

Annual Editions
WESTERN CIVILIZATION
VOLUME II

Early Modern Through the 20th Century



Fourth Edition

WESTERN CIVILIZATION

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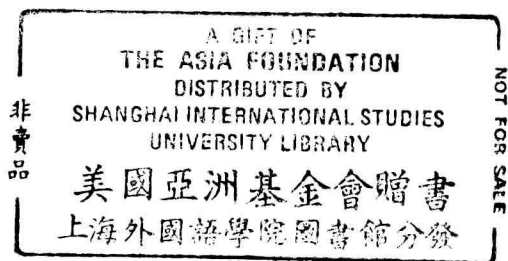
Fourth Edition

EDITOR

William Hughes

Essex Community College

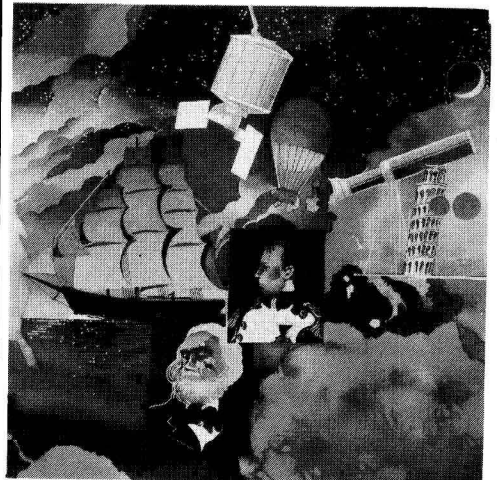
William Hughes is a professor of history at Essex Community College, in Baltimore County, Maryland. He received his A.B. from Franklin and Marshall College and his M.A. from the Pennsylvania State University. He continued graduate studies at the American University and the Pennsylvania State University. Professor Hughes is interested in visual media in historical research. He has written articles, essays, and reviews for *The Journal of American History*, *The New Republic*, *The Nation*, *Film and History*, and *The Dictionary of American Biographies*.



Cover illustration by Mike Eagle

VOLUME II

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Fourth Edition

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Members of the Advisory Board are instrumental in the final selection of articles for each edition of Annual Editions. Their review of articles for content, level, currency, and appropriateness provides critical direction to the editor and staff. We think you'll find their careful consideration well reflected in this volume.

To The Reader

In publishing ANNUAL EDITIONS we recognize the enormous role played by the magazines, newspapers, and journals of the *public press* in providing current, first-rate educational information in a broad spectrum of interest areas. Within the articles, the best scientists, practitioners, researchers, and commentators draw issues into new perspective as accepted theories and viewpoints are called into account by new events, recent discoveries change old facts, and fresh debate breaks out over important controversies.

Many of the articles resulting from this enormous editorial effort are appropriate for students, researchers, and professionals seeking accurate, current material to help bridge the gap between principles and theories and the real world. These articles, however, become more useful for study when those of lasting value are carefully *collected, organized, indexed, and reproduced* in a *low-cost format*, which provides easy and permanent access when the material is needed. That is the role played by *Annual Editions*. Under the direction of each volume's *Editor*, who is an expert in the subject area, and with the guidance of an *Advisory Board*, we seek each year to provide in each *ANNUAL EDITION* a current, well-balanced, carefully selected collection of the best of the public press for your study and enjoyment. We think you'll find this volume useful, and we hope you'll take a moment to let us know what you think.

What exactly are we attempting to do when we set out to study Western civilization? The traditional course in Western civilization is a chronological survey of sequential stages in the development of European institutions and ideas, with a cursory look at Near Eastern antecedents and a side glance at the Americas and other places where westernization has occurred. So we move from the Greeks to the Romans to the medieval period and on to the modern era, itemizing the distinctive characteristics of each stage, as well as each period's relation to preceding and succeeding developments. Of course in a survey so broad (usually moving from Adam to the Atom in two brief semesters) a certain superficiality seems inevitable. Key events whiz by as if viewed in a cyclorama; often there is little opportunity to absorb and digest the complex ideas that have shaped our culture. It is tempting to excuse these shortcomings as unavoidable. But to present a course on Western civilization that leaves students with only a jumble of events, names, dates, and places is to miss a marvelous opportunity. For the great promise of such a broad course of study is that by examining the great turning points or shifts in the evolution of our culture we can understand the dynamics of continuity and change over time. The course at best can provide a coherent view of our traditions and offer the opportunity for reflection about everything from the forms of authority to the nature of humankind to the meaning of progress.

One way to bring coherence to the study of our civilization is to focus on what is distinctly "western" about Western civilization. Much has been written about the subject. Vera M. Dean, for example, has argued that "There is no real differential between West and non-West except that created by the West's chronologically earlier acquisition of technology." She concludes that industrialization will shortly obliterate all differences between East and West.

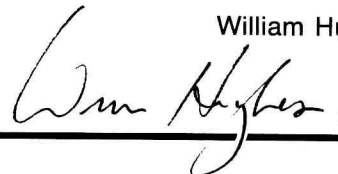
Not all western observers are so monolithic in their views. Arnold Toynbee, Herbert Muller, and F.S.C. Northrop, to mention just a few, have written with pride of the unique qualities of the West, while urging our civilization to learn from the East.

What about the eastern perspective? The West, writes Zen philosopher D.T. Suzuki, is "analytical, discriminative, differential, individualistic, intellectual, objective, scientific, generalizing, conceptual, schematic, impersonal, legalistic, organizing, powerwielding, self-assertive, disposed to impose its will upon others." The East is "synthetic, totalizing, integrative, non-discriminative, deductive, non-systematic, intuitive, subjective, spiritually individualistic, and socially group-minded."

As students become attuned to the distinctive traits of the West, they develop a sense of the dynamism of history—the interplay of the forces of continuity and change. They begin to understand how ideas relate to social structures and social forces. They come to appreciate the nature and significance of conceptual innovation and recognize the way values infuse inquiry. More specifically, they develop an understanding of the evolution of western ideas about nature, humankind, authority, and the gods, i.e., they learn *how* the West became distinctly western.

Of course the articles collected in this volume can't deal with all these matters, but by providing an alternative to the synthetic summaries of most textbooks, they can help students acquire a fuller understanding of the dynamics of Western civilization and a clear sense of its unique components. This book is like our history—unfinished, always in process. It will be revised biennially. Comments and criticism are welcome from all who use this book. To that end a postpaid article rating form has been included at the end of the book. Do you know of any articles that could improve the next edition? With your assistance, this anthology will continue to improve.

William Hughes



Editor

Topic Guide

This topic guide suggests how the selections in this book relate to topics of traditional concern to Western Civilization students and professionals. It is very useful in locating articles which relate to each other for reading and research. The guide is arranged alphabetically according to topic. Articles may, of course, treat topics that do not appear in the topic guide. In turn, entries in the topic guide do not necessarily constitute a comprehensive listing of all the contents of each selection.

TOPIC AREA	TREATED AS AN ISSUE IN:	TOPIC AREA	TREATED AS AN ISSUE IN:
Agriculture	15. The Tolpuddle Martyrs	Middle Class	18. The Discreet Pleasures of the Bourgeoisie
Art, Music, Architecture	6. The Seventeenth-Century "Renaissance" in Russia 10. The Body of Bach 22. How the Modern World Began	Modernism	22. How the Modern World Began 23. Freudian Myths and Freudian Realities
Business	12. The Commercialization of Childhood 16. Cottage Industry and the Factory System 19. The Story of the Christmas Card 27. The Big Picture of the Great Depression	Modernization	29. Stalin's Afterlife
Childhood	12. The Commercialization of Childhood	Philosophy	4. The Monster of Malmesbury 11. Scotland's Greatest Son 14. The Idolatry of Politics 22. How the Modern World Began
Christmas	3. Lords of Misrule 19. The Story of the Christmas Card	Politics/ Political Authority	1. The Emergence of the Great Powers 2. Rulers and Ruled, 1580-1650 3. Lords of Misrule 4. The Monster of Malmesbury 5. Louis XIV and the Huguenots 7. From Boy-King to "Madman of Europe" 9. Prussia and Frederick the Great 15. The Tolpuddle Martyrs 28. The Nazi State 29. Stalin's Afterlife 33. The Four Horsemen Ride Again 34. The Causes of Wars 36. Can the Democracies Survive?
Colonialism/ Colonies	32. The War Europe Lost	Rationalism	14. The Idolatry of Politics
Democracy	36. Can the Democracies Survive?	Religion	3. Lords of Misrule 4. The Monster of Malmesbury 6. The Seventeenth-Century Renaissance in Russia
Demography	33. The Four Horsemen Ride Again	Revolution	26. Russian Intelligentsia and the Bolshevik Revolution
Economics/ Economists	11. Scotland's Greatest Son 17. Marx 27. The Big Picture of the Great Depression	Science	8. Halley and Post-Restoration Science 20. The Importance of Trifles
Enlightenment	9. Prussia and Frederick the Great 11. Scotland's Greatest Son 12. The Commercialization of Childhood 13. The First Feminist 14. The Idolatry of Politics	Society	12. The Commercialization of Childhood 13. The First Feminist 15. The Tolpuddle Martyrs 16. Cottage Industry and the Factory System 18. The Discreet Pleasures of the Bourgeoisie 21. Sarah Bernhardt's Paris 25. "The Lamps Are Going out All over Europe" 27. The Big Picture of the Great Depression 30. 1945 31. The Attlee Government's Pursuit of Women 33. The Four Horsemen Ride Again
Evolution	20. The Importance of Trifles		
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Ideology	4. The Monster of Malmesbury 26. Russian Intelligentsia and the Bolshevik Revolution 28. The Nazi State		
Industrial Revolution	16. Cottage Industry and the Factory System 17. Marx		
Labor	15. The Tolpuddle Martyrs 16. Cottage Industry and the Factory System		



Unit 1

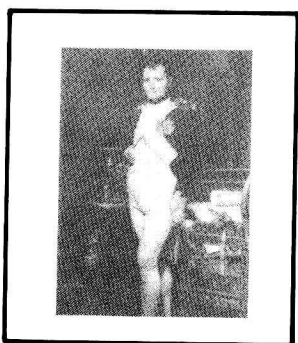
The Age of Power

Seven selections trace the evolution of political power in early modern times. Topics include the European state system, the relationship between the rulers and their citizenry, relations between science and religion, and the art and architecture of the period.

To the Reader Topic Guide Overview

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1. **The Emergence of the Great Powers**, Gordon A. Craig and Alexander L. George, *Force and Statecraft: Diplomatic Problems of Our Times*, Oxford University Press, 1983.
In 1600 the strongest center in Europe was the old Holy Roman Empire in league with Spain. By the eighteenth century, however, the European system was transformed so drastically that the continent was dominated by Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. How did this great shift occur? This essay traces the evolution of the European state system in early modern times.
2. **Rulers and Ruled, 1580-1650**, Ronald Hutton, *History Today*, September 1985. 11
In early modern England there was a surprising unity of vision between the populace and the ruling classes. Ordinary people supported the existing order; they believed in a Great Chain of Being. However, as the author explains, the lower links were quite capable of giving the whole a powerful shake if it showed signs of rusting.
3. **Lords of Misrule: The Puritan War on Christmas, 1642-60**, Chris Durstan, *History Today*, December 1985. 15
To the Puritans, Christmas celebrations were "trappings of popery." Hence writes the author, mince-pies, mummers, holly, and church services all fell victim to a determined Puritan effort to stamp out holiday festivities under the Commonwealth.
4. **The Monster of Malmesbury**, Kevin Harrison, *Mankind*, June 1980. 23
Thomas Hobbes, author of *Leviathan*, was one of the most controversial political philosophers of the seventeenth century. Anglicans and Roman Catholics, royalists and supporters of Parliament, all found their ideological views undermined by Hobbesian theory.
5. **Louis XIV and the Huguenots**, Roger Mettam, *History Today*, May 1985. 26
In 1685 the King of France, Louis XIV, revoked the *Edict of Nantes*, thereby denying the French Protestants—the Huguenots—any role in his kingdom. His action and the accompanying persecution forced many to flee from France. This article explores the king's motives and the plight of his Protestant subjects.
6. **The Seventeenth-Century "Renaissance" in Russia**, Lindsey A.J. Hughes, *History Today*, February 1980. 31
This article, a survey of western influences on Russian art and architecture, demonstrates that Peter the Great's program of westernization was not such a break from the past as has commonly been supposed.
7. **From Boy-King to "Madman of Europe,"** Gary K. Shepherd, *Military History*, August 1986. 35
Charles XII, the dynamic young king who made Sweden a major power, is not nearly so well known today as his contemporary, Peter the Great of Russia. Yet, in the eighteenth century, Voltaire considered the two rival monarchs to be "the most remarkable men to have appeared in over 2,000 years." The Swedish king's military adventures are surveyed in this article.



Unit 2

Rationalism, Enlightenment, and Revolution

Seven articles discuss the impact of science, politics, music, economic thought, changing social attitudes, and the rights of women on the Age of Enlightenment.

Overview

- | | |
|---|------------------------|
| 8. Halley and Post-Restoration Science , Noel Coley, <i>History Today</i> , September 1986. | 38
40 |
| <i>Edmund Halley</i> , though known as "the Comet Man," was active on many scientific fronts. His diverse achievements demonstrate the scope and vigor of <i>scientific inquiry and experiment in England</i> after 1660. | |
| 9. Prussia and Frederick the Great , Sebastian Haffner, <i>Encounter</i> , June 1979. | 47 |
| <i>Frederick</i> was by nature an aesthete, a philosopher, and a humanist who became an icy cynic, a malicious tormentor to those about him, and—above all—a great king. This account of an enlightened autocrat sheds light on <i>the Prussian state</i> and on the role of "great men" in history. | |
| 10. The Body of Bach , Edward Rothstein, <i>The New Republic</i> , June 24, 1985. | 53 |
| To treat <i>Bach</i> simply as a religious composer is to miss the most important aspect of his music: it is a product of its time, anticipating the <i>Enlightenment</i> . Indeed, his fugues reveal his belief that the world and the self are images of each other, that the word and music and the world are linked in their structure and their substance. | |
| 11. Scotland's Greatest Son , John Kenneth Galbraith, <i>Horizon</i> , Summer 1974. | 58 |
| In <i>The Wealth of Nations</i> , published in 1776, <i>Adam Smith</i> revolutionized <i>economic thought</i> . In this article, John Kenneth Galbraith, a modern economist, assesses Smith's impact on the eighteenth century and his relevancy for the late twentieth century. | |
| 12. The Commercialization of Childhood , J.H. Plumb, <i>Horizon</i> , Autumn 1976. | 64 |
| A new attitude toward <i>children</i> emerged in England during the eighteenth century. It was a gentler and more sensitive approach to children, one that reflected a wider <i>change in social (and economic) attitudes</i> . Entrepreneurs soon developed imaginative products to exploit the emerging belief that children were shaped by their early environment. | |
| 13. The First Feminist , Shirley Tomkiewicz, <i>Horizon</i> , Spring 1972. | 70 |
| Mary Wollstonecraft, author of <i>Vindication of the Rights of Women</i> (1792), cogently argued the case that the <i>ideals of the Enlightenment</i> and the <i>French Revolution</i> should be extended to <i>women</i> . This is her story. | |
| 14. The Idolatry of Politics , Leszek Kolakowski, <i>The New Republic</i> , June 16, 1986. | 75 |
| Eighteenth-century <i>rationalists</i> refused to take for granted any inherited order of <i>political or moral rules</i> . This rationalist philosophy, along with liberal political doctrines and institutions, moral science, and the market economy, formed the basis of the <i>Enlightenment</i> and prefigured the development of the <i>modern world view in the West</i> . But, according to the author, the Enlightenment somehow went wrong. He explains what happened. | |



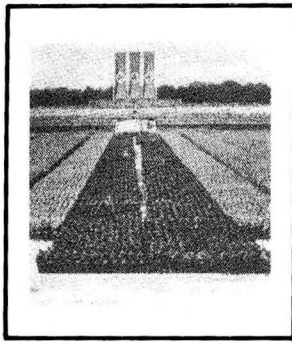
Unit 3

Industry, Evolution, and Expositions: The Nineteenth Century

Seven articles focus on the nineteenth century in the Western world. Topics include the working class, the industrial revolution, middle class life, and colonial life.

Overview

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|---|------------------------|
| 15. The Tolpuddle Martyrs , Brenda Ralph Lewis, <i>British Heritage</i> , February/March 1980. | 82
84 |
| This article recounts a dramatic episode in the history of the <i>labor movement in England</i> : the suppression of <i>farm workers</i> . Despite a public outcry, the case of the Tolpuddle martyrs was seen as a single instance of injustice, not a sign of an unjust system. Afterwards the privileged classes remained contemptuous of the aspirations of the working class. | |
| 16. Cottage Industry and the Factory System , Duncan Bythell, <i>History Today</i> , April 1983. | 87 |
| The <i>Industrial Revolution</i> was one of the greatest discontinuities in history. Why did it begin in Britain when it did? How did it transform industrial technology, class relations, and living standards? These are the questions addressed by Duncan Bythell in this article. | |
| 17. Marx: His Death and Resurrection , Louis J. Halle, <i>Encounter</i> , January 1970. | 94 |
| Halle explores the nature of greatness and, more particularly, the disparity between legend and reality in the case of <i>Karl Marx</i> . The economist is seen here as the failed prophet of the industrial age. | |
| 18. The Discreet Pleasures of the Bourgeoisie , Peter Gay, <i>The American Scholar</i> , Winter 1983-84. | 98 |
| The <i>nineteenth century middle class family</i> seemed the supreme haven of privacy. Now Peter Gay and other social historians are using private diaries to enter the secret lives of proper bourgeois families. They are discovering that, for all the public denials of passion and sensuality, the middle class experience included a substantial amount of eroticism and considerable candor about sexual matters. | |
| 19. The Story of the Christmas Card , Suzanne Wolstenholme, <i>British Heritage</i> , December/January 1985-86. | 106 |
| Many of the now familiar and cherished ingredients of a "traditional" <i>Christmas</i> are of surprisingly recent origin. In 1652 Britain's ancient <i>Yuletide ceremonies</i> and festivities were suppressed when the <i>Puritan Parliament</i> abolished public observance of the holiday. The prosperous <i>Victorian era</i> , which saw a revival of Christmas cheer, was the golden age of the modern Christmas greeting card. | |
| 20. The Importance of Trifles , Stephen Jay Gould, <i>Natural History</i> , April 1982. | 111 |
| Darwin's final book, about the lowly worm, was nothing less than a covert summation of the principles of <i>scientific reasoning</i> that he had labored a lifetime to formulate. Stephen Jay Gould's tribute to <i>Darwin</i> shows how the great naturalist's concern with worms reveals the habits of mind that produced his epochal works on humankind and nature. | |
| 21. Sarah Bernhardt's Paris , Christopher Hibbert, <i>Mankind</i> , October 1982. | 115 |
| Through carefree times and through war and famine, for over half a century, actress <i>Sarah Bernhardt</i> was at the center of the <i>artistic and social life of Paris</i> . The author's review of her colorful career provides a panorama of <i>social and political change</i> . | |

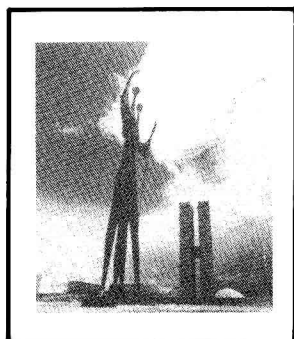


Unit 4

Modernism and Total War: The Twentieth Century

Eleven selections discuss the evolution of the modern Western world, the beginnings of psychology, the Russian revolution, the world wars, the Nazi state, and the effects of Europe's loss of economic and political dominance in world affairs.

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|--|------------|
| Overview | 124 |
| 22. How the Modern World Began , Peter Gay, <i>Horizon</i> , Spring 1973. | 126 |
| In the three decades before World War I, a group of brilliant innovators, including Freud, Ibsen, Yeats, Proust, Mahler, and Strauss, charted <i>the artistic and intellectual course for the twentieth century</i> . | |
| 23. Freudian Myths and Freudian Realities , Peter F. Drucker, from <i>Adventures of a Bystander</i> , Harper and Row, 1979. | 132 |
| Three "facts" about <i>Sigmund Freud's</i> life are accepted by most people: that all his life Freud lived in near poverty; that he suffered greatly from anti-Semitism and was denied full recognition and university appointments because he was a Jew; and that the Vienna of his day, especially the medical profession, ignored him. This article explores the discrepancies between Freudian myths and Freudian realities. | |
| 24. Sarajevo: The End of Innocence , Edmund Stillman, <i>Horizon</i> , Summer 1964. | 139 |
| Even after fifty years of explanations, it is difficult to understand why a political murder in a remote corner of the Balkans should have set off a war that changed Europe forever. This article provides another perspective on <i>the origins of the Great War</i> . | |
| 25. "The Lamps Are Going Out All over Europe . . ." , Roger Martin du Gard, <i>Realites</i> , August 1964. | 143 |
| <i>The World of the Thibaults</i> , a novel by Roger Martin du Gard, is widely held to be the most telling description of the mood of Europe on the eve of <i>World War I</i> . This excerpt depicts the air of collective hysteria in Paris during the summer of 1914 as the great powers of Europe authorized <i>military mobilization</i> . | |
| 26. Russian Intelligentsia and the Bolshevik Revolution , Christopher Read, <i>History Today</i> , October 1984. | 147 |
| In the aftermath of the <i>Bolshevik Revolution</i> of 1917 there was a battle for the mind of the new Soviet man. Artists and intellectuals carried on the struggle between Tsarism and Bolshevism. The tensions between bourgeois artists, the socialist avant-garde, and the self-styled proletarian artists lasted throughout the 1920s. | |
| 27. The Big Picture of the Great Depression , John A. Garaty, <i>American Heritage</i> , August/September 1986. | 152 |
| <i>The Great Depression</i> of the 1930s was a worldwide phenomenon. The crisis swept over France and Germany and Britain alike—and these nations nearly foundered. It took a still more cataclysmic event, <i>World War II</i> , to end the economic disaster. This article uses an international perspective to view America's responses to the Depression. | |
| 28. The Nazi State: Machine or Morass? Michael Geyer, <i>History Today</i> , January 1986. | 159 |
| Political historians have long debunked the myth of the National Socialist state as a totalitarian system. More recently, historians have been fascinated by the rampant competition, even chaos, of Nazi institutions. According to the author, it was competing interests as much as ideology that energized the <i>Third Reich</i> . | |
| 29. Stalin's Afterlife , Stephen F. Cohen, <i>The New Republic</i> , December 29, 1979. | 163 |
| A distinctive form of totalitarian rule, <i>Stalinism</i> combined national modernization with monumental cruelty and suffering. The author assesses Stalin's career more than one hundred years after his birth. | |
| 30. 1945 , Ryszard Kapuscinski, <i>The New Republic</i> , January 27, 1986. | 168 |
| "Those who live through a war never free themselves from it." A Polish writer's memories of war are a reminder that <i>wartime heroism</i> is not confined to the battle front. The civilian experience of <i>military conflict</i> is indelibly imprinted upon his memory. In this essay he recreates a wartime world of extreme tension and dread. | |



Unit 5

Conclusion: The Human Prospect

Four articles examine how politics, war, economics, and culture affect the prospects of humankind.

31. The Attlee Government's Pursuit of Women , William Crofts, <i>History Today</i> , August 1986.	172
Britain's postwar government was initially divided about the role of <i>women</i> . Some, anticipating a labor shortage, wanted women to continue their wartime role as industrial workers. Others, alarmed by the nation's low birth rate, hoped women would return to motherhood and domesticity. This article explores <i>Labour's propaganda campaign to keep women in the factories</i> .	
32. The War Europe Lost , Ronald Steel, <i>The New Republic</i> , October 6, 1979.	178
Unlike World War I, which was fought almost entirely in Europe, <i>the second war</i> was truly a world war, one that undermined the authority of the European states and broke their hold on the colonial world. Ronald Steel explains how and why the war reduced Europe's mastery over the world.	
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33. The Four Horsemen Ride Again , Norman Gall, <i>Forbes</i> , July 28, 1986.	182
Why have some countries gotten rich while others sink deeper into poverty? History and culture have something to do with it. But, says the author, many <i>underdeveloped countries</i> have been afflicted by socialism, excessive urbanization, corruption, and civil disorder.	
34. The Causes of Wars , Michael Howard, <i>The Wilson Quarterly</i> , Summer 1984.	188
Since the mid-eighteenth century, many theorists have attempted to explain <i>war</i> as an aberration in human affairs or as an occurrence beyond rational control. <i>Violent conflicts between nations</i> have been depicted as collective outbursts of male aggression, as the product of ruling class greed, or as a Darwinian necessity. Here, historian Michael Howard argues that war stems from nothing less than a "superabundance of analytic rationality."	
35. Wanton Acts of Usage , Christopher Hitchens, <i>Harper's</i> , September 1986.	195
What, exactly, is <i>terrorism</i> ? According to the author, most commentators use the term much too imprecisely. Their definitions are usually biased, tautological, cliched, parochial, or politically motivated. Too often public understanding of the issues is clouded by this "pseudoscientific propaganda word," by which "rulers fool themselves and by which history is abolished and language debased."	
36. Can the Democracies Survive? Jean-François Revel, <i>Commentary</i> , June 1984.	200
Democracy in its modern form has been experienced by few nations, a tiny minority of the human race. Today its continued survival is problematical, says the author, because democracy is not basically structured to defend itself against either internal or external enemies dedicated to its destruction. This article analyzes <i>the totalitarian threat to democracy</i> .	
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The Age of Power

The early modern period (c.1450-c.1700) was a time of profound change for Western civilization. During this epoch the medieval frame of reference gave way to a recognizable modern orientation. The old order had been simply, but rigidly, structured. There was little social or geographical mobility. Europe was relatively backward and isolated from much of the world. The economy was dominated by self-sufficient agriculture. Trade and, therefore, cities did not flourish. There were few rewards for technological innovation. A person's life seemed more attuned to revelation than to reason and science. The Church both inspired and delimited intellectual and artistic expression. Most people were prepared to subordinate their concerns to those of a higher order—whether religious or social. Carlo Cipolla, a distinguished European historian, provides an interesting capsulization of the waning order: "People were few in number, small in stature, and lived short lives. Socially they were divided among those who fought and hunted, those who prayed and learned, and those who worked. Those who fought did it often in order to rob. Those who prayed and learned, learned little and prayed much and superstitiously. Those who worked were the greatest majority and were considered the lowest group of all."

That constricted world gradually gave way to the modern world. There is no absolute date that marks the separation, but elements of modernity were evident throughout much of Western civilization by the eighteenth century. In this context the late medieval, Renaissance, and Reformation periods were transitional. They linked the medieval to the modern. But what were the elements of this emergent modernity? Beginning with the economic foundation, an economy based on money and commerce overlaid the traditional agrarian system, thus creating a more fluid society. Urban life became increasingly important, allowing greater scope for personal expression. Modernity involved a state of mind, as well. Europeans of the early modern period were conscious that their way of life was different from that of their forebears. In addition, these moderns developed a different sense of time—for urban people

clock time superseded the natural rhythms of the changing seasons and the familiar cycle of planting and harvesting. As for the life of the mind, humanism, rationalism, and science began to take precedence over tradition—though not without a struggle. The spread of Protestantism presented another challenge to orthodoxy. And, as economic and political institutions evolved, new attitudes about power and authority emerged.

The early modern period is often called an Age of Power, primarily because the modern state, with its power to tax, conscript, subsidize, and coerce, was taking shape. Its growth was facilitated by the changing economic order, which made it possible for governments to acquire money in unprecedented amounts—to hire civil servants, raise armies, protect and encourage national enterprise, and expand its power and influence to the national boundary and beyond.

Power, in various early modern manifestations, is the subject of the articles assembled in this unit. "The Emergence of the Great Powers" surveys the shifting international balance of power during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. "Rulers and Ruled, 1580-1650" explores popular reactions to the concentration of power in the state. A philosophical defense of this emerging Leviathan was provided by Thomas Hobbes, whose career is chronicled in "The Monster of Malmesbury." The power of the state to impose religious uniformity can be seen in "Louis XIV and the Huguenots" and "Lords of Misrule: The Puritan War on Christmas."

Looking Ahead: Challenge Questions

What were the philosophical justifications for the new political order?

How did various segments of society react to the emergence of the modern state apparatus?

How extensive were the modernizing tendencies of the era? What impact did they have upon the remoter sections of Europe—Russia, for example?

How did the modern international order evolve?



The Emergence of the Great Powers

I

Although the term *great power* was used in a treaty for the first time only in 1815, it had been part of the general political vocabulary since the middle of the eighteenth century and was generally understood to mean Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia. This would not have been true in the year 1600, when the term itself would have meant nothing and a ranking of the European states in terms of political weight and influence would not have included three of the countries just mentioned. In 1600, Russia, for instance, was a remote and ineffectual land, separated from Europe by the large territory that was called Poland-Lithuania with whose rulers it waged periodic territorial conflicts, as it did with the Ottoman Turks to the south; Prussia did not exist in its later sense but, as the Electorate of Brandenburg, lived a purely German existence, like Bavaria or Württemberg, with no European significance; and Great Britain, a country of some commercial importance, was not accorded primary political significance, although it had, in 1588, demonstrated its will and its capacity for self-defense in repelling the Spanish Armada. In 1600, it is fair to say that, politically, the strongest center in Europe was the old Holy Roman Empire, with its capital in Vienna and its alliances with Spain (one of the most formidable military powers in Europe) and the Catholic states of southern Germany—an empire inspired by a militant Catholicism that dreamed of restoring Charles V's claims of universal dominion. In comparison with Austria and Spain, France seemed destined to play a minor role in European politics, because of the state of internal anarchy and religious strife that followed the murder of Henri IV in 1610.

Why did this situation not persist? Or, to put it another way, why was the European system transformed

so radically that the empire became an insignificant political force and the continent came in the eighteenth century to be dominated by Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia? The answer, of course, is war, or, rather more precisely, wars—a long series of religious and dynastic conflicts which raged intermittently from 1618 until 1721 and changed the rank order of European states by exhausting some and exalting others. As if bent upon supplying materials for the nineteenth-century Darwinians, the states mentioned above proved themselves in the grinding struggle of the seventeenth century to be the fittest, the ones best organized to meet the demands of protracted international competition.

The process of transformation began with the Thirty Years War, which stretched from 1618 to 1648. It is sometimes called the last of the religious wars, a description that is justified by the fact that it was motivated originally by the desire of the House of Habsburg and its Jesuit advisers to restore the Protestant parts of the empire to the true faith and because, in thirty years of fighting, the religious motive gave way to political considerations and, in the spreading of the conflict from its German center to embrace all of Europe, some governments, notably France, waged war against their own coreligionists for material reasons. For the states that initiated this wasting conflict, which before it was over had reduced the population of central Europe by at least a third, the war was an unmitigated disaster. The House of Habsburg was so debilitated by it that it lost the control it had formerly possessed over the German states, which meant that they became sovereign in their own right and that the empire now became a mere adjunct of the Austrian crown lands. Austria was, moreover, so weakened by the exertions and losses of that war that in the period after 1648 it had the greatest difficulty in protecting its

eastern possessions from the depredations of the Turks and in 1683 was threatened with capture of Vienna by a Turkish army. Until this threat was contained, Austria ceased to be a potent factor in European affairs. At the same time, its strongest ally, Spain, had thrown away an infantry once judged to be the best in Europe in battles like that at Nördlingen in 1634, one of those victories that bleed a nation white. Spain's decline began not with the failure of the Armada, but with the terrible losses suffered in Germany and the Netherlands during the Thirty Years War.

In contrast, the states that profited from the war were the Netherlands, which completed the winning of its independence from Spain in the course of the war and became a commercial and financial center of major importance; the kingdom of Sweden, which under the leadership of Gustavus Adolphus, the Lion of the North, plunged into the conflict in 1630 and emerged as the strongest power in the Baltic region; and France, which entered the war formally in 1635 and came out of it as the most powerful state in western Europe.

It is perhaps no accident that these particular states were so successful, for they were excellent examples of the process that historians have described as the emergence of the modern state, the three principal characteristics of which were effective armed forces, an able bureaucracy, and a theory of state that restrained dynastic exuberance and defined political interest in practical terms. The seventeenth century saw the emergence of what came to be called *raison d'état* or *ragione di stato*—the idea that the state was more than its ruler and more than the expression of his wishes; that it transcended crown and land, prince and people; that it had its particular set of interests and a particular set of necessities based upon them; and that the art of government lay in recognizing those interests and necessities and acting in accordance with them, even if this might violate ordinary religious or ethical standards. The effective state must have the kind of servants who would interpret *raison d'état* wisely and the kind of material and physical resources necessary to implement it. In the first part of the seventeenth century, the Dutch, under leaders like Maurice of Nassau and Jan de Witt, the Swedes, under Gustavus Adolphus and Oxenstierna, and the French, under the inspired ministry of Richelieu, developed the administration and the forces and theoretical skills that exemplify this ideal of modern statehood. That they survived the rigors of the Thirty Years War was not an accident, but rather the result of the fact that they never lost sight of their objectives and never sought objectives that were in excess of their capabilities. Gustavus Adolphus doubtless brought his country into the Thirty Years War to save the cause of Protestantism when it was at a low ebb, but he never for a moment forgot the imperatives of national interest that impelled him to see the war also as a means of winning Swedish supremacy along the shore of the Baltic Sea. Cardinal Richelieu has been called the

greatest public servant France ever had, but that title, as Sir George Clark has drily remarked, "was not achieved without many acts little fitting the character of a churchman." It was his clear recognition of France's needs and his absolute unconditionality in pursuing them that made him the most respected statesman of his age.

The Thirty Years War, then, brought a sensible change in the balance of forces in Europe, gravely weakening Austria, starting the irreversible decline of Spain, and bringing to the fore the most modern, best organized, and, if you will, most rationally motivated states: the Netherlands, Sweden, and France. This, however, was a somewhat misleading result, and the Netherlands was soon to yield its commercial and naval primacy to Great Britain (which had been paralyzed by civil conflict during the Thirty Years War), while Sweden, under a less rational ruler, was to throw its great gains away.

The gains made by France were more substantial, so much so that in the second half of the century, in the heyday of Louis XIV, they became oppressive. For that ruler was intoxicated by the power that Richelieu and his successor Mazarin had brought to France, and he wished to enhance it. As he wrote in his memoirs:

The love of glory assuredly takes precedence over all other [passions] in my soul. . . . The hot blood of my youth and the violent desire I had to heighten my reputation instilled in me a strong passion for action. . . . *La Gloire*, when all is said and done, is not a mistress that one can ever neglect; nor can one be ever worthy of her slightest favors if one does not constantly long for fresh ones.

No one can say that Louis XIV was a man of small ambition. He dreamed in universal terms and sought to realize those dreams by a combination of diplomatic and military means. He maintained alliances with the Swedes in the north and the Turks in the south and thus prevented Russian interference while he placed his own candidate, Jan Sobieski, on the throne of Poland. His Turkish connection he used also to harry the eastern frontiers of Austria, and if he did not incite Kara Mustafa's expedition against Vienna in 1683, he knew of it. Austria's distractions enabled him to dabble freely in German politics. Bavaria and the Palatinate were bound to the French court by marriage, and almost all of the other German princes accepted subsidies at one time or another from France. It did not seem unlikely on one occasion that Louis would put himself or his son forward as candidate for Holy Roman emperor. The same method of infiltration was practiced in Italy, Portugal, and Spain, where the young king married a French princess and French ambassadors exerted so much influence in internal affairs that they succeeded in discrediting the strongest antagonist to French influence, Don Juan of Austria, the victor over the Turks at the battle of Lepanto. In addition to all of this, Louis sought

1. THE AGE OF POWER

to undermine the independence of the Netherlands and gave the English king Charles II a pension in order to reduce the possibility of British interference as he did so.

French influence was so great in Europe in the second half of the seventeenth century that it threatened the independent development of other nations. This was particularly true, the German historian Leopold von Ranke was to write in the nineteenth century, because it

was supported by a preeminence in literature. Italian literature had already run its course, English literature had not yet risen to general significance, and German literature did not exist at that time. French literature, light, brilliant and animated, in strictly regulated but charming form, intelligible to everyone and yet of individual, national character was beginning to dominate Europe. . . . [It] completely corresponded to the state and helped the latter to attain its supremacy, Paris was the capital of Europe. She wielded a dominion as did no other city, over language, over custom, and particularly over the world of fashion and the ruling classes. Here was the center of the community of Europe.

The effect upon the cultural independence of other parts of Europe—and one cannot separate cultural independence from political will—was devastating. In Germany, the dependence upon French example was almost abject, and the writer Moscherosch commented bitterly about “our little Germans who trot to the French and have no heart of their own, no speech of their own; but French opinion is their opinion, French speech, food, drink, morals and deportment their speech, food, drink, morals and deportment whether they are good or bad.”

But this kind of dominance was bound to invite resistance on the part of others, and out of that resistance combinations and alliances were bound to take place. And this indeed happened. In Ranke's words, “The concept of the European balance of power was developed in order that the union of many other states might resist the pretensions of the ‘exorbitant’ court, as it was called.” This is a statement worth noting. The principle of the balance of power had been practiced in Machiavelli's time in the intermittent warfare between the city states of the Italian peninsula. Now it was being deliberately invoked as a principle of European statecraft, as a safeguard against universal domination. We shall have occasion to note the evolution and elaboration of this term in the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth, when it became one of the basic principles of the European system.

Opposition to France's universal pretensions centered first upon the Dutch, who were threatened most directly in a territorial sense by the French, and their gifted ruler, William III. But for their opposition to be successful, the Dutch needed strong allies, and they did not get them until the English had severed the connection that had existed between England and France

under the later Stuarts and until Austria had modernized its administration and armed forces, contained the threat from the east, and regained the ability to play a role in the politics of central and western Europe. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the assumption of the English throne by the Dutch king moved England solidly into the anti-French camp. The repulse of the Turks at the gates of Vienna in 1683 marked the turning point in Austrian fortunes, and the brilliant campaigns of Eugene of Savoy in the subsequent period, which culminated in the smashing victory over the Turks at Zenta and the suppression of the Rakoczi revolt in Hungary, freed Austrian energies for collaboration in the containment of France. The last years of Louis XIV, therefore, were the years of the brilliant partnership of Henry Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, and Eugene of Savoy, a team that defeated a supposedly invulnerable French army at Blenheim in 1704, Ramillies in 1706, Oudenarde in 1708, and the bloody confrontation at Malplaquet in 1709.

These battles laid the basis for the Peace of Utrecht of 1713–1715, by which France was forced to recognize the results of the revolution in England, renounce the idea of a union of the French and Spanish thrones, surrender the Spanish Netherlands to Austria, raze the fortifications at Dunkirk, and hand important territories in America over to Great Britain. The broader significance of the settlement was that it restored an equilibrium of forces to western Europe and marked the return of Austria and the emergence of Britain as its supports. Indeed, the Peace of Utrecht was the first European treaty that specifically mentioned the balance of power. In the letters patent that accompanied Article VI of the treaty between Queen Anne and King Louis XIV, the French ruler noted that the Spanish renunciation of all rights to the throne of France was actuated by the hope of “obtaining a general Peace and securing the Tranquillity of *Europe* by a Ballance of Power,” and the king of Spain acknowledged the importance of “the Maxim of securing for ever the universal Good and Quiet of Europe, by an equal Weight of Power, so that many being united in one, the Ballance of the Equality desired, might not turn to the Advantage of one, and the Danger and Hazard of the rest.”

Meanwhile, in northern Europe, France's ally Sweden was forced to yield its primacy to the rising powers of Russia and Prussia. This was due in part to the drain on Swedish resources caused by its participation in France's wars against the Dutch; but essentially the decline was caused, in the first instance, by the fact that Sweden had too many rivals for the position of supremacy in the Baltic area and, in the second, by the lack of perspective and restraint that characterized the policy of Gustavus Adolphus's most gifted successor, Charles XII. Sweden's most formidable rivals were Denmark, Poland, which in 1699 acquired an ambitious and unscrupulous new king in the person of Augustus the Strong of Saxony, and Russia, ruled since 1683 by a young and vigorous