that such attacks on Japan could not be justified, at least not unless the terms which will be imposed after the war on Japan were made public in detail and Japan were given an opportunity to surrender.
>
> If such public announcement gave assurance to the Japanese that they could look forward to a life devoted to peaceful pursuits in their homeland and if Japan still refused to surrender our nation might then, in certain circumstances, find itself forced to resort to the use of atomic bombs. Such a step, however, ought not to be made at any time without seriously considering the moral responsibilities which are involved.
>
> The development of atomic power will provide the nations with new means of destruction. The atomic bombs at our disposal represent only the first step in this direction, and there is almost no limit to the destructive power which will become available in the course of their future development. Thus a nation which sets the precedent of using these newly liberated forces of nature for purposes of destruction may have to bear the responsibility of opening the door to an era of devastation on an unimaginable scale.
>
> If after this war a situation is allowed to develop in the world which permits rival powers to be in uncontrolled possession of these new means of destruction, the cities of the United States as well as

the cities of other nations will be in continuous danger of sudden annihilation. . . .

The added material strength which this lead gives to the United States brings with it the obligation of restraint and if we were to violate this obligation our moral position would be weakened in the eyes of the world and in our own eyes. It would then be more difficult for us to live up to our responsibility of bringing the unloosened forces of destruction under control.

—A Petition to the President of the United States

- What are the points made by the two sides? Which do you think made the better argument?
- Do the scientists seem more concerned about the bomb's effect on the Japanese or about the consequences for the United States of using it? Explain your answer.
- In what ways are Truman's feelings about the bomb similar to those of Szilard and his supporters?
- If you had been President Truman, would you have ordered the bomb to be dropped? Why or why not?

Little Boy, as the first atomic bomb was called, was dropped on Hiroshima from the U.S. bomber the *Enola Gay*. Survivors referred to August 6 as "the day of two suns"; the blast was so bright that it burned the shadows of victims into walls and concrete. More than seventy thousand people were killed instantly. Immediately afterward, the sky turned purple and gray, even black, from the dust and debris suspended in the air. Hundreds of wooden and paper houses were ignited. Thousands of shocked and confused people whose flesh had burned off began roaming about, almost instinctively moving toward any pool or stream of water. Over the following days, months, and even years, people continued to succumb to their wounds and injuries, bringing the total deaths to more than 100,000. Three days later, Fat Man, the second bomb, similarly descended upon Nagasaki, killing forty thousand Japanese immediately. Including the aftermath, deaths there totaled seventy thousand.

LINK TO LEARNING

Not everyone was horrified by the thought of the atomic bomb being used against Japan. But lyrics of the popular song "When the Atom Bomb Fell" (https://openstax.org/l/77AtomSong) reveal another perspective. The song was released in 1945 after the bomb had been dropped.

Visit the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum (https://openstax.org/l/77Hiroshima) to learn more about the effects of the bombing on the residents of Hiroshima.

Meanwhile, keeping the promise made at Yalta, after the bombing of Hiroshima the Soviets broke their nonaggression pact with Japan and invaded Manchukuo and Korea. Japanese defenses there quickly crumbled in the face of tens of thousands of casualties, ending any hope that the Soviets might act as an intermediary in some negotiated settlement with the Allies. Japan surrendered shortly after.

The Human Toll

The end of the war saw the world grapple with the conflict's astronomical human toll. Germany had suffered 5.5 million military deaths and lost as many as three million civilians. Japan lost 2.1 million military and another million civilians. China's military deaths can only be approximated but may have been as high as four million, with another sixteen million civilians. The United States and the United Kingdom emerged less battered, with 416,000 American and 384,000 British deaths. However, their ally the Soviet Union arguably suffered more than any other single country. Soviet military deaths were estimated at 8.8 to 10.7 million, and more than thirteen million civilian deaths were attributed to the war. Some of these deaths were the result of military actions; other Soviet civilians died of starvation or disease caused by wartime conditions. The German and Japanese surrenders ended the combat phase of the war. However, much work was needed to rebuild the world as the victors thought it should be.

The Aftermath: Europe

The right-wing dictatorships in Spain and Portugal, by staying out of the actual conflict, were able to avoid the reconstructive policies and action of the Allies. But fascism had been dealt a severe defeat in Europe.

The Soviets exacted retribution on the Germans largely by removing and transporting back to the Soviet Union virtually anything they considered useful to rebuilding their own industrial sector destroyed by the war. Thus, the Soviet occupation zone, which became the communist satellite of East Germany, was left with little to sustain itself. The western Allies, wanting relief from the burden of supporting destitute Germans and their largely destroyed economy, began to rebuild Germany's industries in their occupation zones. Stalin perceived these efforts as a sign of greed, continued capitalist hostility to socialism, and the West's desire to dominate the world economy.

Efforts were also made to establish some measure of justice via war crimes trials. In August 1945, Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States agreed to create the International Military Tribunal to try Germans accused of committing war crimes, crimes against peace, and crimes against humanity. The **Nuremberg Trials** sought justice for Germany's crimes against humanity; they lasted through 1946. Twenty-two individuals and seven Nazi organizations were indicted. Nineteen defendants were convicted and received sentences ranging from fifteen years in prison to death by hanging. Three of the Nazi organizations were ruled to be criminal organizations.

There remained the huge task of repatriating all those displaced by the war. Millions of people had been shuttled around Europe by the Germans as they drew forced labor to Germany and dispatched Jewish people and others to concentration/death camps. The Soviets demanded the return of all their citizens. The Allies agreed to the controversial "Operation Keelhaul," whereby people who had cooperated with the Germans against the Soviets, including Cossacks, Ukrainians, and Russians, were forcibly repatriated to the Soviet Union with the probability of a harsh and possibly fatal reception. Millions of others were also forcibly moved back to their "home" nations at the end of the war, such as Germans living in areas now belonging to Poland who were forced to leave for Germany. The hope was that this would help avoid ethnic tensions that might lead to another conflict. At the same time, 250,000 Jewish survivors of the Holocaust languished in camps for displaced persons because their home countries refused to take them back. About eighty thousand were eventually able to relocate to the United States, and more than 100,000 settled in the British Mandate of Palestine.

The Aftermath: Japan

On August 10, 1945, in the wake of the atomic attacks and the Soviet invasion of Manchukuo, Japanese Emperor Hirohito had informed his Privy Council that he accepted the Potsdam Declaration regarding Japan's unconditional surrender, and soon thereafter the Allies were informed to that effect. Hirohito himself followed up on August 15 with the first public broadcast any emperor had ever made to the Japanese people, saying he would bear the pain of defeat and accept the Allied terms. A month later on September 2, General Yoshijirō Umezu, the army's chief of staff, signed a surrender document aboard the USS *Missouri* at anchor in Tokyo Bay (Figure 13.19).



FIGURE 13.19 The Japanese Surrender. General Yoshijirō Umezu, chief of the Japanese Army General Staff, signed the articles of surrender for Japan aboard the USS *Missouri* on September 2, 1945. Opposite him were representatives of the Allied Powers, standing behind General Douglas MacArthur at the microphones (with hands behind his back). (credit: "Japanese surrender, Tokyo Bay, September 2, 1945" by U.S. National Archives/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

As supreme commander for the Allied powers, General Douglas MacArthur was ordered to exercise authority during the Allied occupation of Japan through the Japanese governmental system, including Emperor Hirohito. MacArthur charged the Japanese government to immediately repeal the Peace Preservation Law, which allowed for the arrest of anyone perceived to be posing a threat to—or critical of—the Japanese government, and to begin open and free discussion of the entire Imperial government and its institutions. Political prisoners were released, and the Special Police were disbanded. On New Year's Day 1946, the emperor publicly disclaimed his divine status: "The ties between us and our people have always stood upon mutual trust and affection. They do not depend upon mere legends and myths. They are not predicated on the false conception that the Emperor is divine and that the Japanese people are superior to other races and fated to rule the world."

In Tokyo, the International Military Tribunal for the Far East emerged from the Potsdam Declaration. (Since the Soviet Union had not declared war on Japan at that time, it was not a party to the agreement.) The trials began in 1946 and lasted until November 1948. Eighteen members of the Japanese military and nine senior politicians were indicted. All were found guilty but one, who was found mentally unfit to stand trial; six were executed and the rest sentenced to prison.

For six years, from 1946 to 1952, the United States dominated the occupation of Japan. General MacArthur and his occupation authorities partnered energetically in almost all aspects of Japanese politics, economics, and society to try to reform and rebuild Japan. The overall goals of the occupation were demilitarization, democratization, and the fostering of respect for fundamental human rights. The Constitution imposed by MacArthur and his Government Section in 1947 was the sort of fundamental change no single group in Japan itself could have effected. The fact that it has survived virtually unchanged suggests that the Japanese themselves came to terms with it and bent the system to reflect their habits of mind and politics. The emperor

was made a figurehead, “the symbol of the State and of the unity of the people.” Real sovereign power was vested in the people via the Diet, an elected two-chamber legislature. An extensive Bill of Rights guaranteed academic freedom, women’s suffrage, the right to choose residence, collective bargaining, and full employment.

Demilitarization was immediately begun, and the Japanese accepted that a realistic appraisal of world conditions after World War II strongly suggested force was not a good way to protect Japan and secure access to economic resources. The preamble to the Japanese Constitution begins, “We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time.” Land reform began to make more small farmers owners of their farms instead of renters, and union membership was supported in the industrial sector, but many large corporations remained and were deliberately not broken up. Japan was severely limited militarily; no Japanese army was allowed, nor was Japan permitted to go to war in the future.

Attempts took place across the globe to achieve some form of just and lasting peace. One glimmer of hope was the United Nations, an international body agreed to by the Allied leaders during wartime conferences and finally established in New York City in April 1945. The United Nations was pledged to “save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small . . . to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom.”

Judicial actions in both Germany and Japan were the beginning of attempts to define such concepts as genocide and crimes against humanity, as a way to counter the possibility that the conflict had actually normalized total war, mass violence, brutalization, and totalitarianism. The war had also brought into stark view the cruel consequences of racism and racist ideologies. Even liberal democracies could be poisoned by such thinking, as was revealed in the United States by the groundless displacement of Japanese residents and nationals and Japanese American citizens.

As another aftermath of the war, women worldwide found themselves enjoying some of the freedoms and responsibilities of their fuller citizenship and participation in their nation’s fortunes. And populations in Africa and Asia, feeling they had earned liberation from prewar colonialism, began to reach for more self-determination and national legitimacy. It was widely felt that the struggles and sacrifices of so many could not and should not have been in vain.

Key Terms

Atlantic Charter a statement of British and U.S. goals and objectives for the world after World War II; negotiated by British prime minister Winston Churchill and U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt

ENIAC the first programmable electronic digital computer, built by the United States during World War II

Executive Order 9066 a presidential order that led to relocation and internment of more than 100,000 Japanese Americans during the war

Final Solution the Nazi plan to eliminate the Jewish population of Europe; developed by senior bureaucrats at the Wannsee Conference

German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact a 1939 agreement between Germany and the USSR in which the two nations agreed not to attack one another or to assist other nations in attacking the other and to divide portions of eastern Europe between them

Holocaust the Nazi genocide that resulted in the murder of more than six million Jewish people and at least three million members of other, non-Jewish minority groups

Lebensraum a German term meaning "living room" and referring to lands seized from countries in eastern Europe in which Adolf Hitler envisioned settling German families to supplant the native Slavic populations

Lend-Lease Act U.S. legislation enacted to provide military assistance to nations important to its defense

Manhattan Project the U.S. project to build an atomic bomb

Munich Pact an agreement reached in 1938 in which Czechoslovakia granted territorial concessions to Germany, Poland, and Hungary in the hopes that Adolf Hitler would cease his aggressions

Nuremberg Laws a series of laws promulgated in Germany in 1935, institutionalizing Nazi racial theories and discrimination against Jewish people

Nuremberg Trials the formal postwar prosecution of German war crimes

Percentages Agreement the agreement between Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin about how to divide political influence in Eastern Europe after the war

Trinity Test the first successful U.S. test of an atomic bomb

Section Summary

13.1 An Unstable Peace

As the 1930s unfolded, it became clear that peace would not last for long. Japan's advances through China and its violent attack on Nanjing showed that its military-dominated government would continue to press aggressively for more territory.

The rise of fascism in Italy and Germany continued unchecked. The Nazis were able to manipulate the situation to their diplomatic advantage and gain British and French acquiescence to the takeover of Austria and the Sudetenland (in Czechoslovakia) before any war began. The outbreak of World War II unveiled the Nazi military juggernaut, with several European countries quickly falling to Nazi control and Britain becoming an embattled country that sought new support and assurances from the United States. The Japanese attack on the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor in the Pacific in 1941 made the United States a full participant in the global war.

13.2 Theaters of War

The United States and Great Britain engaged Hitler in actions in North Africa throughout 1942. The Allied successes there and in Italy helped destabilize Mussolini's fascist government in Rome, and he was removed from power in 1943. On the eastern front, the Soviet Union fought protracted battles against the Nazis, with significant losses of civilian and military lives.

The United States continued to move against Japan's holdings throughout the Pacific and was able to retake numerous islands from the Japanese. These losses, especially at the Battle of Midway, called into question the military control of the Japanese government. New concerns arose in areas like India, where anti-British sentiment was growing. For some time, the Nazi government had been working toward the extermination of the Jewish people and of others it deemed undesirable. The Holocaust claimed the lives of millions of people in

Europe.

13.3 Keeping the Home Fires Burning

The war had massive effects for those on the home front, whose lives changed drastically as rationing and shortages became commonplace. Many nations had to mobilize their efforts to keep industry running and materials reaching the troops on the front lines, which brought women into offices and factories in new numbers. The focus on science and technology brought innovations such as radar, early computers, and medical advancements into military applications. Not least was the Manhattan Project's work on atomic energy, which led to the construction of the first nuclear weapons.

13.4 Out of the Ashes

Even before the end of the war, the Allied powers were confident that victory would come. In a series of meetings, Allied leaders arranged the postwar world they envisioned, including by deciding how Germany would be divided. In the Pacific theater of war, the showdown between the United States and Japan concluded with the dropping of the first nuclear bombs, first at Hiroshima and then at Nagasaki. In the aftermath of the conflict, it was clear just how much had been lost. Tens of millions of people had died. Nazi and Japanese war criminals were put on trial. The governments of several countries were in shambles. But rebuilding did begin, in Japan starting with a new constitution and a new focus on demilitarization and human rights.

Assessments

Review Questions

1. What was the event that caused the Nationalist Chinese (GMD) and the Chinese communists (CCP) to unite to resist Japan?
   a. Xian Incident
   b. Tanggu Truce
   c. Japanese assault on Shanghai
   d. Japanese invasion of Mongolia

2. What was the territory Hitler wanted from Czechoslovakia?
   a. Austrian province
   b. Polish Corridor
   c. Reichland
   d. Sudetenland

3. From which port were British and French forces evacuated from France to England?
   a. Marseilles
   b. Brest
   c. Calais
   d. Dunkirk

4. What was the German invasion of the Soviet Union called?
   a. Operation Eastern Blitz
   b. Operation Barbarossa
   c. Operation Lebensraum
   d. Operation Siegfried

5. Where did the first summit meeting between Roosevelt and Churchill take place?
   a. Washington, DC
   b. London

c. Newfoundland
d. Bermuda

6. The U.S. military plan for war, called Plan D, laid out what strategy?
a. hold the line
b. take Tokyo
c. Europe First
d. save Russia

7. The first U.S. action against Axis forces in the European theater _____.
a. took place in North Africa
b. was the invasion of Sardinia
c. liberated Norway
d. was the invasion of Spain

8. What was Japan's name for its empire?
a. Liberated Asia
b. The New Asia
c. The Unification of the Eight Corners
d. The Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere

9. What was the German military unit that followed advancing armies into eastern Europe and began eliminating enemies and Jewish people?
a. *Sturmabteilung*
b. *Einsatzgruppen*
c. *Gnadegruppen*
d. *Grausamkeitzug*

10. What was the turning point of the war in the Pacific?
a. the attack on Pearl Harbor
b. the Battle of Midway
c. the Battle of Guadalcanal
d. the fighting in the Philippines

11. What was significant about the Battle of Stalingrad?
a. It stopped the German advance into the Soviet Union and was the turning point of the war in Europe.
b. It constituted a major victory for the United States and encouraged the public to support the war.
c. It resulted in the loss of most of Britain's Mediterranean fleet.
d. It convinced Britain and the United States to invade Europe and relieve pressure on the Soviet Union.

12. British and American women were enlisted for agricultural work during the war as part of each nation's _____.
a. Women's Vegetable Corps
b. Women's Land Army
c. Feminine Farmers
d. Ladies Land Workers

13. Hitler issued orders to deal severely with partisan resistance in his _____.
a. Night and Fog Decree
b. Strike Hard Directive

c. Merciless Message
d. Kill All Command

14. Who was the scientist mainly responsible for building the Enigma decoding machine?
a. Charles Drew
b. Albert Einstein
c. Robert J. Oppenheimer
d. Alan Turing

15. Who was the Japanese American internee who fought the constitutionality of internment during the war and had his conviction overturned thirty years later?
a. Ishita Edwards
b. Fred Korematsu
c. Ishii Shiro
d. Hayashi Tadao

16. What was the Manhattan Project focused on?
a. anti-submarine weapons
b. the occupation of postwar Germany
c. the building of an atomic weapon
d. the inclusion of radar in all airplanes

17. The Germans made one final attempt to defeat the Western Allies in Europe in what battle?
a. Battle of the Bulge
b. The December Duel
c. The Forest Fight
d. Battle of Verdun

18. What did the Yalta Agreement reaffirm Stalin's commitment to do?
a. peacefully disarm the Red Army after the war
b. cooperate in the joint occupation of eastern European countries
c. return to Finland the land it had seized
d. enter the war against Japan three months after the defeat of Germany

19. What did the Japanese strategy of *shukketsu* seek to do?
a. outmaneuver Allied forces in quick movements
b. bleed the U.S. forces to dishearten them through casualties
c. punch holes in U.S. defenses and surround U.S. units
d. let U.S. forces pass through Japanese lines and then attack them from the rear

20. What was the forced repatriation of Soviet citizens liberated from German captivity by Allied forces called?
a. Operation Giveback
b. Operation Boomerang
c. Operation Keelhaul
d. Operation Homeward Bound

21. What were the three goals of the U.S. occupation of Japan?
a. pacification, liberalization, modernization
b. decentralization, deindustrialization, depopulation

c. demilitarization, democratization, recognition of human rights
d. republicanism, restitution, retribution

Check Your Understanding Questions

1. What were the first steps Hitler took to break the Treaty of Versailles?
2. What happened between Germany and the Soviet Union that may have made the invasion of Poland inevitable?
3. What steps did the Nazis take to eliminate Europe's Jewish population?
4. Why was Mussolini removed from office in 1943?
5. What were some of the ways both Allied and Axis nations increased their birth rates during the war?
6. How extensive were resistance movements during the war, and how did the Nazis deal with them?
7. Do you think President Roosevelt was satisfied with the results of the Yalta Conference? Why or why not?
8. How did the political structure of Japan change as a result of the postwar occupation by the United States?

Application and Reflection Questions

1. List the actions Japan took to carve out an empire for itself in Asia. How likely is it that the intervention of other nations could have stopped Japan's aggression? Would European nations and the United States have had the right to use military action to do so? Why or why not?
2. Why did no country come to the aid of Czechoslovakia when it was threatened by Germany? Explain how and why the western powers were unable to effectively enforce the Treaty of Versailles and prevent German aggression under Hitler.
3. How believable were Japan's claims that it was seeking to liberate the nations of Asia from Western colonialists? Explain your answer.
4. Should Hitler have been allowed to violate the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and remilitarize the Rhineland? If he had stopped at this point and not invaded other countries or persecuted German Jews, do you think France and Britain would have declared war?
5. Did the U.S. policy of neutrality invite the attack on Pearl Harbor? Why or why not? If the United States had been more active in its support for Britain, France, and China, would this have changed the way events progressed?
6. Analyze the factors that led to Hitler's decision to invade the Soviet Union.
7. Why did the Japanese military risk confrontation and possible war with the United States at the beginning of the 1940s?
8. Why would Churchill have preferred a Europe First strategy? Which of the Allied nations had the most to lose in the Pacific, and why?
9. How did popular culture like music and movies contribute to the war effort of different countries? Does popular culture still affect people's feelings of patriotism today? If so, how?
10. In what ways did women contribute to the war effort in their countries? In what ways did the war affect women's lives in the short term and the long term, both for the better and for the worse?
11. Which invention of the World War II period do you think was most important at the time? Which one is most significant today?
12. What was President Truman's attitude toward the dropping of the atomic bomb? Had Germany not

surrendered before the bomb's development was completed, do you think the United States would have dropped it on German targets? Why or why not?

13. What, in your opinion, was the most significant agreement reached at Yalta and at Potsdam? Which likely caused the greatest disagreement about the Big Three? Explain your answer.

14. What political, economic, and social changes were imposed upon Japan by the U.S. occupation? Did these changes benefit the average Japanese person? Why or why not? In your opinion, did victory give the United States the right to remake Japanese society? Why or why not?

15. Were the terms imposed upon Japan after the war more severe than those imposed upon Germany? Explain your answer.

Cold War Conflicts

14



FIGURE 14.1 Mao Zedong. This 1967 artist's rendering of Mao Zedong greeting a cheering Chinese public during the Cultural Revolution shows loyal party members following him and holding the Little Red Book that contained his most popular sayings. (credit: modification of work "[1967-11] 1967 Oil Painting of Mao Zedong reviewing the Red Guards" by China Pictorial 1967/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

CHAPTER OUTLINE

14.1 The Cold War Begins
14.2 The Spread of Communism
14.3 The Non-Aligned Movement
14.4 Global Tensions and Decolonization
14.5 A New World Order

INTRODUCTION In the period following World War II, leaders like Joseph Stalin and Nikita Khrushchev of the Soviet Union and Mao Zedong of China (Figure 14.1) believed communism would light the way to a bright new future for humankind. The United States, the United Kingdom, and other Western countries regarded communism as a threat to freedom, instead placing their faith in capitalism and democracy to improve human life. The ideological differences between these two groups of countries, and the global-scale struggle between the Soviet Union and the United States for social, economic, technological, and military supremacy, divided the world into mutually hostile spheres in the half-century following the war. Their antagonism played out in a real but bloodless conflict known as the Cold War.

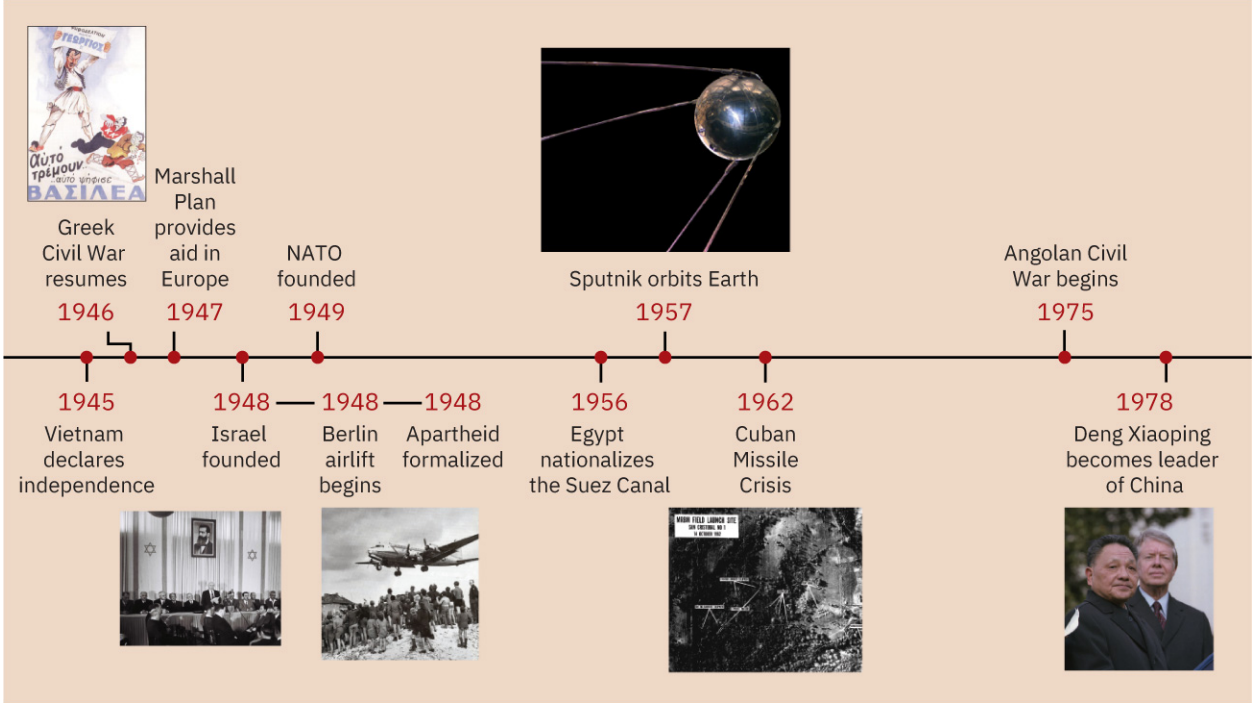


FIGURE 14.2 Timeline: Cold War Conflicts. (credit "1947: Civil War breaks out in Greece": modification of work "1946-Greece-pro-royal-poster" by www.booksjournal.gr/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1948: Israel founded": modification of work "Declaration of State of Israel 1948" by Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs/ Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "June 1948": modification of work "Berliners watching a C-54 land at Berlin Tempelhof Airport, 1948" by Henry Reis/U.S. Air Force/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1957": modification of work "A replica of Sputnik 1" by NSSDC/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1962": modification of work "Cuba Missiles Crisis U-2 photo" by The John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum /Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1978": modification of work "Deng Xiaoping and Jimmy Carter at the arrival ceremony for the Vice Premier of China" by U.S. National Archives and Records Administration/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

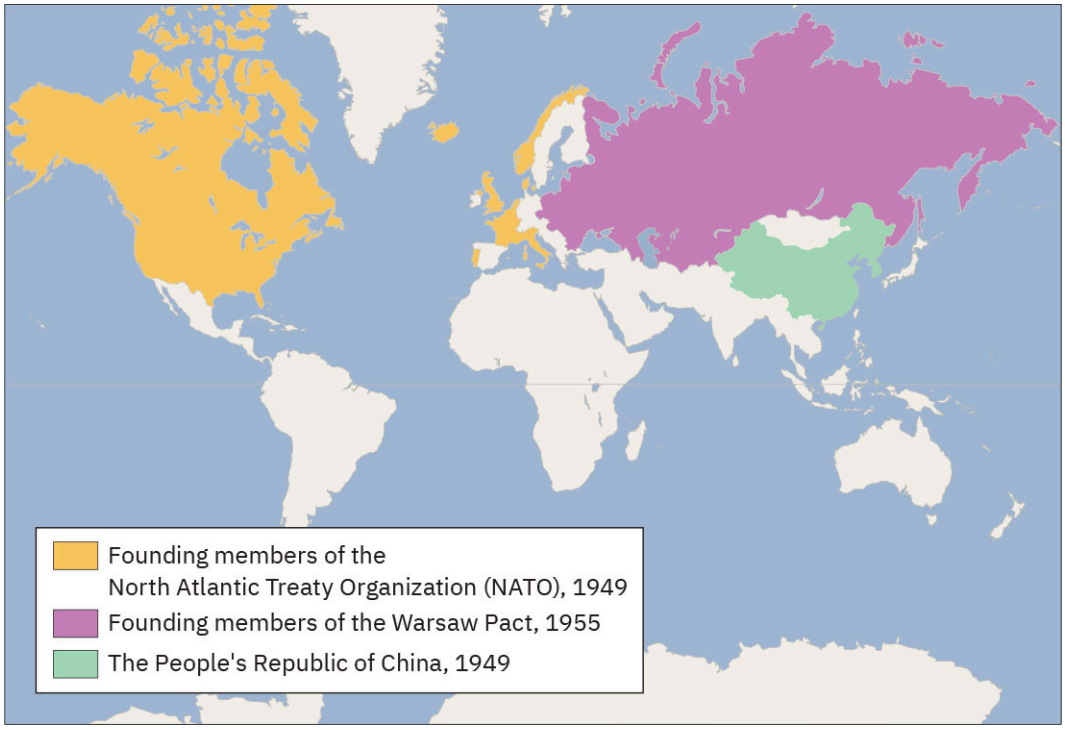


FIGURE 14.3 Locator Map: Cold War Conflicts. (credit: modification of work "World map blank shorelines" by Maciej Jaros/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

14.1 The Cold War Begins

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe the origins of the Cold War
- Analyze the effectiveness of the Truman Doctrine
- Explain how U.S. foreign policy sought to prevent the spread of communism after World War II
- Discuss the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact

Following the surrender of Germany in May 1945, the "Big Three" Allied nations of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States began the massive task of recovering from the European phase of World War II. However, by no means did they agree on the manner in which to do so, and their differences in goals and political ideology threatened to plunge the world back into conflict almost as soon as it had emerged from it.

The Superpowers Divided

In the summer of 1945, the world looked much different from the way it had five years before. Of all the great powers, only the United States had been relatively unaffected by World War II. Its territory and national infrastructure remained intact, its economy was strong, and its civilian population had gone unharmed. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), while badly bloodied, had also emerged relatively whole; its immense size and population had spared it the scale of destruction suffered by the rest of Europe. Britain, though pounded by German air raids, had escaped invasion, but it had been severely weakened by the war and could no longer be the world leader it had been. It was about to be superseded by the United States and the Soviet Union, whose ideological differences shaped the postwar world.

Postwar Goals

The United States and the Soviet Union each saw themselves as the rightful leader of the world emerging from the ashes of the war. Although they had united to defeat Hitler, their deep-seated differences now returned to

the fore. For the United States, the ideal world was one in which democratically governed nations would coexist peacefully, enjoying economic prosperity thanks to capitalistic endeavors. In the Soviet Union's vision of the future, communism would lead the world's countries to a peaceful, prosperous future, and it would never again fear invasion from the lands to its west. The latter goal was the reason Stalin insisted on establishing **satellite states** in Eastern Europe, countries the Soviet Union would control by installing communist, pro-Soviet governments within them.

At the Moscow Conference of 1944, which U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt did not attend, Prime Minister Winston Churchill agreed to let Stalin install Soviet-allied communist parties to control the governments of Romania and Bulgaria, which had been German allies during the war. In exchange, Stalin promised to leave control of the Balkans to the British. By the time the victorious Allies met in Potsdam in the summer of 1945 to finalize plans to partition Germany and its capital city of Berlin, Churchill no longer wished Stalin to exercise so much power in Eastern Europe. He warned the new U.S. president, Harry Truman, who was unaware of what had been agreed to at the Moscow Conference, of the danger of allowing the Soviets to control the region. But Stalin then consolidated his grip on Eastern Europe by placing a pro-Soviet government in power in Poland.

In March 1946, in a speech in Fulton, Missouri, Churchill warned his audience that "an iron curtain" had cut Europe in two, trapping half the continent under Soviet domination. This division of the world into United States–allied and Soviet-allied halves characterized the **Cold War**, a contest for ideological, social, economic, technological, and military supremacy that lasted until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The war was "cold" because it did not include actual fighting between U.S. and Soviet forces. (A "hot" war is a conflict in which countries engage in armed conflict with one another.)

The splintering of Europe that Churchill described deepened in 1948, when a government composed of both communists and non-communists in Czechoslovakia was toppled and replaced by an all-communist government loyal to Moscow. In 1949, Hungary also came under the control of a communist party closely allied with the Soviet Union.

The chief strategy of the United States in the Cold War was **containment**—an effort to confine Soviet influence to Eastern Europe. Containment was first mentioned by George F. Kennan, a U.S. diplomat stationed in Moscow, in a message to the State Department known as the Long Telegram. Kennan described the Soviet government as paranoid and committed to a war against capitalism. Soviet leaders, he believed, could not be moved by reason and understood only force. Their attempts to spread communism must thus be met with strong resistance.

LINK TO LEARNING

Read the text of George Kennan's "Long Telegram" (https://openstax.org/l/77LongTelegram) to the U.S. Department of State.

The foreign policy goals of the Soviet Union following World War II were directly opposed to those of the United States. The USSR sought to protect itself and bolster its economy by strengthening its control over the communist states of Eastern Europe. It also encouraged communist revolution in other countries and maintained close ties with communist parties throughout the world. The Soviet Union regarded itself as the chief opponent of European and U.S. imperialism, and in this role, it supported independence movements in colonies in Asia and Africa. To the Soviet leadership, the United States was an aggressor nation bent upon world domination, and the spread of communism reduced the threat of future wars. To protect its own interests and those of its allies, the Soviet Union needed to be militarily and technologically superior.

The Truman Doctrine

The first test of U.S. resolve to counter the forces of communism came in 1947 in an unexpected place—Greece.

During World War II, resistance to the German army occupying Greece had come from both supporters of the country's Communist Party and loyalists of its monarchical government. In 1944, shortly after the withdrawal of the Germans, the occupying British forces and Prime Minister George Papandreou, who had returned from exile, jointly called for the disarmament of these resistance groups, and violence erupted. In 1946, following the triumph of monarchists in an election the Greek communists boycotted, civil war broke out. Communist forces sought the overthrow of King George II and his government (Figure 14.4). To prevent this, Britain provided the government with economic and military assistance, an extension of the aid it had given during the war. In 1947, however, Britain announced that it would no longer do so, most likely because it was experiencing economic problems.



FIGURE 14.4 Civil War in Greece. This anti-communist poster encouraged Greeks to support King George II in the 1940s Greek civil war. (credit: modification of work "1946-Greece-pro-royal-poster" by www.booksjournal.gr/ Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The events in Greece worried the U.S. government. Neighboring Turkey was regarded as the gateway to the Middle East and its crucial supplies of petroleum, upon which Western industry and transportation depended. Truman feared that, should Greece become a communist country, a communist uprising might occur in neighboring Turkey as well. This belief—that the neighbors of communist countries would in turn become communist themselves—is known as the **domino theory**.

Both the United Kingdom and the United States were wary of Soviet activity in this region. In 1946, the Soviet Union had demanded that Turkey allow it to take shipping through Turkish-controlled straits from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. When Turkey refused, the Soviets increased their naval presence in the Black Sea and sent troops to the Balkans. The Soviet Union backed down and withdrew its forces when the U.S. bolstered its own naval presence in the region.

The showdown in Turkey was the second time the postwar Soviet Union had found itself in conflict with its former allies. Earlier it had violated an agreement to withdraw from Iran, which it had occupied along with the British during World War II, by an agreed-upon date the British had honored. Truman now feared the Greek communists were not acting alone and that the Soviet Union was active in the country.

However, Truman was mistaken in assuming all communists acted under the direction of the Soviet Union. The communist governments of Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia extended aid to the Greek communists, but most evidence indicates that the Soviet Union did not. The Soviets were largely uninterested in Greece, and at the Moscow Conference of 1944, Stalin had given control of Greece to Britain in exchange for the concessions that allowed him to decide the fate of Romania and Bulgaria. There is little to suggest that Stalin violated this agreement about Greece—until the United States got involved. Once the fate of Greece became of interest to Truman, Stalin took note of it as well.

On March 12, 1947, Truman addressed Congress and requested aid for the governments of Greece and Turkey. He framed the appeal as part of the struggle against communism and argued that it was the duty of the United States to oppose "totalitarian regimes." Congress approved his request for $400 million (approximately $5 billion in today's money). The president's pledge to help "free peoples" resist communist expansion, a promise that became known as the **Truman Doctrine**, formed the basis of U.S. foreign policy throughout the Cold War. Following the proclamation of the Truman Doctrine, Stalin channeled material support for the civil war to Greece's communists, but covertly.

The Marshall Plan

The U.S. effort to combat the expansion of communism also led to the creation of the European Recovery Program, named the **Marshall Plan** for Secretary of State George C. Marshall. In 1947, Marshall called for economic assistance to rebuild postwar Europe. Realizing the attractions of communism to impoverished, war-ravaged Europeans, Congress approved the Economic Cooperation Act in 1948 to pump an eventual total of $12 billion into Europe's economy (about $147 billion today). The funds were vital in assisting Western Europe as a whole to rebuild their infrastructure and restore their industrial capacity. Because necessary materials often needed to be purchased from the United States, aid given through the Marshall Plan also helped ensure that the U.S. economy did not slide into an economic depression now that the war had ended.

U.S. aid was offered to all European nations, including Germany and the Soviet Union. Stalin, however, rejected it and forbade Eastern Europe's communist-governed states within the Soviet sphere of influence to accept it. Instead, the USSR proposed the Molotov Plan, which gave aid to and established trade agreements with the communist nations of Eastern Europe: Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet zone in Germany that later became the German Democratic Republic, commonly known as East Germany. Finally, in 1949, the United States developed the Point Four Program to provide technical assistance to industrializing countries in Latin America, Africa, and Asia for improving their standard of living.

Western and Eastern Blocs

The tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union that had built up slowly through the later 1940s came to a head in 1948. Believing a strong Germany was vital to Europe's economic recovery and a necessary bulwark against the spread of communism, the United States, Britain, and France planned to reunify the three zones of Germany they had occupied since the end of World War II. United, these zones would dwarf the Soviet zone in size, population, and wealth and, by sharing a single currency, play a major role in Europe's postwar economy.

The Soviet Union hoped to keep Germany disunited and weak and thus objected. In March 1948, it withdrew from the Allied Control Council that coordinated Allied actions in Germany. In June, the United Kingdom and the United States introduced a new currency, the Deutschemark, into their zones as well as into the western portions of Berlin they controlled, in order to dispense Marshall Plan funds. Infuriated, the Soviet Union cut off all ground routes into West Berlin. No food or fuel could enter the city by road, railroad, or canal. The Soviets

planned to starve the Western Allies out, forcing them to abandon their sections of Berlin and thus their toehold within the Soviet zone.

Realizing that air was their only way around the blockade, the United Kingdom and the United States swiftly formulated plans to supply the besieged city by plane. For nearly a year, they carried out the **Berlin Airlift**, an extensive operation that at one point had a British or U.S. plane taking off from Berlin's Tempelhof Airport every forty-five seconds (Figure 14.5). Recognizing they could not defeat the resolve of the Western Allies, the Soviets ended the blockade in May 1949. Two weeks later, the Western Allies unified their occupation zones to form the new country of the Federal Republic of Germany, usually referred to as West Germany, with the city of Bonn as its capital.



FIGURE 14.5 Berlin Airlift. Residents of West Berlin watch as a U.S. cargo plane bearing crucial supplies lands at Tempelhof Airport in 1948. (credit: "Berliners watching a C-54 land at Berlin Tempelhof Airport, 1948" by Henry Ries/U.S. Air Force/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The Western Allies then took another step to guard against potential Soviet aggression. In 1948, Belgium, France, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom had signed the Treaty of Brussels, forming a military alliance for purposes of protection against the Soviet Union. In 1949, shortly before the Berlin blockade ended, the United States joined those nations as well as Canada, Portugal, Italy, Denmark, Norway, and Iceland to form the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**, an alliance for military assistance and mutual defense. Should one of the member nations be attacked, the others agreed to come to its aid. The capitalist democratic countries that joined NATO formed a **bloc**, a group of countries united for a common purpose, that became known as the Western Bloc. The Western Bloc opposed communist expansion in Europe by the countries of the Eastern Bloc, composed of the Soviet Union and its allies.

In 1955, when West Germany also joined NATO, the Soviet Union formed a military and political alliance of its own, the Warsaw Treaty Organization or the **Warsaw Pact**. Its other members were the communist nations of Eastern Europe: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), formerly the Soviet occupation zone. The Soviets regarded the pact as a vital defense

against a united Western Europe and resurgent Germany. NATO and the Warsaw Pact represented the nations on opposite sides of the Iron Curtain and hardened the lines that had been drawn between them (Figure 14.6). The Western and Eastern Blocs soon faced off against one another, not only in Europe but in the rest of the world as well.

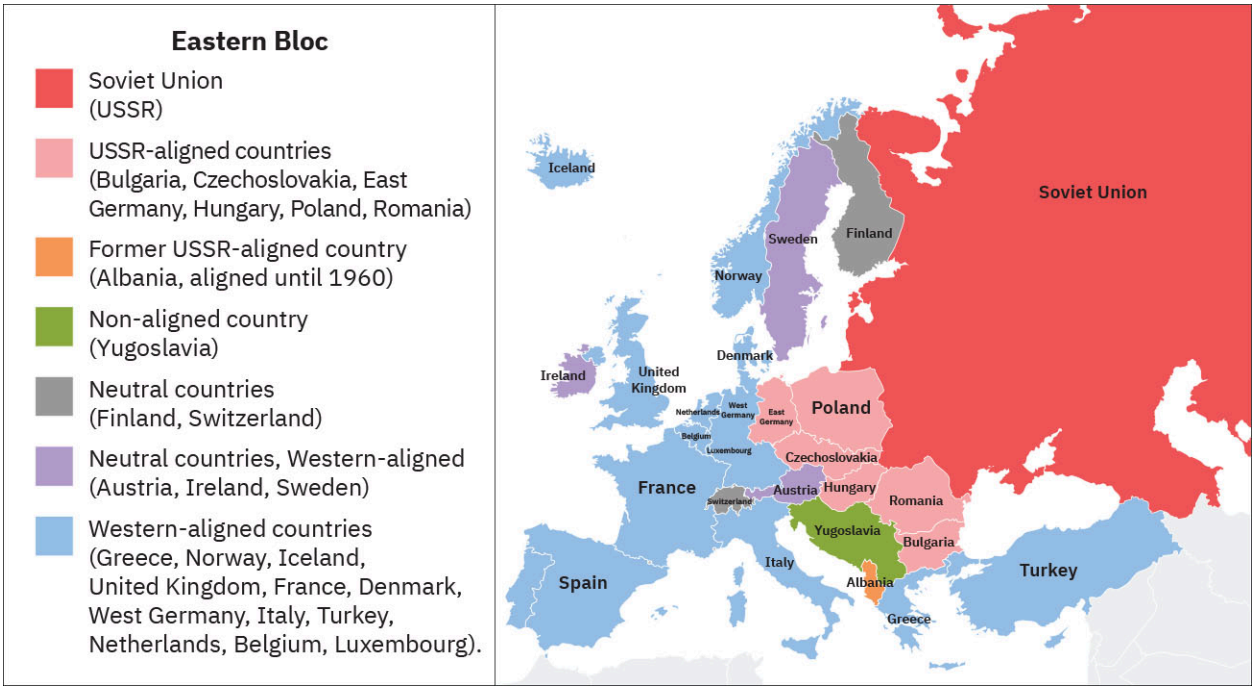


FIGURE 14.6 The Cold War in Europe. After West Germany joined NATO in 1955, the Soviet Union and other nations formed their own alliance, resulting in the creation of the Eastern Bloc. Yugoslavia, although a communist nation and considered part of this bloc, had officially divorced itself from Soviet control prior to the Warsaw Pact. (credit: modification of work "Allegiance of European countries during the Cold War" by "UserGoldsztajn"/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

LINK TO LEARNING

Access the Wilson Center's Cold War International History Project (https://openstax.org/l/77ColdWar) to find additional information about many different aspects of the Cold War.

Cold War Strategies

The Cold War between West and East was fought on many fronts with many strategies. Both sides provided aid and technical assistance to countries in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, many of which had been European colonies until the end of World War II. Through such aid, the United States hoped to contain the spread of communism by depriving countries of an economic reason for aligning themselves with the Soviet Union. Communism was attractive to many poor people. It promised that a nation's wealth would be used to provide for all its citizens, and under the Soviet system, people were provided with jobs, housing, education, health care, and public transportation. Although the standard of living was lower than in the West, for poor people who lived with the constant threat of hunger and homelessness and saw no chance of improving their situation, communism was an attractive alternative.

Propaganda in the form of literature, visual imagery, and films was also used by each side to shore up support for its policies and political ideology, and to damage the credibility and prestige of the other side. In 1950, the U.S.-funded Radio Free Europe began broadcasting news to the countries of the Eastern Bloc, and in 1953, Radio Liberty began broadcasting to the Soviet Union. Radio Free Europe and the Free Europe Committee, an organization of American business executives and lawyers established by the U.S. government, printed leaflets

and posters touting the superiority of life in democratic, capitalist countries and dropped them from weather balloons over East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary.

Soviet propaganda stressed the USSR's desire for world peace and praised the communist ideals of a classless society in which people were treated equally regardless of race or gender. This message had a strong appeal for people in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Some African Americans, confronted by racism and segregation in the United States, were also attracted by these promises. Indeed, opponents of the civil rights movement in the United States often denounced it as communist in nature.

Sometimes propaganda took the form of athletic competitions in which each side used its swimmers, runners, weightlifters, and gymnasts to display the superiority of its system. Sports and news broadcasts kept a close watch on the number of medals won by U.S. and Soviet athletes during Olympic competitions. At other times, cultural exchanges took place. Soviet ballet dancers toured the United States, while American jazz musicians and symphony orchestras visited Eastern Bloc countries.

BEYOND THE BOOK

Cold War Propaganda

Both the United States and the Soviet Union used propaganda to convince their own citizens as well as those of the other country that their way of life was superior. U.S. propaganda touted the benefits of capitalism and democracy and warned of the lack of freedom under communism. The Soviet Union boasted of the productivity of its citizens and ridiculed the softness of capitalists. Soviet propaganda also routinely invoked the lack of freedom for people of color in the United States.

Following are two propaganda cartoons. The first is an American video called *Make Mine Freedom* (https://openstax.org/l/77MakeMineFree) that was made in 1948.

Access multimedia content (http://openstax.org/books/world-history-volume-2/pages/14-1-the-cold-war-begins)

In it, viewers are warned about the dangers of "ism," which listeners in the United States would understand to mean "communism." Please note that the video contains racist imagery, as did many American cartoons from this time period. The salesman peddling "communism" to gullible Americans is wearing a zoot suit, a style of dress associated with men of color.

The second video is a Soviet cartoon called *The Millionaire* (https://openstax.org/l/77Millionaire) that portrays the behavior of the wealthy in the United States.

Access multimedia content (http://openstax.org/books/world-history-volume-2/pages/14-1-the-cold-war-begins)

As you watch the videos, look for the claims each side makes about the other.

- How does the American cartoon depict the United States? How does the Soviet cartoon depict the United States?
- To what extent is what the United States says about itself true? To what extent is the Soviet depiction of American life accurate?

Both sides highlighted their ingenuity and technological achievements. At a 1959 exhibition in Moscow, U.S. vice president Richard Nixon proudly showed off American technology to Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev in the form of a model kitchen. Khrushchev's response to the labor-saving gadgetry on display was to inquire whether American families also had machines to save them the effort of putting food in their mouths and swallowing it. The two countries competed to dominate space as well. In 1957, the United States suffered a serious blow to its pride when the Soviet Union launched *Sputnik*, the first satellite (Figure 14.7). In response,

in 1958 President Dwight D. Eisenhower called on Congress to establish an agency to explore space. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) was established that year. In 1961 the Soviet Union sent the first astronaut into space. In 1969 the United States put the first humans on the surface of the moon.



(a) (b)

FIGURE 14.7 ***The Space Race.*** The Soviet Union's 1957 launching of the satellite *Sputnik*, shown here in an artist's rendering, spurred the United States to create NASA, its own space agency. The following month, the Soviets topped their achievement by sending a dog, Laika, into space aboard *Sputnik 2* (b), commemorated in this 1959 Romanian stamp. (credit a: modification of work "First report of Sputnik" by Universal Newsreel/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit b: modification of work "Laika, dog launched into space on stamp from Rumania Posta Romania, 1957" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

LINK TO LEARNING

The late 1950s and 1960s witnessed the efforts of the United States and the Soviet Union to outdo one another in the area of space exploration. Visit the online exhibition dedicated to the history of the space race (https://openstax.org/l/77SpaceRace) at the Smithsonian's National Air and Space Museum.

Espionage was another important tool, carried out by the United States through the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) formed in 1947, and by the USSR with its spy agency the KGB. Besides surveilling the other nation, these agencies also plotted, assisted in, and carried out acts of sabotage and the assassination of those deemed enemies of their country. Both the CIA and the KGB fomented discontent in foreign nations as well, trained fighting forces, and encouraged revolution and insurgency to topple foreign governments and install leaders who would be friendly to their respective countries. The CIA, for example, trained Cuban insurgents with the goal of overthrowing the Caribbean island's communist government under Fidel Castro in 1961. Similarly, the KGB gave assistance to Vietnamese communists attempting to defeat the government of South Vietnam during the Vietnam War.

The most dangerous venue for competition, however, and the two sides' chief means of reining in aggression on the part of the other, was the stockpiling of massive nuclear arsenals. In 1949, the Soviet Union detonated an atomic bomb, ending the U.S. monopoly on nuclear weapons. In 1952 the United States took the next step, one opposed by some of the same atomic scientists who had worked on the Manhattan Project during World War II, and developed the hydrogen bomb, testing it on the Pacific atoll of Eniwetok in 1952. This missile was one thousand times more powerful than the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. U.S. development of such a weapon meant the Soviet Union needed to do the same.

In the 1950s, both the United States and the USSR developed intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) as well.

Now missiles armed with nuclear warheads could be launched from within the home country's own territory or within the borders of satellite nations; an air force capable of intercepting bomb-bearing planes was no longer sufficient to protect against nuclear attack. Although countries in both the Western and Eastern Blocs prepared for potential war by creating shelters to protect citizens in the event of nuclear war, neither side put great faith in its ability to emerge victorious. Both the United States and the USSR quickly came to believe that the key to survival lay in building an immense retaliatory capacity, the ability to unleash devastation so great that the other side would never detonate the first bomb for fear of its own annihilation. In the United States, this defense policy came to be referred to as "mutually assured destruction" (MAD). Should these nuclear stockpiles prove unsuccessful at deterring a conflict, the large military forces the rivals built up during the Cold War, along with billions of dollars' worth of battleships, submarines, and fighter jets, ensured they possessed the capacity to fight a conventional war as well.

14.2 The Spread of Communism

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Explain how China became a communist nation in 1949
- Describe how the Korean War began
- Explain why the United States took part in the wars in Indochina
- Discuss the Great Leap Forward and the Chinese Cultural Revolution

In the immediate postwar period, Europe was the focus of U.S. anti-communist anxiety. The United States expended billions of dollars in Marshall Plan aid to stave off the expansion of communism there. It was in Asia, however, that the policy of containment was most strongly challenged.

Chinese Revolution

Since the 1920s, two groups had contested for control of China: the Guomindang (GMD) or Nationalist Party, and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). During World War II, the GMD, led by Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) had attempted to fight the Japanese from their wartime capital in Chongqing, while the CCP led by Mao Zedong had watched from their base in Yan'an, a town in northern Shaanxi Province.[1] With the exception of a brief period of truce between the two parties, the CCP and the GMD fought with one another as well.

After the surrender of Japan, the United States had attempted to broker a peace between the Guomindang and the CCP that it hoped would lead to a stable, unified China. Early efforts were successful, and an agreement was reached to create a constitutional government in China with parliamentary rule. Attempts by Chiang to enlarge the role of the GMD led the agreement to collapse, however, and both sides resumed battle. The Soviet Union covertly provided support for Mao and the CCP, and the United States assisted Chiang and the Nationalists.

At first the GMD seemed certain to win. Its forces greatly outnumbered the CCP's, and it also had more money and controlled China's major cities. By 1947, however, the tide had begun to turn. Despite its seeming advantages, the GMD was unpopular among much of the population. One reason was that after the war, the factories, homes, and businesses the Japanese had seized from Chinese owners came under the Nationalists' control and remained there, alienating the urban middle class that had once supported them. In addition, the Nationalists refused to reopen many of these factories and businesses, worsening the postwar unemployment problem and driving urban workers, who already favored the communists, even further into the arms of the CCP. Ruinous hyperinflation, which the GMD was unable to control, added to the strains of urban life. Enlisted members of the Nationalist army were often underfed and scorned by their officers, and many ran away or defected to the CCP. In the countryside too, Chiang's forces received little help from peasants, who

1 When Chinese words are written using the English-language alphabet, one of two systems is typically used: pinyin or Wade-Giles. The pinyin system is the one preferred by the People's Republic of China, and most Chinese names in this textbook are written in pinyin. An exception has been made, however, in the case of Chiang Kai-shek. The decision was made by the textbook's editors to spell his name according to the Wade-Giles system, because this is how his name appears in most other history textbooks. Jiang Jieshi is how his name would be written in pinyin.

remembered the onerous taxes the GMD had imposed on them during World War II.

In contrast, CCP forces had been winning over the ordinary Chinese person. They pursued a vigorous policy of land reform, lowering rents and taxes and encouraging landless peasants in the areas they controlled to deprive landlords and wealthy peasants of their property. In areas where most peasants already owned land and rents were low, the CCP helped create stability by pursuing the bandits who preyed on them. Furthermore, CCP forces were disciplined and were instructed not to abuse people. Even Chinese people who did not support them could not help but notice that they were better managers than the Nationalists.

In 1949, the CCP's People's Liberation Army decisively defeated the forces of the GMD, who retreated to the island of Taiwan. On October 1, 1949, Mao proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in a ceremony in Beijing's Tiananmen Square (Figure 14.8). The United States refused to recognize the CCP's government as legitimate and maintained that Nationalist-led Taiwan was the "real" China. Mao was undeterred. He pledged industrial development, universal education, equality between the sexes, land reforms for peasants, and civil liberties for all, including freedom of expression. Mao and the CCP moved quickly to enact their promises, beginning immediately on the task of giving peasants ownership of the land they worked.



FIGURE 14.8 The Birth of the People's Republic of China. On October 1, 1949, Mao Zedong proclaims the founding of the People's Republic of China in Beijing's Tiananmen Square. October 1 is celebrated as National Day every year and begins a week-long holiday in China. (credit: "Chairman Mao proclaiming the founding of the PRC" by PD-China/China Internet Information Center/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Among the people most affected by the establishment of the PRC were the inhabitants of Tibet. Tibet had been claimed as Chinese territory by the Qing as well as earlier dynasties, but it had gained its independence with the fall of the Qing and the establishment of the Republic of China in January 1912. In 1949, the government of Tibet informed Mao that it had no intention of being made part of China again. Its attempts to negotiate independence failed, however, and in October 1950 the PRC invaded, swiftly overwhelming Tibet's small, poorly trained army. In 1951, representatives of the PRC and the Tibetan government signed the Seventeen Point Agreement making the region once again part of China, an event described by the CCP as the "liberation of Tibet." In 1959, the Dalai Lama, the ruler of Tibet and leader of Tibetan Buddhism, fled to India with other members of the Tibetan government, who maintained that the agreement with China had been made under duress. In 1965 Tibet became an Autonomous Region of China, which gave it a greater degree of self-government.

Along with making changes in China's domestic policy, Mao also plotted a new course for China in foreign policy. In February 1950, the PRC and the Soviet Union signed the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance

and Mutual Assistance. Under its terms, they were to combat any renewed Japanese aggression, work to advance their mutual interests, and refrain from entering into any alliances that were hostile to the other party. All this was part of China's new "Lean to One Side" foreign policy position, in which the country would favor socialist nations and assist those seeking to free themselves from control by imperialist powers. China soon found its new commitments tested by the need to support a fellow communist nation and counter a threat to its own borders in Korea.

The Two Koreas

On August 15, 1945, the nation of Korea, which had been occupied by Japan during World War II and had been a Japanese colony for many years before that, was divided in half at the thirty-eighth parallel of latitude. The United States assumed responsibility for disarming the southern part of the Korean peninsula, and the Soviet Union took on the task of disarming the northern half. At the Moscow Conference held in December 1945, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union agreed that they and China would jointly govern Korea for a period of five years, after which it would be reunified and given its independence. The Korean people's opposition to the division of their nation and its subjection to foreign rule was ignored.

Not long after the Moscow Conference, talks between the United States and the Soviet Union on how best to reunify Korea broke down. The two sides were too far apart ideologically, so in 1947 the United States handed the problem of Korean reunification over to the United Nations (UN). The UN General Assembly called for elections to be held in Korea, and a Temporary Commission on Korea was formed.

In the years since the original division of the nation, however, North Korea's Communist Party, supported by the Soviet Union, had grown in power and now proved unwilling to relinquish it. North Korea therefore refused to participate in the election. Given this opposition, in May 1948 elections to a Constitutional Assembly were held only in South Korea. A constitution was drafted, and the authoritarian anti-communist Syngman Rhee was elected president in July. In August, Rhee proclaimed the establishment of the Republic of Korea (ROK). Ten days later elections were held in North Korea, and a separate government for the new Democratic People's Republic of Korea was established with communist Kim Il-sung as its leader.

With the country now seemingly permanently divided and troops wanted elsewhere, the Soviet Union withdrew its forces from Korea, and the United States moved most of its troops out as well. Without the forces of the two superpowers, which had each wished to avoid provoking the other, border clashes occurred between North and South Korean troops from 1948 to 1950. North Korean forces hoped to encourage uprisings by communists in the South, and South Korean forces fought to keep Northern troops out to prevent the overthrow of the South's government.

On June 25, 1950, the Korean People's Army (KPA) of North Korea invaded South Korea, confident of welcome. The ROK troops were unable to halt their advance, and within two days Seoul, the capital of South Korea, had fallen. The United States was taken by surprise. South Korea was not considered of vital importance to U.S. security. However, Japan was, and President Truman, in keeping with the domino theory, believed a stable non-communist Korea was necessary to protect Japan. Unwilling to see another Asian country fall to communism, he also feared U.S. reluctance to respond would send a signal to the Soviet Union that it was free to act aggressively in Europe, the area of greatest U.S. interest. Accordingly, Truman approached the United Nations asking for a condemnation of North Korea's actions and requesting the assistance of member nations in South Korea's defense.

The UN Security Council responded quickly. It condemned North Korea's invasion of South Korea, and after a brief debate, on June 27 it issued Resolution 83, calling on the UN's members to resist North Korean aggression. The Security Council's actions could have been prevented by a veto of one its five permanent members: China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States. However, since the Nationalists' loss in the Chinese civil war, the United States had insisted that China's seat on the council belonged to Taiwan, not to the People's Republic of China, and the Soviet Union had boycotted the council's

meetings in protest. It was thus unable to stop the resolution from passing.

The United States suspected the invasion of South Korea had been a ploy by the Soviets to test the U.S. response to an act of armed communist aggression. But Stalin had in fact warned Kim against it. Unwilling to start a war with the United States in Asia, he advised Kim to seek assistance not from Moscow but from Mao, whose CCP forces North Korea had aided in the Chinese civil war. Thus, while the United States immediately dispatched air and naval forces to Korea, the Soviet Union sent nothing. Initially Kim did not need assistance, though, and North Korean troops swiftly overran nearly the entire Korean peninsula, with ROK, UN, and U.S. forces clinging to the area around the port of Pusan in the south (Figure 14.9).

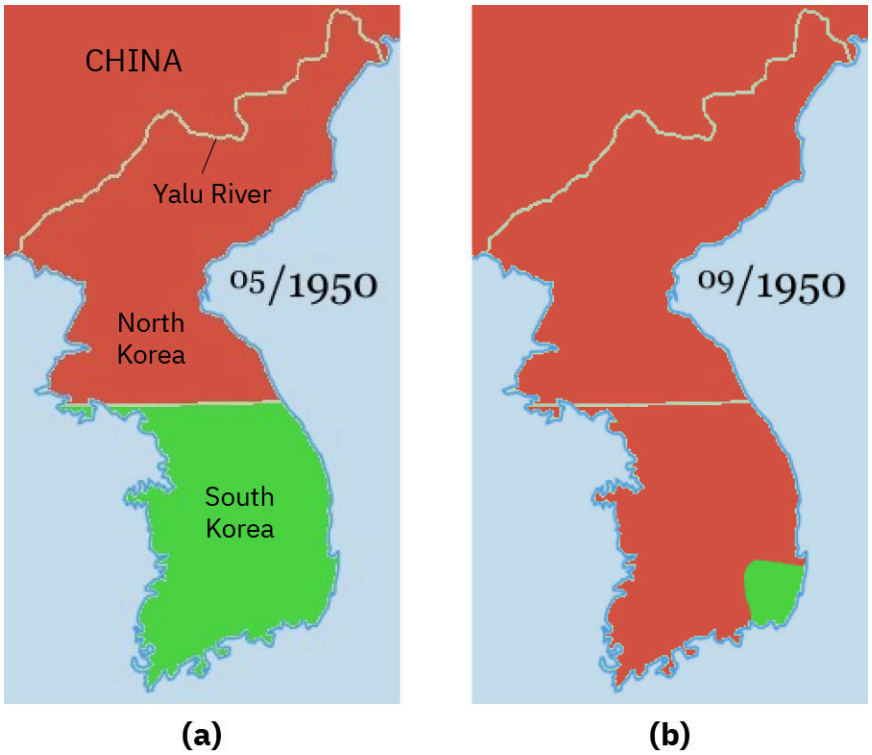


FIGURE 14.9 The Korean War Begins. (a) The map on the left shows the division of the Korean peninsula between North and South in May 1950, the month before the Korean War began. (b) By September the North Korean army had forced South Korean, UN, and U.S. troops to retreat to the far southeastern part of the peninsula. (credit a: modification of work "Map of Korean war in May 1950" by Wikimedia/Wikimedia Commons, CC0 1.0; credit b: modification of work "Map of Korean war in September 1950" by Wikimedia/Wikimedia Commons, CC0 1.0)

The situation was reversed in September 1950 when U.S. troops led by General Douglas MacArthur landed behind KPA lines at Incheon. Seoul was swiftly retaken, and Rhee returned to power. With his original objective met, MacArthur was given a new goal: to reunify Korea under Rhee's control if possible—and if the attempt did not lead to Chinese or Soviet intervention. Despite a warning by China that its forces would enter the war should the thirty-eighth parallel be crossed, MacArthur's forces, with permission from the UN, did just that, chasing KPA troops northward toward the Yalu River, North Korea's border with China.

Although not all prominent members of the Chinese Communist Party approved of committing troops to a war in Korea, Mao favored sending aid to Kim. Chinese forces had been gathering with the intention of invading Taiwan and defeating the Nationalist government there, but when the United States moved its Seventh Fleet into the straits between Taiwan and the Chinese mainland, China's opportunity was lost. Its forces that might otherwise have gone to Taiwan now entered the fray in Korea, crossing the Yalu River on October 19, 1950. By December, Chinese and North Korean forces had sent UN and U.S. troops into retreat, back across the thirty-eighth parallel into South Korea. A cease-fire proposed by the UN was rejected by the Chinese forces, and fighting raged through the harsh Korean winter.

By July 1951, the war had turned into a deadly stalemate near where it began, along the thirty-eighth parallel. Both sides, exhausted, began to discuss peace on July 10. Negotiations dragged on for two years as the two sides fought to gain as much territory as possible before a cease-fire was finally proclaimed. On July 27, 1953, the Korean Armistice Agreement was signed. To prevent the recurrence of hostilities, a Korean Demilitarized Zone was established, roughly along the thirty-eighth parallel, to be patrolled by North and South Korean forces, and U.S. troops remained in South Korea as a deterrent to future North Korean aggression.

Like many of the **proxy wars** of the Cold War, in which the troops of nations allied with the United States and the Soviet Union faced off against one another rather than risk direct conflict between the superpowers, the Korean War was futile. Approximately three million people died in the three-year conflict, most of them Korean civilians who either were caught in the crossfire or became victims of starvation and disease, and all Korea's cities lay in ruins. No territory was gained by either side, and no political transformation occurred in either the North or the South. The country remained divided, with North Korea adopting an isolationist policy that left it cut off from the West.

China also suffered as a result of the Korean War. Now regarded by the United States and Western Europe as an aggressor nation, it too found itself isolated and dependent on the Soviet Union for assistance. In the United States, the outbreak of the war had pushed President Truman to adopt the policy recommended by the State Department in NSC-68, a document that, among other things, called for increased spending on defense. Although Truman had initially been reluctant to do so, the need to confront the Chinese forces on the Korean peninsula led him to more than triple U.S. defense spending. Korea had convinced the country of the need to always possess the capability to do battle with communist forces.

China's actions in Korea also bolstered U.S. resolve both to protect the Nationalist government in Taiwan and to act decisively to stop the spread of communism in Asia. In 1954, the United States joined Britain, France, Thailand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand to form the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) to prevent the expansion of communism in Southeast Asia. The organization had no capacity to mobilize troops, however, and focused largely on trying to improve standards of living in the region, in the hope of making communism less attractive.

Alarmed by the creation of SEATO, in September 1958 the PRC began to bombard Jinmen (Quemoy), Mazu (Matsu), and Dachen, islands off the coast of China that Taiwan claimed as territory belonging to the Nationalists, in what was called the First Taiwan Strait Crisis. Although the United States had no wish to engage in war with the PRC, the attacks on the islands led it to sign a Mutual Defense Treaty with Taiwan, assuring the nation of U.S. support in the event of war with China. In 1958, the PRC once again bombarded Jinmen and Mazu, sparking the Second Taiwan Strait Crisis. When the United States began to supply the Nationalist troops stationed on the islands, the bombardment ended. The situation was not fully resolved until the 1970s, when the United States and the PRC had established more peaceful relations with one another.

Southeast Asia

The lessons of Korea also strengthened the U.S. commitment to oppose the spread of communism in Vietnam. Following the end of World War II, France wished to reclaim control of Vietnam, which had been its colony before being seized by Japan in 1940. However, the Vietnamese nationalist group the Viet Minh, led by Ho Chi Minh, wished to seize the opportunity of Japan's surrender to proclaim their country's independence. The Viet Minh had fought the Japanese during World War II and had often assisted the U.S. military. Ho Chi Minh fully expected that the United States would support them.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Ho Chi Minh Proclaims Independence

On September 2, 1945, Ho Chi Minh proclaimed Vietnam's freedom from French rule. In his speech, excerpts of

which follow, he stated a long list of grievances of the Vietnamese people against the French colonialists and argued that the Vietnamese people should be free to rule themselves:

> In the autumn of 1940, when the Japanese fascists violated Indochina's territory to establish new bases in their fight against the Allies, the French imperialists went down on their bended knees and handed over our country to them. Thus, from that date, our people were subjected to the double yoke of the French and the Japanese. Their sufferings and miseries increased. The result was that, from the end of last year to the beginning of this year, from Quảng Trị Province to northern Vietnam, more than two million of our fellow citizens died from starvation.
>
> On March 9 [1945], the French troops were disarmed by the Japanese. The French colonialists either fled or surrendered, showing that not only were they incapable of "protecting" us, but that, in the span of five years, they had twice sold our country to the Japanese.
>
> [. . .]
>
> For these reasons, we, the members of the Provisional Government, representing the whole Vietnamese people, declare that from now on we break off all relations of a colonial character with France; we repeal all the international obligation that France has so far subscribed to on behalf of Viet-Nam, and we abolish all the special rights the French have unlawfully acquired in our Fatherland.
>
> The whole Vietnamese people, animated by a common purpose, are determined to fight to the bitter end against any attempt by the French colonialists to reconquer the country.
>
> We are convinced that the Allied nations, which at Tehran and San Francisco have acknowledged the principles of self-determination and equality of nations, will not refuse to acknowledge the independence of Vietnam.
>
> A people who have courageously opposed French domination for more than eighty years, a people who have fought side by side with the Allies against the fascists during these last years, such a people must be free and independent!
>
> —Ho Chi Minh, Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

- What arguments does Ho Chi Minh make for Vietnam being an independent country?
- Why does he believe the Allies will support him?

Members of the U.S. military who had worked with Ho liked and respected him. However, while he was primarily a nationalist and no one questioned his patriotism, he was also a communist. Wanting to stand firm against what it saw as Soviet-directed communist expansion, the United States also wished to support its ally France, whose help it believed it needed to prevent the spread of communism in Europe. Thus, as the First Indochina War raged between French troops and the supporters of Ho Chi Minh, the United States assumed most of France's financial burden for the war. China and the Soviet Union gave assistance to Ho's forces.

Following its defeat in 1954 at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu, France granted independence to Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. According to the Geneva Accords, the peace treaty ending the war, Vietnam was divided along the seventeenth parallel of latitude with the assumption that, following national elections in 1956, it would be reunified (Figure 14.10). Ho Chi Minh governed the North and was expected to be the popular candidate in both North and South. The South was governed by a figurehead, the emperor Bao Dai, and his prime minister, Ngo Dinh Diem.[2] Diem, a strong anti-communist, came from a family of wealthy Roman Catholics in a country where most people were poor and Buddhist. Before the elections, approximately one million Vietnamese Catholics from the North moved to the South, fleeing communist rule and bolstering support for Diem, who was backed by the United States. But he remained unpopular with the majority of Vietnamese people.



FIGURE 14.10 The Geneva Accords. As a result of the 1954 Geneva Accords, the French colony of Indochina was divided into separate nations: Laos, Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam), and the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam). North and South Vietnam were to be reunified following national elections. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

Ngo Dinh Diem had no intention of relinquishing power, however; he argued that South Vietnam had not signed the Geneva Accords and so was not bound by them. The United States, as a SEATO member and knowing that Ho Chi Minh would easily win the majority of the vote in both North and South, supported Diem's position. In 1955, well before any elections could take place, a referendum was held in South Vietnam instead. The rigged results revealed that Diem was favored by more than 98 percent of voters, and he proclaimed himself president. In reality, he was a ruthless politician who allowed no opposition and used the military to attack South Vietnamese Buddhists and students who protested his rule. Influenced by his brother Ngo Dinh Thuc, the archbishop of the city of Hue, Diem forbade the flying of the Buddhist flag. His regime also redistributed land taken from Buddhist peasants to Catholic ones and dispensed more aid to Catholics. In 1963, Buddhist monks in South Vietnam engaged in several acts of self-immolation, setting themselves on fire in public places to draw attention to the abuses of Diem's brutal and corrupt regime. When foreign journalists questioned why the monks felt the need to engage in such dramatic protest, Diem's sister-in-law and South Vietnam's unofficial First Lady, Madame Nhu, compared the suicides to "barbecues."

The Second Indochina War, sometimes simply called the Vietnam War, began in 1959 when the North Vietnamese Communist Party, seeking to unify the country under communist rule, called for a "people's war"

2 Vietnamese names are written with the family name first. The given name comes last. Ngo Dinh Diem is usually referred to by historians by his given name Diem instead of his surname Ngo in order to differentiate him from his brothers Ngo Dinh Thuc and Ngo Dinh Nhu, who also played an important political role in Vietnam.

against the government of South Vietnam. North Vietnam received support from both China and the Soviet Union. Also helping the North was a group of South Vietnamese communists, many of whom had relocated to North Vietnam following the Geneva Accords. These men and women officially formed the National Liberation Front (NLF) in North Vietnam in 1960. Popularly known as the Viet Cong, the NLF returned to the South to organize peasants and begin an insurgency against the government of South Vietnam and the United States. U.S. president John F. Kennedy responded by continuing to do what his predecessors had done: he sent money and advisers to the South Vietnamese government but refused to commit ground troops.

The Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution

Mao Zedong wanted China to chart the direction that communism took in Asia, just as the Soviet Union determined its direction in Europe. To do so, however, China needed to be much more powerful than it was in 1949, when the CCP declared the foundation of the People's Republic and the Nationalists fled. In imitation of the Soviet model, Mao instituted a Five-Year Plan in China in 1953 and embarked on nearly seven hundred industrial projects, more than one hundred with the assistance of the Soviet Union. He also began the collectivization of agriculture by forcing peasants to labor together on state-owned farms instead of tending to farms worked by individual families. The plan was largely successful in terms of industrial development, and China's steelmaking, coal mining, and machine- and cement-producing capacity all increased.

Although the first Five-Year Plan was successful, the second Five-Year Plan proved a disaster. This plan, also known as the Great Leap Forward, began in 1958. Mao, inspired by the Soviet Union's plans to overtake the United States in industrial capacity, proclaimed that China would surpass the United Kingdom. To that end, agricultural production was to increase at the same time as industrial production, and the proceeds of agriculture would fund industry. Collectivization efforts were intensified, and by the end of 1958 more than twenty-five thousand communes had been created, each consisting of several thousand families on average.

Communes were large units of production. Members worked together to grow crops in warm months and build construction projects during the winter. Food was prepared in communal kitchens, and everyone ate together in communal dining halls. Communes also operated schools and hospitals for their members. All tools, livestock, food, and other valuable items belonged to the commune as a whole instead of to individuals or families, and the commune's leaders determined what work each member would do. Grain produced by communes in the countryside fed city dwellers and industrial workers. Encouraged to grow ever more, communes began to exaggerate their grain production levels to win political favor. Even as they strove to grow more food, laborers were also ordered to engage in extra projects like dam construction.

Farm laborers were also ordered to produce steel in backyard furnaces hastily built in the countryside (Figure 14.11). Some were assigned to steel production exclusively, but others who worked in the fields by day were often forced to tend the furnaces at night. To meet quotas, they stripped the countryside of wood and burned their own furniture to fuel the furnaces. In the end, the steel produced was of such low quality that it was worthless.



FIGURE 14.11 The Great Leap Forward. During the Great Leap Forward in the late 1950s, Chinese peasants were encouraged to build small furnaces to produce steel that often proved worthless. (credit: modification of work "Backyard furnace to produce steel during the Great Leap Forward era" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The requisitioning of grain to feed the cities combined with bad weather and the use of farm labor for industrial projects to produce disaster in rural China. In some areas, floods and locust swarms destroyed crops. In others, too much of the harvest was diverted to the cities to leave enough for the peasants to eat. Famine set in, and people ate bark, leaves, and clay. Some Chinese historians place the death toll at five million, while Western historians believe thirty to fifty million people died between 1959 and 1961.

The stupendous failure of the Great Leap Forward stunned Mao. He turned to other members of the CCP, Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, and Liu Shaoqi, to rectify the situation and allowed them to largely assume day-to-day control of China. Deng especially began to reverse some of Mao's more damaging policies by, for example, allowing peasants to sell grain surpluses. Given positive incentives to produce more food, the peasants did so, alleviating food shortages. Mao was sensitive to failure, however, and resented the successes of Zhou, Deng, and Liu. When Marshall Peng Dehuai, the Minister of Defense and a longtime associate of Mao, criticized his handling of the Great Leap Forward, Mao dismissed him from his position and replaced him with Lin Biao.

In 1966, Mao abruptly warned that "revisionists" were seeking to alter the direction of the CCP. He called on the younger generation of Chinese people—high school and university students and young factory workers—to engage in "class struggle" and save the revolution. In July 1966 he launched the event known as the Chinese Cultural Revolution. Students organized themselves into groups of "Red Guards," guided by quotations of Mao that Lin Biao had gathered and published in a "Little Red Book."

In August 1966, millions of Red Guards rallied in Beijing as Mao and Lin Biao encouraged them to purge the country of "bourgeois" elements by attacking the "Four Olds": old customs, old culture, old habits, and old ideas. Red Guards then attacked and killed their teachers and school administrators. At one school, students beat the gardener to death because he tended the lawn, a bourgeois concern. Provided with food and lodging at

government expense, Red Guards rampaged through the country, destroying books, works of art, temples, monasteries, tombs, and historical sites. They beat people and forced them to confess to having bourgeois thoughts. No one knows how many were killed during the Cultural Revolution; it may have been as many as two million.

Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, who displayed insufficient revolutionary fervor, were removed from positions of power. In 1968, the Red Guards were themselves dismissed as Mao sought to curb their power. They were sent to the countryside along with other urban youth to learn from the peasants. In 1969, Lin Biao was named Mao's successor. Two years later, Lin died in a plane crash while attempting to flee to the Soviet Union. He may have feared that Mao suspected him of plotting against him and planned to punish him.

LINK TO LEARNING

The government of the People's Republic of China made extensive use of propaganda to encourage public support. This website has a large collection of Chinese propaganda (https://openstax.org/l/77ChineseProp) posters. If you select "Go to the overview" on the main page, you will find them arranged chronologically as well as by theme.

14.3 The Non-Aligned Movement

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe the relationship between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union
- Discuss the goals of the Non-Aligned Movement
- Explain how Indonesia, India, and Egypt attempted to avoid joining either the Western or the Eastern Bloc
- Identify the causes of the Israeli-Arab conflict in the Middle East

As the Soviet Union and the United States struggled for supremacy, they sought to attract the support of the world's nations by offering financial aid, military support, and technical advice. Many countries were willing to align with one side or the other for a variety of reasons, sometimes ideological but often not. Some nations, however, resisted being drawn into either camp.

Yugoslavia

In the aftermath of World War II, the nations of Europe speedily aligned themselves with either the Western or the Eastern Bloc, with one exception: Yugoslavia. In 1942, communist partisans who had fought the Axis powers on behalf of the People's Liberation Front formed a government, the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ). When Italian forces evacuated Yugoslavia in 1943, AVNOJ assumed control of the territory and established the state of Democratic Federal Yugoslavia. The partisans' leader, Josip Broz Tito, was named prime minister. In 1945, Yugoslavia's monarchy was abolished, and Tito was recognized as the leader of the country. This result was confirmed by a nationwide election held shortly thereafter.

Yugoslavia was a communist state from the beginning and was one of the founders of the Cominform, the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties, in 1947. Cominform's purpose was to give direction to the communist governments of Europe after World War II so that they might coordinate their efforts to oppose anti-communist activity in the rest of Europe. The Soviet Union would be at the fore, providing guidance for the others.

Tito and Stalin clashed early on, however. Tito wished to incorporate within Yugoslavia the countries of Bulgaria and Albania, as well as parts of Greece, Italy, and Austria. Stalin opposed Yugoslavia's claims, believing them to be unreasonable and likely to cause trouble with Western Europe. Yugoslavia also aided the Greek communists in their civil war, which Stalin opposed as well, again believing the West would be angered

by it. Tito, for his part, refused to accept a secondary position for Yugoslavia. Unlike the other members of the Eastern Bloc, Yugoslavia had liberated itself from the Axis without Soviet assistance. Thus, Tito believed it should be treated by the Soviet Union as an equal, not as a satellite state to which it gave orders.

In 1948 Cominform expelled Yugoslavia. For assistance Tito turned to the United States, which helped Yugoslavia survive despite its inability to trade with its Eastern Bloc neighbors. Tito, however, was equally concerned about becoming a puppet of the United States, and during the 1950s and 1960s, Yugoslavia became economically self-sufficient and traded with members of both the Western and Eastern Blocs. In 1960, Tito spoke before the General Assembly of the United Nations and called upon "non-bloc countries" to unite to achieve common goals of decolonization, disarmament, bans on nuclear testing, and equality of economic development.

The Bandung Conference and Indonesia

Among European nations, Yugoslavia's refusal to become a member of either the Western or the Eastern Bloc made it an exception. But a desire to plot a middle path between the superpowers was common in former colonies or protectorates of European powers, especially in South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.

In April 1955 representatives from twenty-nine such countries in Asia and Africa gathered at a conference in Bandung, Indonesia. Their goal was to be able to rely on one another as they strove to industrialize and avoid the need to turn to Europe, the United States, or the Soviet Union for assistance. This aim formed the basis for the **Non-Aligned Movement**, an attempt by newly independent nations to stay out of the orbit of either the Western or the Eastern Bloc.

Indonesia assumed a leading role in the Non-Aligned Movement. An anti-Dutch independence campaign had developed there before World War II, and in August 1945 two of its leaders, Mohammad Hatta and Kusno Sosrodihardjo, known as Sukarno, proclaimed independence for Indonesia, a status that became official in 1949. Sukarno, on becoming president, stressed that the nation wished to remain neutral in foreign affairs.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union desired Indonesia as an ally. It was a country with a large population, oil deposits, and a strategically advantageous geographical position. Both sides believed Indonesia's future path—communist or democratic—would greatly influence the other nations of Asia. Accordingly, both courted Sukarno, and Sukarno accepted aid from both. In his eyes, so long as he did not allow either superpower to determine Indonesia's affairs, his country was neutral.

In 1956, Sukarno visited China and was impressed by what Mao Zedong had been able to achieve. Believing Mao's ability to centralize power lay at the heart of China's success, upon his return to Indonesia, Sukarno established a National Council made up of representatives of larger social groups, such as peasants and workers, to reach decisions by consensus rather than by voting. In the new "Guided Democracy" he established in 1959, the consensus of the nation would be expressed through the president instead of the legislature. To shore up his autocratic authority, Sukarno turned to both the Indonesian Communist Party and the conservative armed forces. His goal was the creation of an Indonesian state based on what he called NASAKOM, an acronym standing for nationalism, religion, and communism.

By 1964 Sukarno had abandoned all pretense of neutrality and sought alliances with communist countries while encouraging anti–United States sentiment in Indonesia. In 1965, Suharto, a general in the Indonesian military, claimed that Indonesian communists had sought to subvert the government by plotting to kill Sukarno. Suharto's subsequent destruction of Indonesia's communists, carried out with the aid of the CIA, may have cost the lives of some one million people (Figure 14.12). In 1967, Suharto removed Sukarno from office and assumed dictatorial powers.



FIGURE 14.12 Suharto. Major-General Suharto (right) attends a funeral for generals he claimed were killed in a communist coup. He used the supposed coup as an excuse to kill Indonesian communists. (credit: "Suharto at funeral" by Department of Information of the Republic of Indonesia/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

India

Like Indonesia, India sought to plot its own path and remain free of the entangling alliances of the Cold War, and it was also one of the initiators of the Non-Aligned Movement. In 1947, the United Kingdom granted India its independence. Anti-British protests had rocked India throughout 1946, and, exhausted from fighting World War II, Britain could no longer afford to maintain control over its colony. In addition, although the United Kingdom had sufficient troops there, the majority were Indian, and it was uncertain where their loyalties lay. Indeed, in 1946 Indians in the British Navy had mutinied throughout the country. Finally, the United Kingdom's greatest ally and creditor, the United States, pressured the nation to grant India its independence, as the United States had given independence to the Philippines following the war.

The announcement that the British would be withdrawing sparked waves of religious violence throughout the nation. Much of it was caused by a dispute over what an independent India would consist of. Hindus in the Indian National Congress called for the maintenance of a single, unified India. Muslims, however, feared that the Hindu majority would dominate the government to their detriment, and many were reluctant to agree to such a situation. A compromise was reached, and at midnight on August 15, 1947, when India achieved its independence, the region of Pakistan, home to a Muslim majority, became an independent nation as well.

THE PAST MEETS THE PRESENT

Kashmir

In August 1947, when India became independent of the United Kingdom and Pakistan was established as a separate nation, the status of the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir (usually referred to simply as Kashmir) was in question. India wished to retain control of it, but because the state had a largely Muslim population, Pakistan lay claim to it; thus, India and Pakistan went to war. Peace was established when the United Nations intervened, and Kashmir remained part of India. In 1965, war broke out again when Pakistan tried to seize the Indian state by force. As a result of negotiations mediated by the Soviet Union, both sides withdrew their forces from the region. War erupted a third time in 1971, and fighting broke out yet again in 1999.

Between 2016 and 2018, Kashmiri separatists launched a series of attacks on Indian security forces, with India placing the blame on Pakistan as the instigator of the violence. In 2019, following a suicide attack on an Indian army convoy by militants based in Pakistan, the government of India revoked Article 370 of its constitution, which had granted Kashmir a degree of autonomy. In February 2021, a cease-fire agreement was reached between India and Pakistan, and peace returned to the region as local tourists, unable to vacation abroad because of the COVID-19 pandemic, flocked to the mountainous region to enjoy winter sports.

- How does the Kashmir conflict reflect the politics of the Cold War?
- How might the continuing tension in the region represent a new kind of Cold War?

India's geographic location, bordering both the Soviet Union and China, made it of great interest to the West. The United Kingdom continued to trade with India, supply it with weapons, and train its military officers. India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, wished to maintain his distance from the United States, however. He was sympathetic to socialism and had visited the Soviet Union. He recognized the People's Republic of China and opposed the U.S. refusal to allow the PRC to hold China's seat on the UN Security Council. He was also suspicious of U.S. intentions toward India, given the government's treatment of its own citizens of color. Nevertheless, Nehru accepted aid from the United States in the 1950s, just as he did from the Soviet Union.

In 1950, India's relationship with China changed when China established border posts in Tibet to demarcate its territory, including land India claimed. India and China sought to maintain an amicable relationship and even signed a treaty affirming the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in 1954. But when Tibet's leader, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, sought protection in India after fleeing Tibet during an anti-Chinese uprising in 1959, India's support for him angered China. In 1962, a confrontation along the disputed border with Tibet led to war between the two countries. The United States aided India, and while the Soviet Union officially remained neutral, it also continued to provide funds and technology to India. This decision deepened a divide that was already growing between the USSR and China.

Egypt and the Middle East

Before World War II, the United States had demonstrated relatively little concern for the Middle East, which fell largely under British control. Following the war, however, problems in the region, some of which stemmed from British policies and actions, threatened to move Arab and Iranian leaders closer to the Soviet Union. This possibility alarmed the United States and led to attempts to forge relationships with Middle Eastern governments. The nations that proved of greatest interest were Iran, Egypt, and the newly formed state of Israel.

Iran first became a place of concern to the United States immediately following World War II, when the Soviet Union proved reluctant to end its occupation of the country. Following the war, the United Kingdom had resumed its activities in the region, which largely consisted of drilling for oil. In 1951, Mohammad Mossadegh, an Iranian nationalist, became the country's prime minister and moved to nationalize the oil fields belonging to British companies. This action led to protests by the United Kingdom and by pro-Western Iranian elites who supported British interests. In 1952, Iran's monarch, the pro-Western shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, removed Mossadegh from power. He was forced to reinstate him, however, following massive popular protests.

Mossadegh's actions convinced both the United Kingdom and the United States that he favored communism and might ally Iran with the Soviet Union, with which it shared a border. Although it is unlikely he intended to make Iran a satellite state of the Soviet Union, British arguments that this was the case convinced the United States to take action. In August 1953, a coup plotted by the CIA and Iran's military, which supported the Shah, removed Mossadegh from power again. He was arrested and imprisoned.

British actions laid the groundwork for another conflict in the Middle East following World War II. In 1917, Britain's foreign secretary Arthur James Balfour had declared that Britain would support the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Throughout the 1930s, Jewish people from Europe had streamed to the region, and as their numbers increased, so did violence between them and Arabs, who demanded an end to Jewish immigration and the creation of an independent Arab state. Following the end of World War II, as Jewish survivors of the Holocaust sought refuge in Palestine, the British government requested that the United Nations resolve the issue. In 1947, the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine visited the region and

recommended that it be divided into a Jewish state and an Arab state (Figure 14.13). The city of Jerusalem, sacred to both groups, was to be placed under an "international trusteeship." In November 1947, the UN General Assembly adopted the committee's suggestion with the passage of Resolution 181.

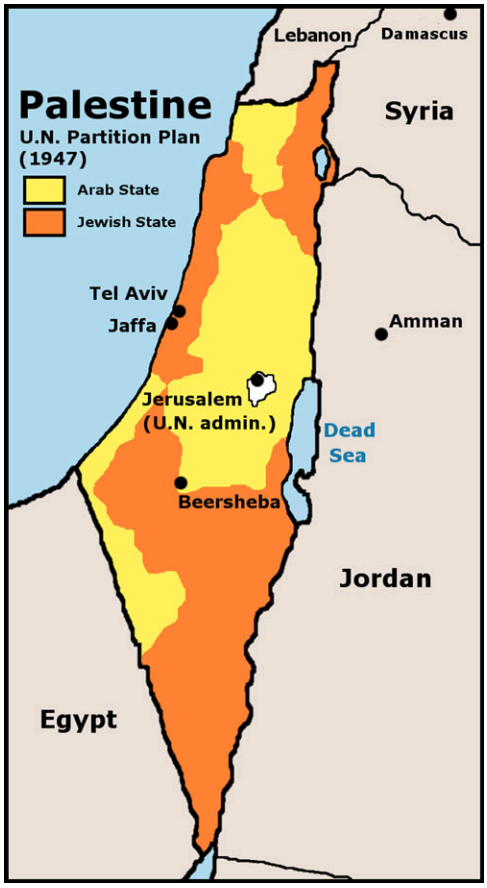


FIGURE 14.13 UN Partition Plan for Palestine. The UN's 1947 plan to partition Palestine divided it into Jewish and Arab sectors. Jewish people would control most of the coast and the southern part of the country. The Arab sectors were divided from one another by large areas of Jewish settlement. (credit: "UN 1947 partition plan for Palestine" by U.S. Central Intelligence Agency/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The UN resolution led to civil war in Palestine. The British withdrew from the region in May, leaving Jewish people and Palestinian Arabs, assisted by Arabs from elsewhere in the Middle East who had organized themselves as the Arab Liberation Army, to battle it out. About 250,000 Palestinian Arabs fled Jewish-controlled areas. On May 14, 1948, as the last British forces left the region, David Ben-Gurion, the leader of the Jewish settlement in Palestine, announced the founding of the nation of Israel (Figure 14.14).



FIGURE 14.14 The Founding of Israel. In the city of Tel-Aviv, David Ben-Gurion proclaims the foundation of the state of Israel in 1948. (credit: "Declaration of State of Israel 1948" by Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Both the United States and the Soviet Union officially recognized the new state. Israel's Arab neighbors did not, and they proclaimed that Arabs within Israel had a right to self-determination. On the evening of May 14, an air attack on the Israeli city of Tel-Aviv began, and the next day forces from Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, and Transjordan (now called Jordan) invaded the country. The First Arab-Israeli War lasted ten months, with Israel emerging victorious in March 1949. Not only had it defended its existence, but it had also gained control of much of the territory the 1947 UN committee had recommended reserving for Arab settlement. Hundreds of thousands of Arabs left Palestine—now part of Israel—for neighboring countries.

The better-armed Arab nations' loss to Israel came as a shock to many in the Arab world. In Egypt, the Free Officers Movement, a group of mostly junior officers from middle-class backgrounds, criticized their government for its failure. One officer, Gamal Abdel Nasser, blamed the defeat on government corruption and quickly rose to prominence. Like others in the movement, Nasser was a nationalist who wished to end the United Kingdom's influence over its former protectorate of Egypt. On July 23, 1952, he led a group of army officers in a coup that deposed Egypt's luxury-loving King Farouk and assumed control of the nation (Figure 14.15).



FIGURE 14.15 The Free Officers Movement. Gamal Abdel Nasser, second from the right in the car, rides through the streets of Cairo with other members of the Free Officers Movement following their overthrow of Egypt's king in 1952. (credit: "1953 Egypt revolution celebrations" by Bibliotheca Alexandrina/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Among Farouk's flaws had been his reliance on an informal cabinet composed largely of non-Egyptians, one of whom had sold defective rifles to the Egyptian military during the war with Israel. Although they were not the reason for Egypt's loss, they became a symbol of the weak, corrupt nature of Farouk's government. The rebellious officers instituted a constitution that made Egypt a secular state and embarked on a program of land reform. Egypt's new leaders also acted to end British influence in their nation; in separate agreements, the United Kingdom agreed to give up its rule in Sudan and evacuate its forces from the Suez Canal zone by 1956, years before required by an existing treaty.

As well as weakening British power in the Middle East, Nasser, who became prime minister of Egypt in 1954, wished to make his country the leader of the Arab world, a position also sought by Iraq. In 1955, the United Kingdom signed the Baghdad Pact, which created the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) and joined Iraq, Iran, Turkey, and Pakistan in a military alliance that seemed to thwart both of Nasser's goals. Nasser perceived this as a signal that the West wished to promote Iraq instead of Egypt as the leader of the Arab nations.

Seeking to erode both Israeli and Western interests, Nasser sponsored cross-border attacks on Israel by Palestinian Arab guerrilla fighters, refugees from Israel living in Egypt, and gave support to Algerian rebels attempting to throw off French rule. The United States had sought friendly relations with Nasser, partly to prevent him from turning to the Soviet Union and partly to gain supremacy over the United Kingdom in the region. However, when he refused to promise that U.S. weapons would not be used to attack Israel, the United States refused to arm Egypt and, in July 1956, withdrew its promise of aid to build the Aswan Dam across the Nile. Accordingly, Nasser turned to the Eastern Bloc. Czechoslovakia supplied the arms, and the Soviet Union later funded the construction of the dam.

On July 26, 1956, Nasser, who had been elected president of Egypt the month before, nationalized the Suez Canal and immediately closed it to Israeli shipping. On October 29, Israel invaded Egypt, and on November 5, Britain and France did as well, touching off the Suez Crisis. The United Nations passed a resolution calling for a cease-fire, and both the United States and the Soviet Union demanded an immediate end to the invasion. The Soviet Union threatened to send troops to Egypt and to attack London. U.S. president Dwight Eisenhower, anxious not to give the Soviets an excuse to intervene, threatened to impose economic sanctions on France, Israel, and the United Kingdom if they did not comply. All three withdrew, but Israel did so with the guarantee

that it would be allowed to use the Straits of Tiran to send shipping through the canal. A UN peacekeeping force was left in Egypt's Sinai Peninsula to guard the border with Israel.

The Suez Crisis changed the U.S. role in the Middle East. After having had little involvement in the area, the United States now realized that Soviet involvement there was possible. Wishing to prevent this, in 1957 Eisenhower proclaimed the Eisenhower Doctrine, by which the United States would use its military strength to defend Middle Eastern governments in danger of being overthrown by the forces of "International Communism." The United States also extended financial and military aid to the governments of friendly countries such as Lebanon.

The withdrawal of Israel and the Western powers from Egypt augmented Nasser's status as self-proclaimed leader of the Arab world and brought him closer to forging the pan-Arab state he desired. In 1958, he took another step toward that reality when Egypt joined Syria to create the United Arab Republic. The previous year, Turkey, fearing that its neighbor Syria was about to experience a communist takeover, had gathered troops along the Syrian border. When the Soviet Union announced its support for Syria in the event of a Turkish invasion, the U.S. had pledged support for Turkey. Although crisis was averted when Turkey withdrew its troops, Syria proposed a union with Egypt to protect itself from interference by other countries and from the increasing power of the Syrian Communist Party. The two nations separated after a coup in Syria in 1961.

In 1958, the United States enforced the Eisenhower Doctrine by sending nearly fifteen thousand troops to Lebanon at the request of its Christian president, Camille Chamoun, to protect his government from political opponents, some of whom were pro-communist. Opposition was led by Lebanon's Sunni Muslim majority, who had supported Lebanon's joining the United Arab Republic when Chamoun had refused to do so. U.S. forces remained in Lebanon for three months while Chamoun finished his term. This diversion of U.S. attention convinced China that it could resume bombing Jinmen and Mazu without risking a response, precipitating the Second Taiwan Strait Crisis.

Although relative peace had returned to the region following the end of the Suez Crisis, also called the Second Arab-Israeli War, Palestinian guerrillas continued to strike at Israel from bases in Egypt and Syria. Often their targets were civilians, and tensions remained high. In April 1967, following air battles between Israeli and Syrian pilots, Egypt, under the false belief that Israel was preparing to invade Syria, removed the UN peacekeeping force from the Sinai Peninsula and amassed troops there. On May 22, Egypt closed the Straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping, which Israel considered an act of war.

On June 5, Israel began the Third Arab-Israeli War by launching a preemptive strike on Egypt, invading the country by land at the same time that it destroyed virtually the entire Egyptian air force. Attempted attacks by Jordan and Syria were fended off, and Israel seized territory from these nations as well as from Egypt. The fighting ended nearly as soon as it had begun, earning the conflict the title of the Six-Day War. Israel had gained control of the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip from Egypt, the West Bank (of the Jordan River) from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria, greatly enhancing the size of its territory.

The Israeli victory in 1967 did not end the conflict, and air attacks, shelling, and guerrilla fighting between Egypt and Israel continued for several years. Following Nasser's death in 1970, the new president, Anwar Sadat, wished to put a decisive end to the conflict while also reversing the territorial losses suffered by the Arab states in 1967. Although Nasser had moved Egypt more deeply into the Soviet camp over the years, in 1972 Sadat expelled the Soviet advisers. He also began talks with the United States, Israel's chief ally, with the intent of resolving Arab-Israeli hostilities for good. However, Sadat did not want peace to be made until Egypt had regained control of the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip. On October 6, 1973, Egypt and Syria, which sought the return of the Golan Heights, launched a surprise attack on Israel on Yom Kippur, the holiest day of the Jewish religious calendar, when many Israeli soldiers were off duty. Once again, Israel was victorious. A cease-fire imposed by the United Nations began on October 25. Israel had not lost any of the conquered territory, and in subsequent years Sadat was forced to engage in more peaceful efforts to seek the return of Egyptian lands.

LINK TO LEARNING

The Arab-Israeli conflict continues today, a complex problem with many different facets. Learn more about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (https://openstax.org/l/77ArabIsraeli) at the Global Conflict Tracker website.

14.4 Global Tensions and Decolonization

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Explain the reasons for Soviet intervention in Warsaw Pact nations in the 1950s and 1960s
- Describe U.S. efforts to contain the spread of communism in Latin America and Asia
- Explain the cause of the Sino-Soviet split
- Discuss decolonization movements in Africa

The potential for conflict between the United States and the forces of communism was not limited to East Asia. Although this part of the world held the greatest risk of strife, and indeed several proxy wars were fought there in the decades following World War II, the contest between the United States and the Soviet Union spread to all parts of the globe.

Tensions in Europe

Joseph Stalin died in 1953. He was replaced as leader of the Soviet Union, briefly by Georgy Malenkov and then by Nikita Khrushchev. Khrushchev was as ardent an opponent of the Western Bloc as Stalin had ever been, bragging at one meeting that communism would "bury" capitalism, but he also favored a new attitude toward the United States and a new direction for the Soviet Union. In February 1956, at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, Khrushchev denounced the late Stalin and accused him of crimes against the Soviet people. He then embarked on an aggressive process of de-Stalinization, changing Stalin-era policies such as censorship of the arts, releasing many whom Stalin had jailed for political reasons, dissolving the special tribunals that had convicted them, removing Stalin's name from public buildings, and taking monuments to him down.

In the Eastern Bloc countries, this signaled the beginning of a political thaw. In June 1956, workers in the Polish city of Poznan rioted to protest food shortages and poor housing along with other grievances. In the autumn, protests began in other cities as well. They had a distinctly nationalistic character and called for such changes as the expulsion of the Soviet army from Poland and the removal of Russian language classes from Polish schools' curricula. In October, Władysław Gomułka, who called for governmental reforms, was made the leader of the Polish Communist Party and thus the leader of Poland.

Alarmed by the possibility of reforms that might remove Poland from the Eastern Bloc, Khrushchev mobilized Soviet troops in Poland and marched them toward Warsaw even as he flew there in person. After Gomułka assured Khrushchev that he had no intention of ending communism or Poland's relationship with the Soviet Union, Khrushchev agreed that reforms could take place. Accordingly, the collectivization of Polish agriculture was ended, Soviet advisers were sent home, political prisoners were released, and greater freedom was given to the Roman Catholic Church.

The success of the Poles inspired others. On October 23, 1956, students marched through the streets of Budapest, Hungary, demanding among other things the removal of Stalinist symbols, improvements in wages, economic reforms, and the removal of Soviet troops from the country. The State Security Police opened fire on students who gathered outside the main radio station to read their demands on the air, and several were killed. An uprising began, with angry citizens fighting both the police and Soviet troops. As protesters attacked the parliament building, Ernő Gerő, the head of the ruling Hungarian Working People's Party and leader of the country, fled along with his prime minister, András Hegedüs. Imre Nagy, a reformer, took office as prime minister. Unlike Gomułka, Nagy did not wish to institute internal reforms while otherwise remaining loyal to

Moscow. On October 28, he called for a cease-fire, dissolved the State Security Police, and demanded that Soviet troops leave Budapest. On November 1, Nagy announced that Hungary was no longer a member of the Warsaw Pact and would remain neutral in international affairs.

Three days later, Soviet forces entered Hungary to join those the USSR had been on the point of withdrawing until Nagy's announcement. Khrushchev may have feared that Nagy's declaration of Hungarian neutrality threatened the security of the Soviet Union. He may also have wished to demonstrate his resolve to more conservative communists and to the leaders of the other Soviet states. Some argue that the Western Bloc's failure to intervene emboldened him. The uprising came to an end on November 10 after about 2,500 Hungarians had been killed, and the communist government was reestablished under János Kádár. Approximately twenty thousand Hungarians were arrested and another 200,000 fled the country. Soviet troops were permanently stationed in Hungary, and Nagy was tried and executed in 1958.

The United States did not become involved in the events in Hungary, a decision Khrushchev later mocked. However, despite not wishing a confrontation with the Soviets, the United States soon found it could not ignore Khrushchev's ultimatum regarding Berlin. In 1958 and again in 1961, Khrushchev demanded that Britain, France, and the United States leave West Berlin, demands that went unheeded. The capitalist part of the old German capital was a thorn in Khrushchev's side. Not only did its prosperity arouse discontent among the residents of the communist eastern districts, but the openness allowed there enabled many people from East Germany—and elsewhere in the Eastern Bloc—to escape to freedom.

On the evening of August 12–13, 1961, East German troops erected a barbed wire fence to divide the western part of Berlin from the eastern. In the days that followed, cement walls went up as well to stop the free passage from east to west. On October 22, a dispute erupted between the United States and the Soviet Union regarding the free passage of U.S. government employees between East and West Berlin. The United States maintained that, in keeping with agreements reached at Potsdam at the end of World War II, members of the Allies could travel freely throughout Berlin. To test the Soviets' commitment to abide by this agreement, the U.S. began to send cars carrying U.S. officials across the dividing line to see if they would be stopped. If they were, U.S. troops, sometimes riding in tanks, then accompanied them across.

On October 27, the USSR responded by sending some of its own tanks to the entrance to East Berlin. U.S. and Soviet tanks aimed their guns at one another. A fight was narrowly averted when Kennedy and Khrushchev agreed to remove their tanks at the same time.

LINK TO LEARNING

The Berlin Wall separated the residents of East and West Berlin from 1961 until it was destroyed in 1989. While it stood, it provided a canvas for the people of West Berlin to record their whims and fantasies as well as political messages. This website shows photographs of the Berlin Wall and its art (https://openstax.org/l/77BerlinWall) six months before it was torn down.

Tensions flared in Europe yet again in 1968 when Czechoslovakia, like Poland and Hungary before it, sought to loosen its ties to the Soviet Union. Early in the year, the country's conservative leader Antonín Novotný was replaced by Alexander Dubček. Dubček instituted economic reforms and ended government censorship. As Czechs called for even greater reforms, the Soviet Union became alarmed, as it had in Poland and Hungary in 1956. Fearing that changes in Czechoslovakia would stimulate calls for reform elsewhere in the Eastern Bloc or in the Soviet republics themselves—and confident the United States would not intervene, just as it had failed to do before—the new Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev ordered an invasion of Czechoslovakia on August 20, 1968. By early 1969, resistance had largely disappeared, and the Soviet Union replaced Dubček with the conservative Gustáv Husák, who reversed Dubček's reforms. Censorship was restored, and government control increased again. For the Soviets, this was a successful application of the Brezhnev Doctrine, the pledge to assist communist governments in danger of being overthrown.

Tensions in Latin America

In the 1930s and 1940s, the United States had exercised a "Good Neighbor Policy" toward other nations of the Western Hemisphere, refraining from intervening in their affairs. The desire to contain communist expansion, however, led Washington to take a much more interventionist approach in Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1944, an uprising in Guatemala ousted the military dictator Jorge Ubico, who had held power since 1931. Philosophy professor Juan José Arévalo became the country's first democratically elected president in 1945. He was succeeded in office in 1951 by Jacobo Árbenz, who began a program of land reform in the desperately poor country. Árbenz also legalized the Guatemalan Party of Labor, a communist labor union. In the eyes of the United States, Guatemala seemed to be drifting toward communism (Figure 14.16).



FIGURE 14.16 Land and Freedom. A 1952 poster promises Guatemalan peasants "land and freedom" along with the agrarian reforms promoted by Jacobo Árbenz. Árbenz's plans led U.S. officials to fear he would align Guatemala with the Eastern Bloc. (credit: "Reforma Agraria de Guatemala" by Fotos antiguas de Guatemala/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

This view of the matter was encouraged by the United Fruit Company, a U.S. company that owned plantations throughout Central America, where it grew bananas for the American market. As the single largest landowner in Guatemala, United Fruit was resistant to any forces that might limit its access to land. Thus, Árbenz's land redistribution plans threatened its interests, and his support for the Guatemalan Party of Labor also promised to undermine the company's control over its employees.

United Fruit convinced first the Truman administration and then the Eisenhower administration to remove Árbenz from power. Eisenhower was a strong anti-communist, as were his secretary of state John Foster Dulles and the head of the CIA Allen Dulles, John's brother. The Dulles brothers were also closely connected to the United Fruit Company. In 1954, forces led by Colonel Carlos Castillo Armas but armed and trained by the CIA removed Árbenz from power. Upon taking office, Armas instituted a military dictatorship, outlawed the

political opposition, and began to attack the power of the unions.

It is unlikely that Árbenz sought to place Guatemala within the Eastern Bloc. Soviet influence was active elsewhere in Latin America, however. In 1952, Fulgencio Batista seized power in Cuba in a military coup. Batista, who was financially supported by the U.S. government, held tight control over the island nation and used secret police to silence his opponents, often by means of torture and murder. He wielded his political power to protect the interests of wealthy Cubans and large landowners, among whom were many U.S. executives who controlled Cuba's sugar industry.

Opposition to Batista was led by a young lawyer and activist named Fidel Castro and his brother Raul. When Fidel Castro failed to remove Batista from power legally by challenging the constitutionality of Batista's seizure of power, he and his brother began to organize members of Cuba's disgruntled working class. The revolution against Batista began on July 26, 1953, with unsuccessful attacks on military bases in Santiago and Bayamo that culminated in the capture of the Castro brothers. Released from prison two years later, they retreated to Mexico where they joined other Cuban exiles and a young Argentine named Ernesto "Che" Guevara to train and plot their return to Cuba.

In 1956, Fidel Castro and his followers returned to Cuba and led the 26th of July Movement (named for their first failed attempt to topple Batista's government) in attacks on the Cuban government. After two years of fighting, Castro's rebels were successful, and on December 31, 1958, Fulgencio Batista fled to the Dominican Republic. On January 2, 1959, the military commander guarding Havana ordered his soldiers to lay down their weapons, and the revolutionaries entered the capital in triumph (Figure 14.17).



FIGURE 14.17 Cuban Revolutionaries. Cuban revolutionaries occupy the foyer of the Hilton Hotel in Havana, Cuba, shortly after their victory in 1959. Fresh from the fight, they still carry their weapons. (credit: modification of work "Cuban rebel soldiers in the Habana Hilton foyer, January 1959" by *The Guardian*/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

At first the United States recognized Cuba's new government. Fidel Castro was interviewed on the popular American television program *The Ed Sullivan Show* a few days after his forces proved victorious, and Castro himself visited the United States to request aid in developing his country. In an address before the United Nations, he placed Cuba in the non-aligned camp; when asked, he insisted he was not a communist.

Despite these protestations, Castro worried the U.S. government. He began a program of land reform and

forbade foreign ownership of land. He appointed communists, including Che Guevara, to important government positions. In August 1960, he began to nationalize foreign companies in Cuba, including many owned by U.S. citizens. Many wealthy and middle-class Cubans left the country; a large number relocated to the United States, only about ninety miles away. The United States, now convinced of Castro's communist leanings, imposed economic sanctions on Cuba. If the island were allowed to become communist, Washington feared, communism would spread elsewhere in Latin America. Denied U.S. assistance, Castro turned to the Soviet Union for help.

The United States was reluctant to take aggressive action against Cuba for fear of moving Castro closer to the Soviets. However, the CIA trained Cuban exiles in Florida who had formed the Democratic Revolutionary Front. Their goal was to launch an invasion of Cuba that, they believed, would spark a popular uprising and the overthrow of the Castro government. By assisting the Democratic Revolutionary Front, the United States hoped to achieve the goal of defeating Castro without committing American troops.

On the night of April 17, 1961, the long-awaited Bay of Pigs invasion began, named for the spot where the invaders were to come ashore. It ended in disaster. Although they quickly overcame a local militia force, the invaders could not hold out against the Cuban Army, anticipated air support from the United States failed to materialize, and the invaders surrendered three days later. The United States was humiliated, and far from weakening Castro, its aggressive actions may actually have increased support for the revolution and strengthened nationalistic fervor among the Cuban people. The failed invasion also led Castro to seek protection from the Soviet Union.

Cuba had been of little interest to the Soviets until now. But by protecting it from U.S. threats, the Soviet Union stood to gain increased status in the region while also thwarting its Cold War rival. Indeed, failure to protect Cuba, Khrushchev feared, would send a message to other revolutionaries in Latin America that the Soviets were unable to protect them from U.S. aggression too. Accordingly, in 1962, the Soviet Union armed Cuba with nuclear missiles, and the construction of missile launch facilities on the island began that summer.

Photographs taken by a U-2 surveillance plane alerted the U.S. government to the presence of the missiles, aimed at the United States. After convening the National Security Council in October 1962, President Kennedy weighed his options. Although the U.S. military suggested an invasion of Cuba, he feared that would lead the Soviets to attack Berlin in retaliation. He could not allow the Soviet action to go unchallenged, however; to do so would make the United States—and Kennedy personally—seem weak.

On October 22, Kennedy ordered the navy to form a blockade around Cuba to intercept Soviet ships delivering additional missiles. He informed the world of this "quarantine," avoiding the word "blockade" because under international law a blockade could be considered an act of war. U.S. forces around the world were placed on high alert, and U.S. planes flew low over Cuba in preparation for a potential invasion, the only option for removing the missiles if the Soviets did not back down. On the island below, Soviet technicians continued the missiles' installation (Figure 14.18).

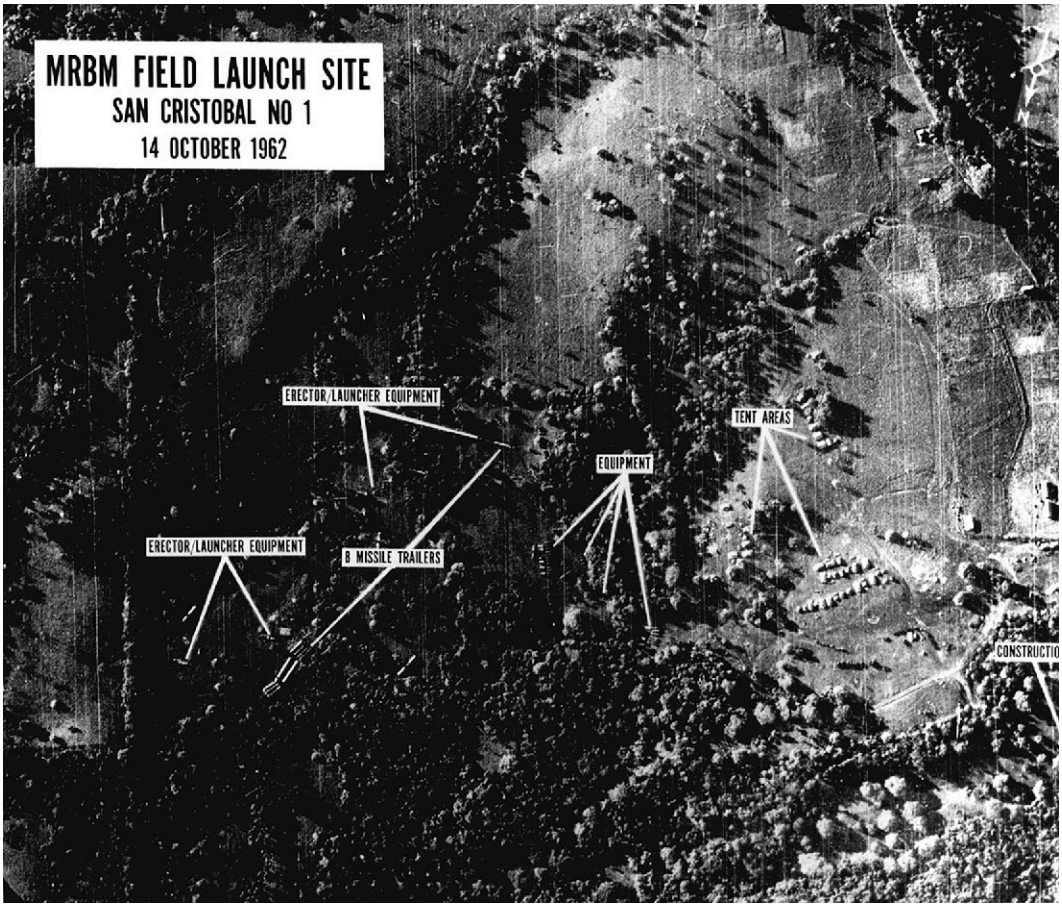


FIGURE 14.18 Soviet Missiles in Cuba. A photograph taken by a U.S. U-2 spy plane in 1962 clearly reveals evidence of the means to assemble Soviet missiles in Cuba. (credit: "Cuba Missiles Crisis U-2 photo" by The John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum /Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The world held its breath. For ten days people pondered the possibility of nuclear war as the incident, which came to be known as the **Cuban Missile Crisis**, dragged on. Both Kennedy and Khrushchev refused to retreat. A number of incidents occurred that might each have begun a nuclear conflict. A U-2 spy plane flying over Cuba to monitor the missile installation was shot down and its pilot killed, but Kennedy refrained from acting. Another U-2 mistakenly flew over the Soviet Union's east coast, causing Soviet fighters to take off to intercept it, which in turn led U.S. fighters to take flight. The U.S. Navy dropped a depth charge on a Soviet submarine. The submarine had been maintaining radio silence and was unaware of the events taking place on the surface. Believing a war had started, two of the three officers on board wanted to launch a nuclear warhead, but the third officer, whose consent was needed, refused to allow them to do so.

Earlier that year, the United States had placed missiles in Turkey. Khrushchev was angered, but now he offered Kennedy a way out of the Cuban stalemate: if the missiles in Turkey were removed, those in Cuba would be too. Kennedy accepted the offer. The dismantling of the Cuban missiles began, and on November 2, 1962, Kennedy informed the world of Soviet compliance. On November 20, the blockade ended; in April 1963, the United States removed its missiles from Turkey, though over the protests of the Turkish government.

Following the standoff, a direct telephone hotline was established between Washington and Moscow to enable instant communications between the leaders of the two rival nations. The dangers of nuclear war did not necessarily diminish, however. Thwarted in their attempt to place nuclear missiles in Cuba, the Soviets focused on the development of intercontinental ballistic missiles, which could strike the United States from Europe. The United States also continued to develop its weaponry.

In China, Mao Zedong had criticized the Soviets for being insufficiently supportive of socialist revolution

around the world. So Khrushchev's willingness to back down when confronted by the United States and to seemingly abandon Cuba gave credence to Mao's claims. It also improved Mao's position within the Chinese Communist Party. He had found himself locked in a struggle with other CCP members, who favored closer relations with the Soviet Union because of the economic and technological expertise it could provide. The humiliation of the Soviets now weakened the position of those members, such as Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping. Conversely, Khrushchev's power was seriously damaged by the Cuban Missile Crisis, and two years later he was forced from office.

Although the United States achieved its goal of removing Soviet missiles from Cuba, Castro's government nevertheless remained in power. Communist parties were also strong in other parts of Latin America. In 1961, Rafael Trujillo, the anti-communist dictator of the Dominican Republic, was assassinated and replaced by the liberal reformer Juan Bosch, who was himself overthrown by the Dominican army in 1963. On April 24, 1965, liberal Dominican army officers rose up in revolt in an attempt to return Bosch to power. Four days later, twenty-two thousand U.S. troops invaded in order to prevent a communist takeover, as President Lyndon Johnson claimed. They placed a conservative government in power.

In Chile, Salvador Allende, the candidate of a socialist-communist coalition party called Popular Unity, was elected president in three consecutive presidential elections in 1958, 1964, and 1970. The CIA worked with the Chilean army to engineer a coup, and in September 1973, Allende and thousands of his supporters were killed. The leader of the coup General Agosto Pinochet became Chile's president and ruled as a dictator until 1990. The CIA also trained and funded the right-wing Contras to fight against the Sandinista National Liberation Front, which came to power in Nicaragua after overthrowing the dictatorial president Anastasio Somoza Debayle. The Sandinistas received support from the Soviet Union and Cuba.

Tensions in Asia

Though its interventions in Latin America were confounded by Castro's Cuba and popular support for communist parties in other Central and South American countries, the United States continued to try to prevent the spread of communism, notably in Southeast Asia.

Escalation in Vietnam

In the summer of 1963, South Vietnamese generals, disgusted by the corruption of Ngo Dinh Diem's regime and realizing his unpopularity was hampering their fight against North Vietnam and the Viet Cong, assassinated Diem and his brother Nhu. Though greeted with jubilation by most South Vietnamese, the killings did not lead to the creation of a democratic government. The country was afterward governed by a succession of leaders; none were effective or earned the loyalty of the population. All were maintained in power by the United States, which proved willing to support any politician promising to take a hard line against communism and continue the war against North Vietnam.

The U.S. role in the Vietnam War intensified in 1964. In early August, U.S. ships stationed in the Gulf of Tonkin off the coast of North Vietnam reported they had come under attack. A crew member on duty believed he saw signs of a North Vietnamese torpedo strike on his sonar. Despite the fact that there was no other evidence to support the claim and the incident most likely did not take place, Congress passed the **Gulf of Tonkin Resolution** on August 7, 1964. The resolution gave President Lyndon Johnson permission to retaliate against North Vietnamese attacks and to act first to defend U.S. lives.

The situation in Vietnam swiftly escalated. In 1965, Johnson committed U.S. ground forces and began the bombing of the North. Troops from other nations, including Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, and South Korea, assisted in the fighting. The guerrilla war fought by the Viet Cong confounded U.S. troops, who came to see every Vietnamese peasant as a potential enemy. They relocated South Vietnamese farmers and burned their villages in an attempt to deny their opponents sources of support.

In early 1968, however, a series of coordinated Viet Cong attacks that struck cities and military installations

throughout South Vietnam during the lunar new year holiday of Tet called into question the success of the U.S. efforts. Although North Vietnamese officials later admitted the Viet Cong had suffered serious losses during the Tet Offensive, in the immediate aftermath it seemed as though the United States and South Vietnam were no closer to defeating North Vietnam than they had ever been. Many in the United States had already begun to question the military's involvement in Vietnam and to call for the withdrawal of troops. Their opposition grew even more intense following the revelation in 1969 that U.S. troops had massacred unarmed peasants in the village of My Lai the year before.

By the early 1970s, the United States was seeking a way to escape the situation in Vietnam. President Richard Nixon did not wish to simply withdraw, however. Instead, a peace agreement would have to be reached. North Vietnam had been reluctant to negotiate on U.S. terms, but damage to the relationship between two of its supporters, China and the Soviet Union, had threatened to isolate it and made it more amenable to seeking peace.

The Sino-Soviet Split

China and the Soviet Union had once been firm allies. The Soviet Union had supported the Chinese Communist Party since its founding and had signed the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance in 1950. It had given China both money and valuable technical assistance as the latter sought to build its industrial capacity. However, because Mao had greatly admired Stalin, he disapproved of Khrushchev's 1956 denunciation of him. He also believed that as China's leader since 1949, he had "seniority" over Khrushchev, in power only since 1953. In Mao's eyes, he himself, not Khrushchev, should be the leader of world communism.

The "Sino-Soviet split" widened when Khrushchev, fearing Mao's insistence on attacking Taiwan might provoke war with the United States, refused to provide China with nuclear weapons. Khrushchev's actions were representative of Mao's chief criticism of the Soviet Union after the death of Stalin. The Soviets, Mao believed, had become too comfortable as leaders of the communist world and were no longer willing to risk confrontation with the United States or other imperialist powers if this would jeopardize their position. The USSR was doing too little, in the eyes of China, to support decolonization struggles in Africa and Asia and wars of independence. Indeed, far from being anti-imperialist, the Soviets had created their own empire in Europe. Other issues contributed to the rift. In the clash between India and China in 1962, for example, the USSR supported India; in 1969, Soviet and Chinese forces clashed in a dispute over their shared border. In the late 1960s, China cut back its financing of North Vietnam's war against the South, and North Vietnam turned to the Soviet Union to fill the gap.

The United States was eager to capitalize on the Sino-Soviet split in hopes of securing several advantages. In 1972 Nixon visited China, the first sitting U.S. president to do so, and met with Mao. This effort to improve U.S. relations with China threatened to isolate the Soviet Union, so in turn the Soviets agreed to hold a Moscow Summit meeting between Brezhnev and Nixon in May 1972. The United States then used the Soviet desire for closer relations to exert pressure on North Vietnam. In March 1972, after the North launched an offensive against the South, Nixon threatened to call off the Moscow Summit if the Soviets did not force North Vietnam to the peace table.

In the end, the United States' efforts to extricate itself from the war were successful. At the peace talks in Paris, North Vietnam and the United States agreed to the U.S. withdrawal from South Vietnam in 1973. The war continued until 1975, however, when North Vietnam defeated South Vietnam, and the country was reunified under a communist government. All told, the war had cost the lives of more than one million people.

Genocide in Cambodia

Although peace came to Vietnam in 1975, in neighboring Cambodia a nightmare was just beginning. Throughout much of the war in Vietnam, Cambodia had been neutral. In 1970, however, its ruler Prince Sihanouk was deposed by one of his generals, Lon Nol, who favored the United States. Sihanouk then allied himself with the Cambodian communist group, the Khmer Rouge. In 1975, after years of fighting, the Khmer

Rouge overthrew the government of Lon Nol.

Under the rule of Pol Pot, the Khmer Rouge leader and an admirer of Mao Zedong, Cambodia embarked on a program to rebuild itself as the perfect communist state. The Khmer Rouge seized private property and forced city dwellers to relocate to the countryside. The population was made to labor in work camps and on collective farms, and some died as a result of disease and starvation. Those who were unable to work were killed. The Khmer Rouge also carried out a deliberate campaign of extermination against professionals, intellectuals (which could mean anyone who wore glasses), Christians, Muslims, Buddhist monks, and people of Chinese, Thai, and Vietnamese ancestry. By the time the killing ended with the invasion of Cambodia by Vietnam in 1978, some three million people, approximately one-quarter of Cambodia's population, had died.

Although Southeast Asia remained mired in violence and turmoil, in the West there were new hopes for peace as the Cold War showed signs of thawing. At the 1972 Moscow Summit, the United States and the USSR signed the Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty (SALT), a mutual agreement to restrict the development of antiballistic missiles meant to destroy incoming warheads, thus rendering useless the defense strategy of mutually assured destruction. This marked the beginning of a period of **détente**, a relaxation of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union that included trade agreements and additional arms-reduction talks. In 1975, the United States and the Soviet Union, along with Canada and all the countries of Europe, except for Albania, signed the Helsinki Accords. The United States and its allies pledged to respect the borders of Eastern Bloc countries and to refrain from intervening in their internal affairs. The Soviet Union promised to respect human rights.

Decolonization in Africa in the Shadow of the Cold War

Like the Vietnamese, the peoples of Africa also wished to shake off Western control following World War II. The Atlantic Charter, a 1941 agreement by the United Kingdom and the United States regarding their shared goals for the postwar world, had promised self-determination for all, and African countries wanted to make this a reality. In October 1945, the Fifth Pan-African Congress assembled in Manchester, England. Delegates from Europe's African colonies as well as from the Caribbean, the United States, India, Sri Lanka, and Central America called for an end to colonialism.

European colonial powers were not of the same mind. Following the devastation of World War II, some regarded the natural resources and markets of African colonies essential to rebuilding their damaged economies. For example, the new constitution granted to Britain's colony of Gold Coast (Ghana) in 1946 reflected the desire of the United Kingdom, like other colonial powers, to retain control over its African possessions. Although Africans were given additional opportunities to elect the members of a Legislative Council, the council had only advisory capacity. All real power was held by the colony's appointed governor.

In August 1947, Ghanaians formed the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), which called on the United Kingdom to make the colony self-governing. Among the founding members of the UGCC was Kwame Nkrumah. In January 1948, Nkrumah and another member of the UGCC addressed a group of Ghanaian ex-service members. Like many in the Gold Coast, they were angry over the government's failure to address problems such as unemployment and inflation and planned to petition the governor. When riots broke out in the colony a few days later, the government blamed the UGCC and arrested several of its members, including Nkrumah. In 1949, Nkrumah founded his own political party, the Convention People's Party, and in January 1950 he called on his followers to begin a general strike to force the British to allow the drafting of a new constitution. He was jailed again and was in prison when he was elected to office in 1951, in the first election in Africa in which universal suffrage was allowed. Nkrumah became Ghana's prime minister, and on March 6, 1957, Ghana received its independence.

Following Ghana, other British colonies also won their independence. In 1944, the Kenya African Union (KAU) was founded to call for Kenya's liberation from British rule, and in 1947 Jomo Kenyatta assumed its leadership. The United Kingdom was unwilling to grant independence to Kenya, a colony in which many Whites owned

profitable coffee plantations and controlled more land than did Black Africans. In 1952, a group called the Kenya Land and Freedom Army, popularly known as the Mau Mau, began to fight for independence.

The Mau Mau, a nationalist movement among the Kikuyu people, espoused violence as a means to their goal. To spread fear, they attacked civilians, both White and Black, burning people to death or killing them with machetes. Africans who remained loyal to the British government were targeted. In response, the United Kingdom banned all Kenyan political parties, including the KAU that did not advocate violence, and struck back at the Mau Mau. Thousands were sent to internment camps. Entire villages were forcibly resettled in new areas, ostensibly to protect them from the Mau Mau. Innocent civilians were killed by forces employed by the British government. By 1956, the uprising had largely been brought to an end. In 1960, the United Kingdom began talks to discuss Kenyan independence, which was granted in 1963. Kenyatta became the country's prime minister.

DUELING VOICES

Violence in Kenya

Kenya was one of many British colonies that sought independence following World War II. There, as in other places in Africa, people were divided over the best means to achieve it. Some, like Kenyan leader Jomo Kenyatta, proposed a peaceful solution. Others, like the members of the Mau Mau, endorsed violence. The attitudes of the two sides are contrasted in the following speech Kenyatta gave in 1952 and in a Mau Mau oath from the same period.

> I want you to know the purpose of K.A.U. [Kenya African Union]. It is the biggest purpose the African has. It involves every African in Kenya and it is their mouthpiece which asks for freedom. K.A.U. is you and you are the K.A.U. If we unite now, each and every one of us, and each tribe to another, we will cause the implementation in this country of that which the European calls democracy. True democracy has no colour distinction. It does not choose between black and white . . . . We are not worried that other races are here with us in our country, but we insist that we are the leaders here, and what we want we insist we get. We want our cattle to get fat on our land so that our children grow up in prosperity; we do not want that fat removed to feed others. . . .
>
> Our country today is in a bad state for its land is full of fools—and fools in a country delay the independence of its people. K.A.U. seeks to remedy this situation and I tell you now it despises thieving, robbery and murder for these practices ruin our country. I say this because if one man steals, or two men steal, there are people sitting close by lapping up information, who say the whole tribe is bad because a theft has been committed. Those people are wrecking our chances of advancement. They will prevent us getting freedom. If I have my own way, let me tell you I would butcher the criminal, and there are more criminals than one in more senses than one. . . .
>
> K.A.U. is not a fighting union that uses fists and weapons. If any of you here think that force is good, I do not agree with you. I do not want people to accuse us falsely—that we steal and that we are Mau Mau. I pray to you that we join hands for freedom and freedom means abolishing criminality.
>
> —Jomo Kenyatta, "Speech at the African Union Meeting"
>
> I swear before God and before the people who are here that
>
> I have today become a soldier of Gikuyu and Mumbi and I will from now onwards fight the real fight for the land and freedom of our country till we get it or till my last drop of blood. Today I have set my first step as a warrior and I will never retreat.
>
> And if I ever retreat
>
> May this soil and all its products be a curse upon me!

> If ever I am called to accompany a raid or bring in the head of an enemy, I shall obey and never give lame excuses. . . .
>
> I will never spy or inform on my people, and if ever sent to spy on our enemies I will always report the truth. . . .
>
> I will never reveal a raid or crime committed to any person who has not taken the Ngero Oath and will steal firearms wherever possible. . . .
>
> I will never leave a member in difficulty without trying to help him. . . .
>
> I will obey the orders of my leaders at all times without any argument or complaint and will never fail to give them any money or goods taken in a raid and will never hide any pillages or take them for myself. . . .
>
> I will never sell land to any white man. And if I sell:
>
> May this soil and all its products be a curse upon me!
>
> — Donald L. Barnett and Karari Njama, "The Mau Mau Warrior Oath"

- What parts of the Mau Mau oath would Jomo Kenyatta dislike? Are there parts he might be willing to take himself?
- Why does Kenyatta reject the tactics of the Mau Mau?

Nationalism and the desire for independence were powerful in the colonies of other European countries as well. Some imperial powers attempted moderate changes at first. In 1946, for example, France proposed sweeping reforms for its African colonies. It ended forced labor and racially discriminatory practices and allowed for a degree of self-rule. It did not offer independence, but that was what France's African subjects most wanted and fought for. From 1947 to 1949, the Malagasy Revolt raged in Madagascar, costing thousands of lives. Violence brought an end to colonialism in Cameroon in 1957 as well. In Algeria, warfare lasted from 1954 to 1962, when France granted independence, and more than one million people of European descent departed the country.

In the Belgian Congo (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo), Cold War tensions contributed to the violence. When in 1960 Belgium promised the Congolese independence in thirty years, nationalist groups such as the Congolese National Movement and the Alliance of Bakongo responded that they wanted it immediately. Black Congolese held protests that often ended in riots, and they refused to pay taxes. Alarmed, many White residents started citizens' militias and attacked Black residents. Realizing the strength of the nationalist protest, the government of Belgium agreed to grant Congo its independence on June 30, 1960.

This did not end the violence, however. When Émile Janssens, the White commander of the *Force Publique*, the Belgian Congo's security force, made clear to Black troops a few days after independence that White officers would remain in charge, soldiers mutinied. Patrice Lamumba, the leader of the Congolese National Movement who had been elected prime minister, replaced Janssens with a Black commander of the renamed National Congolese Army and promoted Black soldiers. This was not enough to end the mutiny, however. White people were attacked across the country, and Belgian forces invaded to protect them.

In the midst of the chaos, Congo's mineral-rich southern province of Katanga seceded and proclaimed its independence. Lamumba appealed to the UN, which had sent peacekeeping forces to restore order, to end Katanga's secession. The UN refused, however, claiming secession was an internal political matter with which it should not interfere. Lamumba then asked the United States for help, but his request was denied. Finally, he turned to the Soviet Union, which provided weapons and military advisers. Lamumba's acceptance of Soviet support branded him a communist in Western eyes. Taking advantage of the chaos, Colonel Joseph-Désiré

Mobutu (Mobutu Sese Seko), the new head of the security force, put Lamumba under house arrest and placed Joseph Kasa-Vubu, the leader of the Alliance of Bakongo, in charge of the government. Lamumba was subsequently killed by Katangese troops with the knowledge and support of the CIA, which provided both money and weapons to Mobutu and Kasa-Vubu.

British politicians, observing the strength of nationalist fervor not only in Kenya but also in other colonies, and fearing more violence like that experienced in Congo, moved quickly to liberate British colonies in Africa, the Caribbean, and Asia. In 1960, Harold Macmillan, the British prime minister, visited Africa and delivered a speech called "The Wind of Change." The wind of change was sweeping Africa, Macmillan declared, and the time of liberation had come, even though White Britons might not want it.

Unlike Britain, France, and Belgium, Portugal steadfastly refused to relinquish its colonies. The nationalistic, quasi-fascist government of the Second Portuguese Republic that had first come to power in 1933 regarded them as part of Portugal and considered Portugal to be a guarantor of order and civilization in Africa. A variety of independence movements sprang up in Angola, Portuguese Guinea (now called Guinea-Bissau), and Mozambique, just as they did elsewhere in Africa. Some groups sought to establish self-government along the lines of Western democracies, while others favored the creation of a communist system. In Angola, Portuguese troops battled the National Liberation Front (FNLA), a largely rural organization comprising Bakongo people, the Marxist People's Movement of Liberation of Angola (MPLA), a largely urban group, and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), a rural group made up principally of Ovimbundu people. In Mozambique, the Marxist Mozambique Liberation Front fought for independence. The African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, another Marxist organization, led the liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau.

The Cold War intruded upon the battle in the Portuguese colonies. The Soviet Union, China, Romania, Cuba, and Yugoslavia all provided aid to the various independence groups. The United States did not because Portugal was a fellow NATO member. In 1974, leftist military officers in Portugal overthrew the government of the Second Portuguese Republic and established a democratic government. The new government ended the war with the African colonies by granting independence to Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique along with Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe, islands off the African coast. Independence did not bring an end to the violence, however. In 1975, civil war broke in Angola for control of the country. The United States provided support for UNITA and FNLA in their struggle against the MPLA.

Violence also erupted in the former British colony of Rhodesia (now called Zimbabwe). Rejecting the British government's plans for majority rule in its former colonies, White residents, unwilling to submit to a government controlled by Black Rhodesians, proclaimed independence from the United Kingdom in 1965 with Ian Smith as prime minister, a move that Britain opposed. Civil war broke out between the White government and two Black nationalist groups, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) led by Joshua Nkomo, and the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) led by Robert Mugabe. The Soviet Union lent support to ZAPU, and China to ZANU. Eventually an agreement was reached among all three parties, and the United Kingdom officially recognized Zimbabwe's independence in 1980. Robert Mugabe became prime minister, and thousands of Nkomo's followers were tortured, imprisoned, or killed until he and Mugabe combined their political parties in 1987.

Similar to the situation in Rhodesia, Black Africans in South Africa struggled for independence not against a European power but against White Africans. In 1909, the British Cape Colony, Natal, and the Boer republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State had been combined to form a self-governing dominion within the British Empire. Only the White minority had been allowed to rule, however, and the contest for power had been between Whites of British and Afrikaner (Dutch) descent. Laws denied Black Africans the right to vote and prevented them from laying claim to most of the country's land. They were denied the right to live in some parts of the country, and many were forcibly removed to "homelands" apart from Whites. In 1948, discriminatory practices and racial segregation were formalized in a system called **apartheid**. In 1950, South

Africa's legislature passed the Suppression of Communism Act, which banned not only the anti-apartheid South African Communist Party but also any actions to end racially discriminatory practices. Thus, when in 1960 the United Kingdom allowed South Africans to vote on whether to remain a dominion, the majority of the population could not participate. In 1961, South Africa officially became a republic, but the true liberation movement was still underway.

From its very beginning, groups such as the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) had fought apartheid, with peaceful protest at first. However, following the killing of peaceful protesters in the Black township of Sharpeville and the banning of the ANC and PAC, both in 1960, anti-apartheid activists began to employ sabotage and attacks on police and military targets, along with more peaceful tactics like strikes. In 1976, protests erupted in Black townships against a new law requiring Black African students to learn Afrikaans (the language spoken by South Africa's Dutch colonizers). In the township of Soweto, the police opened fire on schoolchildren, killing more than one hundred. Over the course of decades, thousands of activists were arrested and imprisoned, including Nelson Mandela, a leader of the ANC, and many were executed. By the 1980s, however, continued opposition to apartheid, economic sanctions imposed by foreign countries, boycotts of South African businesses, and international condemnation had begun to have an effect. In 1991, South Africa officially ended the policy of apartheid; in 1994, the first elections were held in which all South Africans could vote regardless of race. The ANC swept to victory, and the new National Assembly elected Nelson Mandela president.

14.5 A New World Order

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Explain why the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc collapsed
- Discuss the effects of the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe
- Describe the changes made by Deng Xiaoping in China in the 1970s and 1980s

At the beginning of the Cold War, ideological differences between the Soviet Union and the United States seemed insurmountable. The enmity between the Western Bloc and the Eastern Bloc resulted in conflicts around the globe that cost the lives of millions of people. Millions also died in China's pursuit of the ideal communist society. Nuclear weapons that threatened the very existence of the human species were stockpiled in preparation for a war that neither side wanted. A world that was not so deeply divided seemed unimaginable to many. However, the Cold War lasted less than fifty years.

The Collapse of Communism: The Eastern Bloc

The Cold War had begun in Greece, an unlikely place. Its last shot was also fired in an unlikely place—Afghanistan, the site of the final proxy war waged between the allies of the Soviet Union and those of the United States.

In 1973, the nationalist Mohammad Sardar Daoud Khan, once the prime minister of Afghanistan from 1953 to 1963, came to power again in that country after deposing its king. He was originally backed by the communist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), which received support from the Soviet Union. Not all factions of the PDPA supported Daoud, however. When he failed to reconcile the factions and realized he was losing the support of PDPA members who had helped him to power, he turned to the United States for support. He wished to free Afghanistan from dependence on the Soviet Union, which had extended assistance to the country in the past, and he reasoned that the United States would help. He also sought closer relations with U.S. allies Saudi Arabia and Iran and expelled Soviet military and economic advisers from the country.

In 1978, Daoud was overthrown and killed by one of the PDPA factions. As the victors sought to eliminate their enemies, a group of Islamic fundamentalists who opposed secular and Western influences on Islamic societies and endorsed strict codes of behavior fought back against government attempts to spread communism to

tribal areas. When it became clear that the PDPA leader favored by Moscow could not maintain control of the country and a pro-U.S. rival was gaining ascendancy, the Soviet Union sent ground troops to invade Afghanistan in December 1979.

President Jimmy Carter protested the Soviet incursion and imposed economic sanctions. The United States also continued arming the Islamist enemies of the pro-Soviet Afghan regime, a policy it had been following for some time. These Islamist insurgents, called the *mujahideen* (Arabic for Muslims who battle non-Muslims on behalf of Islam), regarded the Afghan government and the Soviet Union as enemies of religion and waged a guerrilla war against them. The Soviet Union fought the various groups of *mujahideen* for ten years without coming close to victory. It spent the equivalent of billions of dollars and lost some fifteen thousand soldiers. About two million Afghans were killed.

Among the groups of *mujahideen* who fought the Soviets were young men from the Pashtun tribe who had studied at Islamic religious schools in Pakistan. They were supported by both the CIA and its Pakistani equivalent, the Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate, and were called the Taliban (meaning "student" in the Pashtun tribal language of Pashto). Following the withdrawal of the Soviets, various groups of *mujahideen* battled for control of Afghanistan, with the Taliban eventually emerging victorious. The stability and order their rule offered was welcomed by many Afghans after the long years of chaos.

Although the United States offered the *mujahideen* support to combat the Soviets in Afghanistan, it found itself the enemy of another group of Islamic fundamentalists, this time in Iran. Since the 1950s, the United States had provided funds and weapons to the leader of Iran, Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. With U.S. aid, the Shah had built one of the largest armies in the Middle East and SAVAK, one of the most feared secret police forces. He allowed no dissent, and the secret police spied upon, arrested, and tortured anyone suspected of opposing him. The Shah's efforts to modernize and Westernize Iran by granting women the right to vote, outlawing their wearing of veils, and providing them equal opportunities for education angered many traditionalist Muslim religious leaders. They also disliked the messages contained in the Western movies and music the Shah had allowed into Iran. In contrast, although liberal Iranians approved of these actions, they disliked the lack of political freedom. Nearly all Iranians resented the enormous wealth the Shah and his closest friends had amassed as a result of U.S. assistance. The Shah had few supporters.

One of his most outspoken critics was the Shiite religious leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Despite being repeatedly arrested, Khomeini continued to criticize both the Shah and his patron, the U.S. government. In 1964, Khomeini was expelled from Iran. This did not end his influence, however, and tape-recorded messages from him encouraging opposition to the Shah were smuggled into the country. Beginning in 1977, Khomeini exhorted Iranians to go on strike and refuse to pay their taxes. In 1978, waves of protests and strikes by government and oil industry workers were punished with attacks by government forces. Each was followed by a larger wave of protest.

On January 16, 1979, the Shah and his family fled the country, and two weeks later Ayatollah Khomeini returned. He was greeted enthusiastically by the vast majority of Iranians, and in mid-February 1979, Shapur Bakhtiar, the prime minister appointed by the Shah, was replaced by Mehdi Bazargan, selected by Khomeini. In December 1979, the Iranian people voted to adopt a constitution making the country an Islamic republic. Islam became the nation's official religion, and the constitution ordained that all laws passed must conform to Islamic law.

On October 22, 1979, the Shah entered the United States for medical treatment. Many Iranians feared this meant Washington was about to take steps to return him to power. On November 4, Iranian students stormed the U.S. embassy in the Iranian capital of Tehran and took its staff and Marine guards hostage, demanding the Shah be returned to Iran for trial and execution (Figure 14.19). Their actions were widely supported within Iran, including by Khomeini, which led the moderate prime minister to resign. Although female and African American hostages were released within a few days, the others were held for 444 days, to be set free on January 20, 1981, the day President Carter left office.



FIGURE 14.19 Iranian Revolution. Protesters outside the U.S. embassy in Tehran in 1979 hold a banner that reads "Long live anti-imperialism and democratic forces." (credit: "Iranian Revolution" by Ana News/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Fearing that Iraqi Shiites would be radicalized by events in neighboring Iran, the Sunni-dominated government of Iraq, controlled by the socialist Ba'ath Party, sent its troops to invade Iran. Iraq also hoped to resolve long-standing border disputes between the two nations and replace Iran as the dominant nation in the region, which had not been possible when Iran was receiving U.S. military and economic support. The United States provided economic and technological support to Iraq. The Iran-Iraq war ended in August 1988 with a cease-fire arranged by the United Nations and no real gains by either side.

Despite its support of Iraq in its war against Iran, the chief concern of the United States in the 1980s was not violence in the Middle East but the destruction of communism. Jimmy Carter was followed in office by President Ronald Reagan, who considered the Soviet Union an "evil empire" and vowed to eliminate communism. He believed the United States should negotiate with the Soviets to ensure world peace but should do so from a position of strength. To this end, he ordered a buildup of the country's abilities to fight both a conventional and a nuclear war. His successor in office, George H.W. Bush, continued those efforts.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

An "Evil Empire"

In a speech delivered in March 1983, President Ronald Reagan called for peace with the Soviet Union but on U.S. terms. Specifically, Reagan said he would not agree to arms limitation talks until the United States was equal to the Soviet Union in military capacity. In his speech, he described the contest between the two countries as one between good and evil.

> I intend to do everything I can to persuade [the Soviet Union] of our peaceful intent. [. . .]
>
> At the same time, however, they must be made to understand: we will never compromise our principles and standards. We will never give away our freedom. We will never abandon our belief in God. [. . .]
>
> Yes, let us pray for the salvation of all of those who live in that totalitarian darkness—pray they will discover the joy of knowing God. But until they do, let us be aware that while they preach the supremacy of the State, declare its omnipotence over individual man, and predict its eventual domination of all peoples on the earth, they are the focus of evil in the modern world. [. . .]

> Like other dictators before them, they're always making "their final territorial demand," some would have us accept them at their word and accommodate ourselves to their aggressive impulses. But if history teaches anything, it teaches that simpleminded appeasement or wishful thinking about our adversaries is folly. It means the betrayal of our past, the squandering of our freedom.
>
> —Ronald Reagan, "Evil Empire Speech"

- Why does Reagan use religious language? What effect does this have?
- To what other country is he comparing the Soviet Union when he talks about "simple-minded appeasement"? Do you think this is a good comparison? Why or why not?

When the new leader of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, came to power in 1985, discontent was simmering in the Soviet Union and in the countries of Eastern Europe. Shortages of food and other goods were making people angry. In Poland in 1980, shipyard workers under the leadership of labor activist Lech Wałęsa formed a trade union and went on strike to protest government policies. Within a year, one-third of Poland's population had joined the Solidarity union. The Polish government tried to suppress the movement and banned the union, but its ten million members could not be silenced. Pope John Paul II, himself a Pole and an opponent of communism, called upon the Polish church to support the workers.

Gorbachev realized the need for reform in the Soviet Union. The country simply could not afford to both compete militarily with the United States and provide its citizens what they needed to lead decent lives. Gorbachev thus willingly entered into arms limitation talks with Reagan. He also began a program of ***perestroika***, a "restructuring" of the Soviet state and economy. He cut military spending and encouraged the beginnings of private enterprise. As part of his reform efforts, Gorbachev also encouraged ***glasnost*** or openness, allowing those who were angry to be critical of the government.

Changes in the Soviet Union mirrored changes taking place elsewhere in the Eastern Bloc. In 1988, protests broke out again in Poland, and strikes swept the country. The Polish government was forced to negotiate with Solidarity leaders and make concessions to them, including free elections for some government offices. In 1989, Hungary and East Germany opened their borders, allowing their citizens to come and go freely. Berliners climbed atop the wall that divided their city and began to tear it down. People in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia called for changes in their government as well. Soviet tanks did not roll through the streets, and troops did not arrest or fire upon protesters. Gorbachev informed other members of the Soviet government that he did not intend to use military might to maintain control of Eastern Europe. In 1990, Germany was reunified, and the capital was returned to Berlin.

But the reforms Gorbachev initiated to save the Soviet Union eventually tore it apart. The Soviet republics also wanted their independence. Advocates of reform and democracy pushed for greater change. Not everyone in the Soviet Union was pleased by the reforms taking place, though. In August 1991, conservative members of the Communist Party attempted to remove Gorbachev from power, only to be foiled by the actions of Boris Yeltsin, the president of the Russian republic. Acting together, Yeltsin and the presidents of the Soviet republics of Belarus and Ukraine voted in December 1991 to dissolve the Soviet Union. The Cold War was at an end.

Ironically, the collapse of the Eastern Bloc also meant the demise of Yugoslavia, which had tried so hard to stand apart from it. The need to present a united front to the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact nations had served as a powerful glue binding together the many disparate ethnic groups and states that comprised Yugoslavia. Had Tito lived, the country might have remained unified for a while longer, but he died in May 1980. In 1991 the states of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina declared their independence from Yugoslavia. When Serbian minorities in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and Albanians in the Serbian province of Kosovo attempted to proclaim their independence from these larger states, violence broke out. Slobodan Milošević, the former president of both the state of Serbia and of Yugoslavia, funded Serb rebels in

Bosnia and conducted a genocidal campaign against the Albanians of Kosovo. He was indicted for war crimes by the United Nations in 2001 and died in prison in 2006.

LINK TO LEARNING

The Soviet Union no longer exists. However, whether Russia has become a democratic country is a matter for debate. Read about efforts to establish democracy in Russia (https://openstax.org/l/77RussianDemo) at the Freedom House website.

The Retreat of Communism: China

The excesses of the Cultural Revolution in China spelled the end of both Mao Zedong's power and, ironically, the Chinese Revolution. By the time of Lin Biao's death in 1971, China had suffered badly. The economy was in shambles. The government had difficulty fulfilling basic functions. As Mao retreated into depression and ill health, his role was increasingly taken over by "The Gang of Four," consisting of Mao's wife Jiang Qing, his chosen successor Wang Hongwen, Zhang Chunqiao, and Yao Wenyuan. However, they were primarily concerned with ensuring ideological purity and the continuation of "revolutionary" political thought. Crucial matters such as the economy were left in the hands of Premier Zhou Enlai.

Zhou, however, was dying of cancer and needed help, so with Mao's permission he returned Deng Xiaoping to power to assist him (Figure 14.20). Zhou and Deng managed the government and the economy, with more of the work falling to Deng as Zhou withdrew from public life. Following Zhou's death in January 1976, the Gang of Four managed to oust Deng Xiaoping from power once more, but this time he did not remain away for long.



FIGURE 14.20 Deng Xiaoping. In 1977, Deng Xiaoping returned to a place of prominence in the Chinese government after being ousted from power during the Cultural Revolution. In this photo, President Carter welcomes him to the White House in 1979. (credit: "Deng Xiaoping and Jimmy Carter at the arrival ceremony for the Vice Premier of China" by U.S. National Archives and Records Administration/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Following Mao's death on September 9, 1976, his successor Hua Guofeng had the Gang of Four arrested and Deng returned to power. Deng was made vice premier in 1977 and used his position to reverse the mistakes of the Cultural Revolution. In 1978, he replaced Hua as leader of China and argued that the country needed to focus on modernizing and building its economy instead of continuing to pursue revolution by following the

teachings of Mao. He instituted a policy of *Boluan Fanzheng* ("correct the wrong/return to normal"), in which the reputations of those imprisoned were "rehabilitated," and those still alive were returned to power. The Chinese system of higher education returned to normal as Deng reinstated entrance examinations, which had been suspended during the Cultural Revolution. He declared that scientists and intellectuals were deserving of respect because modernization could not proceed without their contributions.

Deng also instituted a sweeping set of economic reforms based on the "Four Modernizations" of agriculture, industry, defense, and science and technology. Collective farms were broken up and entrepreneurs encouraged to start their own businesses. The country was opened to foreign investment, and foreign companies were invited to open Chinese branches. In the 1980s and 1990s, a few elements of capitalism were introduced. Private management of many state industries was allowed, and although the largest remained under government control, people's incomes and the Chinese standard of living swiftly improved. Along with economic changes, alterations took place in foreign policy. In the 1980s, China decreased its support for revolutionary activity in other countries, with some exceptions, such as its support for anti-Soviet forces in Afghanistan and for Cambodians fighting the Vietnamese invasion. Beginning in the late 1980s, relations with the Soviet Union also began to improve, and trade between the USSR and China increased.

In 1980, Deng called for political reform as well. He criticized the cumbersome Chinese bureaucracy and called for term limits on political positions and a redrafting of the constitution. However, he had no intention of allowing opposition to the rule of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). In 1986, university students began a series of protests in major Chinese cities. The government suppressed their actions, but in 1989 protests broke out again.

Beginning on April 17, students in Beijing gathered at Tiananmen Square to mourn the recent death of party official Hu Yaobang, who had supported them. Influenced by Western media, they called for democratic reform, an end to government censorship, greater rights to protest, and more money for education. They and other protesters also decried corruption in the CCP and what they perceived as mismanagement of China's economy. Reforms had improved life for farmers, but industrial workers and urban dwellers had not benefited. In the coming weeks, some students marched through the streets in angry protest, while others refused to abandon the square. On the evening of June 3, 1989, tanks entered Beijing, and over the next several days armed troops and tanks cleared the square, killing anywhere from several hundred to several thousand people. On June 9, Deng denounced the students for attempting to overthrow the government. In other Chinese cities, the protests ended peacefully.

Key Terms

apartheid a South African policy of racial segregation that ended in 1991
Berlin Airlift an operation carried out by Great Britain and the United States to supply West Berlin from the air during the Soviet Union's blockade of West Berlin
bloc a group of countries united for a common purpose
Cold War a contest for ideological, social, economic, technological, and military supremacy between the United States and the Soviet Union
containment the West's Cold War policy goal of confining communism to the Soviet Union and the nations of Eastern Europe
Cuban Missile Crisis the 1962 confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union over the presence of Soviet missiles in Cuba
détente the relaxation of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union in the 1970s
domino theory the belief that the neighbors of a communist country were likely to become communist themselves
glasnost a Soviet policy encouraging openness, which allowed those who were angry to be critical of the government
Gulf of Tonkin Resolution the 1964 resolution that gave President Lyndon Johnson permission to retaliate against North Vietnamese attacks and to act first to defend U.S. lives
Marshall Plan a plan extending financial assistance to European nations to help them rebuild after World War II
Non-Aligned Movement a movement of nations that sought to remain outside the sphere of influence of both the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) a military alliance among the United States, Canada, and the countries of Western Europe
perestroika the restructuring of the Soviet state and economy under Mikhail Gorbachev
proxy wars wars fought by allies of the Soviet Union and the United States to avoid risking a direct conflict between the two superpowers during the Cold War
satellite state a country controlled by another nation
Truman Doctrine the promise of U.S. assistance to any country in danger of being overthrown by communism
Warsaw Pact a military and political alliance among the communist nations of Eastern Europe

Section Summary

14.1 The Cold War Begins

Following World War II, the two remaining superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—entered the Cold War, an ideological contest in which each side competed for supremacy through the use of economic aid, military assistance, technology, and propaganda. U.S. foreign policy was focused on containment, preventing the influence of the Soviet Union and the ideology of communism from spreading beyond Eastern Europe. A major test of each nation's resolve to defeat the other came with the Soviet Union's blockade of West Berlin in 1948–1949. The United States emerged victorious and with its Western Bloc allies formed the mutual defense organization known as NATO. The Soviet Union responded by forming the Warsaw Pact with the Eastern Bloc countries of Eastern Europe.

14.2 The Spread of Communism

In 1949, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) led by Mao Zedong defeated the Guomindang (GMD, the Nationalists) led by Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) and founded the People's Republic of China, which the United States refused to recognize. Communism spread elsewhere in Asia as well. In 1950, the communist leader of North Korea invaded South Korea and called on the Chinese to help him defeat South Korean and UN forces led by the United States. Communists also assumed power in North Vietnam after Vietnam was divided following a war of independence with France. The United States, in an effort to stop the further spread of

communism, supported South Vietnam as it had South Korea, while China and the Soviet Union gave aid to North Vietnam. Within China itself, people struggled to industrialize the nation under Mao. Many died in the resulting famine and in the Cultural Revolution that followed.

14.3 The Non-Aligned Movement

Not all nations chose to align themselves with the United States or the Soviet Union during the Cold War. In Europe, Yugoslavia chose to remain outside the Soviet orbit even though it was a communist country. Many former European colonies became members of the Non-Aligned Movement, which sought to find a path to development that did not require becoming a satellite of either of the superpowers. Among the leaders of this movement were Indonesia, India, and Egypt, which still all found themselves accepting aid from the United States, the USSR, or both. Egypt, however, was drawn closer to the Soviet Union because of Western support for Israel and the belief that Western powers were thwarting its plans to become the leader of the Arab world.

14.4 Global Tensions and Decolonization

The Cold War was marked by global tensions. In Europe in the 1950s and 1960s, Soviet satellite states in the Eastern Bloc tested Moscow's resolve to maintain control as their citizens pushed for greater freedoms and an end to Soviet domination. Rebellions in Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia were quickly crushed by the USSR. The United States attempted to stem the tide of communist expansion in both Latin America and Asia as it intervened in Guatemala, Cuba, and Vietnam. At times, as in Berlin in 1961 and Cuba in 1962, the United States came perilously close to military conflict with the Soviet Union. By the late 1960s, however, a split between the USSR and China gave the United States greater opportunities to maneuver on the world stage. As the Western and Eastern Blocs faced off against one another in Europe, Asia, and Latin America, in Africa the inhabitants of British, French, Belgian, and Portuguese colonies were fighting for their independence.

14.5 A New World Order

In the 1980s, communism began to loosen its grip on parts of the world in which it had once been dominant. The Soviet Union found itself divided by the need to provide for its citizens at home, maintain control over its satellite states in Eastern Europe, fight a war in Afghanistan, and respond to the buildup of nuclear and conventional weapons that took place during the administrations of U.S. presidents Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush. Mikhail Gorbachev's efforts to strengthen the Soviet Union through *perestroika* and *glasnost* proved unsuccessful. When the Warsaw Pact nations sought independence in the late 1980s, the Soviet Union was unable to respond as it once had, and faced with liberation movements in its own republics, the USSR disbanded in 1991. Although China did not turn its back on communism, the death of Mao allowed Deng to institute reforms that introduced elements of capitalism to the Chinese economy.

Assessments

Review Questions

1. What did the Truman Doctrine promise the United States would do?
   a. assist countries whose governments were in danger of being overthrown by communist forces
   b. work to eliminate the stockpiling of nuclear weapons
   c. contribute funds to help Europe rebuild following World War II
   d. destroy the Soviet Union

2. What best describes the primary goal of U.S. foreign policy at the beginning of the Cold War?
   a. maintain an isolationist position and ignore what was happening in the rest of the world
   b. continue to work with the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union to maintain world peace
   c. prevent the Soviet Union from spreading communism outside Eastern Europe
   d. assist European colonies in Asia and Africa to gain their independence

3. Where did the United States first find itself in conflict with the Soviet Union during the Cold War?

a. China
b. Berlin
c. North Korea
d. Cuba

4. Why was NATO created?
a. to protect the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe from Western aggression
b. to rebuild Japan after World War II
c. to limit the testing of nuclear weapons
d. to protect Western countries from Soviet aggression

5. When the Nationalists were defeated in the Chinese civil war, where did they go?
a. Taiwan
b. Japan
c. Korea
d. Vietnam

6. How did the Korean War begin?
a. South Korea invaded North Korea.
b. North Korea invaded South Korea.
c. China invaded South Korea.
d. The United States bombed China.

7. What caused the First Indochina War?
a. South Vietnam invaded North Vietnam.
b. France tried to reclaim Vietnam as a colony.
c. China encouraged North Vietnam to attack South Vietnam.
d. The Soviet Union placed a communist government in power in North Vietnam.

8. All the following were causes of famine during China's Great Leap Forward *except*
a. the use of farm labor to produce steel and work on construction projects
b. the requisitioning of grain to feed industrial workers and city dwellers
c. the destruction of crops during war
d. natural disasters like floods

9. On whom did Mao Zedong rely to destroy "bourgeois" elements of Chinese society in the Cultural Revolution?
a. trusted members of the Chinese Communist Party
b. teachers
c. the Chinese Secret Police
d. students

10. All of the following are reasons Yugoslavia did not become part of the Eastern Bloc *except*
a. Tito believed the Soviet Union should treat Yugoslavia as an equal.
b. Tito supported the civil war in Greece, which Stalin did not.
c. Tito did not want Yugoslavia to be a communist country.
d. Tito wanted to incorporate other countries into Yugoslavia, which Stalin opposed.

11. Which of the following best describes the goal of members of the Non-Aligned Movement?
a. to become the industrial equals of the United States and the Soviet Union

b. to avoid becoming satellites of either the Western or the Eastern Bloc
c. to avoid becoming communist nations
d. to establish Western-style forms of democratic government

12. Why did France, Israel, and the United Kingdom attack Egypt in 1956?
a. Egypt launched an air attack on Israel.
b. Egypt defaulted on loans it owed to France and the United Kingdom.
c. Egypt was undergoing a communist revolution.
d. Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal and closed it to Israel.

13. In which European satellite country did the Soviet Union stage an armed intervention in the 1950s?
a. Hungary
b. Romania
c. Bulgaria
d. East Germany

14. What was the purpose of the Bay of Pigs invasion?
a. to prevent a communist revolution in Cuba
b. to remove nuclear missiles from Turkey
c. to kill Gamal Abdel Nasser
d. to overthrow the government of Fidel Castro

15. Why did President Kennedy begin a naval blockade of Cuba in 1962?
a. to force Fidel Castro from power
b. to prevent the Soviet Union from installing missiles aimed at the United States
c. to provide assistance to the government of Fulgencio Batista
d. to prevent Cuba from using its submarines to mine U.S. harbors

16. Which country did the Mau Mau try to liberate?
a. Ethiopia
b. Ghana
c. Kenya
d. Angola

17. The expense of fighting a war in Afghanistan contributed to
a. Ronald Reagan's loss of the 1984 presidential election
b. the overthrow of the Shah of Iran
c. successful revolts in the central Asian Soviet republics
d. the collapse of the Soviet Union

18. Which Serbian leader led an ethnic cleansing campaign against Albanians in Kosovo?
a. Josip Broz Tito
b. Mikhail Gorbachev
c. Slobodan Milošević
d. Boris Yeltsin

19. Who was responsible for transforming China's economy by introducing elements of capitalism in the late 1970s?
a. Deng Xiaoping
b. Liu Shaoqi

c. Mao Zedong
d. Jiang Qing

Check Your Understanding Questions

1. Why did the United States create the Marshall Plan?
2. What strategies did the United States use against the Soviet Union during the Cold War?
3. What was the result of the First Indochina War?
4. Why did the United States become involved in the wars in Indochina?
5. What immediate effect did the founding of Israel have on Egypt?
6. Why did both the Soviet Union and the United States want Indonesia as an ally?
7. Why did the Soviet Union intervene in Eastern European countries in the 1950s and 1960s?
8. How did Khrushchev's de-Stalinization efforts affect Soviet relations with China?
9. What was the government's response to popular protests in Poland in the 1980s?
10. What was the cause of the Tiananmen Square protests?

Application and Reflection Questions

1. Should the Cold War have been fought? Did the United States have to prevent the expansion of communism? Why or why not?
2. In your opinion, which side had more responsibility for starting the Cold War, the United States or the Soviet Union? Why?
3. Which of the many different strategies used to fight the Cold War seems most effective? Which seems least effective? Why?
4. In what ways is the relationship between the United States and Russia today similar to the relationship between the two countries during the Cold War? In what ways is it different? Why?
5. Why was the Chinese Communist Party popular with the people?
6. Should the United States have supported France or Ho Chi Minh in the First Indochina War? Why? Why did Ho Chi Minh believe the United States would support him?
7. How successful were the countries that wished to remain nonaligned with either the United States or the Soviet Union? What explains their results?
8. What were the causes of the Arab-Israeli conflict? In what way was this conflict part of the Cold War? What could the UN have done to prevent this conflict?
9. What were the causes of the Sino-Soviet split?
10. What were the main goals of the Mau Mau? Why did the group see violence as necessary to achieve those goals?
11. Why did the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc collapse?
12. Could a communist economic system have been maintained in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe while allowing greater political freedom? Why or why not?
13. Do economic freedom and political freedom go together? Do capitalist countries develop democratic forms of government? Why or why not?

The Contemporary World and Ongoing Challenges

15



FIGURE 15.1 Globalization. Coca-Cola is often used as a symbol of globalization across the world. On the left "Coca-Cola" is written in Arabic script. On the right is a can with the name of the product written in both English and Khmer, the primary language in Cambodia. Cuba and North Korea are the only places on earth where Coke cannot be purchased. (credit left: modification of work "The official Arabic script logo for Coca-Cola" by "Hope(N Forever)"/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit right: modification of work "Coca-Cola can with Khmer equivalent" by "Treehill"/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

CHAPTER OUTLINE

15.1 A Global Economy
15.2 Debates about the Environment
15.3 Science and Technology for Today's World
15.4 Ongoing Problems and Solutions

INTRODUCTION Few symbols of global trade and Americanization abroad have been as powerful as Coca-Cola (Figure 15.1). Though it is the most widely consumed soft drink in the world, its conquest of the globe has not been without controversy. Coca-Cola bottlers were accused of interfering with labor union organization in South America in the 1990s, and in 2014, the company was forced to close a bottling plant in northern India that was depriving farmers of water. Today, although Coca-Cola is making an effort to restore the water that it uses in places like India and South Africa, some critics claim that it still uses more than it replenishes. Coke is an apt symbol of the interconnectedness of our contemporary world and the challenges it presents. Many people enjoy the benefits that come with an increasingly globalized economy, but many have also been harmed in the process.

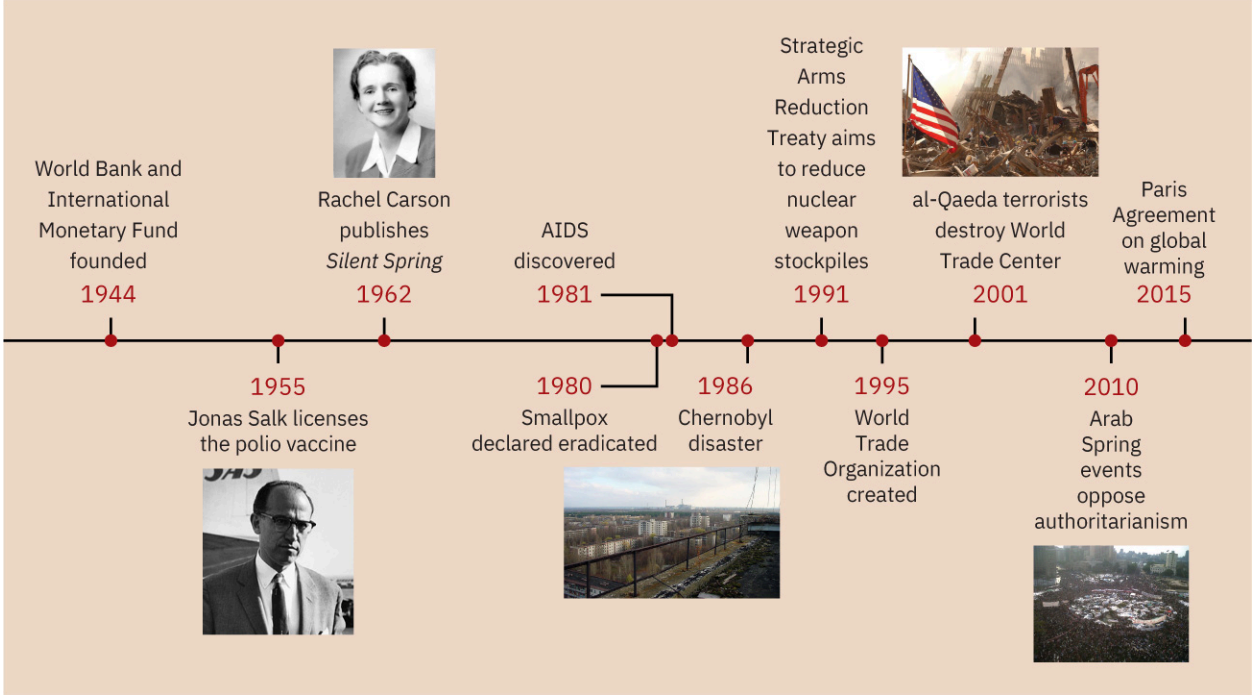


FIGURE 15.2 Timeline: The Contemporary World and Ongoing Challenges. (credit "1955": modification of work "Dr Jonas Edward Salk, creator of Salk polio vaccine, at Copenhagen Airport" by SAS Scandinavian Airlines/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "1962": modification of work "Rachel Carson, author of Silent Spring. Official photo as FWS employee. c. 1940" by USFWS National Digital Library/Wikimedia Commons, CC0 1.0; credit "1986": modification of work "View of Chernobyl taken from Pripyat" by Jason Minshull/Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain; credit "2001": modification of work "New York, NY, September 19, 2001 -- Rescue workers climb over and dig through piles of rubble from the destroyed World Trade Center as the American flag billows over the debris" by Andrea Booher/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit "2010": modification of work "Tahrir Square during 8 February 2011" by "Mona"/Flickr, CC BY 2.0)

15.1 A Global Economy

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Explain how trade agreements and attempts to regulate world trade have shaped the global economy since the 1990s
- Analyze the way multinational corporations have affected politics, workers, and the environment in developing nations
- Discuss the way globalization has affected workers around the world

In many ways, World Wars I and II were only temporary interruptions in a centuries-long process of global integration. This process is often called **globalization**, the interconnectedness of societies and economies throughout the world as a result of trade, technology, and the adoption and sharing of elements of culture. Globalization facilitates the movement of goods, people, technologies, and ideas across international borders. Historians of globalization note that it has a very long history. In the days of the Roman Empire and the Han dynasty, Europeans and Asians were connected to one another through trade along the Silk Roads. In the fourteenth century, the Black Death spread from Asia to Europe and North Africa, killing people on all three continents. With the European colonization of the Americas in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and British colonization of Australia, all of the world's inhabited continents became enmeshed in exchanges of peoples, products, and ideas that increased in the nineteenth century as the result of both technological developments and the imperialist impulses of industrialized nations. Only the world wars of the twentieth century brought a

temporary halt to these exchanges. Furthermore, once the world wars were over, globalization not only resumed its pre–World War I trajectory but even gained speed, despite the Cold War and decolonization efforts in Asia and Africa. As the Cold War came to a close, the United States and increasingly powerful corporations ensured that capitalism and free-market economics would dominate the globe.

Global Trade

Even during the Cold War and decolonization, economic development and industrialization continued around the world. Japan and West Germany, destroyed and defeated in the 1940s, were striking examples. Each dove headlong into postwar rebuilding efforts that paid huge dividends. They invested heavily in their economies and saw industrial production and economic growth skyrocket over the 1950s and 1960s. By 1970, both had become economic powerhouses in their regions.

Similar, but smaller, economic miracles occurred in other places, especially in Europe. Spain underwent a period of spectacular growth fueled by imported technology, government funding, and increased tourism and industrialization in the 1960s. Italy began even earlier. By the early 1960s, its annual gross domestic product (GDP) growth—the increase in value of all the goods and services the country was producing—had peaked at just over 8 percent. France bounced back from the war years with a rise in population and an impressive new consumer culture that became accustomed to a high standard of living and access to modern conveniences like automobiles, televisions, and household appliances. Comparable growth occurred in Belgium, Greece, and the Netherlands.

Contributing to this postwar economic growth was the emergence of regional economic cooperation in Western Europe. The process began with the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951. The original member countries of the ECSC were West Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg. To both foster economic integration and preserve the peace, these member states agreed to break down trade barriers between them by creating a common market in steel and coal. Across the six countries, these products were allowed to flow without restrictions, like customs duties.

The success of the ECSC eventually paved the way for further economic integration in Europe with the formation of the European Economic Community (EEC), also called the Common Market, in 1957. The EEC used the economic-cooperation model developed by the ECSC and greatly expanded it to remove trading and investment restrictions across its member states, far beyond just coal and steel. While generally successful, the EEC's efforts at economic integration occasionally met resistance. Farmers who stood to lose economically protested the way it opened national markets to agricultural products produced more cheaply in other countries and sought protectionist policies. Yet despite these protests and concerns, the EEC continued to expand.

Although Britain supported the EEC's economic goals, it was initially not interested in the political cooperation the group represented. When it did signal its desire to join, Britain wanted special protections for its agriculture and other exceptions for its Commonwealth connections, such as Canada. This meant negotiating with France, then the EEC's most powerful member. Since decisions at that time were made unanimously and member countries had the power to unilaterally veto, France's approval was crucial. President Charles de Gaulle of France did not approve, however, and he cut off negotiations with Britain in 1960. Over the next several years, Britain officially applied for EEC membership twice: in 1961 and again in 1967. Both times de Gaulle worried that admitting Britain, with its strong ties to the United States, would transform the organization into an Atlantic community controlled by Washington. Britain was admitted in 1973 (along with Denmark and Ireland), when de Gaulle was no longer president of France. But many in the United Kingdom had wanted to stay out, especially those in the Conservative Party. It took a UK referendum in 1975 to confirm the country's EEC membership.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Charles de Gaulle Vetoes British Admission to the EEC

In January 1963, French president Charles de Gaulle made the following statement at a press conference explaining his opposition to Britain's application to join the EEC or Common Market:

> England in effect is insular, she is maritime, she is linked through her exchanges, her markets, her supply lines to the most diverse and often the most distant countries; she pursues essentially industrial and commercial activities, and only slight agricultural ones. She has in all her doings very marked and very original habits and traditions. [. . .]
>
> One might sometimes have believed that our English friends, in posing their candidature to the Common Market, were agreeing to transform themselves to the point of applying all the conditions which are accepted and practised by the Six [the six founding members: Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany]. But the question, to know whether Great Britain can now place herself like the Continent and with it inside a tariff which is genuinely common, to renounce all Commonwealth preferences, to cease any pretence that her agriculture be privileged, and, more than that, to treat her engagements with other countries of the free trade area as null and void—that question is the whole question. [. . .]
>
> Further, this community, increasing in such fashion, would see itself faced with problems of economic relations with all kinds of other States, and first with the United States. It is to be foreseen that the cohesion of its members, who would be very numerous and diverse, would not endure for long, and that ultimately it would appear as a colossal Atlantic community under American dependence and direction, and which would quickly have absorbed the community of Europe.
>
> It is a hypothesis which in the eyes of some can be perfectly justified, but it is not at all what France is doing or wanted to do—and which is a properly European construction.
>
> Yet it is possible that one day England might manage to transform herself sufficiently to become part of the European community, without restriction, without reserve and preference for anything whatsoever; and in this case the Six would open the door to her and France would raise no obstacle, although obviously England's simple participation in the community would considerably change its nature and its volume.
>
> —Charles de Gaulle, Veto on British Membership of the EEC

- Why does de Gaulle note that Britain's relationship with the United States is a problem?
- What does this statement suggest about the special protections Britain wanted in order to become an EEC member?
- Do you think that de Gaulle was right to worry about the influence of the United States? Why or why not?

By 1993, the EEC had been integrated into the newly created **European Union (EU)**, which had grown to fifteen member states by 1995 and in 2022 included twenty-seven member states (Figure 15.3). The EU was conceived as a single market for the free movement of goods, services, money, and people. Citizens of member countries can freely move to other EU countries and legally work there, just as they can in their own country. In 1999, the EU introduced its own currency, the euro. Initially used only for commercial and financial transactions in eleven of the EU countries, euro notes and coins had become the legal currency in the majority of EU countries by the start of 2002. The euro was not universally adopted by member states, though. The United Kingdom, Denmark, Sweden, and a few others kept their own currencies. The adoption of the euro was swiftly followed by a major expansion of the EU to include several Central and Eastern European countries

including Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic.

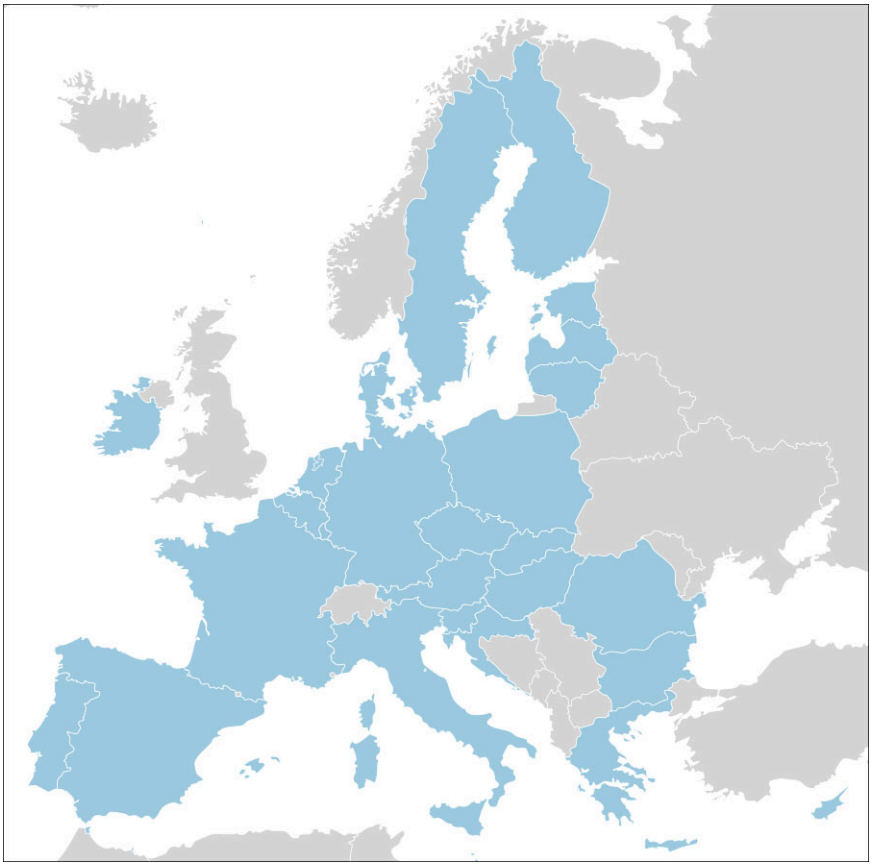


FIGURE 15.3 The European Union. From the six founding states (Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands) that signed the Treaty of Paris in the early 1950s, the European Union has grown to include twenty-seven member states in 2022. (credit: modification of work "European Union map" by "Ssolbergj"/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In 2016, however, 52 percent of the citizens of the United Kingdom voted to leave the EU, and Britain officially cut its ties with the organization, its largest trading partner, on January 31, 2020. Some EU opponents in the United Kingdom had claimed the group was economically dysfunctional, especially after the recession of 2008, and that it reduced British sovereignty. Many also disliked the fact that its membership in the EU made it easier for people from elsewhere in Europe, including recent immigrants from the Middle East and Africa, to enter Britain. Those who wanted to stay argued that leaving would hurt British trade with Europe and make Britain poorer. Some also argued that losing the trade advantages that came with belonging to the EU could result in shortages in stores and more expensive products.

The breakup, colloquially known as "Brexit," was hardly amicable. In Britain, many who supported staying in the EU were shocked by the decision and demanded a re-vote, though none was taken. In Europe, the European Parliament, the EU's legislative body, was angry that Brexit might threaten the entire EU project. To show its displeasure and possibly to deter any other member states from leaving, the European Parliament wanted the separation to be as painful for the United Kingdom as possible, and many member countries supported this hardline stance. In today's post-Brexit world, there are new regulations on British goods entering the EU and no automatic recognition of British professional licenses in the EU. Britons seeking to make long-term stays in EU countries now must apply for visas.

Among the forces driving European economic integration was a desire for Europe to be more independent of the United States. This wish was understandable given the massive economic and political power the United States began wielding after World War II. Not only did the United States possess a huge military force with a

global reach and growing installations in Europe and beyond, but its economic strength was the envy of the world. Having experienced the Great Depression in the years before the war, the United States emerged after it as an economic powerhouse with a highly developed industrial sector. More importantly, with the exception of the attack on Pearl Harbor, it had avoided the wartime destruction experienced in Europe and Asia. As a result, not only was it able to provide funds to war-torn nations to rebuild their economies and their infrastructure as part of the Marshall Plan, but U.S.-manufactured goods also flooded into markets around the world. By 1960, U.S. GDP had grown to $543 billion a year (in current dollars). By comparison, the United Kingdom had the second-largest economy with a GDP of $73 billion (in current dollars).

The economic might of the United States brought unprecedented growth and a rise in the population's standard of living in the decades after the war. With ready access to well-paying industrial jobs, the middle class boomed in the 1950s and 1960s. Their buying having been restrained during the war years because of the rationing of goods, consumers were eager to use their wartime savings to purchase new automobiles, televisions, household appliances, and suburban homes. Many enjoyed steady employment with new union-won benefits like weekends off and paid vacations. They also began sending their children to college in ever-greater numbers. By 1960, about 3.6 million young students were enrolled in higher education, an increase of 140 percent over the previous two decades. For many, access to higher education was the gateway to the middle or upper class.

By the 1970s, the U.S. economy began to cool, partially because of domestic inflation and increased competition from abroad. Oil embargoes by Arab nations belonging to the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries, in retaliation for U.S. support of Israel during the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, and a general strategy by oil-producing nations to raise their prices, further stressed the economy by creating gas shortages for consumers. Other countries that had supported Israel, such as the Netherlands, also suffered from the embargo. Once dominant in most major industrial sectors, including the production of steel and automobiles, around the world, by the end of the 1970s, U.S. manufacturers were suffering as a result of competition from Japan and Western Europe. This reality led to a number of difficult economic transformations in the United States. But it also encouraged some national leaders to seek regional international economic integration along lines similar to Western Europe's achievement. Beginning in the 1980s, the United States and Canada entered into negotiations to create their own regional free-trading zone. This made sense because Canada not only shared a long border with the United States but was also its largest trading partner. In 1988, the two countries agreed to the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (Canada-US FTA), which eliminated barriers to the movement of goods and services between the two.

Almost immediately, Mexico signaled its interest in creating a similar free trade agreement with the United States. U.S. president Ronald Reagan had floated the concept during his 1980 election campaign. But successful completion of the Canada-US FTA convinced Mexican leaders that the time was ripe to act on the idea. Ultimately, Canada joined the plan with Mexico as well, and by the end of 1992, all three countries had signed the **North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)** (Figure 15.4). The intent of NAFTA was to reduce trade barriers and allow goods to flow freely among the three countries. Despite considerable resistance within the United States, largely from industrial workers who feared their factories and jobs would be relocated to Mexico where wages were far lower, the agreement was ratified by all three countries and went into effect in 1994.



(a)



(b)

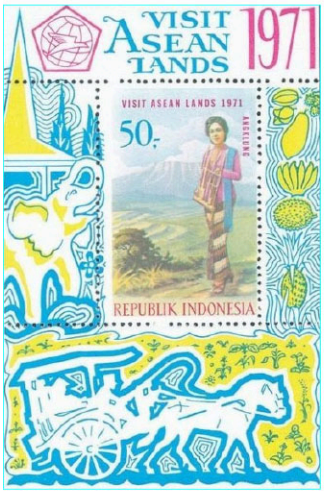
FIGURE 15.4 North American Free Trade Agreement. (a) At the signing ceremony for NAFTA in October 1992, Mexican president Carlos Salinas de Gortari, U.S. president George H. W. Bush, and Canadian prime minister Brian Mulroney (left to right) stand behind their respective trade secretaries. (b) The three countries had spent several years hammering out the agreement. (credit a: modification of work "NAFTA Initialing Ceremony, October 1992" by George Bush Presidential Library and Museum/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit b: "World map blank shorelines" by Maciej Jaros/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The creation of Canada-US FTA and later NAFTA represented an important policy shift for the United States. Until the early 1980s, the country had largely avoided limited regional trading deals, preferring instead to seek comprehensive global agreements. Such efforts had begun relatively soon after World War II in the form of the **General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)**, signed in 1947 by twenty-three countries. Initially conceived as a way to reinforce other postwar economic recovery efforts, GATT was designed to prevent the reemergence of prewar-style trade barriers, to lower trade barriers overall, and to create a system for arbitrating international trade disputes. Since its initial acceptance in 1947, GATT has undergone a number of revisions, completed in sessions referred to as rounds, to promote free trade and international investments.

In 1995, at the Uruguay Round, GATT transformed itself into the World Trade Organization (WTO) and cleared the path for free trade among 123 countries. Like GATT, the intent of the WTO was to support international trade, reduce trade barriers, and resolve trade disputes between countries. Unlike GATT, however, the WTO is not a free trade agreement. Rather, it is an organization that ensures nondiscriminatory trade between WTO countries. This means that trade barriers are allowed, but they must apply equally to all members. Many observers saw the creation of the WTO as a triumph of globalization, or the emergence of a single integrated global economy. China joined in 2001, a clear sign of its integration into global market systems.

Because the WTO is regarded as a major force for globalization, its meetings often attract protestors who oppose corporate power and the economic, political, and cultural influence of wealthy nations in the developed world on less-developed nations. In 1999, in Seattle, Washington, a diverse group of students, labor union representatives, environmentalists, and activists of many kinds protested the abuses associated with globalization. Police confronted activists staging marches and sit-ins with rubber bullets and tear gas, and trade talks ground to a halt. Meetings of the WTO continue to attract protestors.

As the creation of the EU and NAFTA demonstrate, the signing of international trade agreements like GATT, which was ratified by countries on six continents, did not prevent regions from establishing their own free trade blocs like MERCOSUR, the South American trading bloc created in 1991. Nor have such blocs been confined to the West. The most notable to emerge in Asia are the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) (Figure 15.5).



(a)



(b)

FIGURE 15.5 Association of Southeast Asian Nations. This 1971 postage stamp (a) from Indonesia celebrates the country's membership in ASEAN, whose member countries are highlighted in the map (b). (credit a: modification of work "Stamp of Indonesia - 1971 - Colnect 257406 - Visit ASEAN South East Asian Nations Association Year" by Colnect/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit b: modification of work "Map of ASEAN member states" by "Hariboneagle927"/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

ASEAN had its beginnings in the 1960s when Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand agreed to cooperate economically to foster regional development and resist the expansion of communism in Asia. Largely successful, the organization expanded in the 1980s and 1990s to include more countries. By the early 2000s, it was openly advocating the creation of EU-style integration in the area.

APEC, launched in 1989, was in many ways a response to the growth of regional trading blocs like ASEAN and the EEC. Initially composed of twelve Asia-Pacific countries including Australia, the United States, South Korea, and Singapore, it has since grown to include Mexico, China, Chile, Russia, and more. It promotes free trade and international economic cooperation among its members.

Multinationals and the Push to Privatize

The growing global economic integration represented by the rise of the WTO and regional trading blocs opened new opportunities for multinational corporations to extend their reach and influence around the world. A **multinational corporation**, or MNC, is a corporate business entity that controls the production of goods and services in multiple countries. MNCs are not new. Some, like the British East India Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, exerted great influence during Europe's imperial expansion in the early modern and modern periods. But with globalization and improvements in transportation and communication technology, MNCs have thrived, especially since the 1950s. They have used their growing wealth to lobby governments to create conditions favorable to their operation, enabling them to become even more powerful.

Multinationals have also benefited greatly from the lowering of trading barriers around the world. These developments have encouraged major automobile manufacturers like Volkswagen, Toyota, Chevrolet, Kia, and Nissan to build and operate assembly plants in Mexico, for example, where workers are paid lower wages than they are in countries like Germany, Japan, South Korea, or the United States. This translates to significant cost savings and thus higher profits for them. And because Mexico is part of a free trade bloc with the United States

and Canada, cars made there can be exported for sale in the United States or Canada without the need to pay tariffs.

Supporters of MNCs claim that the benefits for workers in this arrangement are also substantial. They get access to well-paying and reliable industrial jobs not available before, and their paychecks flow into the local community and contribute to a general rise in the standard of living. The companies themselves invest in local infrastructure like roads, powerlines, and factories, and their presence often helps expand support industries like restaurants that cater to workers and shipping companies that employ them to move their goods. Technology spillovers also occur when MNCs either help to develop necessary job skills in local workers or introduce new technologies that ultimately become available to domestic industries in the host country. Finally, MNCs that focus on retail and establish branches in other countries, such as Walmart, Aldi, Costco, Carrefour, Ikea, and many more, provide access to high-quality consumer goods like clothing, appliances, and electronics at competitive prices, raising the standard of living in the countries where they operate (Figure 15.6).



FIGURE 15.6 Multinational Corporations. Aldi is a multinational chain of grocery stores based in Germany with branches in twenty different countries. This Aldi store is in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. (credit: "Aldi in Bethlehem, PA taken at sunset" by Michael Katz/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

There are drawbacks, however. Critics of MNCs note that while workers may be paid more than they could earn working for local businesses, they are still paid far less than the multinational can afford. Workers are often prevented from forming unions and forced to work long hours in unsafe environments. Furthermore, many multinationals are based in developed countries, mostly in the West, and they tend to express the interests and cultural norms of those countries. This bias has sometimes led to accusations of neocolonialism (the use of economic, political, or cultural power by developed countries to influence or control less-developed countries), particularly for the way MNCs have helped accelerate the homogenization of cultures around the world by exporting not only goods from the West but also ideas and behaviors.

LINK TO LEARNING

These short Planet Money videos follow the manufacture of a simple t-shirt (https://openstax.org/l/77TShirt) and reveal how many people around the world are involved. Click on "Chapters" to navigate among the five short videos.

One such idea is that countries should encourage the privatization of public services like utilities, transportation systems, and postal services. Privatization means delegating these services to mostly private companies that operate to earn a profit rather than such services being delivered by arms of the government. Organizations like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have pushed for privatization as a way to make these public services more efficient. The World Bank is an international organization that offers

financing and support to developing countries seeking to improve their economies. Founded in 1944 to rebuild countries after World War II, it later shifted its focus to global development. The IMF, also created in 1944, promotes global monetary stability by helping countries improve their economies with fiscal plans and sometimes loans. In exchange, it requires countries to adopt plans that often include privatizing public services and paying off their debts.

In some places, this privatization process has been successful. For decades after independence, for instance, India employed a mixed-economy strategy, with a combination of free-market policies and heavy intervention by the government. The result, however, was that a large part of the public sector operated under cumbersome bureaucratic controls that critics complained slowed economic growth. Beginning in the 1990s, new leadership in India began pursuing economic liberalization by privatizing aspects of its large public sector including airlines, shipbuilding, telecommunications, electric power, and heavy industry. As expected, these efforts increased productivity and efficiency, but the public often was confronted by higher prices and loss of access to services.

The World Bank made similar efforts across Latin America. Some view privatization there as largely successful, noting that as the number of state-owned industries declined, the profitability and efficiency of the privatized companies increased. But sometimes, as in Bolivia, privatization came at considerable cost. In 1999, the Bechtel Corporation, a U.S.-based multinational, was awarded a contract by the Bolivian city of Cochabamba to improve the efficiency of the city's water delivery system. By January 2000, however, water delivery in Cochabamba had actually become worse. Service rates increased even for people who did not receive any water at all. This result led to large and sometimes violent protests later known as the Cochabamba Water War. The Bolivian government sided with the protestors, expelled Bechtel, and passed the Bolivian Water Law in April 2000. Water in Bolivia was no longer privatized. In the aftermath of the protests, which drew international media attention, the World Bank promised to study and revise its procedures and recommendations.

Multinationals have been crucial in the emergence of modern China as an economic powerhouse. Starting in the 1970s under Deng Xiaoping, the country began to pursue a market-based growth strategy, adopting some of the tools of capitalist economies without ending its Communist system. These economic changes, sometimes called the "Opening of China," vastly changed the country's role in the world's economy and improved a new generation's prospects for a higher standard of living. Factories constructed for MNCs in coastal cities like Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Shenzhen were filled with workers from the Chinese countryside. Large ships stacked high with Chinese factory-made products crossed the Pacific and Indian Oceans and passed through the Suez and Panama Canals. With the world's largest population, China holds its largest group of consumers. In 2001 it joined the WTO, and in 2010 it became the world's second-largest economy, after the United States. As of 2022, China's economy was predicted to become the world's largest in 2030.

Exporting Culture

Besides promoting controversial ideas like privatization, MNCs, many of which are headquartered in the United States, also are responsible for exporting elements of western culture, especially popular culture. Although many people around the world enjoy such things as western fashions, movies and television shows, popular music, and fast food, other people fear that such influences harm local cultures and contribute to the Americanization (and homogenization) of the world.

Few countries have been as culturally influential as the United States, thanks to its global dominance after World War II. U.S. troops at military bases around the world were often the first to expose their hosts in Europe and Asia to American traditions, sports, and norms. Consumers around the world purchased a wide range of "Made in USA" products, including Coca-Cola, Levi's jeans, and Hollywood movies, which, along with American music, helped to spread the American dialect of the English language.

Some early Americanization efforts were intentional, such as in Germany and Japan where the goal was to lay

a foundation for U.S.-style democracy by projecting ideas like freedom and affluence via popular culture. These ideas were also attractive in South Korea and South Vietnam. Typically, young people patronized fast-food restaurants like McDonald's and Pizza Hut, purchased blue jeans and T-shirts, watched American television shows, and sought out recordings of the latest popular music.

The popularity of American culture led many countries to fear the loss of their own unique cultural characteristics and the weakening of their domestic industries. Brazil, Greece, Spain, South Korea, and others imposed screen quotas, limiting the hours theaters could show foreign movies. In 1993, France forced the nation's radio stations to allocate 40 percent of their airtime to exclusively French music.

Hollywood movies and American recording artists are still major players, but in the twenty-first century, diversity has returned to the global stage. Japanese anime and manga have become global phenomena. South Korean K-pop bands like BTS, iKon, and Got7 have gained audiences in the United States, Europe, and across Asia (Figure 15.7). In 2021, the Korean-made serial thriller *Squid Game* became the most-watched Netflix show of all time. Korean television dramas are also very popular in Southeast Asian countries like the Philippines. Korean popular culture borrows American cultural styles but invigorates them with distinctly Korean elements. For example, K-pop, with its large groups and flashy choreographed dancing, was clearly influenced by hip-hop. K-pop itself is thus a potent reminder that globalization is often the product of cultural sharing rather than a one-directional flow of cultural norms.



FIGURE 15.7 K-Pop. K-pop groups like the award-winning Brown Eyed Girls mix Korean themes with American-style pop music and dance. (credit: "Korean Pop Group Brown Eyed Girls perform at MTV EXIT concert in Hanoi" by USAID Vietnam/Flickr, Public Domain)

Winners and Losers in a Globalizing World

While it is tempting to see globalization and the rise of MNCs as generally benefiting the people of developed countries, the reality is more complex. Improvements in transportation and MNCs' use of labor resources in countries around the world have sometimes harmed workers in developed countries like the United States. Supporters of NAFTA, for example, argued that the United States would benefit from reduced trade barriers, lower prices for agricultural goods from Mexico, and newly available jobs for lower-wage workers. Opponents, however, recognized that the groups hardest hit by transformations in the labor market would be those least able to withstand the damage, mainly working-class manufacturing workers in the United States and Canada. Both sets of predictions proved accurate.

After NAFTA was implemented in 1994, trade and development across the three participating countries surged. Trade across the U.S.-Mexico border surpassed $480 billion by 2015, an inflation-adjusted increase of 465 percent over the pre-NAFTA total. A similar, if smaller, increase occurred in U.S.-Canadian trade during

the same time. In Mexico, per capita GDP grew by more than 24 percent, topping $9,500. Even more impressive growth occurred in Canada and the United States.

But between 1993 and 2021, the United States lost nearly eighteen million manufacturing jobs when some companies found it more profitable to relocate to Mexico. Not all these job losses can be attributed to NAFTA, but many can, as manufacturing that otherwise would have taken place in the United States was moved to *maquiladoras*, factories in Mexico along the U.S. border that employ people for low wages. *Maquiladoras* often receive materials from U.S. manufacturers, transform them into finished products, and then ship them back to the United States for the manufacturers to use. After the passage of NAFTA, U.S. car manufacturers began to make use of parts produced inexpensively in Mexico that would have been much more expensive had they been produced in the United States. For example, in 2015, Brake Parts Inc. moved its operations from California to Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, and almost three hundred U.S. workers lost their jobs in the process. Workers in the automobile industry, once the backbone of the U.S. industrial sector, suffered as jobs and automotive plants were relocated to Mexico. Some economists, however, argue that the use of inexpensive parts produced in *maquiladoras* allowed the U.S. automobile industry to survive. Jobs in the clothing industry also declined 85 percent. There were simply fewer obvious advantages to keeping such jobs in the United States.

Economists say the loss of manufacturing jobs was less a result of NAFTA than of other structural economic changes in the United States, such as automation. And while many U.S. workers lost their jobs as a result of NAFTA, millions of others found work in industries that produced goods for sale in Mexico. Nevertheless, the impression that NAFTA and globalization have brought poverty and misery to the working class in the United States remains strong and has influenced the nation's politics since the 1990s. Responding to these beliefs, in 2017, President Donald Trump instigated a renegotiation of NAFTA, creating the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA). The USMCA included strong property rights protections, compelled Canada to open its dairy market more broadly, and required that workers in the automotive sector in all three countries be paid competitive wages. The agreement replaced NAFTA and went into effect in 2020.

The complaints that arose during the NAFTA debates had been voiced for decades. Since the 1970s, many in the United States had argued that globalization allowed Japan, its enemy during World War II, to race ahead and outcompete domestic manufacturers. By the 1980s, Japan was exporting a huge volume of consumer electronics and automobiles into the U.S. market. Its economic resurgence created a massive trade deficit (the difference in value between what a country imports and what it exports) in the United States and rising concerns about its global competitiveness.

Political figures like Walter Mondale, the 1984 Democratic Party nominee for president, called the trade deficit a threat to the United States and spoke in dire terms about an emerging global trade war. Many others drew connections between Japan's economic rise and growing unemployment in the United States. Auto workers were especially vocal, declaring that Japan was using unfair practices and artificially limiting the number of American cars that could be sold in Japan (Figure 15.8). While the reality was more complicated, politicians were primed to respond with tough talk and reforms. In 1981, President Reagan pressured Japan to limit the number of cars it exported to the United States. The United States also made efforts to limit the importation of foreign steel and semiconductors for the same reasons.



FIGURE 15.8 Made in Japan. Small, fuel-efficient Japanese cars like this 1970s-era Honda Civic grew increasingly popular in the United States during the 1970s and 1980s, prompting American automotive workers to complain that Japanese car companies were using unfair trade practices. (credit: "Honda Civic RS rear" by "TTTNIS"/Wikimedia Commons, CC0 1.0)

By the start of the 1990s, Japan's economic engine was starting to cool, and so were American concerns about Japanese dominance. However, companies in the developed world faced challenges rooted in the high cost of living and resulting high wages they had to pay to their employees. Globalization offered a solution in the form of **outsourcing** and **offshoring**. Outsourcing occurs when a company hires an outside firm, sometimes abroad, to perform tasks it used to perform internally, like accounting, payroll, human resources, and data processing services. Offshoring occurs when a company continues to conduct its own operations but physically moves them overseas to access cheaper labor markets. Outsourcing and offshoring were hardly new in the 1990s. But with globalization, trade agreements like NAFTA, and the ability to ship goods around the world, they became a major cost-savings option for large companies. Trade agreements like NAFTA made it possible to build plants in Mexico and still sell the products they produced in the United States. Companies could also offshore some of their operations to countries in Asia where labor was much cheaper.

Those hired overseas experienced their own problems, however, because outsourcing often led to the rise of sweatshops, factories where poorly paid workers labor in dangerous environments. Images of women and children in horrific working conditions in Central America, India, and Southeast Asia circulated around the developed world in the 1990s as examples of the consequences of outsourcing. Major MNCs like Nike, Gap, Forever 21, Walmart, Victoria's Secret, and others have been harshly criticized for using sweatshops to produce their shoes and clothing lines. In 2013, the plight of sweatshop workers gained widespread attention when a building called Rana Plaza, a large complex of garment factories in Bangladesh, collapsed, killing 1,134 and injuring another 2,500 of the low-wage workers who made clothing for luxury brands like Gucci, Versace, and Moncler. The disaster led to a massive protest in Bangladesh demanding better wages and reforms. In the aftermath, studies and inspections of similar factories revealed that almost none had adequate safety infrastructure in place.

THE PAST MEETS THE PRESENT

Sweatshops and Factory Safety: Then and Now

On March 25, 1911, a fire started at the Triangle shirtwaist factory in New York City that caused the deaths of 146 workers, most of them immigrant women and girls of Italian or Jewish heritage. It was soon discovered that the factory had poor safety features, and the doors were locked during the workday, making it impossible for the workers to flee.

News of the tragedy spread quickly in New York and around the country. Government corruption, which was

widely reported, had allowed the factory to continue operating despite its poor conditions and safety deficiencies. In the end, the tragedy led to massive protests in New York. The city even set up a Factory Investigating Commission to prevent such events from happening again.

Just over a century later in Bangladesh, a similar tragedy occurred. On April 24, 2013, the Rana Plaza building collapsed, killing 1,134 workers and injuring thousands of others. The owners of the garment factories housed in the building knew it had structural problems but still demanded that employees continue to work or lose their jobs.

A massive public outcry in Bangladesh followed the building's collapse. People were outraged by the disaster and by the fact that the workers made some of the lowest wages in the world sewing garments for major multinational companies. The public demanded that the families be compensated and those responsible be prosecuted, leading many of the garment companies to donate money to the families of those lost. The disaster also inspired a public movement to make the garment industry in Bangladesh more transparent.

- Why do you think it remains difficult to get garment factories like these to prioritize safety?
- Beyond the obvious, what are some of the similarities between the two tragedies?

LINK TO LEARNING

To better understand the similarities between the Triangle shirtwaist factory fire and the Rana Plaza collapse, view photos of the Triangle shirtwaist factory fire (https://openstax.org/l/77TriangleFire) and read interviews with survivors (https://openstax.org/l/77FireSurvivor) of the fire. Then look at the photo essay covering the Rana Plaza collapse (https://openstax.org/l/77RanaPlaza) by award-winning photographer and activist Taslima Akhter.

The multinational technology company Apple Inc. has faced intense criticism in recent years for its use of foreign-owned sweatshops in Asia. Since the early 2000s, reports of sprawling factories with hundreds of thousands of workers assembling iPhones have made the news and led to a public-relations nightmare for the company. Investigative journalists have revealed that workers suffer a pattern of harsh and humiliating punishments, fines, physical assaults, and withheld wages. In some instances, conditions in the factories have pushed assembly-line workers to commit suicide rather than continue. Apple has insisted it takes all such accusations seriously and has tried to end relationships with such assembly plants, but those familiar with the problems have complained that little progress has been made.

Even when MNCs commit to providing a safe working environment and fair wages abroad, the practice of subcontracting often makes this impossible to guarantee. Foreign companies to whom multinationals send work often distribute it among a number of smaller companies that may also subcontract it, in turn. It is sometimes difficult for MNCs to know exactly where their goods are actually produced and thus to enforce rules about wages and working conditions.

Multinationals have harmed the countries in which they operate in other ways as well, including deforestation and the depletion of clean, drinkable water. They are also major producers of greenhouse gases and responsible for air pollution and the dumping of toxic waste. MNCs leave little in the way of profit in the countries they exploit, so funds are often lacking to repair or mitigate the damage they do.

The desire for a better life and opportunities in the developed world has led many in the developing world to migrate. Millions of immigrants from Mexico and other parts of Latin America have made their way into the United States over the last few decades. They typically find low-paid labor harvesting crops, cleaning homes, and serving as caretakers for children. In these jobs, they serve an important role in the U.S. economy, often doing work domestic workers are unwilling to do. Many entered the country illegally and live and work in the

shadows to avoid deportation. This makes them vulnerable to abuse, and they are sometimes preyed on by human traffickers and unscrupulous employers. The United States is not the only country where this dynamic occurs. Saudi Arabia, for example, depends heavily on foreign workers to fill jobs Saudi Arabian citizens are reluctant to take, such as caretaker or domestic servant. Some workers have reported physical and emotional abuse to international human rights watchdog organizations like Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International. Being immigrants, they often have little access to relief from the country's justice system.

15.2 Debates about the Environment

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Explain the reasons for the rise of environmentalism around the world
- Identify ways in which environmental groups have faced resistance
- Describe the ways in which the global community has attempted to address environmental issues like climate change

While concern for the Earth and anxiety about the negative effects humans have wrought is hardly new, the modern environmental movement, with its characteristic public activism, has roots in nineteenth-century reactions to industrialization. Writers of that time, like George Perkins Marsh, John Ruskin, Octavia Hill, and many others, expressed a romantic view of nature that contrasted sharply with the industrial transformations they witnessed around them. Their ideas gave birth to preservation efforts and the creation of national parks, first in the United States and later in Australia, South Africa, India, and nations in Europe. Environmental concern has only grown stronger as societies around the world must now grapple with the enormous and ongoing consequences of increasing industrialization, manifested particularly in the global threat of climate change.

The Rise of Environmentalism

In the post–World War II period, as the United States and Europe experienced unprecedented economic growth and a rapidly rising standard of living, anxiety regarding the condition of the environment rose to the surface and gained political significance. In the developed West, members of the generation reaching maturity in the 1960s occasionally struggled with their affluence and the recognition that it came with disastrous environmental consequences. These consequences were not limited to the developed world. In the 1950s and 1960s, as part of the Green Revolution, agricultural scientists developed new high-yielding varieties of rice and wheat and synthetic fertilizers and pesticides that increased food production in both the developed and the developing world. The result was that millions were saved from hunger, and infant mortality in developing nations decreased. Scientist Norman Borlaug, who was considered largely responsible for the Green Revolution, received a Nobel Peace Prize in 1970 for his work. Such benefits, however, came with a heavy price tag, in many ways. Small farmers had to borrow money to purchase the new high-yielding seeds, fertilizers, and pesticides, and many found themselves deeply in debt. Reliance on the new varieties of crops reduced biodiversity, and chemical fertilizers and pesticides polluted the soil and water.

In 1962, Rachel Carson published her bestselling book *Silent Spring*, which railed against the proliferation of dangerous pesticides like DDT (Figure 15.9). Carson drew connections between the political power of the chemical industry and the many adverse effects of chemicals that made their way into food supplies and human bodies. Though strongly condemned by large chemical companies, the book was undeniably influential. It was a finalist for the National Book Awards for nonfiction, and its ideas inspired a generation of young activists. In 1972, the use of DDT in U.S. agriculture was banned.



FIGURE 15.9 Rachel Carson. Before writing *Silent Spring*, Rachel Carson spent years working as a biologist for the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries. After the publication of her book she was inducted into the American Academy of Arts and Letters and posthumously received the Presidential Medal of Freedom. (credit: "Rachel Carson, author of Silent Spring. Official photo as FWS employee. c. 1940" by USFWS National Digital Library/Wikimedia Commons, CC0 1.0)

Carson's book tapped into the growing anxiety of many who felt the economic growth from which they benefited was environmentally unsustainable. These fears were confirmed by a series of ecological disasters that galvanized public attention. They included the 1958 Niger Delta oil spill in Nigeria, the 1962 start of the Centralia mine fire in Pennsylvania (which is still burning), the 1967 Torrey Canyon oil spill in the United Kingdom, the 1969 Cuyahoga River fire in Ohio, and the 1969 Santa Barbara oil spill. By the 1970s, environmental concerns had translated into political action. In April 1970, approximately twenty million people in the United States participated in the world's first Earth Day celebration, a grassroots movement intended to raise public awareness about the environment (Figure 15.10).



FIGURE 15.10 Earth Day 1970. The first Earth Day celebrations even encouraged President Richard Nixon, with First Lady Pat Nixon, to contribute by planting a tree on the White House lawn. (credit: "President and Mrs. Richard Nixon plant a tree on the White House South Lawn to recognize the first Earth Day. WHPO C6311-11a" by Executive Office of the President of the United States/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In 1972, scientist Donella Meadows and others from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology published a report called *The Limits to Growth*, which used computer models to predict that humanity would soon reach absolute limits on its use of resources, with disastrous consequences. The report had been commissioned by the Club of Rome, a nonprofit group of scientists, economists, and other intellectuals founded in 1968 to address global problems like pollution and environmental degradation. *The Limits to Growth* circulated widely and reinforced public concerns about a widespread environmental crisis on Earth.

Over the next decade, **green parties**, political parties organized around environmental concerns, proliferated in countries around Europe, proving popular with the young and highly educated. Some green party founders, such as Petra Kelly of the German Green Party, had studied in the United States and were influenced by its environmental movement. By the 1990s, there were green parties in almost every country in Europe and also in the United States, Canada, Argentina, Chile, Australia, and New Zealand.

One of the factors motivating green parties in Europe was growing concern about nuclear technology. Following the 1951 creation of the first nuclear reactor for producing energy, nuclear power plants became common in the United States, Europe, and the Soviet Union. Once hailed as a cleaner alternative to polluting coal-burning power, nuclear energy began to stall as environmentally conscious populations around the world voiced concerns about its potential dangers. News of the partial meltdown of the Three Mile Island nuclear reactor in Pennsylvania in 1979 gave new vigor to the already strong antinuclear movement.

Still considered the worst nuclear accident in U.S. history, the Three Mile Island disaster released radioactive gases through the plant and into the surrounding area. After news of it reached the public, more than 100,000 residents fled the area. Despite President Jimmy Carter's efforts to calm the public, the event shattered the country's belief that such plants could be operated safely. Just a few years later, in 1986, an accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in Ukraine, which was then part of the Soviet Union, resulted in the single largest uncontrolled radioactive release ever recorded. Although the Soviet Union reported that only thirty-one people died as a direct result of the accident, more than 200,000 had to be resettled in the wake of the disaster,

and in 2005 the United Nations estimated that another four thousand could still die as a result of exposure to radiation released in Chernobyl. The area around Chernobyl was declared off limits, and the Soviet Union suffered irreparable harm to its reputation as a competent and technologically advanced superpower.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS

Voices from Chernobyl

The 1986 Chernobyl catastrophe in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) required the creation of an "exclusion zone" of towns, villages, forests, and farms that had to be abandoned due to radioactive contamination (Figure 15.11). However, the Soviet government minimized information about the crisis to reduce its embarrassment and maintain an image of technical dominance. Decades later, we can glimpse what people were thinking and doing at the time.



FIGURE 15.11 The Chernobyl Disaster. The accident at the nuclear power plant of Chernobyl (in the background) led to the abandonment of the city of Pripyat (foreground). (credit: modification of work "View of Chernobyl taken from Pripyat" by Jason Minshull/Wikimedia Commons/Public Domain)

> At that time my notions of nuclear power stations were utterly idyllic. At school and at the university we'd been taught that this was a magical factory that made 'energy out of nothing,' where people in white robes sat and pushed buttons. Chernobyl blew up when we weren't prepared. And also there wasn't any information. We got stacks of paper marked 'Top Secret.' 'Reports of the accident: secret;' 'Results of medical observations: secret;' 'Reports about the radioactive exposure of personnel involved in the liquidation of the accident: secret.' And so on. There were rumors: someone read in some paper, someone heard, someone said . . . . Some people listened to what was being said in the West, they were the only ones talking about what pills to take and how to take them. But most often the reaction was: our enemies are celebrating, but we still have it better.
>
> —Zoya Danilovna Bruk, environmental inspector interviewed by Svetlana Alexievich, *Voices from Chernobyl*, Translated by Keith Gessen
>
> At first everyone said, 'It's a catastrophe,' and then everyone said, 'It's nuclear war.' I'd read about Hiroshima and Nagasaki, I'd seen documentary footage. It's frightening, but understandable: atomic warfare, the explosion's radius. I could even imagine it. But what happened to us didn't fit into my consciousness. You feel how some completely unseen thing can enter and then destroy the whole world, can crawl in and enter you. I remember a conversation with this scientist: 'This is for thousands of years,' he explained. 'The decomposition of uranium: that's 238 half-lives. Translated into time: that's

a billion years. And for thorium: its fourteen billion years.' Fifty, one hundred, two hundred. But beyond that? Beyond that my consciousness couldn't go.

—Anatoly Shimanskiy, journalist interviewed by Svetlana Alexievich, *Voices from Chernobyl*, Translated by Keith Gessen

- Do you think Chernobyl changed the prospects for nuclear energy use? Why or why not?
- How should governments handle disasters of this magnitude? If your government dealt with this event, how would you want it to do so?

It was also in the 1980s that scientists first detected the existence of an "ozone hole" over Antarctica. The ozone layer is a portion of the Earth's upper atmosphere with especially high concentrations of ozone molecules (Figure 15.12). It serves to block much of the potentially harmful solar radiation the Earth naturally receives from the sun and thus is essential for life on this planet as we know it. The news that this layer had a hole—an area severely depleted by the use of manufactured chemicals in common consumer items like aerosols, refrigerants, and food packaging—startled the public. Some environmentalists predicted an apocalyptic near-future in which billions would die of skin cancer caused by the sun, and the Earth's surface would become unlivable.



FIGURE 15.12 Earth's Ozone Layer. The Earth's protective ozone layer is visible as a hazy blue film hanging in the planet's atmosphere in this 2015 photograph from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. (credit: "View of Earth taken during ISS Expedition 42" by NASA/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In the 1980s and early 1990s, people also became concerned about the plight of the environmentally invaluable Amazon rainforest. The movement known as Save the Rainforest brought professional environmentalists and concerned citizens together to raise awareness about deforestation. Brazil's extensive rainforests had been under threat since the 1960s, when cattle ranchers and others began clearing thousands of acres of pristine forest. Until the 1980s, few people had paid much attention. But concerns rose in wealthy countries about the harm done by major beef producers and other multinational corporations to the people and resources in developing countries, including by eliminating the "lungs of the planet" (trees that produce oxygen and absorb the carbon dioxide created by industrial processes), and more people began to take notice.

Environmentalists stressed the rainforest's unique biodiversity and warned of the consequences of destroying the sole source of potentially world-changing drugs and species of animals found nowhere else on earth.

Anthropologists and Indigenous activists spoke of the effect on Indigenous peoples who lived and hunted in the rainforest and were threatened with loss of both home and livelihood. These warnings merged with developed countries' anxieties about overconsumption and living beyond their means. The result was the Save the Rainforest campaign. By 1991, the effort had borne fruit, and deforestation in the Amazon had declined to one of the lowest recorded rates. Between 2005 and 2010, Brazil managed to reduce the destruction, but millions of hectares are still being cleared each year.

It was also during the late 1980s that much of the world was first introduced to the concept of **global warming**, the general rise in Earth's temperature that scientists have observed over approximately the last two hundred years. The consensus is that this warming is the result of a steady increase in fossil-fuel burning since the start of the Industrial Revolution. The process has contributed to a rise in greenhouse gas levels, which trap yet more heat within the Earth's atmosphere. Global warming is just one aspect of **climate change**, a broader phenomenon that includes changes in temperature, weather, storm activity, wind patterns, sea levels, and other influences on the planet.

Both global warming and climate change present enormous challenges for the future. Rising sea levels may make some large coastal cities around the world unlivable. Stronger storms, floods, and more intense heat can make life unbearable in entire regions. Extreme weather events like hurricanes, heat waves, and forest fires caused by drought and high temperatures may kill and injure thousands and cause billions of dollars in property losses. Hotter, wetter conditions may encourage the breeding of insects that spread infectious diseases like malaria and West Nile virus. These changes in turn will likely lead to worldwide problems. The World Bank estimates that more than 200 million people could become climate refugees, people forced to flee their homes to find livable climates in other areas, over the next few decades.

LINK TO LEARNING

Artists have always tried to highlight problems around the world. Climate change is no exception. Take a look at this PBS report on the Ghost Forest exhibit (https://openstax.org/l/77GhostForest) created by artist Maya Lin for one stunning example.

Environmentalism Today

Many of the most outspoken proponents of environmentalism and policies to curb fossil-fuel use have come from the United States and developed countries in Europe. Some of their anxieties about the state of the environment are a product of their own affluence and the sense that it is unsustainable. Yet frequently their environmental concerns have clashed with the interests of developing countries, which are largely geared toward growth. Concerns about the Amazon rainforest is one example of this dynamic.

The depletion of the rainforest was largely the result of the expansion of cattle ranching and later of farming in the Amazon River basin. When rainforest trees are removed for these purposes, the greenhouse gas carbon dioxide (CO_2) is released, contributing to global warming. Ranching also contributes to a rise in methane, another greenhouse gas, produced by the cattle themselves. While environmentalists in the United States and Europe viewed with horror the increase of greenhouse gases and the loss of animal habitats, plants, and trees, the clearing of land brought economic opportunities for many Brazilians. It created jobs for poor workers, produced lumber for construction, and opened space for ranchers to graze cattle and farmers to grow crops that could be consumed domestically or exported for profit.

Debates about whether these outcomes are positive or negative reflect the fact that developed countries have mostly freed themselves from concerns about survival. They are able now to focus on sustainability, while developing countries like Brazil must exploit their natural resources to get by and improve their economic position. Between 1990 and 2019, China's coal consumption increased nearly four times. Its energy needs have become enormous as China has industrialized and its citizens have experienced a rising standard of living. While the Chinese are not immune to criticisms about high coal consumption, which emits greenhouses

gases and contributes to global warming, their policies suggest their larger concern is maintaining their country's continued growth and development.

Groups like Greenpeace, an environmental organization founded in 1971, sometimes express dismay about such perspectives. For example, in the 1970s, Greenpeace and other environmental groups pushed for a ban on seal hunting around the world, calling it unsustainable and cruel to the animals. However, many in Canada and other arctic regions depend on sealing for their livelihoods. They felt Greenpeace and other environmentalists undermined their industry and hampered their efforts to provide for their families. They resented being portrayed as unfeeling killers by organizations that appeared to know little about their lives.

A similar conflict erupted in the forests of the Pacific Northwest in the 1980s as environmentalists ramped up protests against logging in order to preserve the spotted owl, a threatened species indigenous to states like Washington and Oregon (Figure 15.13). (Threatened species are those the government identifies as likely to soon be endangered.) The tens of thousands of loggers who depended on the industry to survive complained that while the environmental concerns were real, their livelihoods should take priority over the survival of an individual species. The conflict became known as the Timber Wars and gained enormous media attention in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In the end, the U.S. government sought a compromise in the Northwest Forest Plan of 1994, which restricted forest exploitation and satisfied neither group.



FIGURE 15.13 The Spotted Owl. Concerns about the fate of the spotted owl became a major point of contention between loggers and environmentalists in the Pacific Northwest during the 1990s. (credit: "spotted_owl_forest_bird_NPS_Photo" by Olympic National Park/Flickr, Public Domain)

The Global Response to Climate Change

Countries from around the world have regularly tried to address environmental problems together. The Montreal Protocol of 1987 was a global agreement to ban and phase out specific chemicals in industrial and consumer products in the expectation that natural processes would restore the Earth's ozone layer. The accord went into effect almost immediately, and the ozone layer has been steadily recovering ever since. Scientists anticipate that it will be fully healed by 2070, if not earlier.

At the United Nations in 1989, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of the United Kingdom gave an urgent warning about the environment and especially climate change. She called for the world to embrace nuclear

power as a substitute for coal-burning power plants, but she acknowledged that the increasingly influential green party movement remained firmly committed to preventing the proliferation of nuclear technology.

Thatcher's speech marked a global acknowledgment that warming and climate change were pressing problems requiring international solutions. Given the success of the Montreal Protocol, she suggested a similar solution to climate change, but it met with resistance from the United States. President Reagan and Thatcher had both risen to power by embracing neoliberal economic policies, which call for market-oriented approaches and a rollback of regulation. Reagan remained largely unmoved even as Dr. James Hansen, an atmospheric scientist working for the U.S. government, testified in Congress that global warming was a real and dangerous threat (Figure 15.14).



FIGURE 15.14 James Hansen. On June 23, 1988, NASA scientist James Hansen testified to the U.S. Congress about the danger of global warming resulting from the buildup of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere. (credit: "James Hansen Crop1" by NASA/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Despite U.S. resistance, the larger international community proceeded apace. In 1988, the United Nations was able to establish the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Created in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, the UNFCCC convenes annually for negotiations among member countries. Notable meetings have occurred in Kyoto (1997), Copenhagen (2009), Paris (2015), and Edinburgh (2021). The UNFCCC **Paris Agreement** of 2015 took into account how much each member country is able to pay for a major transition away from fossil fuels. On a five-year cycle, the agreement asks each country to make a contribution proportionate to its own needs and its ability to pay for new energy infrastructure, though it has no enforcement mechanism. The goal of the Paris Agreement is total warming of less than 2°C (3.6°F) above levels from the time of industrialization, around the year 1750. While some have called the agreement successful in helping approach this goal, others feel many countries are not fulfilling the promises they made.

15.3 Science and Technology for Today's World

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Discuss the development of complex digital computers and their effects on human society
- Analyze the effects of the internet and social media on society
- Describe important medical developments of the last fifty years and current medical challenges

World War II brought about a massive technological transformation as countries like Germany and the United States rapidly innovated to avoid destruction and defeat their enemies. In the decades after the war, there was major progress in medical technology, the creation of new vaccines, and the elimination of deadly diseases. All

these achievements had profound effects on the way people lived, traveled, and worked. Underlying them were major advancements in the field of information technologies, such as computers. Once the war was over, the development of increasingly powerful computers ushered in a computer revolution as powerful as the nineteenth century's Industrial Revolution, and with it a digital age.

The Digital Computer Revolution

Many of the technological advancements of the 1940s and 1950s came in the form of increasingly powerful analog computers, which analyze a continuous stream of information, much like that recorded on vinyl records. Analog computers worked well for solving big mathematical problems, such as the calculations related to electrical power delivery systems or the study of nuclear physics. However, one of their weaknesses was that they were inefficient at managing large amounts of data. Digital computers, or those that translate information into a complex series of ones and zeros, were far more capable of managing bulk data. Just a few years after the war, digital computing received a huge boost with the invention of the transistor, a device with far more computing potential than its predecessor the vacuum tube. Scientists could amplify this enlarged computing capacity even further by wiring multiple transistors together in increasingly complex ways.

The use of multiple transistors for computing purposes was an important step, but it had obvious drawbacks. Making machines capable of processing a great deal of information required connecting many transistors, which took up a great deal of space. Then, in the late 1950s, inventors in the United States developed an innovative solution. Using silicon, they could integrate transistors and capacitors in a way that clumsy wiring could not accomplish. The silicon-based integrated circuit freed computer technology from size constraints and opened the door to additional advancements in computing power.

Even so, digital computers remained large, expensive, and complicated to operate, and their use was largely confined to universities and the military. Only gradually over the 1970s did computing technology become more widely available, largely thanks to mass-produced general-purpose computers, sometimes called minicomputers, designed by IBM and the Digital Equipment Company. These served a variety of government and private purposes, such as calculating the Census, managing the flow of tax monies, and processing calculations related to creditworthiness (Figure 15.15). But despite being somewhat cheaper, minicomputers remained out of reach for average users.

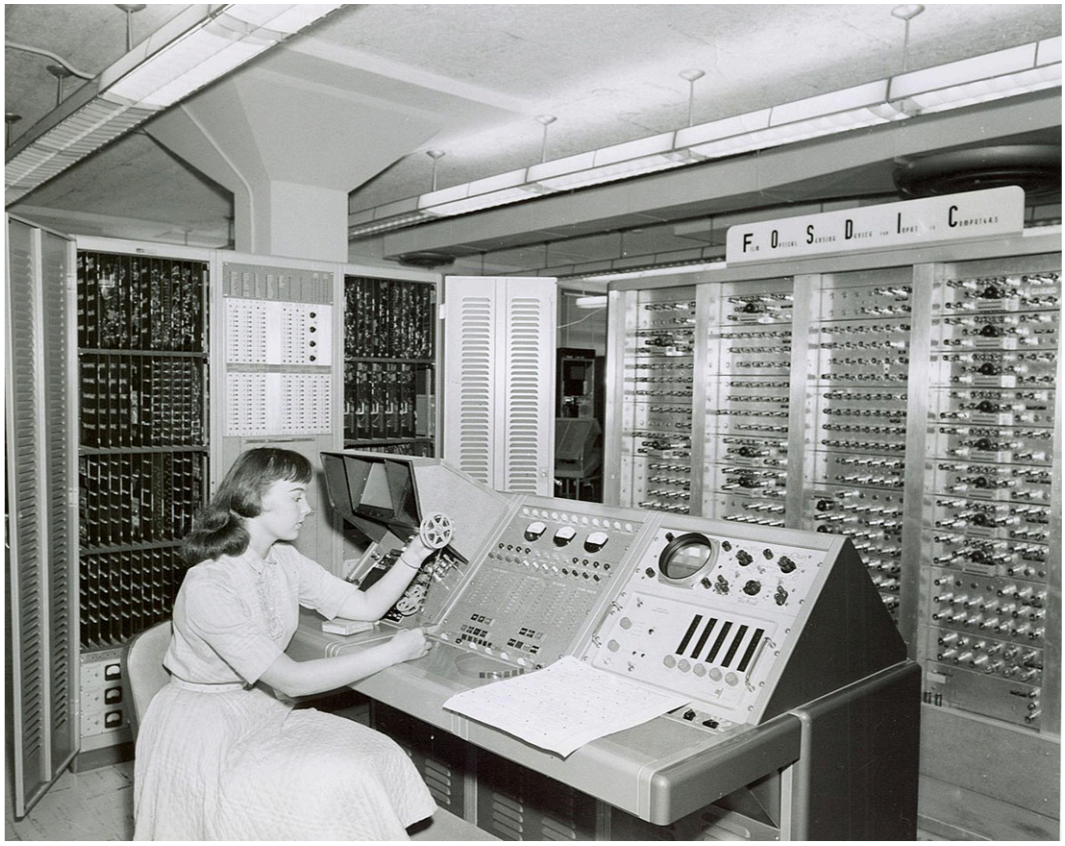


FIGURE 15.15 Computers, 1950s. In the 1950s, computers required complex data management systems to operate. The U.S. Census Bureau used this device to transfer data from paper questionnaires to microfilm to allow for rapid processing by its computers. (credit: modification of work "Woman inspecting FOSDIC film" by U. S. Census Bureau/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The journey from minicomputers to personal computers began with the Intel Corporation, established in 1968 in Mountain View, California, in a region now commonly called Silicon Valley. During the 1970s, Intel developed a line of integrated circuits that were not only more powerful than their predecessors but also programmable. These became known as microprocessors, and they revolutionized computing by holding all of a computer's processing power in a single integrated circuit. In 1975, a company in New Mexico released the first marketed personal computer, the Altair 8800. This used an Intel microprocessor and was promoted to computer hobbyists eager to wield a level of computing power once available to only a few. The Altair's popularity inspired competing products like the Apple, the Commodore, and the Tandy Radio Shack computer (Figure 15.16). These personal computer systems were far easier to use and appealed to a much larger market than just hobbyists.



FIGURE 15.16 Personal Computer, 1980s. The Tandy Color Computer 3 shown here, released in 1986 and nicknamed the CoCo 3, was one of many personal computers released in the 1980s that average consumers were able to buy for their homes. (credit: "CoCo3system" by Unknown/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

By 1982, there were 5.5 million personal computers in the United States, and over the next decade, their number and computing power rose exponentially. Computers proliferated in government offices, private firms, and family homes. Then, in 1984, Apple introduced the world to the Macintosh computer, which not only used a mouse but also replaced the standard code-based user interface with one based on graphics and icons. Recognizing the user-friendly possibilities of this graphic interface, competitors followed suit. Before long, the design popularized by Apple had become the norm.

By the end of the 1980s, not only had personal computers become common, but the microprocessor itself could be found everywhere. Microprocessors were incorporated into automobiles, cash registers, televisions, and household appliances and made possible a variety of other electronic devices like videocassette recorders and video game systems (Figure 15.17). Computer systems were created to store and manage financial, educational, and health-care information. In one form or another and whether they realized it or not, by the 1990s, almost everyone in the developed world was interacting with computers.



FIGURE 15.17 The Atari Video Computer System, 1977. Released in 1977, the Atari Video Computer System could be connected to almost any television, allowing users to play video games at home. The software was stored on small plastic cartridges that were plugged directly into the machine. (credit: "Atari 2600 mit Joystick" by "joho345"/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Modems were hardly new in the 1990s, but they became much faster and more common with the rise of the internet. The origins of the internet date back to the 1960s and the efforts by government researchers in the

United States to use computers to share information. These developments were especially important for the U.S. Department of Defense during the Cold War and resulted in the emergence of the Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET). In creating ARPANET, researchers developed many of the technologies that over the next few decades formed the basis for the internet we know today.

The Internet and Social Media

The process of globalization has been accelerated by the rise of the internet and the various social media platforms like Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter that exist there. Many people were introduced to the potential of computer networks for sharing information and creating small social networks in the 1980s, when individual users became able to connect their computers to others by using modems and telephone networks. This connectivity gave rise to regional **bulletin board systems (BBSs)**, in which one person's computer served as a host for those of other users (Figure 15.18). BBSs functioned much like websites today. Though they ran far more slowly and had limited capabilities, they allowed users to share computer files like games and images, post messages for others to read, participate in virtual discussions and debates, and play text-based online games. BBSs used phone networks to communicate, and long-distance calls were then expensive, so their users tended to be local.

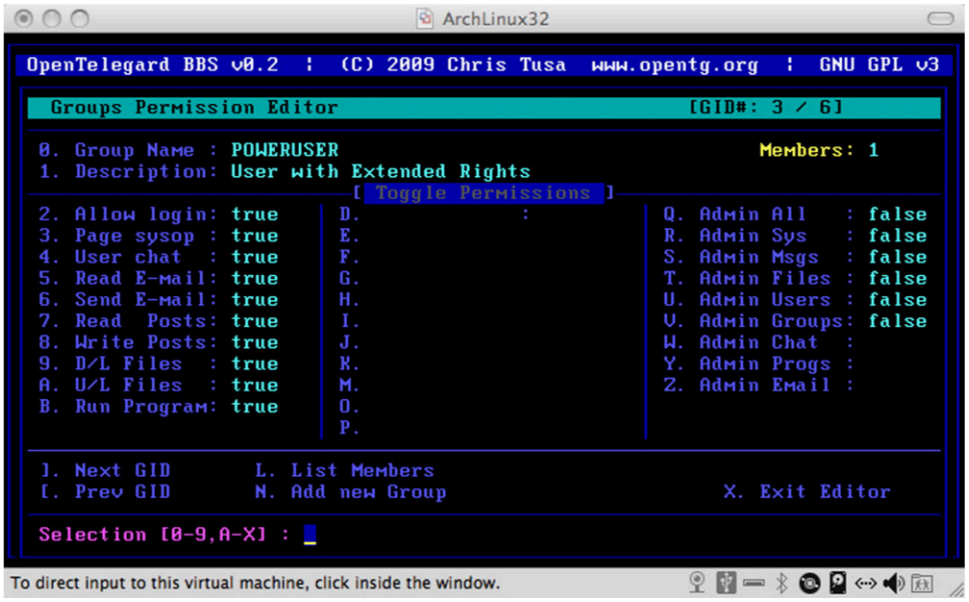


FIGURE 15.18 A Bulletin Board System, 1980s. Bulletin board systems like this one relied on colorful text and simple graphics to make them appealing. They appear very limited compared to today's websites, but in the 1980s, they were revolutionary and opened new possibilities for the future of communication. (credit: "Screenshot of OpenTG's Group Permissions Editor" by Chris Tusa/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Throughout the 1980s, BBSs continued to be popular with computer hobbyists and those intrigued by the idea of unique virtual communities, while networking technology improved steadily behind the scenes. The United States, Europe, and other developed countries were busy adopting a uniform protocol system that would allow computers around the world to easily communicate with others. Once this protocol had been established, the commercial internet as we currently understand it was born.

As early as 1987, about thirty thousand hosts resided on the burgeoning internet. Soon telecommunications and software companies began to exploit this new network by creating online service providers like America Online (AOL) to act as gateways to the internet. Initially, they used standard phone lines and modems to connect, much as BBSs had. But as the volume of information on the internet increased exponentially, service providers turned to more expensive broadband connections that used cable television lines and even dedicated lines to connect. During the 1990s, the first websites, the first internet search engines, and the first commercial internet platforms were established.

By 2005, more than one billion people worldwide were using the internet regularly. They were able to shop online, make phone calls around the world, and even create their own websites with almost no technical training. Never before had the world been so connected. In 2004, Facebook was launched. Originally a networking tool for Harvard students, it quickly expanded globally to become a giant in the new world of social media. By 2010, nearly half a billion Facebook users around the world were sharing images and messages, creating communities, and linking to news stories. By 2022, the number of Facebook users had reached nearly three billion.

Before 2007, almost all internet users gained access to the network via a personal computer, either at home or at work. That year, however, Apple Inc. released the first iPhone, a powerful cell phone but also a portable computer capable of performing all the tasks it once required a desktop computer to do. Even more revolutionary, it connected to the internet wirelessly through cell-phone infrastructure. While the iPhone was not the first phone to connect to the internet, its revolutionary touch-screen interface was far superior to earlier systems. Within just a few years, other cell-phone manufacturers were imitating its design and putting smartphones, and thus internet access, in the pockets of users around the world.

Smartphones have transformed life in developing countries, where they have helped bypass some of the traditional stages of infrastructure creation. In Africa, for example, people living where no landlines existed can now communicate with others using cell phones. Small farmers and traders can use cell phones for banking and to connect with potential suppliers and customers. In communities without libraries, schoolchildren can access the internet's resources to study.

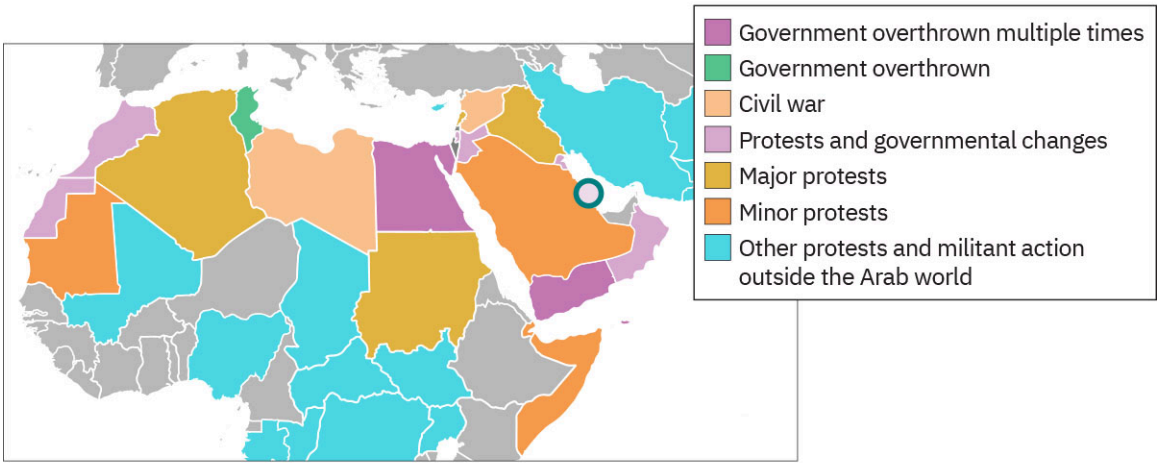
Smartphones have also democratized the internet, serving as powerful tools for organizing and promoting political change. The large pro-democracy movement in Cairo's Tahrir Square captured the world's attention in 2011, for example. But it began with twenty-five-year-old activist Asmaa Mahfouz's YouTube video of January 18, 2011, in which she spoke directly to the camera and urged young Egyptians to protest at the square as part of the larger **Arab Spring**, a call for government reform and democracy that echoed across in the Arab world.

The Arab Spring was touched off in December 2010 when Muhammad Bouazizi, a young college graduate, set himself on fire in Tunisia after government officials there tried to interfere with the fruit cart that was his only source of income. Other young Tunisians took to the streets in protest, and demonstrations began again in January 2011. As people died in confrontations with government forces, President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali fled the country, and Tunisia's prime minister resigned shortly thereafter.

The Tunisian protests led to similar demonstrations in Egypt. On January 17, 2011, an Egyptian set himself on fire near the nation's Parliament to protest the lack of economic opportunities. Crowds of mostly young people responded with massive demonstrations that lasted weeks (Figure 15.19). These demonstrations were fueled by and broadcast to the world through text messages, photos, tweets, videos, and Facebook posts sent by thousands of mobile phones, including that of Mahfouz. The devices amplified the calls for democracy and showed the world the Egyptian government's use of violence to try to silence the protestors. Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak resigned on February 11, 2011. He was later convicted for his role in ordering government forces to harm and kill protestors.



(a)



(b)

FIGURE 15.19 The Egyptian Revolution. (a) Internet-connected cell phones using social media applications like Facebook were a common site at the large 2011 protests at Tahrir Square, Cairo. (b) The map shows the results of other uprisings in Africa and the Middle East that were part of the Arab Spring of 2010–2012. (credit a: modification of work "Tahrir Square during 8 February 2011" by "Mona"/Flickr, CC BY 2.0; credit b: modification of work "Arab Spring and Regional Conflict Map" by Ian Remsen/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In the wake of the Egyptian protests, activists in Libya, Yemen, Syria, Morocco, Lebanon, Jordan, and other countries coordinated their activities using computers and smartphones to access social media, video, and mobile phone messaging. These efforts resulted in protests, changes to the laws, and even the toppling of governments, such as in Egypt and Tunisia. They also led to civil war in Syria, Iraq, and Libya, leading to thousands of deaths and a refugee crisis in the Mediterranean. While Twitter and Facebook were useful for scaling up protests, the movements to which they gave birth often struggled to find a purpose in countries without a well-established resistance movement.

LINK TO LEARNING

In this interview, Egyptian-American journalist and pro-democracy activist Mona Eltahawy talks about the Arab Spring and revolution in Egypt (https://openstax.org/l/77EgyptRev) and the use of social media as a tool

for organizing. She addresses the role of social media in two parts. Take a look at her answers to "Did the government completely misjudge what they were doing?" and "Could this have happened without social media, without these new technologies?"

Since 2011, governments around the world have come to recognize the power of social media to bring about change, and many authoritarian and even ostensibly democratic leaders have moved to limit or block social media use in their countries. China has blocked Facebook and Twitter since 2009 and encourages its citizens to instead use the state-authorized app WeChat, which shares information with the government. In 2020, India banned the social media app TikTok, claiming it threatened state security and public order. In March 2022, following its February invasion of Ukraine, Russia banned Instagram and Facebook because, the government alleged, the platforms carried messages calling for violence against Russian troops and against Russian president Vladimir Putin. Turkmenistan has gone further than China, India, or Russia. It not only bans Facebook and Twitter, but it also requires citizens applying for internet access to swear they will not try to evade state censorship.

LINK TO LEARNING

China is noted for its strict internet censorship, and its government blocks access to a large number of sites in a policy colloquially known as the Great Firewall of China. The Comparitech service allows you to see websites blocked in China (https://openstax.org/l/77GreatFirewall) by entering and searching them.

In the United States, lawmakers have recognized that social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter can both promote and endanger democracy. Social media provides extremist groups with the ability to attract followers from across the nation and incite violence. Groups can use the platforms to spread fake news, and a report by the U.S. Senate has concluded that Russian intelligence operatives used Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram to manipulate voters. Legislators have called on social media to more actively censor the content on their platforms and limit or block access by groups or persons spreading hate speech or disinformation. The potential for misuse of technology is heightened by advances that enable the creation of deepfakes, computer-generated images that closely resemble real people.

Medical Miracles and Ongoing Health Challenges

Advances in computer technology were not the only technological success stories of the post–World War II world. In 1947, scientists perfected an artificial kidney, and just five years later, the first successful kidney transplant was performed. In the 1950s, antipsychotic drugs were developed and used to treat neurological disorders that once consigned patients to a lifetime of difficult treatment in a psychiatric hospital. In the 1950s, geneticists discovered the double-helix structure of DNA, information that was crucial for later advancements such as the ability to use DNA to diagnose and treat genetic diseases. In 1962, a surgical team successfully reattached a severed limb for the first time, and in 1967, the first human heart transplant took place. Over the next decade and a half, medical advances made it possible to conduct telemedicine, view and monitor internal organs without performing surgery, and monitor the heartbeat of a fetus during pregnancy.

Medical science also made enormous gains in eradicating diseases that had been common for centuries. For example, polio had caused paralysis and even death since the late nineteenth century, but in 1950, the first successful polio vaccine, developed by the Polish-born virologist Hilary Koprowski, was demonstrated as effective in children. This was an orally ingested live vaccine, a weakened form of the virus designed to help the immune system develop antibodies. In the meantime, researcher Jonas Salk at the University of Pittsburgh was developing an injectable dead-virus vaccine (Figure 15.20). This vaccine rendered the virus inactive but still triggered the body to produce antibodies. In 1955, Salk's vaccine was licensed for use in the United States, and mass distribution began there. Other vaccines were developed in the United States and other countries over the next several years. Their use has nearly eradicated polio cases, which once numbered in the hundreds

of thousands. When polio was detected in an adult in New York in July 2022, it was the first case in the United States since 2013.

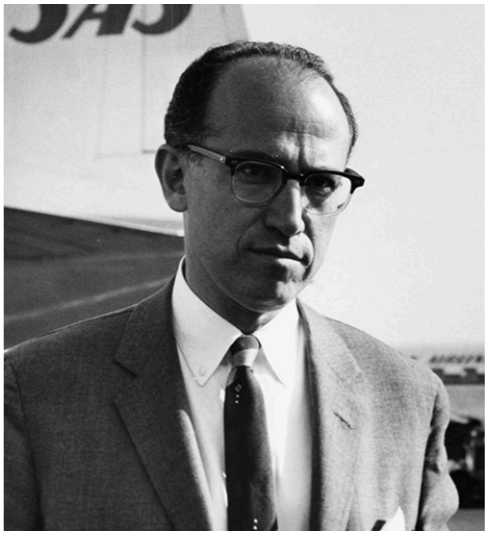


FIGURE 15.20 Jonas Salk. After the polio vaccine he developed proved successful, Dr. Jonas Salk chose not to patent it to ensure it would be used freely around the world. (credit: "Dr Jonas Edward Salk, creator of Salk polio vaccine, at Copenhagen Airport" by SAS Scandinavian Airlines/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The eradication of smallpox is another important success story. Centuries ago, smallpox devastated communities around the world, especially Native American groups, which had no immunity to the disease when Europeans brought it to their shores. Early vaccines based on the cowpox virus were deployed in the United States and Europe in the eighteenth century with great effect. In the twentieth century, advancements made the vaccine safer and easier to administer. However, by the 1950s, much of the world remained unvaccinated and susceptible. Beginning in 1959, the World Health Organization (WHO) began working to eradicate smallpox through mass vaccination, redoubling efforts in 1967 through its Intensified Eradication Program. During the 1970s, smallpox was eradicated in South America, Asia, and Africa. In 1980, the WHO declared it had been eliminated globally.

The WHO's smallpox program is considered the most effective disease-eradication initiative in history, but it was an aggressive campaign not easily replicated. And without a vaccine, the problems of controlling transmissible diseases can be immense. A novel disease was first reported among Los Angeles's gay community in 1981, and by 1982 it had become known as AIDS (acquired immunodeficiency syndrome). Researchers realized it was commonly transmitted through sexual intercourse but could also be passed by shared needles and blood transfusions. At that time, the U.S. Centers for Disease Control explained that AIDS was not transmitted through casual contact, but the information did little to calm rising concerns about this still largely mysterious and deadly disease. By 1987, more than 60,000 people in the world had died of AIDS. In the United States, the government was slow to fund research to develop treatments or to find a cure. That year, activists at the Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center in New York City, concerned with the toll that AIDS was taking on the gay community and the government's seeming lack of concern regarding a disease that the media depicted as affecting primarily gay men, an already stigmatized group, formed the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP). ACT UP engaged in nonviolent protest to bring attention to their cause and worked to correct misinformation regarding the disease and those who were infected with it.

By the year 2000, scientists in the developed world had acquired a sophisticated understanding of AIDS and the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), and treatments have emerged that make it a manageable rather than a lethal disease, at least in the developed world. But in parts of the developing world, like Sub-Saharan Africa, infection rates were still rising. One difficulty was that HIV infection and AIDS had become associated with homosexuality, which carried stigma and, in some places, even legal penalties that made those infected

reluctant to seek help. Addressing transmission with the general public also meant broaching sometimes culturally sensitive topics like sexual intercourse. Those attempting to control the spread of the disease often found themselves trying to influence social and cultural practices, a complicated task fraught with pitfalls.

This does not mean there were not successes. The proliferation of condom use, circumcision, and public information campaigns, along with the declining cost of treatment, have greatly reduced the extent of the epidemic in Africa. But AIDS is still an enormous and devastating reality for Africans today. Sub-Saharan Africa is home to nearly 70 percent of the world's HIV-positive cases. Women and children are particularly affected; Africa accounts for 92 percent of all cases of infected pregnant women and 90 percent of all infected children.

Ebola virus has also threatened the health of Africans. The first known outbreak of Ebola, a hemorrhagic fever, took place in Central Africa in 1976. Since then, there have been several other outbreaks. In 2013–2016, an outbreak in West Africa quickly spread across national borders and threatened to become a global epidemic. Approximately ten thousand people fell ill in Liberia alone, and nearly half of those infected died.

The most recent challenge to world health, the COVID-19 pandemic, demonstrates the effects of both globalization and technological developments. The coronavirus SARS-CoV-2 appeared in Wuhan, China, an industrial and commercial hub, in December 2019. Airplane and cruise ship passengers soon unwittingly spread it throughout the world; the first confirmed case in the United States appeared in January 2020. As every continent reported infections, offices, stores, and schools closed and travel bans appeared. Despite these restrictions, middle-class and wealthy people in the developed world continued almost as normal. Many worked, studied, shopped, visited friends and family, and consulted doctors online from their homes.

Low-paid workers in service industries often lost their jobs, however, as restaurants and hotels closed, and children without access to computers or stable internet connections struggled to keep up with their classes. Even the more fortunate in the developed world confronted shortages of goods from toilet paper to medicines to infant formula when global supply chains stalled as farm laborers, factory workers, dock hands, and railroad employees fell ill or workplaces closed to prevent the spread of infection. Developing countries lacked funds to support their citizens through prolonged periods of unemployment. Although vaccines were developed in several countries, they were available primarily to people in wealthier nations. As of March 2022, only 1 percent of all vaccine doses administered worldwide had been given to people in low-income countries.

BEYOND THE BOOK

Public Art and Modern Pandemics

Dangerous diseases like HIV/AIDS can energize more people than doctors working in laboratories and global leaders publishing reports. During the early years of the HIV/AIDS crisis, grassroots organizers from around the world strove to focus attention on the problem. Their actions were necessary because governments often did little to prevent the spread of the disease or provide treatment for those infected. The AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) became known for staging loud protests in public and sometimes private places to raise awareness about the disease. In the United States, the publicity generated through groups like ACT UP forced the government to pay greater attention and to budget more money to the search for a cure. Some artists responded to this movement with murals in well-known locations like the Berlin Wall (Figure 15.21).

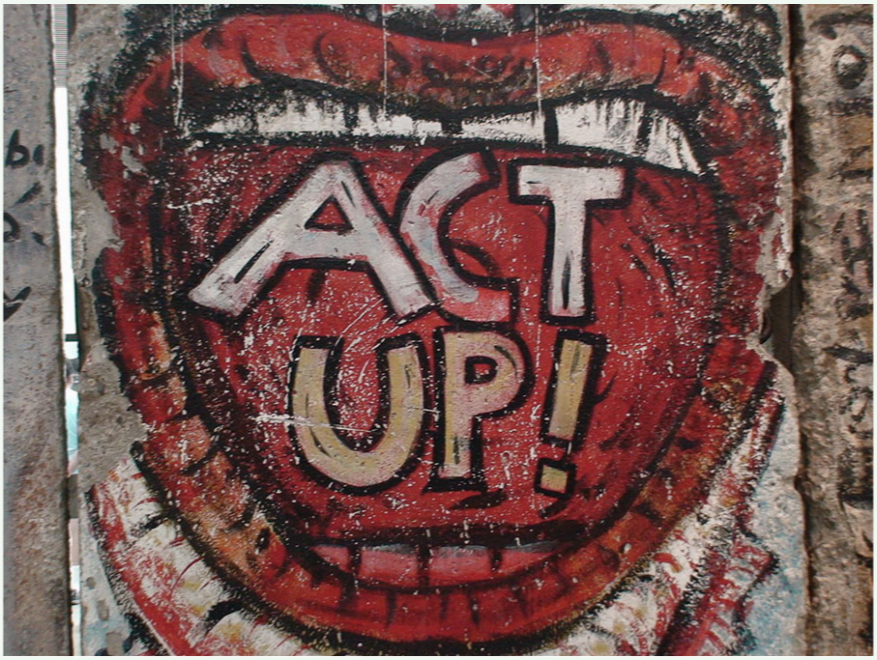


FIGURE 15.21 AIDS Mural. Artists often used the western face of the Berlin Wall to create provocative murals. This one, painted in the 1980s, featured the name of the HIV/AIDS awareness group ACT UP. (The Berlin Wall came down in 1989.) (credit: "Act Up! From the West side of the Berlin Wall" by Rory Finneren/Flickr, CC BY 2.0)

While some murals about diseases were a call to action, especially about HIV/AIDS, others have aimed to educate the public. A mural painted on a wall in Kenya for World Malaria Day 2014 showed viewers the proper use of bed nets to help lower the rate of infection (Figure 15.22).



FIGURE 15.22 Malaria Mural. This 2014 mural in Kenya illustrates how to avoid malaria infection with mosquito nets. The caption reads, "Sleep in a treated net, every night, every season." (credit: "Final mural at Nangina Primary School, Busia County" by U.S. President's Malaria Initiative/Flickr, Public Domain)

During the COVID-19 pandemic, artists also went to the streets. Some of the murals they painted demanded action or celebrated health workers. Others called for awareness about the rising number of elderly people dying of the disease (Figure 15.23).



FIGURE 15.23 COVID-19 Mural. In this German mural about the COVID-19 pandemic, the artist shows how the highly communicable disease separated generations while also highlights the vulnerability of the elderly. The caption reads, "Family is everything." (credit: "Mural Familie ist alles by Rick Riojas 2020" by Hubert Berberich/ Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

- What makes art a powerful medium for conveying messages about awareness? What aspects of these murals seem especially powerful to you?
- Do you recall seeing artwork from the COVID-19 pandemic or any other disease outbreak? What stood out in it?
- What other art forms might an artist use to communicate political or social messages? How are these methods effective?

15.4 Ongoing Problems and Solutions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe threats to global peace and security since the end of the Cold War
- Identify some consequences of migration and refugee resettlement in Europe and the United States
- Identify recent and current threats to human rights around the world
- Analyze the effects on poorer nations of the increasing division between the Global North and the Global South

On February 24, 2022, the world watched in horror and frustration as Russian tanks rolled across the Ukrainian border and began bombing cities around the former Soviet republic. This was the second time in fewer than ten years that Russian troops had invaded the nation. In 2014, Russian forces had annexed the

Ukrainian region of Crimea. While both invasions were decades in the making, to many they seemed like a rerun of a bygone era. Those who had watched Soviet tanks roll into Budapest and Prague to quell uprisings in the 1950s and 1960s saw the invasion of 2014 and the violence of 2022 as a reminder that some problems, no matter how far in the past, remain unresolved.

Instability in the Post–Cold War World

When the Soviet Union dissolved on December 31, 1991, most in the West celebrated the end of the Cold War, believing that a new world that would uniformly embrace liberal democracy and capitalism was in the process of being born. Political scientist Francis Fukuyama even published a book on the idea in 1992 called *The End of History and the Last Man*. The argument presented in the book was that the world had been marching toward a Western liberal democratic future for centuries, and with the Soviet Union gone, it had reached the inevitable end of its "ideological evolution." With the United States as the only remaining superpower, many also assumed the Cold War's bipolar world would soon evolve into a mostly unipolar one based on U.S. military, cultural, and economic dominance.

With this idea in mind, U.S. president Bill Clinton drafted a foreign policy platform geared to revising and expanding the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the alliance for mutual defense forged by the United States and other Western democracies during the Cold War. Clinton aimed to strengthen relationships in Asia, bring post–Soviet Russia into the international community, and address ethnic and political strife in the Middle East, the Balkans, Northern Ireland, Latin America, and East Africa. These goals occasionally required using the country's military, such as in 1995 when Clinton sent a force of twenty thousand to the Balkans as part of a NATO operation to enforce a cease-fire and protect upcoming elections.

One of the most pressing concerns for the United States and the world, however, was the need to secure the thirty-five thousand nuclear weapons then installed in thousands of sites around Eurasia. Many were in states that had separated from the former Soviet Union such as Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. Because these countries were going through a difficult period of transition and instability, many feared that non-state actors, meaning terrorist groups not tied to a specific country, might gain access to the armaments or the material necessary to make them and cause catastrophic damage. Some of the work had begun even before the Soviet Union collapsed. In the summer of 1991, the United States and the Soviet Union had signed the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), agreeing to each reduce their arms stockpiles by more than 80 percent.

After the disintegration of the USSR, however, the need to secure these stockpiles became more pressing. The solution proposed by the United States and supported by Russia was to denuclearize those states that had split from the former Soviet Union but still possessed nuclear weapons. While successful, the effort did run into some difficulties, particularly in Ukraine, which felt that preserving its nuclear weapons would be the best way to deter Russian belligerence in the future. Only after it had secured assurances from the international community that its borders would be respected did Ukraine allow its nuclear weapons to be removed and disassembled in Russia.

Nuclear proliferation elsewhere around the world was also a problem. India, for example, had become a nuclear power in 1974. At the time, it claimed it was not pursuing nuclear weapons capability, but since then, it has embraced these weapons as an important part of its security platform. Given the history of hostility between India and Pakistan, international observers in the 1970s worried about the implications of a nuclear-armed India. Some of these fears were realized in 1998 when Pakistan tested its first nuclear weapons, a goal toward which it had been building since before India became a nuclear power. While India maintains a no-first-use doctrine for its nuclear weapons, Pakistan has not reciprocated. Today, the countries have approximately one hundred nuclear weapons each, as well as long-range ballistic missile delivery systems.

Only a few years after Pakistan tested its first nuclear weapon, the illusion of an enduring post–Cold War peace was further shaken when on September 11, 2001, nineteen militant Islamic hijackers took control of four large passenger airplanes and crashed two of them into New York City's World Trade Center (Figure 15.24), one into

the Pentagon, and the fourth—after its path was deflected by passengers—into a field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania. It was soon determined that the terrorist attack, which killed nearly three thousand people from many nations, had been orchestrated by **al-Qaeda**, an Islamic terrorist organization then based in Afghanistan that was financed and led by a militant Saudi Arabian national named Osama bin Laden. According to bin Laden, the attack was carried out in response to U.S. support for Israel and its continued military presence in the Middle East.



FIGURE 15.24 September 11, 2001. Less than two hours after hijackers flew two jetliners into the World Trade Center in New York, both its towers crumbled to the ground in a pile of rubble. Those still inside were all killed. (credit: "New York, NY, September 19, 2001 -- Rescue workers climb over and dig through piles of rubble from the destroyed World Trade Center as the American flag billows over the debris" by Andrea Booher/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

After assessing the damage and collecting global support, the United States launched an attack on Afghanistan with the stated purpose of finding those responsible. This offensive represented the beginning of the U.S. war on terror and resulted in the collapse of Afghanistan's Islamic fundamentalist Taliban government, many of whose officials fled to the southern parts of the country or into neighboring Pakistan. Most of al-Qaeda's leadership also escaped, however, including Osama bin Laden. Over the next several years, the U.S. military pursued a policy of eliminating al-Qaeda, rebuilding civil society and infrastructure in Afghanistan, and propping up a democratically elected regime in the country. These efforts were made more difficult, however, by the decision of President George W. Bush to launch a war against Iraq in 2003.

The United States supported Iraq during the Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988) but came into conflict with it during the Gulf War in 1990, when Iraq invaded its neighbor Kuwait. The United States, Great Britain, and thirty-three other nations came to Kuwait's defense by bombing Iraqi targets and then launching a ground invasion. A mere one hundred hours after the coalition's ground invasion began, Iraqi forces had retreated from Kuwait, and a cease-fire was in place. Immediately following, uprisings took place in Kurdish and Shi'ite regions of Iraq that sought to topple President Saddam Hussein's government. Hussein brutally crushed the attempted revolts, but the coalition forces withdrew from Iraq, leaving him in power.

In 2001, in the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks, U.S. foreign policy leaders began to worry that Hussein might acquire weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), possibly including biological weapons. The Bush

administration wanted to prevent this and to channel the international goodwill showered on the country after the 2001 attacks toward the goal of removing the Iraqi leader. To this end, the United States built a new coalition of Asian, European, and Latin American countries. It sent Secretary of State Colin Powell to the United Nations to present the argument that Iraq had connections to al-Qaeda and possessed WMDs that made it a threat to international security (Figure 15.25). Even though at the time some in the U.S. intelligence community felt the evidence on which Powell relied was weak or flawed, to secure support for a U.S. invasion, members of the Bush administration such as Vice President Dick Cheney claimed the WMDs existed.



FIGURE 15.25 Colin Powell. Secretary of State Colin Powell gave a powerful presentation about Iraq's suspected weapons of mass destruction at the United Nations in 2003. At one point, he held up a model vial of anthrax (a bacterium that causes a serious infectious disease) to highlight the danger of biological weapons that Saddam Hussein was supposed to have. (credit: "Colin Powell anthrax vial. 5 Feb 2003 at the UN" by United States Government/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The invasion began on March 19, 2003, just a few weeks after Powell's presentation. By 2005, it had become obvious to the world that Iraq did not possess WMDs, and the hypothetical al-Qaeda connection had not been demonstrated. The invasion contributed to the violent unraveling of Iraqi society, however, which the coalition forces then struggled for years to bring under control. There were countless civilian casualties; Brown University's Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs estimates that between 184,382 and 207,156 civilians were killed. While the United States could point to some successes, such as the 2005 Iraq elections and the 2006 conviction of Saddam Hussein for crimes against humanity, the nation's reputation as a global force capable of projecting power to bring about positive change in the world had suffered greatly.

The consequences for the United States became more obvious in October 2006 when communist North Korea launched its first nuclear weapons test, an event the U.S. government had worked for years to prevent. The test was the culmination of decades of work inside the isolated country. North Korean leaders believed nuclear weapons would guarantee its survival in the post–Cold War world. But the United States and neighboring countries like South Korea and Japan worried that the unstable North Korean regime might use the weapons against them. Given the problems in Iraq and diminished global standing of the United States, it was unclear whether North Korea could be deterred from attempting additional tests, or whether the United States could discourage Iran from pursuing a nuclear weapons program.

Radicalism, Refugees, and Resistance

In 2011, the withdrawal of U.S. combat troops from Iraq was completed, eight long years after the invasion. Hopes that peace in Iraq would last were dashed, however, with the rise of the Islamic State of Iraq and the

Levant (ISIL), a fundamentalist and militant Islamic group also referred to as the **Islamic State**. Formed in 1999, ISIL had fought against the U.S.-led coalition that invaded Iraq in 2003. In 2014, it attacked Iraqi security forces and drove them from a number of cities, including Ramadi, Fallujah, and Mosul, and it killed thousands of members of the Yazidi minority group in Iraq's Sinjar district.

ISIL leaders proclaimed themselves the heads of a new caliphate, an Islamic state led by a ruler claiming to be a successor to Muhammad, with religious and political authority over all Muslims. This is a claim most of the world's Muslims reject. In response, a military coalition led by the United States returned to Iraq following a request by the Iraqi government. Meanwhile, ISIL's counterpart in Syria, known as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, waged war against both the government of Syria and other nonfundamentalist groups that were also seeking to oust Syria's president Bashar al-Assad. The U.S.-led coalition that returned to Iraq to fight the Islamic State there intervened in Syria as well.

Instability in Iraq and Syria led to a flood of refugees making their way across the Mediterranean to Europe in 2015 (Figure 15.26). Yet more were fleeing genocidal violence in the Darfur region of Sudan, while many others sought to escape failing states and poverty in numerous parts of the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. These refugees and economic migrants felt they would find a better and safer life in the developed countries of the West, particularly Germany, Sweden, Britain, France, and the United States, and many were willing to risk their lives to achieve this.



FIGURE 15.26 Refugee Crisis. In 2015, Europeans watched in amazement and sometimes fear as large numbers of refugees in small boats made their way across the Mediterranean from the Middle East, Asia, and Africa to Europe's shores. (credit: "LE Eithne Operation Triton" by Óglaigh na hÉireann/Flickr, CC BY 2.0)

Upon arrival, these groups met various responses. While some argued that the refugees had survived trauma and deserved to be welcomed with open arms, others said they were fleeing circumstances outside the host country's responsibility and would bring too many cultural and religious changes. For example, many Europeans feared that refugees from Islamic countries would reject the values of the largely secular European nations in which they settled. Many others believe that Muslims embrace political extremism or support acts of terrorism. Responding to the developing migrant crisis, German chancellor Angela Merkel declared, "We can do this!" and promised Germany would welcome 800,000 refugees in 2015.

LINK TO LEARNING

To better understand the motivations and experiences of the refugees who arrived in Europe during the 2015 refugee crisis, the trailer for *Human Flow* (https://openstax.org/l/77HumanFlow) can be viewed. *Human Flow* is a 2017 film about the crisis directed by the renowned Chinese visual artist and activist Ai Weiwei.

While some were heartened by Merkel's offer, others throughout Europe felt it was short-sighted. They noted that since Germany was in the European Union, bringing refugees there effectively amounted to bringing them into any other country in the EU. Within Germany itself, there was also resistance. Founded in 2014, the German group Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the West (PEGIDA) began conducting weekly marches in cities like Dresden, declaring that opening the doors to the Islamic world would spell the end of Europe (Figure 15.27). While PEGIDA made a point not to categorically oppose refugees, members continue to openly oppose the presence of the Islamic religion and culture within Germany.



FIGURE 15.27 Immigration Protest. PEGIDA is just one of many European groups that have grown by focusing on European fears about Muslim immigrants and Islamic terrorism. This demonstration by the group took place in Dresden, Germany in 2016. (credit: "PEGIDA Demonstration Dresden 2016-10-03" by "Chrystalcolor"/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

PEGIDA is just one of several **ultranationalist movements** that support an extreme form of nationalism and often seek to create ethnically homogeneous homelands. Others are Golden Dawn in Greece, the English Defence League in Britain, and the Identitarian Movement of Austria. Such groups advocate the establishment of ethnic-based citizenship, resist non-European immigration, and generally promote more conservative social policies. Europe is not the only continent to see a resurgence of xenophobic political activism in the last few decades. In Japan, Nippon Kaigi ("Japan Conference") is an ultranationalist organization founded in 1997 that advocates a staunchly nationalist education system, a strong monarchy, and positive interpretation of Japan's imperial past. The Nationalist Front of Mexico was founded in 2006 and advocates a neofascist ideology and a retreat from globalization. In the United States, the American Freedom Party, American Identity Movement, Patriot Front, National Justice Party, and others promote similar ideas. These groups are especially concerned with preventing immigration to the United States from Latin America (Figure 15.28). They are generally in the neofascist mold and advocate a United States that is overwhelmingly White and European in culture.



FIGURE 15.28 Migrants at the U.S. Southern Border. Many migrants who have crossed the southern border of the United States since 2020 have traveled far from countries including Ecuador, Brazil, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Haiti, and Cuba. Often, like those in this 2014 photo, they are children and arrive alone. (credit: "Border Patrol Agent Provides Water to Unaccompanied Alien Children" by U.S. Customs and Border Protection/Flickr, Public Domain)

State Instability and Human Rights Abuses

Many of the migrants arriving at the southern border of the United States are fleeing economic and political disorder in their home countries. This pattern goes back many decades. For example, many thousands of Salvadoran migrants have entered the United States each year, especially during and after the El Salvador Civil War (Figure 15.29). That war began in 1979 with a military coup supported by the United States, which feared that radical leftist elements in El Salvador were destabilizing the country and leading it in a direction contrary to U.S. Cold War interests.





(a) **(b)**

FIGURE 15.29 El Salvador's Civil War. (a) The civil war in El Salvador greatly destabilized the country and led to a surge in Salvadorans seeking asylum in the United States. (b) The soldiers in the photo are members of the *Ejército*

Revolucionario del Pueblo (People's Revolutionary Army), one of five left-wing groups that made up the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. (credit a left: modification of work "CIA map of Central America" by CIA The World Factbook – Regional maps/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit a right: modification of work "World map blank shorelines" by Maciej Jaros/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain; credit b: modification of work "ERP combatants in Perquín, El Salvador in 1990" by Linda Hess Miller/Wikimedia Commons, CC BY 3.0)

By supporting the coup with money, military training, and the sharing of intelligence reports, the United States hoped to return stability to El Salvador, but the opposite occurred. Many in El Salvador felt the military government was illegitimate and staged protests and resistance. The military responded with violence of its own, such as a deadly attack on demonstrators in 1980. There were also rightist paramilitary groups, often referred to as "death squads," fighting against leftist guerrilla forces in the countryside and committing murders and massacres. As the country descended into chaos, many left and found refuge in the United States. Today these immigrants number about 2.5 million.

A similar pattern of civil war and instability in other parts of Central America has also produced human rights abuses and an increase in migration to the United States. The Guatemalan Civil War (1960–1996), for example, led to numerous human rights violations against Guatemalans. These included a reported campaign of violence and terrorism by the government against ethnic Mayans and peasants accused of supporting leftist guerrilla groups. Nicaragua has experienced destabilization since the 1960s as well. Leftist guerrilla organizations fought against the dictatorship of the Somoza family, which ruled until the late 1970s. Then, in 1979, one of the major leftist groups, the Sandinistas, took control. The Sandinistas were socialists, and within months they had opened diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and later accepted its economic and military assistance. This action alarmed the United States and led it to support resistance to the Sandinista government, which contributed to an escalation of the violence and a number of human rights abuses on both sides.

LINK TO LEARNING

The long-term consequences of the war in El Salvador (https://openstax.org/l/77ElSalvador) are still obvious today. Watch this brief news report to learn about some of them.

While violence in Central America has declined in the last few decades, it persists elsewhere. Venezuela, effectively a one-party state since 2007, has been accused by the United States of a number of human rights abuses. These include murder, imprisonment, torture, and government support of armed groups that commit violence against protestors. Similar accusations have been made against the governments in Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Peru, and Chile. Chile's government committed numerous human rights abuses against its people during the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973–1990). These included torture, execution, and sexual abuse of leftist political opponents. While Pinochet has since died, human rights organizations claim the abuses continue, particularly against Indigenous groups and those identifying as LGBTQ+.

Similar human rights abuses committed by authoritarian governments are also a persistent reality across much of Africa. Between April and July 1994, nearly 800,000 people were killed in Rwanda when an estimated 200,000 members of the Hutu majority sought to wipe out the minority Tutsi population and any Hutus who tried to protect them. Armed conflicts in countries like Liberia, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Nigeria, and Somalia have also led to many human rights violations. In a number of countries, militant Islamic organizations have committed civilian massacres and targeted killings. These include attacks by Boko Haram, the Islamic State in West Africa, and the Islamic State in the Greater Sahara, which have been responsible for many hundreds of deaths over the last few years. In response, the governments in these countries have committed atrocities of their own. For example, in 2021, government forces in the Central African Republic attacked a mosque and killed fourteen people.

Governments across Africa have often used violence to break up anti-government protests. For example, in the

small southern African country of Eswatini (formerly Swaziland), government forces broke up a pro-democracy protest in 2021, killing eighty people and injuring more than two hundred. Many more who protested the regime of the Eswatini king Mswati III were arrested (Figure 15.30). Similar actions against protestors in Sudan that year led to the deaths of fifty-three people. And other government abuses across the continent have resulted in long prison sentences and even death for protestors, whistleblowers, and journalists who have challenged government policies.



FIGURE 15.30 King Mswati III of Eswatini. King Mswati III has been condemned by many international observers as an absolute monarch who rules with an iron fist. As this 2006 photograph shows, he also skillfully uses the symbols of his country to strengthen his hold on power. (credit: "King Mswati III, 2006" by "Amada44"/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

In Asia, Myanmar and China demonstrate that human rights violations can emerge where racial and religious prejudices against minorities are pronounced. The Rohingya people, a Muslim minority living in predominantly Buddhist Myanmar, have faced oppression for generations, including being officially excluded from citizenship in 1982. Because they are a small minority and viewed with suspicion by the larger Buddhist population, they have long been vulnerable to attacks. In 2017, brutality against the Rohingya escalated dramatically and triggered a mass migration of more than 700,000 to neighboring Bangladesh. As of 2022, nearly a million Rohingya people were still living in large refugee camps there (Figure 15.31).



FIGURE 15.31 Rohingya Refugees. Rohingya refugees from Myanmar have struggled to draw global attention to their plight. In 2015, their representatives at a Sumatra refugee camp spoke with Anne C. Richards, the Obama administration's assistant secretary of state for population, refugees, and migration. (credit: "Assistant Secretary for Population, Migration, and Refugees Anne C. Richard Visiting Rohingya Refugee Camp in Aceh" by U.S. Embassy, Jakarta/Flickr, Public Domain)

Another case of state-sponsored abuse against an ethnic minority is the oppression of the Uyghurs of China (Figure 15.32). The Uyghurs number about eleven million and are a mostly Muslim ethnic group of Turkic origin living in northwestern Xinjiang. The Chinese government has repressed them for decades, claiming that many hold extremist ideas about carving out their own Islamic state, which China views as a threat to its territorial integrity. Chinese policy has been to compel the Uyghurs to conform their religious beliefs more thoroughly to the state's nationalist message and to eliminate separatist movements. Since at least as early as 2017, China has rounded up several hundred thousand Uyghurs and placed them in what it calls vocational training centers. Human rights groups, however, have described these as reeducation camps intended to compel the Uyghurs to renounce Islam and become loyal Chinese citizens. Relatively little is known about the many camps because the state controls information and denies that abuse occurs within them.



FIGURE 15.32 Support for China's Uyghur People. In China, protesting the treatment of Uyghurs is strictly prohibited by the government. These marchers in Germany called attention to their plight in 2020. (credit: "Demonstration for the rights of the Uyghurs in Berlin 2020-01-19 09" by Leonhard Lenz/Wikimedia Commons, CC0 1.0)

Women and girls often face the brunt of violence when instability reigns or when states sponsor oppression against minorities. Both Rohingya and Uyghur women have described sexual abuse perpetrated by the state or with its tacit approval. In 2014, the world condemned the Islamic terrorist group Boko Haram's attack on a girl's high school in Nigeria and its kidnapping of 276 mostly Christian female students, many of whom were forced into marriages with Boko Haram members or sold into sexual slavery. Those who escaped have described beatings, sexual assaults, and torture. While this event captured global attention, including from First Lady Michelle Obama, many similar kidnappings have occurred before and since with almost no international coverage at all (Figure 15.33).



FIGURE 15.33 A Plea for Boko Haram's Victims. First Lady Michelle Obama brought much-needed attention to the kidnapping of girls in Africa when she posed for this photograph in the Diplomatic Reception Room at the White House in 2014. (credit: "First Lady Michelle Obama holding a sign reading "#bringbackourgirls"" by Michelle Obama, Office of the First Lady/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

The situation of women in Afghanistan is particularly dire. Since retaking control of the country in August 2021 following the U.S. military's departure, the Taliban has rolled back virtually all the once-protected civil rights of women and girls. Afghan women have been denied access to education, health care, and civil rights

and the right to free expression, freedom of movement, and freedom of association. They are required to completely cover their bodies while outdoors and are routinely inspected by security officials to ensure they are properly clothed and in the company of a male relative. Because they are now restricted in the types of jobs they can hold, many Afghan women have found it difficult to earn enough money to support themselves or their families as they once did.

DUELING VOICES

The Debate Over Veils and Head Coverings

Whether or not Muslim women should be required—or allowed—to wear veils or head coverings is a contentious issue. In some countries with Muslim-majority populations, such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Afghanistan, the law requires women to veil their heads and/or faces in public. In other Muslim countries, however, women can choose whether to do so.

Muslim women living in the West also must confront the question of whether to cover their heads and faces in public. Sometimes government authorities do not give them a choice. In 2004, France banned the wearing of veils in public schools, and in 2011 it banned veils that cover the entire face, as did Belgium. Women cannot work for the French government while veiled, nor can anyone wearing an overtly religious symbol such as a crucifix or skullcap. French authorities claim these bans ensure the secular nature of the French state, a bedrock principle dating from the French Revolution and enshrined in Article 1 of the French Constitution of 1958.

Supporters of women's right to veil argue that such laws are a backlash against Muslim immigrants and disproportionately affect Muslim women, and they point out that French public schools celebrate Christian holidays. While conservative politicians generally support the bans, some liberals would prevent veiled women from working in day care centers, and the Socialist junior minister for women's rights questioned whether veils should be allowed in universities.

Muslim women themselves are divided in their opinions. Some consider veils symbols of oppression and argue that they can be good Muslims without covering themselves. One New York City woman explained, "I am a Muslim woman, and I have never worn a veil, nor has my mother or her sisters. . . . While we are devoted to Islam, we believe that God exists on the inside and not in outward symbols that are too often thwarted and perverted by political interests."

Many others voluntarily choose to wear veils or headscarves and do not feel pressured to do so. They consider them a symbol of their cultural identity or religious piety. One young Muslim American woman explained to the *New York Times*, "I chose to start wearing the veil three years ago, even though the girls in my family don't. I chose to wear it myself after I studied Islam and thought it was a beautiful way to express my love for my religion and nothing more."

- Why did France ban full-face veils? Do you find the government's arguments convincing?
- Do you think banning religious symbols is the best way to achieve the separation of church and state? Why or why not?

Global North and Global South

The reality for many people in Africa, Asia, and Latin America is a stark reminder of the wide gulf between what some refer to as the Global North and the Global South. These labels describe the rough geographic pattern evident in the global distribution of the world's richest and poorest countries. Most of the richest countries, such as the United States, Canada, and the EU countries, are in the north, while poorer countries predominate in the south (Figure 15.34). However, there are also wealthy countries such as Australia, New Zealand, and Singapore in the southern hemisphere, so the terms actually reflect economic realities and not

geography. Furthermore, while not all people living in Global South countries are poor, those that are earn only a fraction of what the average person in a Global North country earns. The world is complicated, and complexity resists simple categorizations.

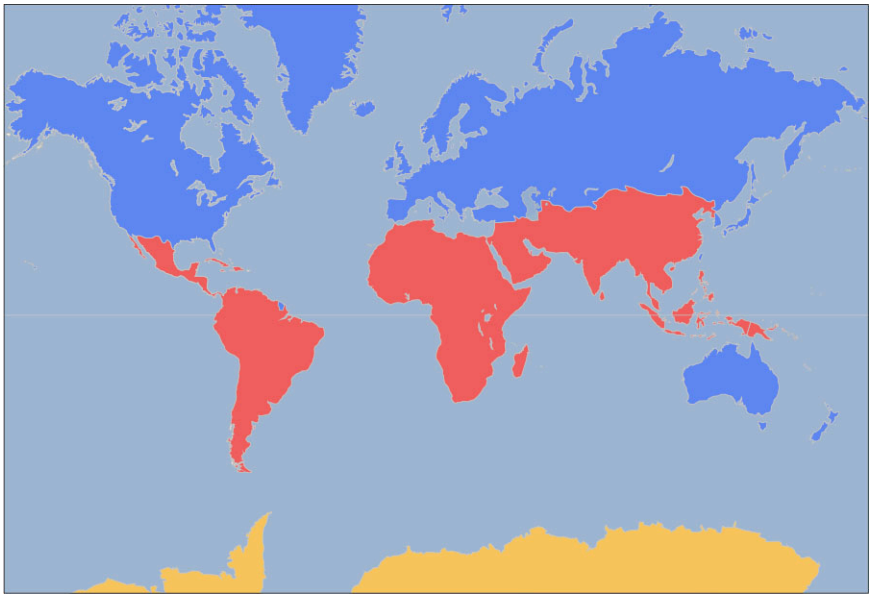


FIGURE 15.34 The Global North and the Global South. When people speak of the Global North, shown in blue in this map, they mean mostly wealthy Western countries. With a few exceptions, the Global South, shown in red, means mostly poorer countries, some of which were once colonized by European imperial powers. (credit: modification of work "World map blank shorelines" by Maciej Jaros/Wikimedia Commons, Public Domain)

Many of the economic problems in the Global South can be traced to imperial exploitation, sometimes going back centuries. Countries in the Global North, especially in Europe, tended to reap the benefits of this exploitation. The legacy of colonialism and imperialism in Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and southern Asia continues to affect these countries in the form of high levels of government corruption, poorly developed industries, and borders drawn for the benefit of imperialist powers rather than by the groups living there. In Africa, borders charted to benefit imperialist powers often separated members of the same ethnic group into different countries while forcing hostile groups into the same country. Violent ethnic conflict has been a frequent result.

Even Global South countries that are resource-rich have struggled to develop their economies over the past few decades. Indeed, they often have more difficulty responding to their domestic needs than countries that are relatively resource-poor. This problem, sometimes dubbed the **resource curse**, a term coined by British economist Richard Auty in 1993, makes resource-rich countries prone to authoritarianism, high rates of conflict, and low rates of economic growth. Resource-poor countries typically use citizens' taxes for the majority of government funding, resulting in greater public scrutiny over how that money is used and governments that are more responsive to public needs. In contrast, governments in resource-rich countries are able to tap into profit-producing extractive industries like oil production to fund public expenditures. Because that profit is often quite large, opportunities for government corruption abound. Efforts to capture more profit also contribute to conflict and sometimes authoritarian regimes, as politicians use money to reward political supporters and fund security forces that silence opponents and stamp out protest. There is also typically less public scrutiny of potential corruption.

LINK TO LEARNING

The resource curse is a complicated problem that scholars and others continue to try to solve. To better understand the issue, take a look at this insightful short interview with Leif Wenar (https://openstax.org/l/

77Wenar) in which he discusses the resource curse. Wenar is the author of *Blood Oil: Tyrants, Violence, and the Rules That Run the World.*

The African country of Angola, rich in diamonds and oil, has struggled with the resource curse. In 2018, oil made up more than 92 percent of its exports, and the oil industry accounted for about a third of its GDP. Since achieving independence from Portugal in 1975, the country has experienced internal wars and massacres. For much of this period, until 2017, Angola was ruled by José Eduardo dos Santos, who was routinely criticized internationally for election fraud, corruption, and authoritarianism. Much of his power was derived from the oil rents paid to him by oil companies operating in Angola, which he used to oppress his opposition, maintain his hold on power, and shower his family and close contacts with favors and money. The oil rents were substantial, but relatively little of this money actually trickled down to the country's largely impoverished people (Figure 15.35). Strife also weakened Angola's ability to feed itself. Famine conditions prevailed in the 1980s and 1990s, and many educated and skilled workers left for opportunities abroad. In 2019, the percentage of the population below the national poverty line was 41 percent, 30 percent of adults had not completed primary schooling, and 53 percent of the country had no access to electricity.



FIGURE 15.35 Poverty in Resource-Rich Angola. Despite their enormous natural riches, the people of Angola continue to live in great poverty, as in this typical village in the country. (credit: "Streetscene Angola village" by Paulo César Santos/Wikimedia Commons, CC0 1.0)

While Angola is an extreme case, its problems are generally representative of those in many countries across the Global South, including those unaffected by the resource curse. As of 2015, approximately 85 percent of the world's extreme poor (those living on less than $1.90 per day) lived in Sub-Saharan Africa and south Asia, and half of them lived in just five countries: India, Bangladesh, Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Ethiopia. Many lack access to good-quality medical care, infrastructure, educational resources, and communication systems. They face high rates of famine, disease, and death from political instability. They also experience food instability. According to the United Nations, approximately 800 million people faced hunger in 2020, many in the Global South. They are also more vulnerable to natural disasters like hurricanes, earthquakes, tsunamis, and heat waves. Their countries are more likely to experience problems related to environmental and industrial pollution, as well as the many effects of climate change.

These difficulties have been at least partially alleviated by the efforts of international organizations like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The World Bank has encouraged community-driven development by supporting government planning and investments that prioritize a bottom-up approach. It has helped countries manage the problem of persistent natural disasters, such as financing early warning systems for tsunamis in Southeast Asia. And it has provided funds to meet educational needs, to provide infrastructure for clean water, and to combat hunger by boosting agricultural production. Similarly, the IMF has provided a pool of monetary resources countries can access when they fall into financial difficulties.

While both organizations can point to their many achievements, they have occasionally made problems worse. Critics like the economist Joseph Stiglitz, for instance, point to the many conditions the IMF imposes on countries when it comes to help. These include increased privatization, elimination of protectionist policies, higher interest rates, and austerity measures that reduce government spending. Such conditions, Stiglitz and others have noted, tend to benefit foreign creditors from the Global North and hurt poor workers in the countries the IMF purports to be saving. Similar criticisms have been directed against the World Bank. Many have argued that the organization lacks representation from the Global South, so poor countries have relatively little influence within the organization and on its policies and actions.

Key Terms

al-Qaeda an Islamic terrorist organization financed and led by militant Saudi Arabian national Osama bin Laden and responsible for the September 11 attacks on the United States in 2001

Arab Spring a popular movement calling for government reform and democracy that spread across the Arab world in 2011

bulletin board system (BBS) pre-internet computer networks that consisted of personal computers connected with each other via modems and phone lines

climate change broad changes in temperature, weather, storm activity, wind patterns, sea levels, and other influences on the planet

European Union (EU) a single-market zone created in 1993 to allow the free movement of goods, services, money, and people among European member states

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) a 1947 trade agreement among twenty-three countries to reinforce postwar economic recovery, later replaced by the World Trade Organization (WTO)

global warming the general rise in Earth's temperature that scientists have observed over approximately the past two hundred years

globalization the interconnectedness of societies and economies throughout the world as a result of trade, technology, and adoption and sharing of various aspects of culture

green parties political parties organized around environmental concerns

Islamic State a fundamentalist and militant Islamic group that grew in power and waged a war in Iraq and Syria following the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003

multinational corporation a corporate business entity that controls the production of goods and services in multiple countries

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) a 1992 trade agreement between the United States, Canada, and Mexico to reduce trade barriers and allow goods to flow freely

offshoring the process of moving some of a company's operations overseas to access cheaper labor markets

outsourcing the process of hiring outside contractors, sometimes abroad, to perform tasks a company once performed internally

Paris Agreement a 2015 treaty among members of the United Nations to limit global warming to less than 2°C (3.6°F) above levels from the time of industrialization

resource curse the problem that makes resource-rich developing countries prone to authoritarianism, high rates of conflict, and low rates of economic growth

ultranationalist movements organizations that support an extreme form of nationalism and often seek ethnically homogeneous homelands

Section Summary

15.1 A Global Economy

In the aftermath of World War II, countries began to open trade and communications around the world. In Europe, the EEC or Common Market eventually grew into the EU. In Asia, countries worked together to create their own trading blocs like ASEAN and APEC. Canada, Mexico, and the United States signed the NAFTA treaty, later replaced by USMCA. All these trading blocs and organizations have made it easier for MNCs to operate around the world, leading to a rise in the standard of living for many developing countries.

But MNCs are often criticized for their profit-driven approach, which can create lasting problems in developing countries, sometimes made worse by efforts to encourage these nations to privatize their public utilities. The poorest groups are also most commonly exploited by MNCs that contract with large factories or sweatshops in developing countries. Wealthy corporations like Apple and Nike have frequently been criticized for profiting from the labor of poorly paid workers in unsafe environments in places like China and Bangladesh.

15.2 Debates about the Environment

In the 1950s and 1960s, some in developed countries began responding openly to the environmental problems they saw around them, including those caused by the Green Revolution. Scientists like Rachel Carson, author of *Silent Spring*, gave legitimacy to these concerns, and many people became environmental activists working to promote change. They and the environmental groups they created spoke of the need to address global warming and climate change, the dangers of nuclear energy, deforestation, the ozone hole, and many other problems. These efforts were occasionally met with resistance, not just from those who survived by exploiting natural resources in their own developing countries, but also from workers, like loggers and others, in developed countries. By the 1980s, international groups like the United Nations were also calling for action. Specific measures like the Montreal Protocol were followed by the UN's ambitious 2015 Paris Agreement to limit warming. But achieving international agreement about how best to handle the problem of climate change remains a struggle.

15.3 Science and Technology for Today's World

By the 1990s, computers had become commonplace in developed countries, though fears about their potential impact on privacy grew with the rise of the internet and social media. Easy access to social media over smartphones helped young protestors in Tunisia and Egypt organize to challenge their governments. The movement spread across the Middle East in the form of the Arab Spring. Some nations such as China have since blocked the use of many social media platforms.

Medical scientists have made great strides in curing and preventing diseases. Vaccines eliminated smallpox around the world and came close to eliminating polio. But new illnesses arose, including Ebola virus and HIV/AIDS. Since it was identified in the 1980s, treatments have emerged to make it a manageable disease for many rather than a lethal one, though in the developing world, it is still a huge problem. The most recent challenge to world health, the COVID-19 pandemic that began in December 2019, demonstrates how both globalization and technological developments affect life in the twenty-first century.

15.4 Ongoing Problems and Solutions

When the Soviet Union collapsed in the early 1990s, it seemed possible to many in the West that the United States would lead the world into a new era of universal liberal democracy. But in 2001, the September 11 attacks by the terrorist group al-Qaeda prompted the United States to begin wars in Afghanistan and then in Iraq. The mistakes made in Iraq damaged the reputation of the United States and weakened its ability to preserve stability in the world. Its intervention in Iraq also spurred the growth of the Islamic State, responsible for violent attacks in Iraq, Syria, and Africa.

Violence, civil war, and persecution have led large numbers of refugees from the Middle East and Africa to cross the Mediterranean to Europe. Their arrival has provoked some resistance, and a number of ultranationalist groups have sprung up in the United States and Europe. The migrant crisis at the U.S.-Mexico border is partly the result of violence and instability in a number of Latin American countries, such as civil wars in El Salvador and Guatemala.

Violence and human rights abuses have plagued Sub-Saharan Africa for decades. Many occur in the Global South, and critics have connected the economic problems there to the region's history of imperial exploitation by countries in the Global North. One of these problems is the resource curse, or the difficulty of responding to domestic needs faced by resource-rich countries.

Assessments

Review Questions

1. Which organization later became the World Trade Organization (WTO)?
   a. General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)

b. European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)
c. North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
d. European Economic Community (EEC)

2. What controversial policy has the World Bank supported around the world?
a. increased support for tariffs
b. increased privatization of public utilities
c. increased protections for workers
d. increased access to education

3. What was one consequence of Bechtel Corporation's efforts to develop water infrastructure in Bolivia?
a. the nationalization of Bechtel
b. NAFTA's condemnation of Bechtel
c. better access to water in Bolivia
d. violent protests in Bolivia

4. How did U.S. politicians in the 1980s respond to public concerns that Japan was pursuing unfair trade practices?
a. They called for lower wages in the United States.
b. They pushed to limit Japanese car exports to the United States.
c. They cut off trade in electronics with Japan.
d. They criticized the use of foreign workers in Japan.

5. At what industry did Rachel Carson take aim in her book *Silent Spring*?
a. the coal industry
b. the chemical industry
c. the meat industry
d. the nuclear industry

6. Which group was most likely to support the growing environmental movement in the 1960s through the 1980s?
a. young people
b. older veterans of war
c. poor timber workers
d. ranchers in developing countries

7. Efforts to protect which species created tensions between environmentalists and workers in the Pacific Northwest in the 1980s and 1990s?
a. seals
b. rainforest mites
c. iguanas
d. spotted owls

8. Which international agreement was created to address the ozone hole in Earth's atmosphere?
a. the Montreal Protocol
b. the Paris Agreement
c. the UNFCCC
d. NAFTA

9. What device made it possible for digital computers to efficiently process large amounts of information

without the need for complicated wiring that took up space?
a. the integrated circuit
b. the vacuum tube
c. the BBS
d. the analog computer

10. What was one consequence of the Egyptian protests in Tahrir Square in 2011?
a. The Egyptian president began supporting the use of social media.
b. China banned the use of Facebook.
c. Apple invented the iPhone.
d. The Egyptian president was overthrown.

11. The vaccine developed by Hilary Koprowski was designed to prevent which communicable disease?
a. smallpox
b. polio
c. AIDS
d. HIV

12. Which continent is home to the overwhelming majority of HIV-positive cases?
a. Europe
b. Asia
c. North America
d. Africa

13. What was the stated reason for the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003?
a. to protect Afghanistan
b. to destabilize Pakistan
c. to remove WMDs from Iraq
d. to find Osama bin Laden

14. What ultranationalist group has arisen in Germany to oppose the immigration of Muslim refugees?
a. PEGIDA
b. Order of the Golden Dawn
c. Kaigi
d. National Justice Party

15. Which country experienced the rise of "death squads" during a bloody civil war in the 1980s?
a. El Salvador
b. Venezuela
c. Peru
d. Ecuador

16. Where did Rohingya refugees from Myanmar seek shelter in 2017?
a. Pakistan
b. Bangladesh
c. United States
d. Germany

17. Countries that experience the resource curse are also more likely to experience what other result?
a. authoritarianism

b. economic development
c. peace
d. government stability

Check Your Understanding Questions

1. How has free trade around the world contributed to hardships for workers in developing countries?
2. What are some of the benefits to companies of regional trading blocs like NAFTA and the EU?
3. Why have environmentalists faced resistance from workers and other groups?
4. What effect did microprocessors have on the development of computers and other kinds of technology?
5. What was a social consequence of the worldwide spread of internet access through smartphones and social media?
6. What were some of the reasons health organizations were able to eradicate smallpox around the world?
7. Why did the United States think it was important to secure nuclear weapons in countries like Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus in the 1990s?
8. What were some of the consequences in Europe of the arrival of refugees from Africa and the Middle East?
9. How does China justify its treatment of the Uyghurs since 2017?

Application and Reflection Questions

1. Do you think NAFTA was beneficial or harmful for the United States economically? Why?
2. Do you think the benefits of free trade around the world outweigh the costs? Why or why not?
3. How have humans both caused and suffered from environmental degradation?
4. Should developing nations be required to limit industrial production to the same extent that developed nations are now being asked to do in order to address environmental issues? Why or why not?
5. In what ways have computers made life easier and also more difficult? Do you feel we are able to balance these two results of having computers in our lives? Why or why not?
6. The growth of the internet and social media have been beneficial in many ways. Are there any negative consequences of ease of internet access and widespread reliance on social media? If so, what are they, and how can we mitigate these effects?
7. Although globalization has increased the speed by which diseases can spread around the globe and promoted collaboration to find treatments for these diseases, access to new medical discoveries remains unequal. How does the unequal application of medical breakthroughs in the developed and developing nations reflect the mixed effects of globalization?
8. How might the world be different had the United States not invaded Iraq in 2003? Why?
9. How have the actions of Global North countries contributed to the problems of those in the Global South?

APPENDIX A

Glossary

A

Allies the nations that united to oppose Germany and Austria-Hungary, originally, Russia, France, and Britain

al-Qaeda an Islamic terrorist organization financed and led by militant Saudi Arabian national Osama bin Laden and responsible for the September 11 attacks on the United States in 2001

anarchism an ideology advocating that government be abolished

apartheid a South African policy of racial segregation that ended in 1991

Arab Spring a popular movement calling for government reform and democracy that spread across the Arab world in 2011

armistice a cease-fire agreement

astrolabe a device for navigation that used constellations as a guide and enabled mariners to find their north–south position on the earth's surface

Atlantic Charter a statement of British and U.S. goals and objectives for the world after World War II; negotiated by British prime minister Winston Churchill and U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt

B

balance of power a situation in which competing nations have approximately equal military power

Balfour Declaration a 1917 statement by British foreign secretary Alfred Balfour publicly supporting the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine

Balkan League an alliance created in 1912 by Greece, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Serbia against the Ottoman Empire

Beer Hall Putsch a 1923 attempt by Adolf Hitler and his followers to take over the city of Munich

Berlin Airlift an operation carried out by Great Britain and the United States to supply West Berlin from the air during the Soviet Union's blockade of West Berlin

black legend the myth, mostly promoted by English writers, that the Spanish treated Native Americans far more harshly than other European colonizers

bloc a group of countries united for a common purpose

Bolsheviks a radical majority faction of Russia's Social Democratic Party led by Vladimir Lenin

bourgeoisie the social class whose members owned the means of production and whose main goal was the preservation of capital

Boxers members of the Society of the Righteous and Harmonious Fists, an anti-foreign secret society in northern China

British Raj the period from 1858 to 1947 when the British government directly ruled India through the Viceroy of India

bulletin board system (BBS) pre-internet computer networks that consisted of personal computers connected with each other via modems and phone lines

C

Cádiz Cortes the central Spanish *junta* established in the city of Cádiz that coordinated Spanish resistance to the French occupation

caliph an Islamic title designating a spiritual and secular leader

caliphate an area under the control of a Muslim ruler called a caliph

Canton system a system that allowed Europeans to trade with China only if they worked through the Chinese guilds that enjoyed monopoly rights to the tea and silk trades

capitalism an economic system in which private individuals and companies own the means of production, and free (unregulated) markets set the value of most goods and services based on supply and demand

caravansary an inn funded by the state or wealthy individuals where travelers could spend the night and store their goods securely

caravel a fifteenth-century Portuguese sailing ship

Central powers a World War I coalition that included the Austro-Hungarian, German, and Ottoman Empires

charter an official authorization to conduct a major economic activity such as the creation of a colony

chattel slavery a form of slavery in which one person is owned by another as a piece of property

Christian humanism a movement, also known as northern Renaissance humanism, that stressed the study of the works of Greece and Rome and the early Christian fathers to awaken individual piety

chronological approach an approach to history that follows a timeline from ancient to modern

climate change broad changes in temperature, weather, storm activity, wind patterns, sea levels, and other influences on the planet

Cold War a contest for ideological, social, economic, technological, and military supremacy between the United States and the Soviet Union

collectivization the taking over of agriculture by a national government

colonialism a practice in which one group of people attempts to establish control over another group, usually for purposes of economic exploitation

Columbian Exchange the flow of plants, animals, and diseases between the Eastern and Western Hemispheres

Committee of Public Safety the provisional government of revolutionary France from 1793 to 1794

Congo Free State a personal colony of Belgium's King Leopold II where infamous abuse of African laborers took place

Congress of Vienna an 1814–1815 meeting of Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria to restore the balance of power and assert principles of conservatism

conquistadors Spanish explorers in the Americas during the Age of Exploration

conservatism a political ideology that emerged in reaction to the freedoms associated with the revolutions of the eighteenth century and advocated submitting to government authority and giving religious doctrine a central role in maintaining social order and stability

containment the West's Cold War policy goal of confining communism to the Soviet Union and the nations of Eastern Europe

Continental Congresses two assemblies of elected colonial representatives that met in Philadelphia in 1774 and 1775, the second time to adopt the powers of government and approve the Declaration of Independence from Britain

contract labor a system in which people sign contracts promising to perform work in exchange for a fee

creoles in Spanish colonies, American-born White people of European descent

Cuban Missile Crisis the 1962 confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union over the presence of Soviet missiles in Cuba

cultural accommodation the practice of integrating a culture into the dominant society without forcing it to fully integrate and adopt all the dominant culture's components

D

debt bondage a system in which a person who owes money works (or provides someone else to work) for the creditor until the debt has been repaid

deductive reasoning a form of logical reasoning that begins with a general statement and applies it to specific conclusions

deindustrialization a decline in a nation's or region's industrial activity

demographic transition a reduction in family size in the late 1800s caused by falling birth rates in industrialized nations

détente the relaxation of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union in the 1970s

devshirme the system of recruiting Christian boys from the Balkans to be enslaved, converted to Islam, and trained to serve the Ottoman sultan

dhimmi a non-Muslim living under Muslim rule

dhow a ship made of coconut-wood planks sewn together with coconut fiber and equipped with lateen sails

Directory an executive council of five men established by the Convention in France to replace the Committee of Public Safety after the decline of the Reign of Terror

domino theory the belief that the neighbors of a communist country were likely to become communist themselves

E

Easter Rising the 1916 rebellion of Irish Nationalists against the British in Dublin

economic imperialism the practice of dominating a foreign country economically

empiricism a philosophical concept based on the belief that all knowledge derives from sensory experience

encomienda a system of coerced labor based on a grant by the Spanish Crown that entitled conquistadors to the labor of specified numbers of Indigenous people

ENIAC the first programmable electronic digital computer, built by the United States during World War II

enlightened despot an absolutist ruler influenced by the principles of the Enlightenment

Espionage Act a 1917 act passed in the United States that made anti-war propaganda illegal

Estates General a legislative assembly of the three estates, or orders, of French society: the clergy, the nobility, and commoners

European Union (EU) a single-market zone created in 1993 to allow the free movement of goods, services, money, and people among European member states

Executive Order 9066 a presidential order that led to relocation and internment of more than 100,000 Japanese Americans during the war

export economy an economy that primarily provides raw materials for use by other nations

F

factory in the context of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a trading post with offices and warehouses

fascism a political movement focused on transforming citizens into committed nationalists striving for unity and racial purity to remedy a perceived national decline

Final Solution the Nazi plan to eliminate the Jewish population of Europe; developed by senior bureaucrats at the Wannsee Conference

Five-Year Plans domestic plans adopted by the Soviet Union in the 1930s to target industrial and agricultural output goals that were usually unrealistic

flapper a woman of the 1920s who embraced an independent lifestyle while wearing shorter skirts and hairstyles

Force Publique a native army commanded by European officers to enforce brutal discipline in the Congo Free State

G

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) a 1947 trade agreement among twenty-three countries to reinforce postwar economic recovery, later replaced by the World Trade Organization (WTO)

general will a concept in political philosophy by which the state can be legitimate only if it is guided by the will of the people as a whole

gens de couleur libres a French term that referred to free people of color in the French colony of Saint-Domingue, now Haiti

Germanic Confederation an alliance of thirty-nine mostly German-speaking states developed to replace the Holy Roman Empire in 1815

German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact a 1939 agreement between Germany and the USSR in which the two nations agreed not to attack one another or to assist other nations in attacking the other and to divide portions of eastern Europe between them

Girondins a moderate faction of the Jacobin political club in revolutionary France

glasnost a Soviet policy encouraging openness, which allowed those who were angry to be critical of the government

global citizen a person who sees themselves as responsible to a world community rather than only a national one

global warming the general rise in Earth's temperature that scientists have observed over approximately the past two hundred years

globalization the interconnectedness of societies and economies throughout the world as a result of trade, technology, and adoption and sharing of various aspects of culture

gold standard a monetary system in which the value of a country's currency is tied directly to the value of gold

great man theory the view that it is enough to study the deeds and impact of important leaders to paint an accurate picture of the past

green parties political parties organized around environmental concerns

Grito de Dolores the "cry" of Dolores, Miguel Hidalgo's declaration of rebellion made in the town of Dolores on September 16, 1810

Grito do Ipiranga the "cry" of Ipiranga, Pedro I's declaration of Brazilian independence, made at the Ipiranga River in 1822

gross domestic product (GDP) the value of all the goods and services a country produces in one year

Gulf of Tonkin Resolution the 1964 resolution that gave President Lyndon Johnson permission to retaliate against North Vietnamese attacks and to act first to defend U.S. lives

Guomindang the Chinese Nationalist Party founded by Sun Yat-sen and later led by Chiang Kai-shek

H

hajj the Islamic pilgrimage to Mecca

hangul the Korean alphabet, introduced by King Sejong in 1446

historical empathy the ability to see the past on its own terms, without judgment or the imposition of our own modern-day attitudes

historiography the study of how historians have already interpreted the past

Holocaust the Nazi genocide that resulted in the murder of more than six million Jewish people and at least three million members of other, non-Jewish minority groups

I

iconography the use of images and symbols in art

imperialism the policy of gaining direct or indirect control over parts of the world with low-cost resources and no competing mass-produced goods

indentured servants people bound by a contract to work for someone for an agreed-upon number of years

indirect rule a system in which colonial powers cooperated with Indigenous elites and allowed local leaders to exercise some authority

inductive reasoning a form of logical reasoning that gathers specific examples and observations to arrive at a broad generalization

indulgences a way to reduce or cancel the time after death during which people needed to suffer in purgatory to atone for their sins before reaching heaven

Industrial Revolution the period during which societies transitioned away from a focus on agriculture and handicraft production to manufacturing, primarily with machines

intellectual history the history of ideas, which looks at the philosophies that drive people to make certain choices

intendancy system the centralizing administrative system in Spanish America whereby local governments were run by governors

Irish Free State a state formed by the twenty-six southern counties in Ireland and later called Ireland

Islamic State a fundamentalist and militant Islamic group that grew in power and waged a war in Iraq and Syria following the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003

J

Jacobins a radical political club in revolutionary France that supported overthrowing the monarchy

joint stock company a company in which numerous merchants pooled their money to fund a business venture like a trading voyage and shared both risk and profit

juntas deliberative or administrative councils in Spain and Spanish America

K

Kellogg-Briand Pact a 1928 treaty signed by more than sixty countries to renounce war as a foreign policy tool

L

labor union an association that organizes workers of all kinds, both skilled and unskilled

laissez-faire economics the theory that market forces alone should drive the economy and that governments should refrain from direct intervention in or moderation of the economic system

lateen sail a triangular-shaped sail that allows a boat to sail both with and into the wind

League of Nations a multinational organization created by the 1919 Treaty of Versailles to promote the goal of collective security

Lebensraum a German term meaning "living room" and referring to lands seized from countries in eastern Europe in which Adolf Hitler envisioned settling German families to supplant the native Slavic populations

Lend-Lease Act U.S. legislation enacted to provide military assistance to nations important to its defense

liberalism a political ideology that promotes freedom of expression, popular sovereignty, the protection of civil rights and private property, and representative government

llaneros cowboys of the Venezuelan plains

Long March a northward march of communist supporters led by Mao Zedong that saved them from extermination by the Guomindang

Luddites British workers in the early nineteenth century who resisted industrialization

M

mandate system a system in which control of an area was transferred from one government to another under the oversight of the League of Nations

Manhattan Project the U.S. project to build an atomic bomb

Marshall Plan a plan extending financial assistance to European nations to help them rebuild after World War II

Marxism the idea, espoused by Karl Marx, that recognizing class struggle is central to understanding societies

mechanization the use of machines to replace the labor of animals and humans

Meiji Restoration the period beginning in 1868 when, under Emperor Meiji, Japan began to industrialize

mercantilism an economic theory in which a nation's power depended on the wealth it gained by exporting goods of greater value than it imported, and in which a gain for one nation was a loss for another

Middle Passage the middle (or second) leg of the three-legged triangular trade that carried enslaved Africans across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas

millet system the system through which non-Muslim religious communities were allowed to regulate their internal affairs according to their own religious laws

Monroe Doctrine a principle of U.S. foreign policy that warned European nations to refrain from interfering with independent countries in the Western Hemisphere

Mountain a radical faction of the Jacobin club in revolutionary France that supported executing the king

multinational corporation a corporate business entity that controls the production of goods and services in multiple countries

Munich Pact an agreement reached in 1938 in which Czechoslovakia granted territorial concessions to Germany, Poland, and Hungary in the hopes that Adolf Hitler would cease his aggressions

N

nationalism a political ideology that promotes the interests of the nation over international concerns and advocates the uniqueness and inherent superiority of the individual's own country over others

natural rights universal and inalienable rights that cannot be revoked or rescinded by human laws

naturalism a literary style that emphasized realistic, detached, impersonal depictions of characters whose actions were molded by their environment in ways they often had no ability to control

New Deal a U.S. program of economic reform under Franklin Roosevelt that created work-relief programs

New Economic Policy Lenin's policy that introduced some aspects of capitalism in response to hardships and growing discontent among the Russian people

New Negro movement a movement that developed in the 1920s as African Americans agitated for increased civil rights

Non-Aligned Movement a movement of nations that sought to remain outside the sphere of influence of both the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) a 1992 trade agreement between the United States, Canada, and Mexico to reduce trade barriers and allow goods to flow freely

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) a military alliance among the United States, Canada, and the countries of Western Europe

Nuremberg Laws a series of laws promulgated in Germany in 1935, institutionalizing Nazi racial theories and discrimination against Jewish people

Nuremberg Trials the formal postwar prosecution of German war crimes

O

offshoring the process of moving some of a company's operations overseas to access cheaper labor markets

outsourcing the process of hiring outside contractors, sometimes abroad, to perform tasks a company once performed internally

P

Pan-African movement a movement based on the idea that all people in Africa could work together to achieve greater independence

Paris Agreement a 2015 treaty among members of the United Nations to limit global warming to less than 2°C (3.6°F) above levels from the time of industrialization

penal labor forced labor assigned as punishment to those convicted of crimes

peninsulares in Spanish colonies, European-born White people from Spain

Percentages Agreement the agreement between Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin about how to divide political influence in Eastern Europe after the war

perestroika the restructuring of the Soviet state and economy under Mikhail Gorbachev

Plan de Iguala Agustín de Iturbide's proclamation of independence creating a constitutional monarchy and protecting both the Catholic Church and Europeans living in Mexico

pogroms violent attacks on Jewish people in the Russian empire

popular sovereignty the idea that government should exist only by the consent of the governed

primary cause the most immediate reason an event occurred

primary source a document, object, or other source material from the time period under study

Proclamation Line the boundary of westward settlement that Britain marked out in its thirteen North American colonies

progressive history a school of thought that views history as a straight line to a specific and more democratic destination

proletariat the landless working class

proxy wars wars fought by allies of the Soviet Union and the United States to avoid risking a direct conflict between the two superpowers during the Cold War

public sphere shared spaces that enabled the exchange of ideas and information outside the control of state and church, like coffeehouses and salons

R

real wages wages measured in terms of the amount of goods and services that can be purchased with them

realism a literary and artistic style that realistically depicted everyday life in the contemporary world

Reign of Terror a period of the French Revolution during which the revolutionary government adopted repressive measures to prevent dissent

reparations monetary payments to be made to the Allied nations by Germany to compensate for destruction they suffered in the war

resource curse the problem that makes resource-rich developing countries prone to authoritarianism, high rates of conflict, and low rates of economic growth

revisionism the process of altering our interpretation of historical events by adding new elements and perspectives

rhetoric the way words are used and put together in speaking or writing

Risorgimento an Italian term that refers to the unification of Italy

romanticism an artistic movement formed in response to the Industrial Revolution that prized emotion and imagination and took as its subjects the themes of nature, the ordinary person, the exotic, the ancient, and the supernatural

S

salons informal gatherings in the homes of wealthy aristocrats, generally hosted by women, that served as sites for the discussion of Enlightenment ideas and philosophies

Salt March a two-hundred-mile march led by Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi in India in 1930 to protest the British prohibition on collecting salt and the heavy taxes on its purchase

sans-culottes a French term that referred to radicals from the lower and working classes during the French Revolution

satellite state a country controlled by another nation

Schlieffen Plan a German war plan to sweep through Belgium and northern France before turning to Russia

***Schutzstaffel* (SS)** German Nazi paramilitary organization designed for security and intimidation

Scramble for Africa the competition among European countries to establish colonies in Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

secondary source a document, object, or other source material written or created after the time period under study

Sedition Act a 1918 act passed in the United States that forbade forms of speech considered disloyal to the war effort

sepoys Indian soldiers who served the British in India

sharia Islamic religious law

shogunate a Japanese system in which a military leader, the shogun, and an aristocratic military elite, the samurai, ruled in place of the emperor

Sikhism a monotheistic faith that combines elements of Hinduism and Islam, established in the Punjab region of northwestern India in the fifteenth century

Silhak a late seventeenth-century Korean reform movement that promoted the study of the physical sciences and technology in order to solve practical problems

Sinn Féin a political party organized in 1905 that argued for greater sovereignty for Ireland

Slave Coast a section of African coast along the Bight of Benin, centered on the port city of Whydah and a major source of African people sold into slavery

social constructs ideas such as class and gender created and accepted by the people in a society that influence the way they think and behave

social democrat people who favor the creation of a socialist society through democratic means

social history a field of history that looks at all classes and categories of people, not just elites

socialism an economic system in which the public owns the means of production

socialist realism an artistic movement in the Soviet Union that took the worker as a subject and was about patriotism as much as art

Stamp Act an act of the British Parliament that imposed taxes on legal documents and other printed materials in its North American colonies in 1765

Sudanic a term describing the region of West Africa south of the Sahara Desert

suffragist a person who protested in favor of women's right to vote

Sufis Islamic mystics; practitioners of Sufism, the mystical expression of Islamic faith

Sultanate of Women the period between the tenure of Hurrem Sultan in the mid-fifteenth century and the late seventeenth century, during which wives and mothers of the sultan were able to exert political power and influence at court

Swahili a language that combines the grammar of African Bantu languages with a Bantu and Arabic vocabulary and is spoken in East Africa

Sykes-Picot Agreement a secret agreement reached between France and Britain in 1916 to partition areas of the Middle East after the war

T

Taylorism a system of management that sought to improve workers' productivity by curbing wasteful movements

The Great Game the contest between Britain and Russia to dominate central Asia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

the social contract an implicit agreement among members of a society to surrender their natural rights to the state, which is then charged with maintaining and protecting those rights

total war a war fought using all available resources, with no restrictions on weapons or their targets

totalitarianism a form of government in which the state controls all aspects of a person's life

trade diaspora communities societies established by merchants who initially traveled to a foreign country to do business and then settled there

trade union an association that organizes workers in a particular craft or industry

Treaty of Tordesillas a 1494 agreement awarding land to Portugal and Spain by dividing the Atlantic Ocean along a line one hundred leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands off the coast of Africa

Treaty of Versailles a 1919 treaty that formally ended World War I, redrew the map of Europe, and created the League of Nations

triangular trade the trade in goods and enslaved people that took place between the Americas, Europe, and West Africa from the late fifteenth through the early nineteenth centuries

Trinity Test the first successful U.S. test of an atomic bomb

Triple Alliance a treaty of alliance between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy

Triple Entente a treaty of alliance between France, Russia, and Britain

Truman Doctrine the promise of U.S. assistance to any country in danger of being overthrown by communism

Twelvers members of a large Shia sect who believe the twelfth imam, Muhammad al-Mahdi, will return, along with Jesus, to defeat evil on earth

U

U-boats German submarines equipped with torpedoes that sank thousands of pounds of cargo over the course of World War I

ulama a class of religious clerics and scholars who act as the primary interpreters of Islamic law

ultranationalist movements organizations that support an extreme form of nationalism and often seek ethnically homogeneous homelands

ummah the community of Muslims

Undang-Undang Laut Melaka a Malaccan maritime law code, part of the Undang-Undang Melaka, governing the conduct of sailors and traveling merchants

V

viceroyalty an administrative subdivision of the Spanish Empire, ruled by a direct representative of the king

Virgin of Guadalupe the apparition of the Virgin Mary who is said to have appeared to the Aztec peasant Juan Diego and later became the national symbol and patron saint of Mexico

Vodou a mix of Roman Catholic and indigenous West African religious practices popular in Haiti

W

War Industries Board (WIB) a U.S. federal agency created in 1917 to control the economic and industrial output of factories in times of war

Warsaw Pact a military and political alliance among the communist nations of Eastern Europe

Women's Land Army a British program to help women ensure enough foodstuffs were produced on farms while men served in the military

Z

Zimmermann Telegram a 1917 telegram sent by Germany's foreign minister offering an alliance with Mexico in return for Mexico causing disturbances along its U.S. border

APPENDIX B

World History, Volume 2, from 1400: Maps and Timelines

Chapter 1: Understanding the Past

- The Whole World Figure 1.1

Chapter 2: Exchange in East Asia and the Indian Ocean

- Locator Map: Exchange in East Asia and the Indian Ocean Figure 2.3
- The Sultanate of Gujarat Figure 2.7
- The Maratha Empire Figure 2.10
- The Treaty of Tordesillas Figure 2.11
- The "India Run" Figure 2.12
- The Malacca Sultanate Figure 2.14
- The Banda Islands Figure 2.16
- East Asian Societies Figure 2.18

Chapter 3: Early Modern Africa and the Wider World

- Locator Map: Early Modern Africa and the Wider World Figure 3.3
- Trans-Saharan Trade Routes Figure 3.4
- West African Trade Routes Figure 3.6
- The Spread of Islam Figure 3.7
- The Mali Empire Figure 3.8
- West Africa's Early Empires Figure 3.11
- City-States of the Indian Ocean Trade Figure 3.15
- Sofala and Its Environs Figure 3.17
- Trans-Saharan Trade Figure 3.20
- Kanem-Bornu Figure 3.21
- The Slave Coast Figure 3.24

Chapter 4: The Islamic World

- Locator Map: The Islamic World Figure 4.3
- Muslim Trade Routes Figure 4.6
- Piri Reis's Map of the World Figure 4.9
- Area of Ottoman Control Figure 4.11
- The Safavid Empire Figure 4.19

Chapter 5: Foundations of the Atlantic World

- Locator Map: Foundations of the Atlantic World Figure 5.3
- North America as Seen by the Norse Figure 5.6
- The Voyages of Columbus Figure 5.10
- Treaty of Tordesillas Figure 5.13
- Europe's Footprint in the Americas Figure 5.18
- The Triangular Trade Figure 5.20

Chapter 6: Colonization and Economic Expansion

- Spain's Colonies Figure 6.4

- English Settlements Figure 6.7
- Dutch and French Settlements Figure 6.9
- The Seven Years' War Figure 6.10
- Key Battles Figure 6.11
- Allies in Europe Figure 6.12
- Britain's Growing Control in India Figure 6.13
- China's Grand Canal Figure 6.15
- Colonization in Africa Figure 6.17

Chapter 7: Revolutions in Europe and North America

- Locator Map: Revolutions in Europe and North America Figure 7.3
- Proclamation Line of 1763 Figure 7.11
- The Island of Hispaniola Figure 7.14
- The Kingdom of Italy Figure 7.15
- Germany Unified Figure 7.16

Chapter 8: Revolutions in Latin America

- Locator Map: Revolutions in Latin America Figure 8.3
- Spanish Possessions in the Americas Figure 8.6
- Transition to Independence Figure 8.15

Chapter 9: Expansion in the Industrial Age

- Locator Map: Expansion in the Industrial Age Figure 9.3
- The Creation of Manitoba Figure 9.7
- Egypt Under the Rule of Muhammad Ali's Family Figure 9.11
- The Taiping Rebellion Figure 9.13
- Colonial Africa Figure 9.16
- Italy's Claims in Africa Figure 9.19
- Cecil Rhodes Figure 9.20
- The Fashoda Incident Figure 9.21
- The Great Game Figure 9.22
- Japan's Empire Figure 9.23

Chapter 11:The War to End All Wars

- Locator Map: The War to End All Wars Figure 11.3
- The Kaiser's View of Germany Figure 11.4
- German Colonies in 1914 Figure 11.5
- The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1920 Figure 11.7
- Ethnic Groups in Austria-Hungary Figure 11.8
- The Balkans before the War Figure 11.9
- Allegiances in World War I Figure 11.11
- The Ill-Fated Gallipoli Campaign Figure 11.14
- Sykes-Picot Agreement Figure 11.15
- Treaty of Brest-Litovsk Figure 11.20

Chapter 12: The Interwar Period

- Redrawing Europe Figure 12.5
- The USSR Figure 12.8
- The Mandate System Figure 12.14
- German Colonies in Asia Figure 12.15

- Colonial Africa Figure 12.16
- A Disputed Client State Figure 12.20

Chapter 13: The Causes and Consequences of World War II

- Locator Map: The Causes and Consequences of World War II Figure 13.3
- A Disputed Territory Figure 13.4
- The Sudetenland Figure 13.5
- Access to the Sea Figure 13.8
- Operation Barbarossa Figure 13.10
- Japan in the Pacific Theater Figure 13.12
- Japan in Southeast Asia Figure 13.13
- The Enforcement of U.S. Executive Order 9066 Figure 13.15

Chapter 14: Cold War Conflicts

- Locator Map: Cold War Conflicts Figure 14.3
- The Cold War in Europe Figure 14.6
- The Korean War Begins Figure 14.9
- The Geneva Accords Figure 14.10
- UN Partition Plan for Palestine Figure 14.13

Chapter 15: The Contemporary World and Ongoing Challenges

- The European Union Figure 15.3
- North American Free Trade Agreement Figure 15.4
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations Figure 15.5
- The Egyptian Revolution Figure 15.19
- El Salvador's Civil War Figure 15.29
- The Global North and the Global South Figure 15.34

Timelines in Volume 2, from 1400

- Timeline: Exchange in East Asia and the Indian Ocean Figure 2.2
- Timeline: Early Modern Africa and the Wider World Figure 3.2
- Timeline: The Islamic World Figure 4.2
- Timeline: Foundations of the Atlantic World Figure 5.2
- Timeline: Colonization and Economic Expansion Figure 6.2
- Timeline: Revolutions in Europe and North America Figure 7.2
- Timeline: Revolutions in Latin America Figure 8.2
- Timeline: Expansion in the Industrial Age Figure 9.2
- Timeline: Life and Labor in the Industrial World Figure 10.2
- Timeline: The War to End All Wars Figure 11.2
- Timeline: The Interwar Period Figure 12.2
- Timeline: The Causes and Consequences of World War II Figure 13.2
- Timeline: Cold War Conflicts Figure 14.2
- Timeline: The Contemporary World and Ongoing Challenges Figure 15.2

APPENDIX C

World Maps



FIGURE C1 Map of Africa. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)



FIGURE C2 Map of Asia. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)



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FIGURE C7 Map of South America. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)



FIGURE C8 Map of Southeast Asia. (attribution: Copyright Rice University, OpenStax, under CC BY NC-SA 4.0 license)

APPENDIX D

Recommended Resources for the Study of World History

How to Study World History

World History Sources (http://chnm.gmu.edu/worldhistorysources/index.html) includes various strategies for analyzing historical documents.

Resources for Primary Sources

World History Encyclopedia (https://www.worldhistory.org/) includes timelines and primary sources.

Digital Public Library of America: Primary Source Sets (https://dp.la/primary-source-sets) includes collections of primary sources.

DocsTeach (https://www.docsteach.org/) includes many primary sources.

Internet History Sourcebooks Project (https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/) includes historical texts.

Library of Congress: World Digital Library Collection (https://www.loc.gov/collections/world-digital-library/about-this-collection/) presents various historical documents.

MIT Visualizing Cultures (https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/home/index.html) aims to reconstruct the past.

Smithsonian Collections (https://www.si.edu/collections) showcases the Smithsonian's vast collection of objects from the natural and cultural world.

Resources for Maps

Geology.com Maps (https://geology.com/world/) includes many different maps.

CIA World Factbook (https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/maps/) presents a variety of world, regional, and country maps.

National Geographic MapMaker (https://mapmaker.nationalgeographic.org/) connects to an interactive mapmaking tool.

Resources for Videos

CrashCourse World History (https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLBDA2E52FB1EF80C9) includes brief educational videos on a variety of world history topics.

Website Collections

World History Matters (https://worldhistorymatters.org/) is a collection of various historical websites.

Roy Rosenzweig Center for history and New Media (https://rrchnm.org/our-work/) includes access to online resources for teachers, online collections, exhibits and collecting sites, and open-source software.

Resources for Art History

Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History (https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/) includes collections from various periods of world history.

SmartHistory (https://smarthistory.org/introductory-guides-overview) presents an art history overview and collections organized by religion and time period.

Magazine Articles

BBC's History Extra (https://www.historyextra.com/)

Podcasts

The Almost Forgotten (https://www.listennotes.com/podcasts/the-almost-forgotten-the-almost-forgotten-_5EyY-TBo6V/)

BBC's History Extra (https://www.historyextra.com/podcast)

The Fall of Civilizations (https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/fall-of-civilizations-podcast/id1449884495)

Fifteen Minute History (https://15minutehistory.org/)

The History Chicks (https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-history-chicks/id415983183)

The Ancients (https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-ancients/id1520403988)

The History of Rome (https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-history-of-rome/id261654474)

Not Just the Tudors (https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/not-just-the-tudors/id1564113869)

Revolutions (https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/revolutions/id703889772)

The History of the Twentieth Century (https://historyofthetwentiethcentury.com/)

The Cold War Vault (https://www.coldwarvault.com/)

The History of China (https://thehistoryofchina.wordpress.com/)

The China History Podcast (https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-china-history-podcast/id489369498)

The History of Japan (https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/history-of-japan/id635736811)

New Books Network (https://www.stitcher.com/search/%22new%20books%20in%22)

3D Tours

Virtual Rome: What Did Ancient Rome Look Like? (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NZ2NWXp-1Y4)

Virtual Tour in Ancient Athens (5th century BC) – 3D Reconstruction (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ulAxMLJ7O7M)

Virtual Museum Content

Natural History Museum (https://artsandculture.withgoogle.com/naturalhistorymuseum/)

The British Museum (https://britishmuseum.withgoogle.com/)

INDEX

Symbols

1878 Congress of Berlin 352
1905 Revolution 460
26th of July Movement 601

A

A Last Word Before Incarceration 507
a military dictatorship 495
A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies 210
Abbas 141, 142, 145, 148
Abbas I 141
abolition 402
absolute government 254
absolute monarchy 181, 255
academies 260
Academy of Sciences 261
Aceh 53
Achebe 23
Act of Consolidation 299
Act of Supremacy 162, 163
Act of Uniformity 163
ACT UP 650, 651
Addis Ababa 527
Advanced Research Projects Agency Network 646
advertising 513
Afghanistan 45, 538, 610, 655, 663, 664
Afonso 191
Afonso IV 168
Africa 168, 187, 192, 448, 493, 537, 551, 598, 606
African American soldiers 450
African American women 456
African Americans 495, 506, 549
African colonies 479, 503
African National Congress (ANC) 610
African nationalism 503
Africans 212, 215, 228, 502
Afrikaans 610
Afrikaner 609
Afrikaners 353
Agaja 104
Age of Exploration 164
Agra 36, 39
agricultural peasants 512
agriculture 488
Aguinaldo 373
Agustín I 305
Ahmad 355
AIDS 650
air brake 330
air raids 549
Akbar 35, 36
al-Assad 657
al-Bukhari 123
al-Din 136
al-Ghawri 48
al-Ghazali 506
Al-Khalifa 358
al-Qaeda 655
Alam II 222
Albuquerque 53
alcohol 412
alcoholism 400
Alexandra 461
Algeria 348, 538, 608
Algonquins 217
Ali 341
Ali ibn Abi Talib 143
Alkali Act 411
Allende 604
alliance 427
Allied 537, 546
Allied powers 476, 479
Allies 439, 441, 447, 465, 532, 538, 539, 574
Alps 448
Altair 8800 644
Amaru 293
Amazon rainforest 639
Ambon Island 56
American Civil Liberties Union 476
American Federation of Labor (AFL) 414
American Freedom Party 658
American Identity Movement 658
American Revolution 262, 264
American Revolutionary War 265
Americanization 630
Americas 206
Amish 161
Amnesty International 635
Amritsar 504
Anabaptist 161
analog computer 643
Anarchical Fallacies 253
anarchism 416
Anatolia 124
Anglican Church 162
Anglo-Asante Wars 229
Anglo-Egyptian War 354
Anglo-Irish Treaty 508
Angola 609, 666
anime 631
anti-Semitism 497, 544
antipsychotic drugs 649
ANZAC 449
AOL 646
Apache 177
apartheid 609, 610
APEC 627
Apple 634, 644, 647
Arab Liberation Army 594
Arab Revolt 451
Arab Spring 647
Arab-Israeli war 626
Arabia 499
Arabic 116, 120, 127
Arabic script 114
Arawak 170
Árbenz 600
archbishop of Canterbury 162
architecture 148
Argentina 310, 406, 481, 513, 637
aristocracy 266
aristocrat 265

Armenia 140, 144, 452, 485
Armenian Genocide 453
armistice 465, 465
Armistice of Mudros 498
ARPANET 646
art 146
Articles of Confederation 264
artificial kidney 649
artillery 442, 447
as-Sadiq 353
Asante 229
ASEAN 627
Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation 627
Askia Ishaq II 91
Askia Musa 90
Askia the Great 86, 89
Association of Southeast Asian Nations 627
astrolabe 166
astronomer 137
Atatürk 499, 512
Atlantic 155
Atlantic Charter 536, 606
Atlantic World 164
atomic bomb 554, 554, 559, 580
Attlee 558
Aurangzeb 50
Aurangzeb I 42
Auschwitz 546, 557
Australia 365, 403, 404, 406, 407, 408, 409, 449, 479, 501, 628, 637, 664
Austria 220, 276, 278, 465, 477
Austria-Hungary 373, 384, 427, 428, 432, 433, 436, 437, 441, 457, 465, 475, 478
Austrian Empire 274, 275
authoritarian rule 265, 274
authoritarianism 276
Autobahn system 498
automobile 331
Auty 665
Axis 537, 546
Ayutthaya 51
Azerbaijan 140, 485, 538
Aztec 172, 173, 176, 177
Aztec Empire 207
Azurduy 319

B

Babullah 54
Babur 35
Back to Africa 504
Bacon 251
Badagry 191
Badoglio 539
Baghdad Pact 596
baklava 131
Bakunin 416
balance of power 220
Balfour 500, 593
Balfour Declaration 452, 500
Balkan League 435
Balkan Wars 435
Balkans 126, 434, 477, 537, 574, 654
Balzac 401
Banda Islands 56
Bandung 591
Bangladesh 633, 661, 666
bank failure 491
Bank of Brazil 315
Bantu 92
Barbados 196
Barbed wire 442
baseball 348
Bastille 267
Bataan Death March 540
Bataan Peninsula 540
Batavia 56
Batista 601
battle fatigue 444
Battle of Adwa 356
Battle of Britain 533
Battle of Dien Bien Phu 586
Battle of Iwo Jima 557
Battle of Junín 312
Battle of Jutland 446
Battle of Kursk 539
Battle of Mactan 55
Battle of Midway 541
Battle of Nagashino 58
Battle of Plassey 50
Battle of Sekigahara 59
Battle of Stalingrad 539
Battle of Tannenberg 440
Battle of the Bulge 555
Battle of the Marne 440
Battle of the Somme 446
Battle of Tondibi 102
Battle of Tumu 62
Battle of Verdun 445
Battle on the Plains of Abraham 220
Battuta 121
Bay of Pigs 602
Bayezid II 140
Bazalgette 398
BBS 646
Bechtel Corporation 630
Beer Hall Putsch 483, 497
Belarus 485, 654
Belgian Congo 369, 608
Belgium 334, 351, 355, 438, 440, 475, 478, 664
Bell 332
Belorussia 536
Belzec 546
Bengal 49, 222
Bengali Hindus 375
Benin 169
Bentham 252
Benz 331
Bergen-Belsen 557
Berlin 392, 412, 558, 574, 576, 599
Berlin Airlift 577
Berlin Conference 355
Berlin Conference of 1884–1885 352
Berlin Olympics 498
Bernhardi 431
Besant 391
Bessemer process 329
Beveridge 367
Biard 194
Big Bertha 442
Bihar 36
bin Laden 655
biodiversity 639
Birkenau 546
birth control 391
Bismarck 276, 355, 428, 432
Black Hand 436
black legend 210
Blackshirts 495
Blake 401
blitzkrieg 532
bloc 428, 577

Blood-Pledge Corps 509
Bloody Sunday 461
blues 508
Boer 609
Boer War 359
Boers 353, 371
Bogotá 294, 297
Bois Caïman 270
Boko Haram 660, 663
Boleyn 161
Bolívar 306, 307, 311, 312
Bolivia 630
Bolivian Water Law 630
Bolshevik 416, 463, 464, 475
Bolshevik Revolution 460
Bolsheviks 460, 485
Bombay 49
Bon Marché 394
Bonheur 401
Book of Common Prayer 162
Booth 394
Borlaug 635
Bose 544
Bosnia-Herzegovina 613
Boston 392
Bouazizi 647
Boukman 270
Bourbon Era 292
Bourbon reforms 289
bourgeoisie 240, 266
Boxer Protocol 373
Boxer Uprising 372
Boxers 372
Bradford 213
Bradlaugh 391
Braganza 314
Braganzas 318
Brake Parts Inc. 632
Brazil 314, 317, 343, 392, 402, 402, 406, 408, 409, 465, 481, 631, 639
Brazza 353
Brazzaville 551
Brexit 625
Brezhnev Doctrine 599
Britain 334, 340, 351, 354, 358, 360, 364, 373, 384, 386, 390, 392, 393, 397, 401, 402, 402, 407, 411, 415, 430, 432, 441, 446, 448, 454, 455, 460, 475, 480, 481, 483, 494, 499, 500, 502, 504, 506, 537, 543, 561, 623, 657
British Cape Colony 354, 359
British Columbia 335
British Crown 263
British East India Company 49, 183, 221, 223, 230, 264, 360
British Expeditionary Force 532
British mandate 499
British North American Act 334
British Raj 231, 360
British South Africa Company 357
British Tanganyika 480
Brunias 194
Bubbly Creek 398
Buchenwald 557
Budapest 397
Buddhism 65
Buenos Aires 297, 309, 393, 397
Bulgaria 441, 546, 574
bulletin board systems (BBSs) 646
Bundy 332
Burke 252, 277
Burkina Faso 660
Burma 540, 542, 544
Burundi 502
Bush 612
Buxar 222
Byron 237

C

Cabral 47, 175
Cádiz Constitution 298, 304
Cádiz Cortes 298
Calcutta 50
Calico Acts 340
Calicut 47
caliph 87
caliphate 657
caliphates 113
Calvin 161
Calvinism 161
Calvinists 163, 164
Cambodia 605
camera 333
Cameroon 479, 660
Canada 184, 334, 406, 409, 449, 450, 626, 631, 637, 641, 664
Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement 626
Canadian Pacific Railroad 335
Canary Islands 168, 170, 174, 174
Canton system 225
Cape Colony 357
Cape of Good Hope 169, 175, 229
Cape to Cairo 358
capitalism 233, 234, 236, 239, 415, 486, 615, 654
Caracas 297, 306, 307
caravan 101
caravans 80
caravansaries 118
caravel 47
Cárdenas 513
Caribbean 46, 185, 402, 407
Caribbean colonies 270
Carlos IV 294
Carlyle 27
Carranza 447
Carson 635
Carter 611, 637
Cartier 184, 216
cash crop 226, 343, 360, 370
casta 289
Castro 601, 601, 604
Catherine of Aragon 161
Catherine the Great 254
Catholic 145, 157, 159, 162, 304
Catholic Church 57, 274, 299, 391
Catholic Reformation 162
Catholicism 49, 170
Catholics 164
Caucasus 142, 144, 448, 485
causation 24
Cavendish 261
cell phone 647
censorship 457
Census 643
Central African Republic 660
Central America 660

Central Committee of the Constitutional Democrat 463
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) 580
Central Park 411
Central powers 435, 441, 447, 465
Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) 596
Centralia mine fire 636
Césaire 508
Ceylon 49
Chamberlain 528
Champlain 184
Charles II 49
Charles V 140, 160, 208
charter 210
Châtelet 256
chattel slavery 191
Cheney 656
Chernobyl 637
Cherry Blossom Association 509
Chiang 512
Chiang Kai-shek 526, 542, 581
Chicago 396, 397, 406, 411
child labor 19
Child Labor Act 390
Chile 311, 343, 406, 513, 628, 637, 660
chili peppers 177
China 50, 56, 61, 166, 218, 224, 231, 343, 363, 364, 372, 403, 407, 465, 479, 480, 493, 506, 509, 510, 512, 525, 542, 552, 556, 581, 593, 605, 615, 627, 628, 630, 640, 649, 661
Chinese Communist Party 581
Chinese Communist Party (CCP) 615
Chinese Cultural Revolution 581
Chinese Exclusion Act 409
Chinese Revolution 614
Chlorine gas 443
cholera 399
Chongqing 527
Chopin 401
Christian 125
Christian humanism 158
Christianity 54, 60, 217, 230, 348, 370, 504
Christians 144
Christmas truce 448
chronological approach 12
Church of England 162
Churchill 449, 533, 536, 540, 555, 555, 574
Cincinnati 411
cinema 333
city 392
civil disobedience 504
civil rights 506
Cixi 372
clergy 266
Cleveland 366
climate change 635, 640
Clinton 654
Clive 222
Club of Rome 637
Coal Mines Regulation Act 411
Coca-Cola 621
Cochabamba Water War 630
Cochin 49
Cochrane 311, 317
coffee 269
coffeehouses 257, 258
Colbert 182, 233
Cold War 571, 573, 574, 606, 610, 654
collectivization 488
Colombia 308, 660
Colonial Development Act 503
colonial holdings 448
colonial power 429
colonial rule 540
colonial self-government 233
colonialism 171, 230, 269, 273, 665
colonies 351
colonization 35, 211, 223, 233, 289, 370, 498
Columbian Exchange 164, 176, 177, 180
Columbus 46, 165, 170, 171, 176, 177, 206
Columbus Day 171
Comanche 180
combat 442
comfort women 552
Cominform 590
Comintern 495
commenda 167
Committee of Public Safety 268
Commodore 644
commoners 266
communism 239, 490, 495, 512, 574, 576, 578, 583, 585, 598, 610, 612, 628
Communist International 495
Communist Manifesto 415
Communist Party 486, 488, 489, 495
Communists 511
Company of New France 217, 218
compass 166
computer 642
Comunero Rebellion 294
concentration camps 545
Concert of Europe 427
Confucian 364
Congo Free State 355, 368
Congo Reform Association (CRA) 369
Congolese National Movement 608
Congress 264
Congress of Angostura 308
Congress of Panama 312
Congress of Vienna 273, 278
conquistadors 171
Conrad 369
conscientious objector 457
consent of the governed 249
conservatism 277
conservativism 273
Constantinople 46, 125
Constitution 264
Constitutional Convention 264
constitutional monarchy 267
consumer goods 393
containment 574
Continental Army 264
Continental Blockade 296
Continental Congresses 264
contract labor 403
Contras 604
Convention of Beijing 231, 344
Convention of Kanagawa 337

Convention of London 342
Copley 397
Cortes 299, 317
Cortés 172, 174, 207
cottage labor 236
Council of Trent 162
Counter-Attack 445
COVID-19 pandemic 651, 653
cowrie shells 89
credit 491
Creek 177
creole 292, 298, 299
creoles 289, 294, 304, 306
Crespi 397
cricket 348
Crimean War 337
crimes against humanity 563
Croatia 613
Croatoan 211
crops 177
Cuba 170, 366, 403, 407, 601, 601, 660
Cuban Missile Crisis 603
cuisine 131
cultural accommodation 217
Cultural Revolution 614, 615
culture 146
Cuyahoga River fire 636
Cuzco 174
Czechoslovakia 477, 528, 574, 599

D

D-Day 555
da Gama 46
Dachau 529, 557
Dahomey 104
daimyo 338
Daladier 529
Dalai Lama 582, 593
Dalhousie 230
Dalmatia 479
Dan 511
Daoud 610
Das Kapital 240
Davison 506
Dawes Plan 482
Dawud 123
DDT 635
De Beers 357
de Champlain 217
de Gaulle 551, 624
death squads 660
Debs 459
debt bondage 403, 403
Declaration of Independence 264
Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam 586
Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen 267
Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Female Citizen 267
Declaration on Liberated Europe 556
Declaratory Act 264
decolonization 598
deductive reasoning 251
deficit spending 498
deforestation 639
deindustrialization 340
Delhi 36, 39
democracy 254, 277, 508, 654
Democratic People's Republic of Korea 583
Democratic Republic of the Congo 608, 660, 666
Democratic Revolutionary Front 602
demographic transition 392
Dene 177
Deng 615
Deng Xiaopin 610
Deng Xiaoping 614
Denmark 276, 276, 393, 397, 412
deposits 526
Descartes 251
Dessalines 272, 295
détente 606
devshirme 126
Dewey 366
dhimmis 115, 125
dhow 91
Dias 45
Diaz 407
Díaz 447
Dickens 401
Diem 586, 587, 604
Diet 563
digital age 643
digital computer 643
Digital Equipment Company 643
Din-i Ilahi 37
Directory 268
disarmament 483
disease 174, 178, 179, 188, 190, 195, 400
Diu 49
Djenné 85, 91
DNA 649
dogfights 444
domestic workers 386
Dominican Republic 170, 270, 601
Dominion of Canada 334
domino theory 575
Donghak Rebellion 363
Donisthorpe 333
dos Santos 666
Dostoyevsky 401
Dreamland 393
Drew 554
Du Bois 503
Dubček 599
Duma 461
Dunlop 331
Durrani 45
Dutch Cape Colony 353
Dutch East India Company 53, 56, 94, 183, 229
Dutch West India Company 214

E

Earth Day 636
East Africa 654
East Asia 474
Easter Rising 460
Eastern Bloc 577, 578, 591, 596, 598, 610
Eastman 333
Ebola 651
economic imperialism 230
ECSC 623
Ecuador 312, 660
Edict of Nantes 164
Edison 332

education 127, 135, 392
Edward 45
Edward VI 162
EEC 623
Egypt 341, 353, 538, 590, 593, 597, 647
Egyptian Feminist Union 506
Eichmann 545
Eight-Nation Alliance 373
Einsatzgruppen 544
Einstein 554
Eisenhower 537, 555, 557, 580, 600
Eisenhower Doctrine 597
El Salvador 659
El Salvador Civil War 659
electricity 332, 383, 388
Elizabeth I 49, 133, 162, 162
Elmina 102, 169
emigrants 405
emigration 408
Emirate of Afghanistan 360
empiricism 251
Enabling Act 497
encomienda 171
encomienda system 206
Enfield Rifle 231
Engels 239, 415
England 49, 182, 185, 397, 404, 412
England's Treasure by Forraign Trade 186
English Bill of Rights 233
English Defence League 658
English Reformation 161
ENIAC 553
enlightened despot 254
Enlightenment 249, 250, 251, 251, 252, 255, 256, 258, 261, 262, 265, 276, 292
Enola Gay 560
enslaved Africans 188, 188, 190, 191, 196
enslaved Indigenous peoples 188
enslaved people 119, 169, 190, 192, 195, 196
entertainment 393, 549
entrepreneur 236
environment 635
environmentalism 635, 640
equality 267, 273, 274
Equiano 105, 191, 192
Erasmus 158
Erikson 165
Eritrea 356
Espionage Act 459
Estates General 267
Estonia 463, 536
Eswatini 661
Ethiopia 356, 484, 527, 666
ethnicity 274
EU 624, 627, 658, 664
euro 624
Europe 383, 427, 537, 554
European Coal and Steel Community 623
European Economic Community 623
European Parliament 625
European Union (EU) 624
Evil Empire Speech 613
Executive Order 9066 550
export economy 341, 343
Exportation Act of 1660 232
extraterritoriality 365

F

Facebook 647, 648
factory 47, 236
Factory Act of 1819 390
Factory Act of 1833 390
Faisal 500
Falkenhayn 445
family 389
famine 341, 345, 489
Fante Confederacy 229
Farouk 595
fascism 495, 561
Fashoda Incident 359
Fat Man 560
Fatima 123, 143
February Revolution 461
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) 494
Federation of the Socialist Workers of France (FSWF) 415
feminism 496, 506
Ferdinand 165, 432, 435, 436
Ferdinand II 169
Ferdowsi 146
Fernando VII 298, 299, 304, 307, 308, 312
Ferry 348
fertilizer 332, 635
feudalism 339
Fiji 409
film 334, 513
films 549
Final Solution 546
Finland 397, 412, 463
First Arab-Israeli War 595
First Boer War 359
First Estate 266
First Indochina War 586
First Moroccan Crisis 430
First Opium War 231, 344
First Shanghai Incident 526
First Sino-Japanese War 363, 364
First Taiwan Strait Crisis 585
Five-Power Treaty 483
Five-Year Plan 485, 490
Five-Year Plans 488
flamethrowers 443
flapper 514
Flaubert 401
flu 475
food 387
food shortage 547
Force Publique 368
Fort Duquesne 219
Four Olds 589
Fourier 415
Fourteen Points 477
France 49, 181, 218, 220, 275, 278, 296, 334, 351, 354, 358, 363, 364, 373, 384, 386, 390, 391, 395, 402, 411, 412, 415, 415, 427, 428, 430, 438, 440, 455, 465, 475, 478, 478, 480, 481, 483, 494, 495, 499, 502, 506, 506, 528, 623, 631, 657, 664
Francia 310
Francis I 184
Franco 496
Franco-Prussian War 427
Frankfurt Assembly 276
Frederick William IV 276

free trade 628
freedom 267, 277
French and Indian War 50, 218, 220
French Artistic Mission 316
French Empire 270
French Indochina 448, 512, 540
French mandate 499
French Revolution 262, 265, 268, 289
French Workers' Party 415
führer 497
Fujian 407
Fukuyama 654
Fulton 236
fur trade 215

G

Gandhi 375, 504, 543
Gang of Four 614
Gao 85, 91
Garibaldi 274
Garvey 503, 507
gas 388
gas masks 443
Gatling gun 350
GATT 627
gay 546
GDP 623, 626, 632
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) 627
general will 252
Geneva Accords 586
genocide 453, 563
gens de couleur libres 270
George 454
George III 264
Georgia 140, 144, 485
German East Africa 358
German Green Party 637
German Social Democratic Party 415
German Southwest Africa 502
German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact 532, 535
Germanic Confederation 275
Germany 274, 275, 334, 351, 355, 365, 373, 384, 386, 389, 390, 391, 392, 397, 406, 411, 415, 415, 427, 429, 430, 431, 437, 438, 440, 441, 447, 449, 455, 456, 463, 464, 465, 474, 478, 480, 481, 483, 495, 496, 498, 502, 528, 535, 537, 556, 561, 576, 630, 657
Germany and the Next War 431
Gestapo 497
Gezo 191
Ghana 102, 169, 606
Ghana Empire 79
Gilbert Islands 403
Girondins 267
Glasgow 397
glasnost 613
global citizen 11
global economy 262, 622
Global North 653, 664, 667
Global South 653, 664, 667
global warming 640
globalization 622, 627, 631, 632, 646
Goa 49
Gojong 362
Gokhale 375
gold 181
Gold Coast 480, 606
gold standard 494
gold trade 79
Golden Dawn 658
Goldman 459
Gong 364
Good Neighbor Policy 600
Goodyear 331
Gorbachev 613, 613
Göring 497
Gouges 267
Government of India Act 505
Goya 296
Graham 321
Gran Colombia 312
Grand Canal 224, 344
Grand-Popo 191
Great Britain 218, 220, 231, 235, 278, 329, 390, 391, 478, 655
Great Depression 473, 491, 492
Great Divergence 339
Great Inca Rebellion 293
Great Kanto Earthquake 480, 508
Great Leap Forward 581, 588
great man theory 26
Great Migration 507
Great Stink 398
Great Wall 62
Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere 527, 540, 552
Grebel 161
Greece 433, 465, 537, 574, 631
Greek Civil War 433
Green 413
green parties 637
Green Revolution 635
greenhouse gas 640
Greenland 166
Greenpeace 641
Grito de Dolores 300, 301
Grito do Ipiranga 317
gross domestic product (GDP) 492
Guam 408, 537
Guangdong 407
Guatemala 600
Guatemalan Civil War 660
Guayaquil 312
Guernica 496
Guerrero 304, 305
guerrilla 512, 543
Guevara 601, 602
Guifen 364
Guinea 174
Guinea-Bissau 609
Gujarat 35, 39
Gulf of Guinea 102, 105
Gulf of Tonkin Resolution 604
Gulf War 655
gunpowder 122, 122
guns 57, 217, 350
Guofan 364
Guomindang 509, 511, 526, 581

H

Habermas 259
Habsburg Empire 133
Hagia Sophia 16
Hahn 554
Hairun 54
Haiti 170, 270, 272, 289, 295,

308
Haitian Revolution 262, 269, 271, 295
hajj 121
Hamburg 399
Hamilton 385
hangul 68
Hansen 642
Hardie 437
harem 36
Harlem Hellfighters 450
Harlem Renaissance 507
Hatta 591
Haussmann 411
Hawaii 407, 408
Hawaiian Patriotic League 365
Hay 365
Haydar 139
Health Insurance Law 411
Heart of Darkness 369
heart transplant 649
Hegel 239
Helsinki Accords 606
Henry 45, 168
Henry VIII 161
Hero 236
Hershey 396
Herzl 500
Hidalgo 299, 301, 305
Hideyoshi 57, 58
higher education 626
Hill 413
Himmler 497, 546
Hindenburg 497
Hindu 36, 41, 230
Hirohito 509, 561
Hiroshima 558
Hispaniola 170, 188, 188, 269
historical context 14
historical empathy 29
historiography 15
Hitler 482, 497, 525, 528, 529, 531, 533, 536, 538, 555
Hitler Youth 497
HIV 650
Ho Chi Minh 543, 585, 585
Hobbes 254
Hollywood 513
Holocaust 537, 544, 561, 593
Holodomor 489
Holy Alliance 312
Holy Roman Empire 164
home front 546
homosexuality 650
Hong 65
Hong Kong 231
Hongwu 61
Hongzhang 364
Hope 20
housing 395, 411, 413
Hudson 214
Huerta 447
Hughes 483, 507
Huguenots 164
Humabon 54
human rights 11, 653
human rights abuses 660
Human Rights Watch 635
human zoos 370
humanism 158
Humayun 36
Hume 185
Hungarian Working People's Party 598
Hungary 465, 477, 574, 598, 599
Hurrem 128
Hurrem Sultan 129, 135
Hurston 508
Hussein 655
Hutchinson 213
Hutterites 161
Hutu 660
hydroelectric plant 332
hygiene 399
hyperinflation 481, 497

I

IBM 643
iconography 16
Identitarian Movement of Austria 658
Ieyasu 57, 60
Illusions of the White Race 484
imam 143
IMF 629, 667
immigrants 406
immigration 405, 408, 658
Immigration Restriction Act 409
Imperial Navy 493, 511
imperialism 232, 345, 346, 368, 665
In Russian and French Prisons 405
Inca 174, 177, 293
incandescent light bulb 332
indentured servants 183, 212
indentured servitude 188
independence 232, 278, 343, 373
India 36, 49, 50, 218, 222, 230, 340, 360, 374, 402, 407, 448, 543, 590, 592, 593, 630, 649, 654, 666
India Act 543
Indian Maratha Empire 222
Indian Mutiny 230, 231
Indian National Army 544
Indian National Congress 504, 592
Indian National Congress (INC) 374
Indian Nationalists 504
Indian Ocean 50
Indian Ocean trade 35, 53, 91
Indians 504
Indigenous 299, 660
Indigenous peoples 165, 165, 176, 179, 180, 187
Indigenous Peoples' Day 171
Indigenous women 177
indirect rule 223, 230
Indochina 581
Indonesia 407, 540, 590, 591, 628
Indonesian Communist Party 591
inductive reasoning 251
indulgences 158
Industrial Revolution 236, 329, 389
industrialization 237, 329, 382, 392, 410, 442, 486, 490, 635
inflation 496
influenza 465
Ingstad 165
Inoue 511
Instagram 646
Intel 644

intellectual history 28
intendancy system 292
Intensified Eradication Program 650
intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) 580
Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano 106
internal combustion engine 331
International African Association 355
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development 555
International Military Tribunal 561
International Military Tribunal for the Far East 562
International Monetary Fund 555, 629, 667
international trade 627
International Women's Union 506
internet 642, 645, 647
interpretation 24, 29
Inuit 177
invisible hand 234
iPhone 647
Iran 140, 141, 145, 538, 593, 611, 664
Iran-Iraq 612
Iran-Iraq War 655
Iraq 538, 612, 648, 655
Ireland 406, 454, 460, 508
Irish Free State 508
Irish Nationalist Party 508
Irish Republican Army (IRA) 508
Irish Rising 453
Irish War of Independence 508
iron curtain 574
Iroquoian Confederacy 219
Isabella 165, 174
Isabella I 169
Isfahan 142, 145, 148
ISIL 657
Iskander 50
Islam 51, 80, 80, 87, 93, 113, 115, 119, 506, 611
Islamic State 657
Islamic State in the Greater Sahara 660
Islamic State in West Africa 660
Islamic State of Iraq and Syria 657
Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant 656
Islamic world 113
Ismail 139, 143
Ismail I 145
isolationist 492
Israel 593, 595, 597, 626
Israeli-Arab conflict 590
Istanbul 128, 133, 135
Italy 274, 336, 352, 356, 373, 392, 397, 406, 428, 437, 441, 479, 483, 495, 506, 527, 537, 623
Iturbide 299, 304, 305
ivory 346

J

Jacobins 267
Jahan 38, 38
Jahangir 38
Jamaica 308
James I 211
Jamestown 211
Janissaries 126
Janssens 608
Japan 56, 56, 329, 337, 361, 373, 383, 390, 392, 399, 402, 403, 403, 407, 408, 479, 480, 483, 493, 506, 508, 512, 525, 536, 537, 540, 542, 552, 554, 562, 623, 626, 630, 632, 656
Japan-Korea Treaty of Amity 362
Japanese Constitution 563
Japanese Empire 441
Jaquim 191
Jaurès 437
Jay 413
jazz 508
Jehovah's Witnesses 546
Jerusalem 594
Jesuits 162, 217
Jewish 42, 117, 125, 529, 544
Jewish migration 530
Jewish people 215, 497, 500
Jewish refugees 531
Joao VI 316
John I 168
Johnson 604
Johnson-Reed Act 406, 409
Johor 53
joint stock company 49, 211, 214, 217, 221
Jordan 597, 648
Joseon dynasty 68
Junot 314
junta 299, 306
juntas 297, 298

K

K-pop 631
Kabul 35
Kai-shek 509, 511
Kakheti 142
Kalakaua 365
kamikaze 558
Kanem 99, 99
Kanem-Bornu 98, 100
Kangxi 65
Karrer 546
Kasa-Vubu 609
Kashmir 592
Katanga 608
Kazakhstan 654
kebab 132
Kelley 410
Kellogg-Briand Pact 484
Kelly 637
Kemal 499
Kennan 574
Kennedy 588, 602
Kenya 607
Kenya African Union (KAU) 606
Kenyatta 607
Kerala 46
Kerensky 462
Keynes 481
Keynesian economics 481
KGB 580
Khan 35
Khmer Rouge 605
Khoikhoi 229
Khoisan 229
Khomeini 611

Khrushchev 579, 598, 602, 605
kidney transplant 649
Kilwa 91, 95, 96
Kim Il-sung 583
King Philip's War 227
Kingdom of Hawaii 365
Kingdom of Mysore 222
Kipling 348
Kiribati 403
Kirov 489
Kitchener 358
Koch 387
Kongo 169
Koprowski 649
Korea 56, 67, 362, 403, 552, 560, 583, 585
Korean Armistice Agreement 585
Korean Demilitarized Zone 585
Korean People's Army 583
Korean War 581, 585
Koreans 508
Korematsu 551
Kragujevac massacre 547
Kristallnacht 530
Kropotkin 405
Ku Klux Klan 507
kulak 488
Kulubali 106
Kurdish 114
Kurile Islands 361
Kuwait 655
Kwantung Army 509
Kyiv 536
Kyoto 392

L

La Navidad 226
labor 383, 402, 403, 407, 410
labor strikes 508
labor unions 414
labor-intensive agriculture 187
laissez-faire 277
laissez-faire economics 233
Lakota 178
Lamumba 608
lapse 230
Lapulapu 55
Las Casas 208
lateen sail 91, 166
Latin America 343, 474, 481, 493, 630, 654
Latvia 463, 536
Lê dynasty 62
Le Gendre 233
Le Prince 333
League of German Girls 498
League of Nations 474, 477, 480, 484, 496, 499, 510, 525, 527
Lebanon 597, 648
Lebensraum 531
Lecture on Heroes 27
Legislative Assembly 267
Lend-Lease 549
Lend-Lease Act 534
lending libraries 260
Lenin 463, 485, 487, 490
Leningrad 536
Leopold 368
Leopold II 355
Leopoldina 319
Lesbian and Gay Community Services Cente 650
Lesseps 353
Letter from Jamaica 313
Lettow-Vorbeck 449
Leviathan 255
LGBTQ+ 660
Li 65
Liaodong Peninsula 363
liberalism 273, 276, 508
Liberia 504, 660
liberty 273
Libya 484, 648
Liège 438
life expectancy 389
Liliuokalani 365
Lin Biao 589, 590
Lister 388
literacy 260
Lithuania 463, 479, 536
Little Boy 560
Little Ice Age 64
Little Popo 191
llaneros 308
Locke 251, 254, 264, 277
locomotive 329
Lon Nol 605
London 392, 393, 394, 398, 413, 415
London Underground 397
Long Depression 384
Long March 512
long-range ballistic missile delivery systems 654
Louis XIII 217
Louis XIV 181, 218
Louis XVI 267, 270
Louis XVIII 268, 312
Louvain 438
Louverture 270, 272, 272, 295
Ludd 237
Luddites 237
Luftwaffe 497, 533
Luks 401
Lusitania 446
Luther 158, 158, 160
Lutheran 160
Lutherans 164
lynching 507
Lytton Commission 510
Lytton Report 510

M

Macao 403
MacArthur 562, 562, 584
Macartney 67
Macdonald 335
machine guns 442
Macintosh computer 645
Madagascar 608
Madero 447
madrasas 135
Magellan 54, 55, 176
Mahdi 139
Mahdist 358
Mahfouz 647
Majah 123
Majapahit Empire 50, 51
Makoko 353
Malacca 50, 50, 53
Malaccan Straits 50
Malagasy Revolt 608
malaria 349, 370
Malay Peninsula 50
Malaya 540
Malaysia 407, 628
Mali 79, 84
Mali Empire 77, 81, 84, 104

Malintzin 207
Mallet 96
Malthus 391
Maluku Islands 176
Mamluk 48
Mamluks 341
Manchukuo 493, 510, 560
Manchuria 65, 484, 493, 509, 525
Manchus 65
mandate system 499
Mandela 610
manga 631
Manhattan Project 554, 558
Manifesto of the Central Committee of the Social Democrats 463
Manila 55, 64
Manitoba 335
Manteo 210
manti 132
Mao 582, 584, 589, 605
Mao Zedong 526, 581, 588, 591, 603, 614
maquiladoras 632
Maratha 43
Maratha Empire 35
Marathas 50
Marathi 44
Marconi 332
Maria I 315
Marie-Antoinette 267
Marshall 537, 538, 558
Marshall Islands 429
Marshall Plan 576, 581, 626
Martinique 508
Marx 239, 240, 415
Marxism 233, 239, 415, 512
Marxist People's Movement of Liberation of Angola (MPLA) 609
Mary I 162
mass culture 513, 513
mass media 513
Massachusetts Bay Colony 213
Matsuoka 527
Mau Mau 607
Mau Mau Warrior Oath 608
Maxim gun 350
May Fourth Movement 480, 506
Mayans 660
Mayflower 213
Mayflower Compact 213
Mazzini 274
McKay 508
McKinley 366, 373
Meadows 637
Mecca 121, 499
mechanization 233, 236, 382, 383, 389
medical techniques 554
Medina 499
Mehmed II 133
Meiji 338
Meiji Restoration 338
Mein Kampf 483, 532
mekteps 127
Memoir of General Toussaint Louverture 272
Memorandum on the Anti-Semitism of the British Government 501
Menelik II 356
Mennonites 161
Menshevik 485
mercantilism 180, 180, 188, 212, 213, 233, 235
MERCOSUR 627
Merkel 657
mestizo 299
Metacomet 227
Métis 334
Metternich 273, 278, 279
Meuse-Argonne offensive 465
Mexican War of Independence 299
Mexico 299, 306, 308, 447, 513, 626, 628, 631
Mexico City 297, 299, 305
microprocessor 644
middle class 265, 386, 389, 392, 410, 626
Middle East 166, 590, 654
Middle Passage 188, 189, 189, 192
Midway 537
migration 187, 653
militarism 276
military 431
military technology 445
Mill 277
millet 127, 401
millet system 125
Milošević 613
Ming 56
Ming dynasty 51, 59, 61, 344
Minh 512
minicomputers 643
minimum wage 494
missionaries 349, 363, 372
missionary 224
Mitsubishi Corporation 339
mixed-economy strategy 630
MNC 628, 630, 631, 634
Mobutu 609
Moctezuma II 172
monarchy 299
Mondale 632
Mongolia 556
monopoly 264
Monroe Doctrine 312
Montagu 501
Montesquieu 252
Montevideo 310
Montreal 334
Montreal Protocol of 1987 641
Morelos 301, 303, 305
Morocco 91, 538, 648
Moscow 392, 397, 538
Moscow Conference of 1944 574
Moscow Summit 606
Moshoeshoe 371
mosques 82
Mossadegh 593
motherhood 551
Mountain 267
movie 333
Mozambique 609
Mswati III 661
Mubarak 647
Mughal 49, 122, 148
Mughal Empire 35, 114, 221
Mughal women 38, 39
Muhammad 113, 657
Muhammad al-Mahdi 143
mujahideen 611
Mukden 509
Mukden Incident 526

multinational corporation 622, 628
Mun 186
Munich Pact 529, 531
Muqaddimah 123
Murray 236
Muslim 36, 41
Muslim League 505
Muslim Women's Society 506
Mussolini 437, 495, 527, 529, 537, 539
Mustard gas 443
Mutapa 95
Mutual Defense Treaty with Taiwan 585
Muybridge 333
My Lai 605
Myanmar 661

N

NAACP 507
NAFTA 626, 627, 631
Nagamori 58
Nagasaki 57, 60, 558, 560
Nagy 598
Nanjing 527
Naoroji 375
Naples 411
Napoléon 268, 271, 278, 296, 297, 298, 308, 312, 314
Napoleon III 363
Napoleonic Era 296
Napoleonic Wars 278, 299
Naqsh-e Jahan Square 142
Nasser 595, 596
Natal 609
nation-state 275
National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) 580
National Assembly 267
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) 504
National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA) 502
National Convention 267
national identity 274
National Insurance Act 411
National Justice Party 658
National Liberation Front (FNLA) 609
National Liberation Front (NLF) 588
National Policy 335
National Socialists 474
national sovereignty 278
National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) 609
nationalism 273, 273, 274, 275, 276, 432, 433
Nationalist Front of Mexico 658
Nationalists 496, 511
Native Americans 206, 216, 217, 227, 233, 265, 506
nativism 476
NATO 654
natural rights 249, 251, 252, 262, 264, 267, 270, 277
naturalism 401
naval power 430, 441
naval warfare 446
Navigation Act of 1663 232
Navigation Acts 232
Nazi 529, 544, 546, 556, 561
Nazi Party 482, 489, 496
Nazi Teacher's Alliance 497
Nazis 497, 497, 500
Ndongo 229
Négritude movement 508
Negro National Democratic League 367
Nehru 593
neocolonialism 629
NEP 486, 488
Nestorian Christians 42
Netherlands 53, 164, 182, 392, 402, 547
neutrality 366, 496, 534
Neutrality Acts 533
New Amsterdam 215
New Deal 494
New Economic Policy (NEP) 486
New France 217, 218
New Granada 291, 309
New Guinea 429
New Hampshire 392
New Laws of 1542 208
New Negro movement 507
New Netherlands 215
New Spain 174, 226, 291, 299, 304
New Woman 513
New York 392, 393, 393, 397, 397
New Zealand 365, 406, 449, 479, 501, 637, 664
Newfoundland 165
Newfoundland Company 213
Newton 260
Niani 82
Nicaragua 660
Nicholas II 461
Niger Delta oil spill 636
Nigeria 480, 660, 663, 666
Night and Fog Decree 547
Night Witches 551
Ninety-five Theses 158, 159
Nippon Kaigi 658
Nixon 579, 605
Nkrumah 606
no-first-use doctrine 654
Nobunaga 57
Noguera 293
Non-Aligned Movement 590, 591, 592
nonintervention 496
Normandy 555
Norris 402
Norse 166
North America 165, 183, 383
North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) 626
North Atlantic Treaty Organization 573, 654
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) 577
North Korea 583, 656
Northwest Forest Plan of 1994 641
Northwest Passage 214
Norway 547
Nova Scotia 165
nuclear power 641
nuclear weapons 654
Nuremberg Laws 529
Nuremberg Trial Proceedings 545
Nuremberg Trials 561

Nurhaci 65
Nzinga 229

O

O'Higgins 310
oasis towns 78
Obama 663
offshoring 633
Ohlendorf 544
oil 538
Ok-Kyun 363
Okinawa 557
Old Summer Palace 344
Oman 97
Open Door policy 365
Opening of China 630
Operation Barbarossa 535
Operation Gymnast 538
Operation Keelhaul 561
Operation *Ten-go* 557
opium 231
Opium Wars 338, 363
Oppenheimer 559
Orang Laut 50
Orange Free State 353, 359, 609
Ordonnance of 1627 217
Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries 626
Orhan 125
Orthodox Christianity 490
Osaka 397, 399, 411
Osman 125
Ottoman Empire 46, 111, 114, 122, 123, 130, 133, 279, 341, 342, 432, 432, 441, 449, 498
Ouidah 191
outsourcing 633
overproduction 491
Owen 415
Oyo 104
ozone hole 639
ozone layer 641

P

Pacific 403
Pacific Northwest 641
Pahlavi 538, 593
paintings 147
Pakistan 654
Pal 375
Palestine 452, 500, 593
Palmer 476
Palmer Raids 476
Pan-African Congress 503
Pan-African movement 503
Pan-Africanism 507
Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) 610
pan-Slavic nationalism 434
pandemic 399, 465
Pandey 231
Paraguay 310, 343, 402
Parameswara 50
Paris 392, 393, 393, 397, 411
Paris Agreement 642
Paris Gun 442
Paris Peace Conference 481
parks 411
Parsons 331
Party 463
Pasha 353, 354
Pashto 114
Pasteur 387
Patriot Fron 658
Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the West 658
patriotism 274, 276
patronage 167
Pavlichenko 551
Peace of Amasya 140
Peace of Augsburg 160
Peace of Hubertusburg 221
Pearl Harbor 527, 536
peasants 65
Pedro I 317, 320
PEGIDA 658
Penal Code of 1861 402
penal labor 404
penicillin 554
Peninsular War 289, 296
peninsulares 289, 294, 299
Pentagon 655
People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) 610
People's Liberation Army 582
People's Liberation Front 590
People's Republic of China (PRC) 582
Percentages Agreement 555
perestroika 613
Pernambuco 317
Perry 337
Persia 147, 538
Persian 116, 145
Persianate 126
personal computer 644
Peru 174, 185, 291, 403, 407, 481, 660
Peshev 546
pesticide 635
Pétain 533
Peter the Great 134, 142
Pétion 308, 309
Petrograd 461
Petrograd Soviet 462
Philadelphia 393
Philip II 164
Philippines 54, 366, 373, 403, 408, 527, 537, 540, 628
phonograph 332
Phosgene gas 443
phossy jaw 385
Pinochet 660
pinyin 581
Pires 53
Pittsburgh 406, 411
Pizarro 174
Plan de Iguala 299, 304, 305
Plymouth 213
pogroms 406, 544
Pol Pot 606
Poland 433, 463, 477, 506, 531, 532, 535, 556, 574, 598, 613
policy of attraction 373
polio vaccine 649
Polish Underground Resistance 546
Political Creed 279
polygamy 349
Pondicherry 50, 221
Popé 226
Pope Alexander VI 46
Pope Leo X 159, 175
Pope Martin V 168
Pope Nicholas V 169
popular authoritarianism 268
popular culture 630
Popular Front 495
popular sovereignty 251, 252,

273, 277
Port-au-Prince 270
Porto-Novo 191
Portugal 45, 46, 49, 96, 102, 168, 169, 174, 229, 296, 314, 351, 358, 403, 403, 609
Portuguese 406
Portuguese America 314
Portuguese State of India 49
post-traumatic stress disorder 444
Potsdam 554, 558
Potsdam Declaration 561
Powell 656
Powhatan Confederacy 227
Powhatans 212
Prague 397
PRI (the Institutional Revolutionary Party) 513
primary cause 24
primary source 14
Príncipe 102
print culture 260
printing press 159
privatization 629
Proclamation Line 263
progressive history 28
proletariat 240, 512
propaganda 457, 496, 579
protectionism 480
protectionist 492
Protestant 157, 159, 162
Protestant Reformation 157
Protestantism 160
Protestants 406
Proudhon 415
proxy wars 585
Prussia 220, 276, 278, 390, 415, 427
public forum 256
Public Health Act 411
public opinion 267
public sphere 256, 256, 260
public transportation 397
Pueblo 177
Pueblo Revolt 226
Pullman 396, 414
Punjabi 114
Puritans 163, 213
Putin 649

Q

Qing 56, 65, 224, 344
Qing dynasty 218
Qingdao 441
Quadruple Alliance 278
Quebec 184, 217, 233
Queen Elizabeth 211
Queen Victoria 334, 360
Quitéria 320
Quran 127

R

racial discrimination 269
racial equality clause 479
racial segregation 506
racism 442, 507
radio 332, 513
Rai 375
railroad 337, 339, 343, 348, 349, 480
railroads 330
Rana Plaza 633
Rape of Nanking 527
Rasputin 461
rational choice theory 234
rationing 456, 547, 548
Reagan 612, 612, 626, 632, 642
real wages 387
realism 401
rebellion 293
Red Army 485, 487
Red Cross 455
Red Guards 589
Red Scare 476
refugee 657
refugee crisis 648
regulation 410
Reichstag 497
Reign of Terror 267
reparations 479, 480, 481
representative government 267, 277
Republic of Ireland 460
Republic of Korea 583
Republic of Letters 259
republicanism 277
resistance 371, 547
Resolution of the Conference of the Petrograd Socialist-Revolutionaries 463
Resolution of the Council of the United Nobility 463
resource curse 665
revisionism 29
revolution 247, 252, 273, 287, 306
Revolutionary War 289
Rhee 583, 584
rhetoric 21
Rhineland 479
Rhodes 357
Rhodesia 357, 609
Richelieu 217
Riefenstahl 497
Riel 335
right to vote 506
rinderpest 370
Rio de Janeiro 315
Río de la Plata 291
Risorgimento 274, 275
Roanoke Island 210
Robespierre 267
Rohingya 661
Roma 546
Romania 464, 574
Romanov 460
romanticism 401
Romanus Pontifex 169
Rommel 537
Roosevelt 494, 533, 536, 537, 538, 540, 550, 554, 555, 555
Rosie the Riveter 552
Rousseau 252, 254, 276
Rowlatt Act 504
Royal Air Force 533
rthern Ireland 654
rubber 331, 368, 481
Ruhr Valley 481
Rupert's Land 334
Ruskin 413
Russia 220, 231, 275, 278, 329, 336, 360, 363, 373, 383, 384, 397, 401, 404, 406, 411, 415, 428, 432, 434, 437, 440, 463, 464, 474, 485, 628, 649, 653
Russian Social Democratic Labor Party 416
Russian Social Democrats 485
Russo-Japanese War 363
Russo-Persian war of

1722–1723 142
Rwanda 502, 660

S

Saadi 91
Saar region 479
Sadat 597
Sadler 20
Sáenz 319
Safavid 112, 122, 133, 142, 144, 145
Safavid Empire 114, 138
safety bicycle 330
Safi al-Din 139
Saint Petersburg 392, 397
Saint-Domingue 269, 271, 295
Saint-Simon 415
Sakhalin Island 361
Saldaña 302
Salem witch trials 213
Salk 649
salons 258, 260
salt 78, 89
Salt March 504
Saltaire 397
Samoa 403
Samoset 213
samurai 56, 338, 513
San Martín 306, 310, 311
Sandinista National Liberation Front 604
Sandinistas 660
Sanger 391
sanitation 388
Sankore mosque 82
sans-culottes 267
Sanskrit 44
Santa Barbara oil spill 636
Santander 309
Santiago 297
São Tomé 102
Sassoon 444
satellite states 574
sati 42
Saud family 499
Saudi Arabia 499, 635, 664
Save the Rainforest 639
Savery 236
Saxony 220
Schindler 546
Schlieffen Plan 432, 437
Schutzstaffel (SS) 497
scientific management 384
scientific method 260
Scientific Revolution 249, 251
scientific socialism 415
scorched-earth policy 359
Scramble for Africa 351, 429
Second Continental Congress 264
Second Estate 266
Second Indochina War 587
Second Industrial Revolution 327, 329, 331, 345, 351, 381, 383, 388, 392, 394, 402, 410
Second Moroccan Crisis 430
Second Opium War 231, 344
Second Portuguese Republic 609
Second Taiwan Strait Crisis 597
secondary source 14
Sedition Act 459
Sefuwa dynasty 100
Segou 106
Seiyukai 511
Sejong 67
self-determination 477, 498, 502
Self-Help 413
Self-Strengthening Movement 364
Selim III 341
Sendler 546
Senegal 448
Senghor 508
Sentiments of the Nation 302, 303
Separatists 213
Sepoy Mutiny 374
Sepoy Rebellion 230
sepoys 223, 360
September 11 654
Sequeira 53
Serbia 433, 436, 437, 547
serfdom 337, 402, 403
serfs 337
Seven Years' War 50, 218, 220, 222, 264, 340
Seventeen Point Agreement 582
sewer systems 398
Seymour 162
Sha'arawi 506
Shah 52
Shahnameh 146
Shandong 480
Shandong Province 479
Shanghai 510
sharia 116, 117
shell shock 444
Shi'ism 138, 143
Shi'ite 143
Shia Islam 143
Shigenobu 484
Shiite 612
Shivaji 44
shogun 56, 61
shogunate 337
Shöwa 509
Si-o-Se-Pol 149
Siberia 489
Sicily 406
Siemens-Martin process 329
Sikhism 43
Silent Spring 635
Silhak 68
silicon 643
Silicon Valley 644
silver 181
Sina 135
Sinai Peninsula 597
Sinan 135
Singapore 628, 664
Singapura 50
Sinn Féin 508
Sino-Japanese War 339
Sino-Soviet split 598, 605
Six-Day War 597
Skraelings 165
skyscrapers 330
slaughterhouses 397
Slave Coast 103, 105
slave trade 91, 94, 98, 105, 192
slavery 178, 187, 188, 190, 194, 212, 229, 234, 269, 270, 273, 402, 402, 407
Sloan 401
Slovenia 613
smallpox 650
smartphone 647

Smiles 413, 413
Smith 185, 186, 233, 236, 277
Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act 492
Sobibor 546, 546
social constructs 28
social contract 249, 253
social contract theory 252, 256, 264, 270
social Darwinism 348, 413
Social Democratic Party of Austria 415
social democrats 415
Social Democrats 465
social hierarchy 289
social history 28
social media 642, 646, 648
social reform 410
Social Security Administration 494
socialism 239, 410, 415, 437, 490
Socialist International 437
Socialist Party 465
socialist realism 490
Socialist Revolutionary Party 416
Society of the Righteous and Harmonious Fists 372
Sofala 95, 95
Solomon Islands 403, 429
Somali 527
Somalia 660
Somoza 660
Songhai 102
Songhai Empire 84, 85, 86
Sousa 95
South Africa 353, 406, 407, 480, 493, 609
South African Republic 359
South American liberation 306
South China Sea 50
South Korea 583, 628, 631, 631, 656
South Manchuria Railway 525
South Manchurian Railway 509
South Vietnam 631
Southeast Asia 50
Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) 585
Soviet Union 463, 485, 490, 495, 509, 532, 538, 547, 561, 573, 574, 576, 590, 598, 605, 610, 615, 654, 660
Soweto 610
Spain 46, 168, 170, 171, 185, 220, 293, 296, 297, 308, 351, 397, 495, 495, 623, 631
Spanish America 289
Spanish armada 164
Spanish Civil War 496
Speech at the African Union Meeting 607
Spencer 413
Spice Islands 54
spice trade 53
spices 132, 166, 176
spotted owl 641
Sputnik 579
Srivijaya Empire 50
St. Bartholomew's Day massacre 164
St. Louis World's Fair 370
St. Petersburg 336, 401
Staël 256
Stalin 485, 486, 489, 532, 535, 538, 540, 555, 561, 574, 598
Stalingrad 537, 538
Stamp Act 264
Starley 330
START 654
steam engine 236
steam turbine 331
steamboat 329, 350
steamship 337
Steinway 397
sternpost rudder 166
Stiglitz 667
Stimson Doctrine 510
stock market 491
Stopes 391
Strangford 314
Strassmann 554
Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty (SALT) 606
Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty 654
study of history 10
subcontracting 634
submarine 444
submarines 446
subway 397
Sucre 312
Sudan 99, 342, 354, 358, 657, 661
Sudanic 79
Sudetenland 528
Suez Canal 353, 596
suffrage 21, 456
suffrage movement 506
suffragist 506
Sufi 114, 130, 139
Sufis 41
Sufism 114
sugar 185, 188, 193, 196, 234, 269
Sukarno 591
Suleiman 123, 134
Sultanate of Women 123, 128
Sumatra 50
Sundiata 81
Sunni 123, 139, 143, 143, 612
Sunni Ali 85
Sunni Islam 138
Sunnism 138
Surat 40, 49
Suriname 402
sustainability 640
Swadeshi movement 375
Swahili 92
Swahili coast 91, 93, 95, 96
Swan 332
sweatshops 633
Sweden 397, 412, 657
Swift 332
Sykes-Picot Agreement 451
Syria 597, 648, 657
Szilard 559

T

Tabriz 141
Taejo 67
Tagore 340
Tahiti 365
Tahmasp 140, 146, 147
Tahrir Square 647
Taiping Rebellion 344, 407
Taisho 508
Taisho period 480
Taiwan 66, 584
Taj Mahal 39

Taliban 655, 663
talking pictures 513
Tandy Radio Shack computer 644
Tanggu Truce 526
tanks 443
Taylor 384
Taylorism 384
technologies 553
technology 122, 382, 442
Tehran 540
telegraph 329
telemedicine 649
telephone 332
Tenochtitlán 172, 173
Ternate 54
terrorist attack 655
terrorist group 654
Tet Offensive 605
textiles 192
Thailand 628
Thatcher 641
Thayendanegea 265
the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) 590
The Benefits of British Rule 375
the Chinese Communist Party 526
The Communist Manifesto 239
the Great Depression 497
The Great Game 360
the International Workingmen's Association (IWA) 415
The Jewish State 500
The Journal of Christopher Columbus (During His First Voyage) 210
The Limits to Growth 637
The Ottoman Empire 435
The Poisonous Occupations in Illinois 386
the social contract 252
the starving time 212
The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere 259
the United States 395
the Universal Negro Improvement Association 503
The Wealth of Nations 233, 236
The White Man's Burden 348
The Women of the French Salons 259
Things Fall Apart 23
Third Arab-Israeli War 597
Third Carnatic War 218
Third Estate 266
Thirty Years' War 164
Three Mile Island 637
Three-Fifths Clause 265
Tiananmen Square 582, 615
Tibet 67, 582
TikTok 649
Tilak 375
Timber Wars 641
Timbuktu 83, 85, 89, 91
time clock 332
Timur 35
Tirpitz 430
Tisquantum 213
Tito 547, 590
Tivoli 393
Tlaxcalans 207
To Check the Survival of the Unfit 414
tobacco 192, 212, 226
Togo 479
Tojo 542
Tokyo 392, 393, 396, 411, 508
Tokyo War Crimes trials 527
Tolstoy 26
Topkapi 128
Topkapi Palace 131
Toronto 334
Torrey Canyon oil spill 636
total war 442
totalitarianism 495
trade 33, 46, 62, 67, 116, 117, 120, 182
trade agreements 622
trade barriers 627
trade diaspora communities 41
trade unions 414
Trades Union Congress 414
Tran 62
trans-Atlantic slave trade 228
trans-Saharan slave trade 98, 191
trans-Saharan trade 100, 101, 103, 106
trans-Saharan trade route 77
trans-Saharan trade routes 80
transatlantic journey 164
transatlantic slave trade 189, 192
transatlantic telegraph line 332
transatlantic trade 186
transcontinental railroad 334
transistor 643
Transvaal 609
Transvaal Republic 353, 359
trappers 185
Treaty of Alcáçovas 174
Treaty of Balta Liman 342
Treaty of Brest-Litovsk 463, 477
Treaty of Brussels 577
Treaty of Kyakhta 225
Treaty of Lausanne 499
Treaty of Mutual Assistance 528
Treaty of Nanjing 231
Treaty of Paris 220, 264, 340
Treaty of Portsmouth 363
Treaty of Sèvres 499
Treaty of Shimonoseki 363
Treaty of Tianjin 344, 344
Treaty of Tordesillas 46, 164, 175
Treaty of Versailles 474, 476, 479, 495, 512, 525, 528
Treaty of Wuchale 356
Treaty of Zaragoza 176
Treblinka 546
trench system 448
Triangle shirtwaist factory 633
triangular trade 187, 188
Trinity Test 554
Tripartite Pact 533
Triple Alliance 428
Triple Entente 428
Triumph of the Will 497
Trotsky 487
Truman 558, 574, 576
Truman Doctrine 573, 576
Trump 632
tsarist autocracy 460
Tsuyoshi 511
Tuah 52
tuberculosis 400

Tunisia 348, 352, 538, 647, 648
Turing 553
Turkestan 360
Turkey 512, 575, 597
Turkic 124, 145
Turkish National Movement 499
Turkmenistan 649
Tutsi 660
Tuvalu 403
Twelver Islam 138
Twelvers 143
Twitter 646, 648
Two Treatises of Government 251, 253
typhoid 399
tyranny 267, 274

U

U-boats 444
Ukraine 463, 485, 489, 637, 649, 654
ulama 114, 120, 146
ultranationalist movements 658
ummah 113, 113, 116
Undang-Undang Laut Melaka 52
Undang-Undang Melaka 52
underconsumption 491
unemployment 498, 549
unequal distribution of wealth 491
unequal treaties 232
UNFCCC 642
unification 274
unification of Italy 274
Union of South Africa 360
unions 414, 508
United Arab Republic 597
United Fruit Company 600
United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) 606
United Kingdom 508, 573
United Kingdom Alliance for the Total and Immediate Suppression of the Liquor Traffic 412
United Nations 11, 555, 563, 583
United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change 642
United Provinces of the Río de la Plata 310
United States 231, 264, 278, 312, 334, 364, 366, 373, 373, 386, 390, 391, 393, 402, 403, 403, 405, 406, 406, 409, 412, 412, 415, 432, 442, 447, 450, 455, 474, 479, 482, 483, 491, 506, 525, 527, 533, 536, 537, 561, 573, 576, 605, 612, 623, 625, 628, 630, 631, 635, 635, 637, 654, 655, 657, 657, 659, 664
United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement 632
universities 256, 260, 260
Urabi 354
urbanization 392, 410
Urdu 114
Uriburu 513
Uruguay 310, 406
Uruguay Round 627
USMCA 632
USS *Maine* 366
USS *Panay* 527
USSR 485, 489, 528, 535
Utama 50
utilitarianism 252
Uyghurs 662

V

vaccine 650, 651
Valera 508
veil 664
Venezuela 306, 308, 309, 481, 660
Vespucci 171
Vest 22
viceroyalty 291
Viceroyalty of New Granada 294, 307
Viceroyalty of Peru 293
Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata 296, 309
Victor Emmanuel II 274
Victoria 305
Vienna Stock Exchange 384
Viet Cong 588
Viet Minh 585
Vietnam 62, 542, 585, 604
Vietnam War 587, 604
Viking explorers 165
Vilela 57
Villa 447
Virgin of Guadalupe 299, 300
Virginia 212
Virginia Company 211
Vodou 270
Voices from Chernobyl 638
Volga River 336
Voltaire 251, 254, 260
vote 508
voting rights 456
Voulet 353

W

W. Bush 655
Wade-Giles 581
Wake Island 537
Wałęsa 613
Wall Street 216
Wanamaker's 394
Wang 63
War and Peace 27
war communism 486
war guilt 479
War Industries Board (WIB) 454
War of Spanish Succession 296
War of the Triple Alliance 343
war on terror 655
War Relocation Authority 550
wars of religion 157, 164
Warsaw ghetto 544
Warsaw ghetto uprising 546
Warsaw Pact 573, 577, 598
warship 430
Washington 219, 264
Washington Naval Conference 483, 509
Waterloo 268
Watt 236
Wealth of Nations 186
weapons of mass destruction 655
Wehrmacht 536, 544
Weimar Republic 481, 497

West Germany 623
Western Bloc 577
Western Europe 626
White 210
White Army 485
White Australia Policy 409
White superiority 502
WHO 650
Whydah 103, 104
Wild West 370
Wilhelm I 412
Wilhelm II 428, 429, 465
William I 276
Williams 213
Wilson 442, 446, 447, 477, 479
Winter War 535
Winthrop 213
Witte 337
WMD 655
women 119, 129, 130, 149, 177, 194, 386, 389, 389, 394, 401, 413, 455, 546, 549, 551
Women's Land Army 456, 552
women's suffrage 563
working class 389, 392
working conditions 414
working-class family 382
World Bank 629, 667
World Health Organization 650
World Malaria Day 652
world trade 622
World Trade Center 654
World Trade Organization 627
World War I 425, 427, 432, 442, 444, 446, 453, 460, 474, 480, 498
World War II 523, 537, 546, 554
WTO 627, 628, 630
Wu 65
Wuhan 651

X

Xhosa 229
Xiaoping 630
Xiuquan 344, 407
Xuande 62

Y

Yalta 554, 560
Yalta Agreement 556
Yalta Conference 555, 558
Yamasee 228
Yat-sen 511
Yatori 339
Yeltsin 613
Yemen 648
Yi 510
Yokohama 508
Yongle 61
Yoshinobu 338
Young Italy 274
Young Plan 482
Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) 457
Ypres 475
Yucatán Peninsula 172
Yugoslavia 477, 537, 547, 590, 590, 613

Z

Zahed 138
Zakynthos 546
Zanzibar 91, 98
Zapata 447
Zedong 511
Zhang 65
Zheng 61
Zhou 614
Zhu 63
Zimbabwe 609
Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) 609
Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) 609
Zimmermann Telegram 447
Zionism 274
Zola 401
Zollverein 276
Zong 190
Zoopraxiscope 333
Zoroastrianism 251
Zoroastrians 41
Zwingli 160