AP European History
Themes and Key Concepts

Interaction of Europe and the World (INT)

Theme Description:
Beginning in the 15th century, European nations sent explorers into the world beyond the Mediterranean, establishing new shipping routes, trading stations, and, eventually, colonies in many parts of the globe. The motivations for these enterprises were complex and have been the subject of much historical debate. Were Europeans driven primarily by the desire for more direct and secure trade routes, by the pursuit of new commercial wealth, or by religious zeal — the desire to convert new peoples to Christianity? Whatever the motivations, these explorations created new, complex trade systems that profoundly affected European prosperity, patterns of consumption, commercial competition, and national rivalries. The activities and influence of Europeans varied in different parts of the world. In India and China, centers of high civilizations, Europeans remained on the periphery in trading stations for centuries. In Africa, they also established themselves on the coasts, trading with the indigenous populations of the interior. In the Americas, they created colonies and imposed their religious, social, and political institutions on the native peoples. Europeans also brought new diseases to the Americas, which hastened the collapse of the indigenous cultures on the two continents. However, cross-cultural influence flowed in both directions. The encounters with non-European peoples profoundly affected European trade, social life, and ideas.

With their American colonies and the global reach of their seafarers, Europeans helped to create a truly global trading system, introducing new foods (such as tomatoes, potatoes, peppers, and corn) that changed the food cultures of China, India, and Europe. At the same time as Europe was experiencing the material consequences of its interaction with the world, European intellectuals began to describe and analyze the peoples and cultures with which they came into contact, as well as to collect and catalogue the flora and fauna they discovered. The use of "race" as a primary category for differentiating peoples coincided with the expansion of slavery, as Europeans sought a work force for overseas plantations; this categorization helped Europeans justify the slave system. From the 16th to the 19th centuries, the transatlantic slave trade became a central feature of the world economy, and millions of Africans were transported via the notorious "Middle Passage" to labor on plantations in the Americas. The vast and cruel slave system began to generate opposition in Europe beginning in the late 18th century. Abolitionists objected to the system on humanitarian and religious grounds. An important strand of Enlightenment thought — the belief in citizenship, popular sovereignty, equality, and liberty — promoted by the American and French Revolutions also contributed to the ideology of the abolitionist movements, and European states abolished the slave trade in the early 19th century. From the late 18th century to the era of decolonization, these Enlightenment principles influenced those who opposed Europe's global domination.

Yet, this critique of colonialism did not have an immediate effect, given that the 19th century proved to be a period of empire building. Driven by the needs of an industrial economy and nationalism, Europeans expanded their territorial control in Asia and Africa through warfare, the seizure of property, and, in some cases, immigration. In the late 19th century, the scale and pace of conquest intensified because of asymmetries in military technology, communications, and national rivalries among the Great Powers. In conquered territories, Europeans established new administrative, legal, and cultural institutions, and restructured colonial economies to meet European needs. These actions often led to resistance in colonial areas. Within Europe, exposure to new peoples and cultures influenced art and literature, and spurred on efforts to find a scientific basis for "racial" difference. Competition for colonies also destabilized the European balance of power and was a significant cause of World War I. In the mid–20th century, the rise of the United States as an economic and military power, two world wars, and the four-decades-long Cold War led to a decolonization movement that diminished Europe's economic and diplomatic place in the world. At the end of the 20th century, Europe sought new ways of defining interactions among its own nations and with the rest of the world. At the same time, the migration of non-European people into Europe

began to change the ethnic and religious composition of European society and to create uncertainties about European identity.

Overarching Questions:

- Why have Europeans sought contact and interaction with other parts of the world?
- What political, technological, and intellectual developments enabled European contact and interaction with other parts of the world?
- How have encounters between Europe and the world shaped European culture, politics, and society?
- What impact has contact with Europe had on non-European societies?

Economic and Commercial Developments (ECD) Poverty and Prosperity

Theme Description:

In the centuries after 1450, Europe first entered and then gradually came to dominate a global commercial network. Building off the voyages of exploration and colonization, the Commercial Revolution of the 17th and 18th centuries involved a wide range of new financial and economic practices — such as joint-stock companies, widely capitalized banks, and triangular trade — all of which supported an emerging money economy. New commercial techniques and goods provided Europeans with an improved diet and standard of living. Wealth from commerce supported, in turn, the growth of industrial capitalism in subsequent centuries.

Commercial wealth helped transform a preindustrial economy based on guild production, cottage industry, and subsistence agriculture into one driven by market operations. While market mechanisms generated wealth and social position for some, they also destabilized traditional patterns of economic activity, such as when the wages of urban artisans and workers declined in the 16th century because of the Price Revolution. Still, commercial wealth generated resources for centralizing states, many of which, prior to the French Revolution, justified government management of trade, manufacturing, finance, and taxation through the theory of mercantilism. Mercantilism assumed that existing sources of wealth could not be expanded; accordingly, the only way to increase one's economic power over others was to gain a greater share of the existing sources of wealth. As a result, mercantilism promoted commercial competition and warfare overseas.

Market demands generated the increasingly mechanized production of goods through the technology of the Industrial Revolution. Large-scale production required capital investment, which led to the development of capitalism, justified by Adam Smith through the concept of the "invisible hand of the marketplace." The growth of large-scale agriculture and factories changed social and economic relations. Peasants left the countryside to work in the new factories, giving up lives as tenants on landlords' estates for wage labor. Improved climate and diet supported a gradual population increase in the 18th century, and then came a seeming breakthrough of the Malthusian trap (the belief that population could not expand beyond the level of subsistence) with a population explosion in the industrial 19th century. Industrialization generated unprecedented levels of material prosperity for some Europeans, particularly during the Second Industrial Revolution (1850–1914), when an outburst of new technologies ushered Europe into modern mass society.

Prosperity was never equally distributed, either geographically or by social class, and despite the wonders of the railroad and airplane, poverty never disappeared. Capitalism produced its own forms of poverty and social subjection. It created financial markets that periodically crashed, putting people dependent on wages out of work and wiping out investors' capital. Its trading system shifted production from expensive to inexpensive regions, reducing or holding down the wages of workers. By the 19th century, conditions of economic inequality and the resultant social and political instability across Europe raised questions about the role evolving nation-states could or should play in the economic lives of their subjects and citizens. Socialism argued for state ownership of property and economic planning to promote equality, and, later,

Marxism developed a systematic economic and historical theory that inspired working-class movements and revolutions to overthrow the capitalist system.

The devastating impact of two world wars and the Great Depression transformed pre-1914 economic patterns and complicated the task of governments in managing the unstable economic situation. Soviet Russia and its post–World War II satellites represented one path, while nations in western and central Europe modified laissez-faire capitalism with Keynesian budget and tax policies and an expanding welfare state. Consumerism, always an important factor in economic growth, took on even more importance in the second half of the 20th century, although not without criticism. Perhaps the most significant change since World War II has been the movement toward European economic unity and a common currency. Though policies of unity have supported Europe's postwar economic miracle, they have also encountered challenges of a stagnating population, financial crises, and growing social welfare commitments.

Overarching Questions:

- How has capitalism developed as an economic system?
- How has the organization of society changed as a result of or in response to the development and spread of capitalism?
- What were the causes and consequences of economic and social inequality?
- How did individuals, groups, and the state respond to economic and social inequality?

Cultural and Intellectual Developments (CID) Objective Knowledge and Subjective Visions

Theme Description:

Starting in the 15th century, European thinkers began developing new methods for arriving at objective truth — substituting these methods for appeals to traditional authorities — and then gradually moved away from belief in absolute truths to increasingly subjective interpretations of reality. While most early modern Europeans continued to rely on religious authority and ancient texts for their knowledge of the world and as a standard of value, an increasing number argued that direct inquiry (philosophical and scientific) was the principal way to formulate truths and representations of reality. Philosophers of the natural world created a new theory of knowledge based on observation and experimentation, along with new institutions to put the new theories into practice. Science came to be viewed as an objective source of truth about the natural world. Artists, musicians, and writers also employed empirical and quantitative methods to abstract the notions of space, time, and sound in new cultural movements, many of which continued to draw on classical subjects and motifs, such as the Renaissance.

During the Enlightenment, educated Europeans came to accept the world as governed by natural laws, accessible through systematic observation and articulated in mathematics. The results of this intellectual movement were impressive, producing a new understanding of the universe (often designated as Newtonian mechanics) and systems to organize and advance the growing body of knowledge of plants, animals, and minerals. Under the influence of the French and Industrial Revolutions, intellectuals and activists attempted to employ a similarly "scientific" approach to the questions of political, social, and economic reform, resulting in the development of such ideologies as conservatism, liberalism, nationalism, socialism, and Marxism. Those in the fine arts and literature both applied and commented on these methods in their depictions of European life during this period of rapid change.

Over time, the new method for acquiring knowledge through observation and experiment raised questions about the relationship between the observer and the observed. Beginning in the 19th century, new theories called into question the supremacy of reason and the possibility of finding objective truth in favor of subjective interpretations of reality and the importance of non-rational forces. In physics, quantum mechanics and Einstein's theories of relativity, which took the observer into account, challenged Newtonian mechanics, and, in psychology, Freud emphasized the importance of irrational drives in human behavior.

Beginning in the 19th century and accelerating in the 20th, European artists and intellectuals, along with a portion of the educated public, rejected absolute paradigms (whether idealist or scientific), replacing them with relative and subjective ones, as exemplified by existential philosophy, modern art, and postmodernist ideas and culture. The emergence of these ideas created a conflict between science and subjective approaches to knowledge. Europeans continued to engage in science and to regard the results of science as being of universal value, while postmodernist thinkers emphasized the subjective component — the role of the actor — in all human activities, including scientific ones. These ways of thinking often coexisted with more traditional religious institutions, whether in the form of churches or new religiously affiliated parties, which continued to exert influence over the daily life of Europeans.

Overarching Questions:

- What roles have traditional sources of authority (church and classical antiquity) played in the creation and transmission of knowledge?
- How and why did Europeans come to rely on the scientific method and reason in place of traditional authorities?
- How and why did Europeans come to value subjective interpretations of reality?

States and Other Institutions of Power (SOP)

Theme Description:

After 1450, the old ideal that Europe constituted a unified Christendom was weakened by the rise of sovereign states. These states asserted a monopoly over law and the management of all institutions, including the church. The growth of secular power played a critical role in the success of the Protestant Reformation, and states gained increasing influence over religious affairs. The military revolution of the early modern period forced states to find new and better sources of revenue, and it spurred the expansion of state control over political and economic functions. In the long view, war became increasingly costly, technologically sophisticated, and deadly. As Europeans expanded overseas, the theaters of European warfare expanded as well.

European polities took a variety of forms — empires, nation-states, and small republics. Absolute monarchies concentrated all authority in a single person who was regarded as divinely ordained, whereas in constitutional governments power was shared between the monarch and representative institutions. Early modern advances in education, publishing, and prosperity created "public opinion" and "civil society" independent of government, developments that supported and were promoted by Enlightenment theories of natural rights and the social contract. Political revolutions and industrialization shifted governance from monarchies and aristocracies to parliamentary institutions that both generated and embodied the rule of law while gradually widening the participation of citizens in governance through the extension of suffrage. In the late 19th century, as European states became increasingly responsive to public opinion and developed mass political parties, they ironically became impersonal and bureaucratic. After World War I, under the pressure of political and economic crises, totalitarian regimes threatened parliamentary governments.

The European state system, originating in the Peace of Westphalia and structuring interstate relations through World War I, assumed that the continent would be divided into independent sovereign states and that war and diplomacy would be the normal means of interstate relations. In the 19th century, the goal of establishing and maintaining a balance of power was challenged by the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, the emergence of Italy and Germany as states, the weakening of traditional empires, and shifts in the alliance system. New and hardened alliances between countries driven by overseas competition and the growing influence of nationalism undermined diplomatic efforts to stave off war in the first half of the 20th century. In the 20th century, new international organizations (the League of Nations, the United Nations, NGOs) attempted to develop international law and modes of dispute resolution that would promote peace. After the catastrophe of two world wars, European states returned to the goal of a unified Europe, embodied this time not in Christendom but in the secular institutions of the European Union.

Overarching Questions:

- What forms have European governments taken, and how have these changed over time?
- In what ways and why have European governments moved toward or reacted against representative and democratic principles and practices?
- How did civil institutions develop apart from governments, and what impact have they had upon European states?
- How and why did changes in warfare affect diplomacy, the European state system, and the balance of power?
- How did the concept of a balance of power emerge, develop, and eventually become institutionalized?

Social Organization and Development (SCD) Individual and Society

Theme Description:

Early modern society was divided into the three estates: clergy, nobility, and commoners, which included merchants, townspeople, as well as the overwhelming majority, the peasantry. Within those estates, family, religion, and landed wealth shaped social practices, and inequality of wealth prevailed within each estate. The poor were viewed as objects of charity or dangerous idlers requiring social control, such as disciplinary measures or confinement. Social values and communal norms were sanctified by religion. With the advent of the Reformation, new Protestant denominations contested with the Catholic Church and with each other to establish new religious practices and social values.

Marriage and family life were constrained by the values of the community. Men and especially women of all estates followed closely prescribed norms. Gathering resources to create a new household often required young adults to work and save for a period of years, and a late age of marriage for commoners (the European family pattern) tended to limit demographic growth. In preindustrial Europe, women's and men's work was complementary rather than separate, as peasants worked communally to bring in the harvest or artisanal women oversaw journeymen and apprentices, kept the books, and marketed the product. Despite female involvement in movements of cultural and social change, gender norms continued to stress women's intellectual inferiority and their duty of obedience to fathers and husbands, as well as limit access to institutional power. The Protestant Reformation placed new emphasis on the individual's direct relationship to God and the role of women in the family as mothers and assistants in religious instruction and schooling, while excluding them from clerical roles. Social and economic stresses along with negative gender stereotypes led to witchcraft persecution, which victimized elderly women in particular in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Demographic growth spurred social change in the 18th century. The Enlightenment brought a new emphasis on childhood as a stage of life, and the ideal of companionate marriage began to compete with arranged marriages. The French Revolution formally ended the division of society into three estates and continued to challenge traditional society throughout the 19th century, though remnants of the old order persisted into the 20th century. The Industrial Revolution created a division of social classes based on new criteria of capital and labor. The revolutionary emphasis on liberty galvanized many excluded groups to take an active role in politics, and the language of natural rights spurred the development of movements of equality, such as feminism and the end of feudalism and serfdom. The growth of the middle classes in the 19th century tended to anchor men and women in ”separate spheres” and the elevation of women's role in the home into “the cult of domesticity.” Early industrialism negatively affected the working classes, and more generally shifted the family from a unit of production to one of consumption.

By the late 19th century, a new mass society had emerged defined by consumerism, expanding literacy, and new forms of leisure. The “woman question” that had emerged in the 17th century took on a new intensity as women sought economic and legal rights. World War I profoundly affected European society by

conclusively ending the residual hold of old elites on power and democratizing society through shared sacrifice, represented by female suffrage in many nations. Between the wars Soviet communism theoretically endorsed equality, yet women often performed double duty as laborers and mothers, while kulaks were considered enemies of the state and thus liquidated. On the other hand, fascist regimes re-emphasized a domestic role for women and created states based on a mythical racial identity. After World War II, the welfare state emerged in Western Europe with more support for families, choices in reproduction, and state-sponsored health care. Economic recovery brought new consumer choices and popular culture. In the Soviet bloc, family life was constrained and controlled by states dedicated to heavy industry rather than consumer goods, though basic needs such as housing, health care, employment, and education were provided within an authoritarian context. The end of the Cold War and the rise of the European Union brought some shared social values to light, as well as contested issues of immigration, guest workers, and the shifting religious and ethnic balance of Europe. Immigrants sometimes challenged secularism in European life and reasserted their religious values. European society has become, with fits and starts, a pluralistic one.

Overarching Questions:

- What forms have family, class, and social groups taken in European history, and how have they changed over time?
- How and why have tensions arisen between the individual and society over the course of European history?
- How and why has the status of specific groups within society changed over time?

National and European Identity (NEI)

Theme Description:

This theme focuses on how and why definitions and perceptions of regional, cultural, national, and European identity have developed and been challenged over time. Since 1450, Europeans have understood their place in the world based on their membership in various and sometimes overlapping entities, ranging from small local groupings to fully developed nation-states and multinational organizations. Questions concerning identity have remained constant, even as shifting political, social, economic, religious, and cultural developments, such as the intensely patriotic calls for greater national unity in the 19th century, have brought new units and affiliations into being. In the early modern period, Europeans identified with language groups and political units of varying sizes, such as the Renaissance-era city-state. Early modern Europeans also identified with emerging nation-states such as a unified Spain under King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, imperial dynasties such as the Habsburg Holy Roman Empire, and the idea of a unified Christendom.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, monarchs like Louis XIV of France and Peter the Great of Russia built upon a common language and cultural identity in their respective countries to foster the development of national cultures centered around the creation of new types of institutions. In England, after a civil war and period of political experimentation, a system of government emerged where the power of the monarchy was checked by an increasingly bold Parliament. These countries also created national symbols that inspired loyalty in their subjects, though senses of national affiliation were always subject to challenges and change, and were not equally powerful across Europe. Meanwhile, the intellectual movement of the Enlightenment, coupled with French revolutionary ideals, offered a different vision of European identity based on a shared belief in reason, citizenship, and other Enlightenment values.

In the 19th century, countries like Germany, Italy, and the Kingdom of the Netherlands were unified through wars, political negotiations, and the promotion of intense feelings of national belonging. At the same time, Romantic writers and artists fostered and built upon feelings of loyalty to the nation, producing works appealing to a common language or cultural identity. However, in the multinational empires that dominated

central and eastern Europe until World War I, nationalism also served as a divisive force. At the same time, regional identities based on units either greater or smaller than that of the nation-state—e.g. Basque, Bavarian, pan-Slav, Flemish, or Irish—remained popular and influential throughout much of Europe. And even at the height of nationalism, for many workers socialism and the international struggle of the working class competed with nationalism as a framework for identification and loyalty. Especially with the growth of mass politics and media, western Europeans could also identify as part of a larger global entity, whether "overseas France," or the British Empire and in the 20th century the British Commonwealth—each of which was assumed to have a unique mission and position in the world.

After World War I, with the exception of the emergent Soviet Union, Europe was dominated by nation-states. In central and eastern Europe, some states were riven with conflicts, and minorities that found themselves in vulnerable positions turned to the international League of Nations for protection, During World War Il, Germany sought to create a pan-European empire based on an extreme version of German national identity and power. During the second half of the 20th century, as Europeans recovered from the strain of two world wars, Western European empires fractured and transformed into new political units. As they reconceived their role in a postwar world, Europeans could now identify with larger transnational organizations, such as the European Coal and Steel Community, or the community of countries assembled under NATO or the Warsaw Pact. Europeans have increasingly identified as members of the EU, even as regional and national affiliations continue to call into question the idea of a shared European identity. This reconception of Europe has not been without difficulties, as Britain's late entry into the European community and subsequent decision to leave the EU illustrate. Europe as a concept has been and remains complex, evolving, and subject to changing perceptions, regulations, and legal frameworks. European identities since 1450 have been a fluid concept, with overlapping and non-competing identities enduring even in the age of nation-states. As new national entities form, merge, and in some instances disappear, these developments help shape popular understanding of what it means to be European.

Overarching Questions:

- How have national identities developed and changed over time?
- How have cultural, regional, and other social/religious identities coexisted with and challenged the idea of a unified nation-state or empire?
- How have political, economic, and religious developments challenged or reinforced the idea of a unified Europe from 1450 to the present?
- How have overseas expansion, warfare, and international diplomacy affected Europeans' identification of themselves as members of national, cultural, regional, or transnational groups?

Technological and Scientific Innovation (TSI)

Theme Description:

As of 1450, Europe was no more advanced in the sciences and technology than any other major civilization in the world. Through the development of an inquiry and empirical approach toward knowledge, along with key technologies, Europeans expanded outward, beginning with exploration in the fifteenth century and culminating with the new imperialism in the early twentieth century. However, along with greater control over the environment, these new scientific and industrial techniques produced great destruction and raised fundamental moral and ethical questions. Through cultural contact with advanced civilizations, Europeans adapted and improved existing technologies and ideas. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, this process of cultural transmission was exemplified by the development of movable type (printing press) and navigational technologies—such as the compass, astrolabe, and gunpowder—that allowed for blue water voyages and the subsequent establishment of trading empires. With the printing press, books could be produced at a fraction of the cost of hand-copying. Gutenberg's invention stimulated the spread of Renaissance ideals of humanism, as well as promoted the religious reforms of the Protestant Reformation. It grew difficult for ecclesiastical and state authorities to halt the spread of new ideas, and the printing press stimulated private reading of both religious and secular texts outside of the control of authorities.

Given Europe's multi-polar power structure, states competed with one another to promote and deploy new technologies, particularly those that would aid navigation, commerce, and warfare. From the end of the Hundred Years' War (1453) through the end of the Thirty Years' War (1648), Europe experienced a military revolution that left the tradition of feudal knights and chivalry behind to be replaced by firearms, the foot soldier, and artillery. These new technologies rendered warfare more complex and expensive, requiring the centralization of military affairs and taxation, a trend that fostered the growth of the so-called "new monarchies" and later, in the seventeenth and eighteenths centuries, of absolutism.

Starting in 1543 with the publication of Copernicus's heliocentric theory, the Scientific Revolution represents a watershed in European science and technology. A traditional epistemology (theory of knowledge) and cosmology (model of the universe), dependent on classical and church authority, was gradually but decisively replaced by one based on empirical evidence and mathematics aimed at discovering and articulating natural laws. Though traditional approaches toward knowledge, such as alchemy and astrology, continued to influence popular and even elite thinking, the new science sparked a range of new technologies (e.g., the microscope and telescope) and an effort to apply these new principles to human affairs, with the Enlightenment. This defining intellectual movement of the eighteenth century carried profound consequences for politics, society, and the understanding of humans within nature. Monarchs patronized this "scientific" approach toward governance ("enlightened absolutism") while reformers invoked empiricism and rationalism to criticize the old regime for inequality and backwardness.
With their new tools, the Scientific Revolution and Enlightenment provided reformers and revolutionaries with ammunition to remake society. In the nineteenth century, the goals of those embracing scientific approaches toward human affairs seemed to reach a culmination with the First and Second Industrial Revolutions, which introduced efficient systems of mechanization and advanced European control of the environment. This control of the environment extended to the globe, as the new imperialism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries relied on a burst of new technologies in communications and transportation: petroleum, internal combustion engine, telegraph, telephone, airplane, radio, as well as new medical tools and practices to extend life in challenging climates.

As the Enlightenment project seemed to be realizing its ultimate objective with the nineteenth-century theory of positivism—that all knowledge can be reduced to and based on the observation of material objects—new scientific ideas and technologies were also having unintended consequences. New models—such as quantum and relativity theory in physics, natural selection in biology, and Freudianism in psychology—provided powerful new understandings of nature and humans, yet also called into question the notion of an orderly universe accessible to its most rational and exalted creatures—humans. Furthermore, new industrial tools that revolutionized human control of nature might also be used to control humans and even to destroy human life.

As of 1914, most Europeans embraced notions of cultural superiority based on the previous centuries of scientific creativity. This assumption was to be fundamentally challenged by the world wars, Holocaust, and threat of nuclear destruction, all of which defined the twentieth century. The decades of technological advance revealed their destructive potential as new weapons of the First World War—machine guns, barbed wire, high-powered artillery, submarines, poison gas, aerial bombing—caused massive casualties and a deadly stalemate on the Western Front. After four years of total war, many Europeans expressed disillusionment and cynicism toward the former tokens of progress. The Second World War would only deepen the growing pessimism toward technology, as the conflict killed up to 80 million worldwide and witnessed the descent into industrialized genocide (Holocaust). Postwar Europe continues to highlight the tensions in this theme. On one hand, the twentieth century has seen the largest increase in life expectancy with new medical technologies, democratization of knowledge with computers, access to world markets and culture through globalization, and new forms of leisure and entertainment with television and high-speed travel. At the same time, these technologies have come under criticism for their continued destructive potential, whether to humans through nuclear destruction or to the environment, with pollution and global climate change.

Overarching Questions:

- How have new ideas in science developed over time and challenged existing systems of knowledge and ethics?
- How have new technologies addressed human problems and provided benefits and, at the same time, produced destruction and unintended outcomes?
- How have states and other institutions either promoted or hindered the development of new scientific ideas and technologies?

Period 1: c. 1450 to c. 1648

Key Concept 1.1
The worldview of European intellectuals shifted from one based on ecclesiastical and classical authority to one based primarily on inquiry and observation of the natural world.

Renaissance intellectuals and artists revived classical motifs in the fine arts and classical values in literature and education. Intellectuals — later called humanists — employed new methods of textual criticism based on a deep knowledge of Greek and Latin, and revived classical ideas that made human beings the measure of all things. Artists formulated new styles based on ancient models. The humanists remained Christians while promoting ancient philosophical ideas that challenged traditional Christian views. Artists and architects such as Brunelleschi, Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Raphael glorified human potential and the human form in the visual arts, basing their art on classical models while using new techniques of painting and drawing, such as geometric perspective. The invention of the printing press in the mid-15th century accelerated the development and dissemination of these new attitudes, notably in Europe north of the Alps ("The Northern Renaissance").

During the 16th and 17th centuries, Europeans developed new approaches to and methods for looking at the natural world in what historians have called the Scientific Revolution. Aristotle's classical cosmology and Ptolemy's astronomical system came under increasing scrutiny from natural philosophers (later called scientists) such as Copernicus, Galileo, and Newton. The philosophers Francis Bacon and René Descartes articulated comprehensive theories of inductive and deductive reasoning to give the emerging scientific method a sound foundation. Bacon urged the collection and analysis of data about the world and spurred the development of an international community of natural philosophers dedicated to the vast enterprise of what came to be called natural science. In medicine, the new approach to knowledge led physicians such as William Harvey to undertake observations that produced new explanations of anatomy and physiology, and to challenge the traditional theory of health and disease (the four humors) espoused by Galen in the second century.

The articulation of natural laws, often expressed mathematically, became the goal of science, especially after the Europeans' encounters with the Western Hemisphere. The explorations produced new knowledge of geography and the world's peoples through direct observation, and this seemed to give credence to new approaches to knowledge more generally. Yet while they developed inquiry-based epistemologies, Europeans also continued to draw upon long-standing explanations of the natural world.

Key Concept 1.2
Religious pluralism challenged the concept of a unified Europe.

Late medieval reform movements in the Church (including lay piety, mysticism, and Christian humanism) created a momentum that propelled a new generation of 16thcentury reformers, such as Erasmus and Martin Luther. After 1517, when Luther posted his 95 theses attacking ecclesiastical abuses and the doctrines that spawned them, Christianity fragmented, even though religious uniformity remained the ideal. Some states, such as Spain and Portugal, which had recently expelled Muslims and Jews, held fast to this ideal. Others — notably the Netherlands and lands under Ottoman control, which accepted Jewish refugees — did not. In central Europe, the Peace of Augsburg (1555) permitted each state of the Holy Roman Empire to be either Catholic or Lutheran at the option of the prince. By the late 16th century, northern European countries were generally Protestant and Mediterranean countries generally Catholic. To re-establish order after a period of religious warfare, France introduced limited toleration of the minority Calvinists within a Catholic kingdom (Edict of Nantes, 1598; revoked in 1685). Jews remained a marginalized minority wherever they lived.

Differing conceptions of salvation and the individual's relationship to the church were at the heart of the conflicts among Luther, subsequent Protestant reformers such as Calvin and the Anabaptists, and the Roman Catholic Church. The Catholic Church affirmed its traditional theology at the Council of Trent (1545–1563), ruling out any reconciliation with the Protestants and inspiring the resurgence of Catholicism in the 17th century. Religious conflicts inevitably merged with and exacerbated long-standing political tensions between the monarchies and nobility across Europe, dramatically escalating these conflicts as they spread from the Holy Roman Empire to France, the Netherlands, and England. Economic issues such as the power to tax and control ecclesiastical resources further heightened these clashes. All three motivations — religious, political, and economic — contributed to the brutal and destructive Thirty Years' War, which was ended by the Peace of Westphalia (1648). The treaty established a new balance of power with a weakened Holy Roman Empire. The Peace of Westphalia also added Calvinism to Catholicism and Lutheranism as an accepted religion in the Holy Roman Empire, ensuring the permanence of European religious pluralism. However, pluralism did not mean religious freedom; the prince or ruler still controlled the religion of the state, and few were tolerant of dissenters.

Key Concept 1.3
Europeans explored and settled overseas territories, encountering and interacting with indigenous populations.

From the 15th through the 17th centuries, Europeans used their mastery of the seas to extend their power in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. In the 15th century, the Portuguese sought direct access by sea to the sources of African gold, ivory, and slaves. At the same time, the rise of Ottoman power in the eastern Mediterranean led to Ottoman control of the Mediterranean trade routes and increased the motivation of Iberians and then northern Europeans to explore possible sea routes to the East. The success and consequences of these explorations, and the maritime expansion that followed them, rested on European adaptation of Muslim and Chinese navigational technology, as well as advances in military technology and cartography. Political, economic, and religious rivalries among Europeans also stimulated maritime expansion. By the 17th century, Europeans had forged a global trade network that gradually edged out earlier Muslim and Chinese dominion in the Indian Ocean and the western Pacific.

In Europe, these successes shifted economic power within Europe from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic states. In Asia, the Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch competed for control of trade routes and trading stations. In the Americas, the Spanish and Portuguese led in the establishment of colonies, followed by the Dutch, French, and English. The pursuit of colonies was sustained by mercantilist economic theory, which promoted government management of economic imperatives and policies. The creation of maritime empires was also animated by the religious fervor sweeping Europe during the period of the Reformations (Catholic and Protestant). Global European expansion led to the conversion of indigenous populations in South and

Central America, to an exchange of commodities and crops that enriched European and other civilizations that became part of the global trading network, and eventually, to migrations that had profound effects on Europe. The expansion also challenged parochial worldviews in Christian Europe. Yet the "Columbian Exchange" also unleashed several ecological disasters — notably the death of vast numbers of the Americas' population in epidemics of European diseases, such as smallpox and measles, against which the native populations had no defenses. The new Atlantic trading system led to the establishment of the plantation system in the American colonies and vast expansion of the African slave trade.

Key Concept 1.4
European society and the experiences of everyday life were increasingly shaped by commercial and agricultural capitalism, notwithstanding the continued existence of medieval social and economic structures.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, Europeans experienced profound economic and social changes. The influx of precious metals from the Americas and the gradual recovery of Europe's population from the Black Death caused a significant rise in the cost of goods and services by the 16th century known as the "price revolution." The new pattern of economic enterprise and investment that arose from these changes would come to be called capitalism. Family-based banking houses were supplanted by broadly integrated capital markets in Genoa, then in Amsterdam, and later in London. These and other urban centers became increasingly active consumer markets for a variety of luxury goods and commodities. Rulers soon recognized that capitalist enterprise offered them a revenue source to support state functions, and the competition among states was extended into the economic arena. The drive for economic profit and the increasing scale of commerce stimulated the creation of joint-stock companies to conduct overseas trade and colonization.

These demographic and economic changes altered many Europeans' daily lives. As population increased in the 16th century, the price of grain rose and diets deteriorated, all as monarchs were increasing taxes to support their larger state militaries. All but the wealthy were vulnerable to food shortages, and even the wealthy had no immunity to recurrent lethal epidemics. Although hierarchy and privilege continued to define the social structure, the nobility and gentry expanded with the infusion of new blood from the commercial and professional classes. By the mid-17th century, war, economic contraction, and slackening population growth contributed to the disintegration of older communal values. Growing numbers of the poor became beggars or vagabonds, straining the traditional systems of charity and social control. In eastern Europe commercial development lagged, and traditional social patterns persisted; the nobility actually increased its power over the peasantry.

Traditional town governments, dominated by craft guilds and traditional religious institutions, staggered under the burden of rural migrants and growing poverty. The Reformation and Counter-Reformation stimulated a drive to regulate public morals, leisure activities, and the distribution of poor relief. In both town and country, the family remained the dominant unit of production, and marriage remained an instrument of families' social and economic strategy. The children of peasants and craft workers often labored alongside their parents. In the lower orders of society, men and women did not occupy separate spheres, although they performed different tasks. Economics often dictated later marriages ("European marriage pattern"). However, there were exceptions to this pattern: in the cities of Renaissance Italy, men in their early 30s often married teenaged women, and in eastern Europe early marriage for both men and women persisted. Despite the growth of the market economy in which individuals increasingly made their own way, leisure activities tended to be communal, rather than individualistic and consumerist, as they are today. Local communities enforced their customs and norms through crowd action and rituals of public shaming.

Key Concept 1.5: The struggle for sovereignty within and among states resulted in varying degrees of political centralization.

Three trends shaped early modern political development: (1) from decentralized power and authority toward centralization; (2) from a political elite consisting primarily of an hereditary landed nobility toward one open to men distinguished by their education, skills, and wealth; and (3) from religious toward secular norms of law and justice.

One innovation promoting state centralization and the transformation of the landed nobility was the new dominance of firearms and artillery on the battlefield. The introduction of these new technologies, along with changes in tactics and strategy, amounted to a military revolution that reduced the role of mounted knights and castles, raised the cost of maintaining military power beyond the means of individual lords, and led to professionalization of the military on land and sea under the authority of the sovereign. This military revolution favored rulers who could command the resources required for building increasingly complex fortifications and fielding disciplined infantry and artillery units. Monarchs who could increase taxes and create bureaucracies to collect and spend them on their military outmaneuvered those who could not.

In general, monarchs gained power vis-à-vis the corporate groups and institutions that had thrived during the medieval period, notably the landed nobility and the clergy. Commercial and professional groups, such as merchants, lawyers, and other educated and talented persons, acquired increasing power in the state — often in alliance with the monarchs — alongside or in place of these traditional corporate groups. New legal and political theories, embodied in the codification of law, strengthened state institutions, which increasingly took control of the social and economic order from traditional religious and local bodies. However, these developments were not universal. In eastern and southern Europe, the traditional elites maintained their positions in many polities.

The centralization of power within polities took place within and facilitated a new diplomatic framework among states. Ideals of a universal Christian empire declined along with the power and prestige of the Holy Roman Empire, which was unable to overcome the challenges of political localism and religious pluralism. By the end of the Thirty Years' War, a new state system had emerged based on sovereign nation-states and the balance of power.

Period 2: c. 1648 to c. 1815

Key Concept 2.1
Different models of political sovereignty affected the relationship among states and between states and individuals.

Between 1648 and 1815, the sovereign state was consolidated as the principal form of political organization across Europe. Justified and rationalized by theories of political sovereignty, states adopted a variety of methods to acquire the human, fiscal, and material resources essential for the promotion of their interests. Although challenged and sometimes effectively resisted by various social groups and institutions, the typical state of the period, best exemplified by the rule of Louis XIV in France, asserted claims to absolute authority within its borders. A few states, most notably England and the Dutch Republic, gradually developed governments in which the authority of the executive was restricted by legislative bodies protecting the interests of the landowning and commercial classes.

Between the Peace of Westphalia (1648) and the Congress of Vienna (1814-15), European states managed their external affairs within a balance of power system. In this system, diplomacy became a major component of the relations among states. Most of the wars of the period, including conflicts fought outside of Europe, stemmed from attempts either to preserve or disturb the balance of power among European states. While European monarchs continued to view their affairs in dynastic terms, increasingly, "reasons of state" influenced policy.

The French Revolution was the most formidable challenge to traditional politics and diplomacy during this period. Inspired in part by Enlightenment ideas, the Revolution introduced mass politics, led to the creation of numerous political and social ideologies, and remained the touchstone for those advocating radical reform in subsequent decades. The French Revolution was part of a larger revolutionary impulse that, as a transatlantic movement, influenced revolutions in Spanish America and the Haitian slave revolt. Napoleon Bonaparte built upon the gains of the revolution and attempted to exploit the resources of the continent in the interests of France and his own dynasty. Napoleon's revolutionary state imposed French hegemony throughout Europe, but eventually a coalition of European powers overthrew French domination and restored, as much as possible, a balance of power within the European state system. At the same time, the conservative powers attempted to suppress the ideologies inspired by the French Revolution.

Key Concept 2.2
The expansion of European commerce accelerated the growth of a worldwide economic network.

The economic watershed of the 17th and 18th centuries was a historically unique passage from limited resources that made material want inescapable to self-generating economic growth that dramatically raised levels of physical and material well-being. European societies — first those with access to the Atlantic and gradually those in the east and on the Mediterranean — provided increasing percentages of their populations with a higher standard of living.

The gradual emergence of new economic structures that made European global influence possible both presupposed and promoted far-reaching changes in human capital, property rights, financial instruments, technologies, and labor systems. These changes included:

- Availability of labor power, both in terms of numbers and in terms of persons with the skills (literacy, ability to understand and manipulate the natural world, physical health sufficient for work) required for efficient production.
- Institutions and practices that supported economic activity and provided incentives for it (new definitions of property rights and protections for them against theft or confiscation and against state taxation).
- Accumulations of capital for financing enterprises and innovations, as well as for raising the standard of living and the means for turning private savings into investable or "venture" capital.
- Technological innovations in food production, transportation, communication, and manufacturing.

A major result of these changes was the development of a growing consumer society that benefited from and contributed to the increase in material resources. At the same time, other effects of the economic revolution — increased geographic mobility, transformed employer–worker relations, the decline of domestic manufacturing — eroded traditional community and family solidarities and protections.

European economic strength derived in part from the ability to control and exploit resources (human and material) around the globe. Mercantilism supported the development of European trade and influence around the world. However, the economic, social, demographic, and ecological effects of European exploitation on other regions were often devastating. Internally, Europe divided more and more sharply between the societies engaging in overseas trade and undergoing the economic transformations sketched above (primarily countries on the Atlantic) and those (primarily in central and eastern Europe) with little such involvement. The eastern countries remained in a traditional, principally agrarian, economy and maintained the traditional order of society and the state that rested on it.

Key Concept 2.3
The spread of Scientific Revolution concepts and practices and the Enlightenment's application of these concepts and practices to political, social, and ethical issues led to an increased, but not unchallenged, emphasis on reason in European culture.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, Europeans applied the methods of the New Science — such as empiricism, mathematics, and skepticism — to human affairs. During the Enlightenment, intellectuals such as Rousseau, Voltaire, and Diderot aimed to replace faith in divine revelation with faith in human reason and classical values. In economics and politics, liberal theorists such as John Locke and Adam Smith questioned absolutism and mercantilism by arguing for the authority of natural law and the market. Belief in progress, along with improved social and economic conditions, spurred significant gains in literacy and education as well as the creation of a new culture of the printed word—including novels, newspapers, periodicals, and such reference works as Diderot's *Encyclopédie*—for a growing educated audience.

Alongside several movements of religious revival that occurred during the 18th century, European elite culture embraced skepticism, secularism, and atheism for the first time in European history, and popular attitudes began to move in the same directions. From the beginning of this period, Protestants and Catholics grudgingly tolerated each other following the religious warfare of the previous two centuries. By 1800, most governments had extended toleration to Christian minorities and in some states even to Jews. Religion was viewed increasingly as a matter of private rather than public concern.

The new rationalism did not sweep all before it; in fact, it coexisted with a revival of sentimentalism and emotionalism. Until about 1750, Baroque art and music glorified religious feeling and drama, as well as the grandiose pretensions of absolute monarchs. During the French Revolution, romanticism and nationalism implicitly challenged what some saw as the Enlightenment's overemphasis on reason. These Counter-Enlightenment views laid the foundations for new cultural and political values in the 19th century. Overall, intellectual and cultural developments during this period reflected a new worldview in which rationalism, skepticism, scientific investigation, and a belief in progress generally dominated. At the same time, other worldviews stemming from religion, nationalism, and romanticism remained influential.

Key Concept 2.4
The experiences of everyday life were shaped by demographic, environmental, medical, and technological changes.

The legacies of the 16th-century population explosion, which roughly doubled the European population, were social disruptions and demographic disasters that persisted into the 18th century. Volatile weather in the 17th century harmed agricultural production. In some localities, recurring food shortages caused undernourishment that combined with disease to produce periodic spikes in mortality. By the 17th century, the "European marriage pattern," which limited family size, became the most important check on population levels, although some couples also adopted birth control practices to limit family size. By the middle of the 18th century, better weather, improvements in transportation, new crops and agricultural practices, less epidemic disease, and advances in medicine and hygiene allowed much of Europe to escape from the cycle of famines that had caused repeated demographic disaster. By the end of the 18th century, reductions in child mortality and increases in life expectancy constituted the demographic underpinnings of new attitudes toward children and families.

Particularly in western Europe, the demographic revolution, along with the rise in prosperity, produced advances in material well-being that did not stop with the economic: Greater prosperity was associated with increasing literacy, education, and rich cultural lives (the growth of publishing and libraries, the founding of schools, and the establishment of orchestras, theaters, and museums). By the end of the 18th century, it was evident that a high proportion of Europeans were better fed, healthier, longer lived, and more secure and comfortable in their material well-being than at any previous time in human history. This relative prosperity was balanced by increasing numbers of the poor throughout Europe, who strained charitable resources and alarmed government officials and local communities.

Period 3: c. 1815 to c. 1914

Key Concept 3.1
The Industrial Revolution spread from Great Britain to the continent, where the state played a greater role in promoting industry.

The transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy began in Britain in the 18th century, spread to France and Germany between 1850 and 1870, and finally to Russia in the 1890s. The governments of those countries actively supported industrialization. In southern and eastern Europe some pockets of industry developed, surrounded by traditional agrarian economies. Though continental nations sought to borrow from and in some instances imitate the British model — the success of which was represented by the Crystal Palace Exhibition in 1851 — each nation's experience of industrialization was shaped by its own matrix of geographic, social, and political factors. The legacy of the revolution in France, for example, led to a more gradual adoption of mechanization in production, ensuring a more incremental industrialization than was the case in Britain. Despite the creation of a customs union in the 1830s, Germany's lack of political unity hindered its industrial development. However, following unification in 1871, the German Empire quickly came to challenge British dominance in key industries, such as steel, coal, and chemicals.

Beginning in the 1870s, the European economy fluctuated widely because of the vagaries of financial markets. Continental states responded by assisting and protecting the development of national industry in a variety of ways, the most important being protective tariffs, military procurements, and colonial conquests. Key economic stakeholders, such as corporations and industrialists, expected governments to promote economic development by subsidizing ports, transportation, and new inventions; by registering patents and sponsoring education; by encouraging investments and enforcing contracts; and by maintaining order and preventing labor strikes. In the 20th century, some national governments assumed far-reaching control over their respective economies, largely in order to contend with the challenges of war and financial crises.

Key Concept 3.2
The experiences of everyday life were shaped by industrialization, depending on the level of industrial development in a particular location.

Industrialization promoted the development of new socioeconomic classes between 1815 and 1914. In highly industrialized areas, such as western and northern Europe, the new economy created new social divisions, leading for the first time to the development of self-conscious economic classes, especially the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In addition, economic changes led to the rise of trade and industrial unions; benevolent associations; sport clubs; and distinctive class-based cultures of dress, speech, values, and customs. Europe also experienced rapid population growth and urbanization that resulted in benefits as well as social dislocations. The increased population created an enlarged labor force, but in some areas migration from the countryside to the towns and cities led to overcrowding and significant emigration overseas.

Industrialization and urbanization changed the structure and relations of bourgeois and working-class families to varying degrees. Birth control became increasingly common across Europe, and childhood experience changed with the advent of protective legislation, universal schooling, and smaller families. The growth of a "cult of domesticity" established new models of gendered behavior for men and women. Gender roles became more clearly defined as middle-class women withdrew from the workforce. At the same time, working-class women increased their participation as wage-laborers, although the middle class criticized them for neglecting their families.

Industrialization and urbanization also changed people's conception of time; in particular, work and leisure were increasingly differentiated by means of the imposition of strict work schedules and the separation of the workplace from the home. Increasingly, trade unions assumed responsibility for the social welfare of

working-class families, fighting for improved working conditions and shorter hours. Increasing leisure time spurred the development of leisure activities and spaces for bourgeois families. Overall, although inequality and poverty remained significant social problems, the quality of material life improved. For most social groups, the standard of living rose; the availability of consumer products grew; and sanitary standards, medical care, and life expectancy improved.

Key Concept 3.3
Political revolutions and the complications resulting from industrialization triggered a range of ideological, governmental, and collective responses.

The French and Industrial Revolutions triggered dramatic political and social consequences and new theories to deal with them. The ideologies engendered by these 19th-century revolutions — conservatism, liberalism, socialism, nationalism, and even romanticism — provided their adherents with coherent views of the world and differing blueprints for change. For example, utopian socialists experimented with communal living as a social and economic response to change. The responses to socioeconomic changes reached a culmination in the revolutions of 1848, but the failure of these uprisings left the issues raised by the economic, political, and social transformations unresolved well into the 20th century.

In the second half of the 19th century, labor leaders in many countries created unions and syndicates to provide the working classes with a collective voice, and these organizations used collective action such as strikes and movements for men's universal suffrage to reinforce their demands. Feminists and suffragists petitioned and staged public protests to press their demands for similar rights for women. The international movements for socialism, labor, and women's rights were important examples of a trend toward international cooperation in a variety of causes, including antislavery and peace movements. Finally, political parties emerged as sophisticated vehicles for advocating reform or reacting to changing conditions in the political arena.

Nationalism acted as one of the most powerful engines of political change, inspiring revolutions as well as campaigns by states for national unity or a higher degree of centralization. Early nationalism emphasized shared historical and cultural experiences that often threatened traditional elites. Over the nineteenth century, leaders recognized the need to promote national unity through economic development and expanding state functions to meet the challenges posed by industry.

Key Concept 3.4
European states struggled to maintain international stability in an age of nationalism and revolutions.

Following a quarter-century of revolutionary upheaval and war spurred by Napoleon's imperial ambitions, the Great Powers met in Vienna in 1814-15 to re-establish a workable balance of power and suppress liberal and nationalist movements for change. Austrian Foreign Minister Klemens von Metternich led the way in creating an informal security arrangement to resolve international disputes and stem revolution through common action among the Great Powers. Nonetheless, revolutions aimed at liberalization of the political system and national self-determination defined the period from 1815 to 1848.

The revolutions that swept Europe in 1848 were triggered by poor economic conditions, frustration at the slow pace of political change, and unfulfilled nationalist aspirations. At first, revolutionary forces succeeded in establishing regimes dedicated to change or to gaining independence from great-power domination. However, conservative forces, which still controlled the military and bureaucracy, reasserted control. Although the revolutions of 1848 were, as George Macaulay Trevelyn quipped, a "turning point at which modern history failed to turn," they set the stage for a subsequent sea change in European diplomacy. A new breed of conservative leader, exemplified by Napoleon III of France, co-opted nationalism as a top-down force for the advancement of state power and authoritarian rule in the name of "the people." Further, the Crimean War (1853– 1856), prompted by the decline of the Ottoman Empire, shattered the Concert of

Europe established in 1815, and opened the door for the unifications of Italy and Germany. Using the methods of *Realpolitik*, Cavour in Italy and Bismarck in Germany succeeded in unifying their nations after centuries of disunity. Their policies of war, diplomatic intrigue, and, in Bismarck's instance, manipulation of democratic mechanisms created states with the potential for upsetting the balance of power, particularly in the case of Germany.

Following the Crimean War, Russia undertook a series of internal reforms aimed at achieving industrial modernization. The reforms succeeded in establishing an industrial economy and emboldened Russia's aspirations in the Balkans. They also led to an active revolutionary movement, which employed political violence and assassinations and was one of the driving forces behind the 1905 Russian Revolution. After the new German Emperor Wilhelm II dismissed Chancellor Bismarck in 1890, Germany's diplomatic approach altered significantly, leading to a shift in the alliance system and increased tensions in European diplomacy. Imperial antagonisms, growing nationalism, militarism, and other factors resulted in the development of a rigid system of to unprecedented levels (fed by industrial and technological advances), while at the same time developing elaborate plans for the next war.

The long-anticipated war finally came in the summer of 1914. The assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne in Sarajevo forced the political leaders of the Great Powers, locked in the rigid structure of the Triple Entente versus the Triple Alliance, to implement war plans that virtually required the escalation of hostilities. The ensuing Great War revealed the flaws in the diplomatic order established after the unifications of Germany and Italy, but more important, it produced an even more challenging diplomatic situation than that faced by the diplomats in 1814-15.

Key Concept 3.5
A variety of motives and methods led to the intensification of European global control and increased tensions among the Great Powers.

The European imperial outreach of the 19th century was in some ways a continuation of three centuries of colonization, but it also resulted from the economic pressures and necessities of a maturing industrial economy. The new technologies and imperatives of the Second Industrial Revolution (1870–1914) led many European nations to view overseas territories as sources of raw materials and consumer markets. While European colonial empires in the Western hemisphere diminished in size over this period as former colonies gained independence, the region remained dependent on Europe as a source of capital and technological expertise and was a market for European-made goods. European powers also became increasingly dominant in Eastern and Southern Asia in the early 19th century, and a combination of forces created the conditions for a new wave of imperialism there and in Africa later in the century. Moreover, European national rivalries accelerated the expansion of colonialism as governments recognized that actual control of these societies offered economic and strategic advantages. Notions of global destiny and racial superiority fed the drive for empire, and innovations such as anti-malarial drugs, machine guns, and gunboats made it feasible. Non-European societies without these modern advantages could not effectively resist European imperial momentum.

The "new imperialism" of the late 19th and early 20th centuries was promoted in European nations by interest groups that included politicians, military officials and soldiers, missionaries, explorers, journalists, and intellectuals. As an example of a new complex phase of imperial diplomacy, the Berlin Conference in 1884-85 outlined the procedures that Europeans should use in the partition of the African continent. By 1914, most of Africa and Asia were under the domination of Great Britain, France, Portugal, Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands. Notwithstanding the power of colonial administrations, some groups in the colonial societies resisted European imperialism, and by 1914 anti-colonial movements had taken root within the non-European world and in Europe itself.

Imperialism exposed Europeans to foreign societies and introduced "exotic" influences into European art and culture. At the same time, millions of Europeans carried their culture abroad, to the Americas and elsewhere, through emigration, and helped to create a variety of mixed cultures around the world.

Key Concept 3.6
European ideas and culture expressed a tension between objectivity and scientific realism on one hand, and subjectivity and individual expression on the other.

The romantic movement of the early 19th century set the stage for later cultural perspectives by encouraging individuals to cultivate their uniqueness and to trust intuition and emotion as much as reason. Partly in reaction to the Enlightenment, romanticism affirmed the value of sensitivity, imagination, and creativity, and thereby provided a climate for artistic experimentation. Later artistic movements such as Impressionism, Expressionism, and Cubism, which rested on subjective interpretations of reality by the individual artist or writer, arose from the attitudes fostered by romanticism. The sensitivity of artists to non-European traditions that imperialism brought to their attention also can be traced to the romantics' emphasis on the primacy of culture in defining the character of individuals and groups.

In science, Darwin's evolutionary theory raised questions about human nature, and physicists began to challenge the uniformity and regularity of the Newtonian universe. In 1905 Einstein's theory of relativity underscored the position of the observer in defining reality, while the quantum principles of randomness and probability called the objectivity of Newtonian mechanics into question. The emergence of psychology as an independent discipline, separate from philosophy on the one hand and neurology on the other, led to investigations of human behavior that gradually revealed the need for more subtle methods of analysis than those provided by the physical and biological sciences. Freud's investigations into the human psyche suggested the power of irrational motivations and unconscious drives.

Many writers saw humans as governed by spontaneous, irrational forces and believed that intuition and will were as important as reason and science in the search for truth. In art, literature, and science, traditional notions of objective, universal truths and values increasingly shared the stage with a commitment to and recognition of subjectivity, skepticism, and cultural relativism.

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Period 4: c. 1914 to the Present

Key Concept 4.1
Total war and political instability in the first half of the 20th century gave way to a polarized state order during the Cold War and eventually to efforts at transnational union.

European politics and diplomacy in the 20th century were defined by total war and its consequences. World War I destroyed the balance of power, and the Treaty of Versailles, which ended the war, created unstable conditions in which extremist ideologies emerged that challenged liberal democracy and the postwar settlement. In Russia, hardships during World War I gave rise to a revolution in 1917. The newly established, postwar democracies in Central and Eastern Europe were too weak to provide stability either internally or in the European state system, especially during the Great Depression of the 1930s. The League of Nations, established after the war to employ collective security in the interests of peace, could not manage the international tensions unleashed by World War I. The breakdown of the settlement led to World War II, a conflict even more violent than World War I. During this second great war the combatants engaged in wholesale destruction of cities, deliberate attacks on civilians, and the systematic destruction of their enemies' industrial complexes. The Nazi government in Germany undertook the annihilation of Jews from the whole continent (the Holocaust). At the end of the war, the economic and political devastation left a power vacuum that facilitated the Cold War division of Europe.

During the 20th century, European imperialism, power, and sense of superiority reached both their apogee and nadir. In the first half of the century, nations extended their control and influence over most of the non-Western world, often through League of Nations' mandates. The idea of decolonization was born early in the century with the formation of movements seeking rights for indigenous peoples; the material and moral destruction of World War II made the idea a reality. After the war, regions colonized and dominated by European nations moved from resistance to independence at differing rates and with differing consequences. Yet even after decolonization, neocolonial dependency persisted, and millions of people migrated to Europe as its economy recovered from the war. This immigration created large populations of poor and isolated minorities, which occasionally rioted because of discrimination and economic deprivation. As European governments tried to solve these problems, the apparently permanent presence of the immigrants challenged old notions of European identity.

The uneasy alliance between Soviet Russia and the West during World War II gave way after 1945 to a diplomatic, political, and economic confrontation between the democratic, capitalist states of Western Europe allied with the United States and the communist bloc of Eastern Europe dominated by the Soviet Union (also known as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or USSR). During the ensuing confrontation between East and West, called the Cold War, relations between the two blocs fluctuated, but one consequence of the conflict was that European nations could not act autonomously in international affairs; the superpowers—the Soviet Union and the United States—controlled international relations in Europe.

Nonetheless, the Cold War promoted political and economic unity in Western Europe, leading to the establishment of a succession of ever-more comprehensive organizations for economic cooperation. In 1957, six countries formed the Common Market, which soon began to expand its membership to include other European states. The success of the Common Market inspired Europeans to work toward a closer political and economic unity, including a European executive body and Parliament. The founding of the European Union in 1991 at Maastricht included the agreement to establish the euro as a common currency for qualifying member-states. Following a series of largely peaceful revolutions in 1989, culminating in the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the formerly communist states of Eastern Europe moved toward democracy and capitalist economies, and over time some of these states joined the European Union. One unforeseen consequence of the end of the Cold War was the re-emergence of nationalist movements *within* states, which led to the Balkan wars in Yugoslavia and tensions among the successor states of the Soviet Union, as well as the rebirth of nationalist political parties in Western Europe.

Key Concept 4.2
The stresses of economic collapse and total war engendered internal conflicts within European states and created conflicting conceptions of the relationship between the individual and the state, as demonstrated in the ideological battle between and among liberal democracy, communism, and fascism.

During World War I, states increased the degree and scope of their authority over their economies, societies, and cultures. The demands of total war required the centralization of power and the regimentation of the lives of citizens. During the war, governments sought to control information and used propaganda to create stronger emotional ties to the nation and its war effort. Ironically, these measures also produced distrust of traditional authorities. At the end of the war, four empires dissolved — the German, Austro- Hungarian, Ottoman, and Russian empires — but the democratic nations that arose in their place lacked a tradition of democratic politics and suffered from weak economies and ethnic tensions. Even before the end of the war, Russia experienced a revolution and civil war that created not only a new state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (also known as the USSR or Soviet Union), but also a new conception of government and socioeconomic order based on communist ideals.

In Italy and Germany, charismatic leaders led fascist movements to power, seizing control of the post–World War I governments. Fascism promised to solve economic problems through state direction, though

not ownership, of production. The movements also promised to counteract the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles by rearming the military and by territorial expansion. The efforts of fascist governments to revise the Treaty of Versailles led to the most violent and destructive war in human history (World War II), a conflict between liberal democracies, temporarily allied with communist Russia, and fascist states. At the end of this conflict, fascist forces had been defeated, Europe was devastated, and the international diplomatic situation developed into a conflict between capitalist democracies and the centrally directed communist states.

In the post–World War II period, states in both Eastern and Western Europe increased their involvement in citizens' economic lives. In the West this came through social welfare programs and the expansion of education, while Eastern European nations were heavily regulated in planned economies directed by the Soviet Union.

With the collapse of communism and the fall of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, the liberal democracies of Western Europe celebrated the triumph of their political and economic systems, and many of the former communist states moved for admission into the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). By the late 1990s, it became evident that the transition from communism to capitalism and democracy was not as simple as it first appeared to be, with Western Europe experiencing difficulties because of economic recession and the extension of social welfare programs.

Key Concept 4.3
During the 20th century, diverse intellectual and cultural movements questioned the existence of objective knowledge, the ability of reason to arrive at truth, and the role of religion in determining moral standards.

The major trend of 20th-century European thought and culture moved from an optimistic view that modern science and technology could solve the problems of humankind to the formation of eclectic and sometimes skeptical movements that doubted the possibility of objective knowledge and of progress. Existentialism, postmodernism, and renewed religiosity challenged the perceived dogmatism of positivist science. While European society became increasingly secular, religion continued to play a role in the lives of many Europeans. Religious denominations addressed and in some cases incorporated modern ideas, such as the toleration of other religions, as well as scholarship — biblical and scientific — that challenged the veracity of the Bible. The Christian churches made these accommodations as immigration, particularly from Muslim countries, altered the religious landscape, challenging Europe's traditional Judeo-Christian identity.

After World War I, prewar trends in physics, psychology, and medical science accelerated. In physics, new discoveries and theories challenged the certainties of a Newtonian universe by introducing the ideas of relativity and uncertainty. Psychology, which became an independent field of inquiry at the end of the 19th century, demonstrated that much human behavior stemmed from irrational sources. By the mid-20th century, dramatic new medical technologies prolonged life but created new social, moral, and economic problems. During World War II, the potential dangers of scientific and technological achievements were demonstrated by the industrialization of death in the Holocaust and by the vast destruction wrought by the atomic bombs dropped on Japanese cities. It became clear that science could create weapons powerful enough to end civilization.

The art world in the 20th century was defined by experimentation and subjectivity, which asserted the independence of visual arts from realism. Futurism glorified the machine age; Dadaism satirized traditional aesthetics; and Expressionism and Surrealism explored the relationship between art and the emotions or the unconscious. In the interwar period, the slogan "form follows function" expressed a desire by architects to render the space in which we live and work more efficient. Throughout the century, American culture exerted an increasing pull on both elite and popular culture in Europe.

Key Concept 4.4
Demographic changes, economic growth, total war, disruptions of traditional social patterns, and competing definitions of freedom and justice altered the experiences of everyday life.

The disruptions of two total wars, the reduction of barriers to migration within Europe because of economic integration, globalization, and the arrival of new permanent residents from outside Europe changed the everyday lives of Europeans in significant ways. For the first time, more people lived in cities than in rural communities. Economic growth — though interrupted by repeated wars and economic crises — generally increased standards of living, leisure time (despite the growing number of two-career families), educational attainment, and participation in mass cultural entertainments. The collapse of the birth rate to below replacement levels enhanced the financial well-being of individual families even as it reduced the labor force. To support labor-force participation and encourage families, governments instituted family policies supporting child care and created large-scale guest-worker programs.

Europe's involvement in an increasingly global economy exposed its citizens to new goods, ideas, and practices. Altogether, the disruptions of war and decolonization led to new demographic patterns — a population increase followed by falling birth rates and the immigration of non-Europeans — and to uncertainties about Europeans' cultural identity. Even before the collapse of communism and continuing afterward, a variety of groups on both the left and right began campaigns of terror in the name of ethnic or national autonomy, or in radical opposition to free-market ideology. Other groups worked within the democratic system to achieve nationalist and xenophobic goals.

By the 1960s, the rapid industrialization of the previous century had created significant environmental problems. Environmentalists argued that the unfettered free-market economy could lead Europe to ecological disaster, and they challenged the traditional economic and political establishment with demands for sustainable development sensitive to environmental, aesthetic, and moral constraints. At the same time, a generation that had not experienced either economic depression or total war came of age and criticized existing institutions and beliefs while calling for greater political and personal freedom.
These demands culminated with the 1968 youth revolts in Europe's major cities and in challenges to institutional authority structures, especially those of universities.

Feminist movements gained increased participation for women in politics, and before the end of the century several women became heads of government or state. Women's organizations and movements continued to advocate for other causes, such as equal pay, women's health care issues, and increased child care subsidies.

During the second half of the century, immigrants from around the globe streamed into Europe, and by the new millennium Europeans found themselves living in multiethnic and multi-religious communities. Immigrants defied traditional expectations of integration and assimilation and expressed social values different from 20th-century Europeans. Many Europeans refused to consider the newcomers as true members of their society. By the early 21st century, Europeans continued to wrestle with issues of social justice and how to define European identity.