

PART V



- CHAPTER 16 Transformations in Europe, 1500–1750
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Map of the World, ca. 1595 After Ferdinand Magellan, the next explorer to circumnavigate the world was Sir Francis Drake (ca. 1540–1596). Departing with five ships in 1577, Drake nonetheless completed the majority of his voyage in a single ship, the *Golden Hind*, returning to England in 1580. This hand-colored engraving by Jodocus Hondius shows his route. Supported by Queen Elizabeth and other investors, Drake raided Spanish ships and ports and returned with great riches. Unlike Magellan, he traveled far northward before crossing the Pacific, harboring for several weeks near San Francisco Bay and making friendly contact with the native peoples there. Drake played a decisive role in England's victory against the Spanish Armada in 1588.



The Globe Encompassed, 1500–1750

The decades between 1500 and 1750 witnessed a tremendous expansion of commercial, cultural, and biological exchanges around the world. New long-distance sea routes linked Europe with sub-Saharan Africa and the existing maritime networks of the Indian Ocean and East Asia. Spanish and Portuguese voyages ended the isolation of the Americas and created new webs of exchange in the Atlantic and Pacific. Overland expansion of Muslim, Russian, and Chinese empires also increased global interaction.

These expanding contacts had major demographic and cultural consequences. Domesticated animals and crops from the Old World transformed agriculture in the Americas, while Amerindian foods such as the potato became staples of the diet of the Old World. European diseases, meanwhile, devastated the Amerindian population, facilitating the establishment of large Spanish, Portuguese, French, and British empires. Europeans introduced enslaved Africans to relieve the labor shortage. Immigrant Africans and Europeans brought new languages, religious practices, music, and forms of personal adornment.

In Asia and Africa, by contrast, the most important changes owed more to internal forces than to European actions. The Portuguese seized control of some important trading ports and networks in the Indian Ocean and pioneered new contacts with China and Japan. In time, the Dutch, French, and English expanded these profitable connections, but in 1750 Europeans were still primarily a maritime force. Asians and Africans generally retained control of their lands and participated freely in overseas trade.

The Islamic world saw the dramatic expansion of the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East and the establishment of the Safavid Empire in Iran and the Mughal Empire in South Asia. In northern Eurasia, Russia and China acquired vast new territories and populations, while a new national government in Japan promoted economic development and stemmed foreign influence.



CHAPTER OUTLINE

- Culture and Ideas
- Social and Economic Life
- Political Innovations
- Conclusion

ENVIRONMENT + TECHNOLOGY *Mapping the World*

DIVERSITY + DOMINANCE *Political Craft and Craftiness*



Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna/The Bridgeman Art Library

Hunters in the Snow, 1565 This January scene, by the Flemish artist Pieter Bruegel the Elder, shows many everyday activities.



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Transformations in Europe, 1500–1750

Four years before his death, the Flemish artist Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1525–1569) painted *Hunters in the Snow*, a masterpiece of the cultural revival that later ages would call the European **Renaissance**. After a period of apprenticeship, in 1551 Bruegel became a master painter in the Antwerp Painters Guild. Though he also painted biblical and allegorical subjects, Bruegel is remembered best for his technical skill and powers of observation, which were demonstrated in his depictions of the everyday life that surrounded him. Other forms of culture flourished as well in early modern Europe, as exemplified by the musical compositions of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750) in Germany and Antonio Vivaldi (ca. 1675–1741) in Italy, and by the literature of William Shakespeare (1564–1616) in England and Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616) in Spain.

In this period Europe also developed powerful and efficient armies, economies, and governments, which larger states elsewhere in the world feared, envied, and sometimes imitated. The balance of power was shifting slowly in Europe's favor. At the beginning of this era, the Ottomans threatened Europe, but by 1750, as the remaining chapters of Part Five detail, Europeans had brought much of the world under their control. No single nation was responsible for this success. The Dutch eclipsed the pioneering Portuguese and Spanish; then the English and French bested the Dutch. This was also a period of dynamic cultural change. At the beginning of this era a single Christian tradition dominated western Europe. By its end secular political institutions and economic interests had grown stronger, while Catholic and Protestant churches were weakened by religious wars. Equally influential was the challenge to Christianity's long domination of European intellectual life posed by the Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment.

The years from 1500 to 1750 were not simply an age of progress for Europe. For many, the ferocious competition of European armies, merchants, and ideas was a wrenching experience. The growth of powerful states extracted a terrible price in death and destruction. The Reformation brought widespread religious persecution and religious warfare as well as greater individual choice in religion. Women's fortunes remained closely tied to their social class, and few gained equality with men. The expanding economy benefited members of the emerging merchant elite and their political allies, but in an era of rising prices Europe's urban and rural poor struggled to survive.

- How did the interplay of traditional beliefs and revolutionary ideas influence the cultural history of early modern Europe?
- What factors contributed to the wealth of some Europeans and the great poverty of others in this period?
- How did differing policies in the areas of religion, foreign relations, and economics determine the very different experiences of early modern European states?

Renaissance (European)

A period of intense artistic and intellectual activity, said to be a “rebirth” of Greco-Roman culture. Usually divided into an Italian Renaissance, from roughly the mid-fourteenth to mid-fifteenth century, and a Northern (trans-Alpine) Renaissance, from roughly the early fifteenth to early seventeenth century.

CULTURE AND IDEAS

During the Reformation, theological controversies broke the religious unity of the Latin Church and contributed to long and violent wars. A huge witch scare demonstrated the endurance of traditional folklore and popular beliefs. While the influence of classical ideas from Greco-Roman antiquity increased among better-educated Europeans, some bold thinkers challenged the authority of the ancients. They introduced new ideas about the motion of the planets and encouraged others to challenge traditional social and political systems; these new ideas would help promote revolutionary changes in the period after 1750. Each of these events had its own causes, but the technology of the printing press broadened the impact of all.



AP* Exam Tip It is important to understand the papacy, but not individual popes, for the exam.

papacy The central administration of the Roman Catholic Church, of which the pope is the head.

indulgence The forgiveness of the punishment due for past sins, granted by the Catholic Church authorities as a reward for a pious act. Martin Luther's protest against the sale of indulgences is often seen as touching off the Protestant Reformation.

Early Reformation

In 1500 the **papacy**, the central government of Latin Christianity, simultaneously gained stature and suffered from corruption and dissent. Recovered from a period when competing popes supported by rival rulers disputed control of the church, popes now exercised greater power funded by larger donations and tax receipts. The construction of fifty-four new churches and other buildings in Rome served to demonstrate the church's power and showcase the artistic Renaissance then under way. The church leadership intended the size and splendor of the magnificent new Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome to glorify God, display the skill of Renaissance artists and builders, and enhance the standing of the papacy, but the vast expense of its construction and rich decoration also caused scandal.


The skillful overseer of the design and financing of the Saint Peter's Basilica was Pope Leo X (r. 1513–1521), a member of the wealthy Medici (**MED-ih-chee**) family of Florence, famous for its patronage of the arts. Pope Leo's artistic taste was superb and his personal life free from scandal, but he was more a man of action than a spiritual leader. During his papacy the church aggressively raised funds for the basilica and other ambitious projects. The sale of **indulgences**—a forgiveness of the punishment due for past sins, was seen by many as abusive and scandalous.



Luther and the Reformation This sixteenth-century woodcut of Martin Luther shows him writing his demands for religious reform with a symbolically oversized quill pen on the door of All Saints Church in Wittenberg, Germany.

CHRONOLOGY		
Politics and Culture	Environment and Technology	Warfare
<p>1500 1500s Spain's golden century 1519 Protestant Reformation begins</p> <p>1540s Scientific Revolution begins 1545 Catholic Reformation begins</p> <p>Late 1500s Witch-hunts increase</p>	<p>1590s Dutch develop flyboats; Little Ice Age begins</p> <p>1600s Depletion of forests growing 1609 Galileo's astronomical telescope</p> <p>1682 Canal du Midi completed</p> <p>1750 English mine nearly 5 million tons of coal a year 1755 Lisbon earthquake</p>	<p>1526–1571 Ottoman attack on Hapsburg Empire</p> <p>1546–1555 German Wars of Religion 1562–1598 French Wars of Religion 1566–1648 Netherlands Revolt</p> <p>1618–1648 Thirty Years War 1642–1648 English Civil War 1652–1678 Anglo-Dutch Wars 1667–1697 Wars of Louis XIV 1683–1697 Ottoman wars 1701–1714 War of the Spanish Succession</p>
<p>1600 1600s Holland's golden century</p>		
<p>1700 1700s The Enlightenment begins</p>		

Martin Luther

 **PRIMARY SOURCE:**
Table Talk Read Martin Luther in his own words, speaking out forcefully and candidly—and sometimes with humor—against Catholic institutions.

Protestant Reformation
Religious reform movement within the Latin Christian Church beginning in 1519. It resulted in the “protesters” forming several new Christian denominations, including the Lutheran and Reformed Churches and the Church of England.

A young professor of sacred scripture, Martin Luther (1483–1546), objected to this practice and to other excesses. As the result of a powerful religious experience, Luther had forsaken money and marriage for a monastic life of prayer, self-denial, and study. In his religious quest, he found personal consolation in a passage in Saint Paul’s Epistle stating that salvation resulted from religious faith, not from “doing certain things.” That passage led Luther to object to the way preachers emphasized giving money to the church more than they emphasized faith. He wrote to Pope Leo to complain of this abuse and challenged the preachers to a debate on the theology of indulgences.

This theological dispute was also a contest between two strong-willed men. Largely ignoring the theological objections, Pope Leo regarded Luther’s letter as a challenge to papal power and moved to silence him. During a debate in 1519, a papal representative led Luther into open disagreement with church doctrines, for which the papacy condemned him. Blocked in his effort to reform the church from within, Luther burned the papal bull (document) of condemnation, rejected the pope’s authority, and began the movement known as the **Protestant Reformation**.

Accusing those whom he called “Romanists” (Roman Catholics) of relying on “good works,” Luther insisted that the only way to salvation was through faith in Jesus Christ. He further declared that Christian belief should be based on the word of God in the Bible and on Christian tradition, not on the authority of the pope. Luther’s use of the printing press to spread his ideas won him the support of powerful Germans, who responded to his nationalist portrayal of an Italian pope seeking to beautify Rome with German funds.

The Reformation Spreads

Luther's denunciation of the ostentation and corruption of the church led others to call for a return to authentic Christian practices and beliefs. John Calvin (1509–1564), a well-educated Frenchman who left the study of law for theology after experiencing a religious conversion, became an influential Protestant leader. As a young man, Calvin published a synthesis of Christian teachings in 1535, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Although Calvin agreed with Luther's emphasis on faith over works, he denied that human faith alone could merit salvation. Salvation, Calvin believed, was a gift God gave to those He "predestined." Calvin also went farther than Luther in curtailing the power of the clerical hierarchy and in simplifying religious rituals. Calvinist congregations elected their own governing committees and created regional and national synods (councils) to regulate doctrinal issues. Calvinists also displayed simplicity in dress, life, and worship, avoiding ostentatious living and stripping churches of statues, most musical instruments, stained-glass windows, incense, and vestments.

The Reformers appealed to genuine religious sentiments, but their successes and failures were also due to local political and economic conditions. It was no coincidence that German-born Luther had his greatest success among German speakers and linguistically related Scandinavians and not surprising that peasants and urban laborers sometimes defied their masters by adopting a different faith. Protestants were no more inclined than Roman Catholics to question male dominance in the church and the family, but most Protestants rejected the medieval tradition of celibate priests and nuns and advocated Christian marriage for all adults.

The Counter Reformation and the Politics of Religion

Shaken by the intensity of the Protestant attack, the Catholic Church undertook its own reforms. A council that met at the city of Trent in northern Italy between 1545 and 1563 sought to distinguish Catholic doctrines from Protestant "errors" and reaffirmed the supremacy of the pope. The council also called for bishops to reside in their dioceses and dioceses to maintain a theological seminary to train priests. The creation in 1540 of a new religious order, the Society of Jesus, or "Jesuits," by a Spanish nobleman, Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), was among the most important events of the **Catholic Reformation**. Well-educated Jesuits helped stem the Protestant tide by their teaching and preaching (see Map 16.1), and they gained converts through overseas missions (see Chapters 17 and 20).

Given the complexity and intensity stirred by the Protestant Reformation, it is not surprising that both sides persecuted and sometimes executed those of differing views. Bitter "wars of religion" would continue in parts of western Europe until 1648. The rulers of Spain and France actively defended the Catholic tradition against Protestant challenges. Following the pattern used by his predecessors to suppress Jewish and Muslim practices, King Philip II of Spain used the Inquisition to enforce religious orthodoxy. Suspected Protestants, as well as critics of the king, were accused of heresy, some were punished by death, and even those acquitted learned not to challenge the church or the king again.

In France the Calvinist opponents of the Valois dynasty gained the military advantage in the French Wars of Religion (1562–1598). In the interest of national unity, their leader Prince Henry of Navarre ultimately embraced the Catholic faith of the majority of his subjects when he ruled as Henry IV of France. In their embrace of a union of church and state, Henry IV, his son King Louis XIII, and his grandson King Louis XIV supported the Catholic Church. Ultimately, Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes (**nahnt**) by which his grandfather had granted religious freedom to his Protestant supporters in 1598.

In England King Henry VIII had initially been a strong defender of the papacy against Lutheran criticism. But when Henry failed to obtain a papal annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, who had not furnished him with a male heir, he challenged the papacy's authority over the English church. First the English archbishop of Canterbury annulled Henry's marriage in 1533 and then Parliament made the king head of an autonomous Church of England.

Like many Protestant rulers, Henry used his authority to disband monasteries and convents and seize their lands. He gave some land to his powerful allies and sold other land to pay for his new navy. While the king's power had grown at the expense of the Catholic Church, religious belief and practice were changing also. The new Anglican Church distanced itself from Catholic ritual and theology, but English Puritans (Calvinists who wanted to "purify" the church of all



AP* Exam Tip Make sure you are able to discuss the creation of new religions.

Catholic Reformation

Religious reform movement within the Latin Christian Church, begun in response to the Protestant Reformation. It clarified Catholic theology and reformed clerical training and discipline.

Religion and the Ambitions of Kings

Catholic practices and beliefs) sought more. When Puritans petitioned to eliminate bishops in 1603, the first Stuart king, James I, reminded them of the traditional role of religion in supporting royal power: “No bishops, no king.”

Local Religion, Traditional Culture, and Witch-Hunts

witch-hunt The pursuit of people suspected of witchcraft, especially in northern Europe in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

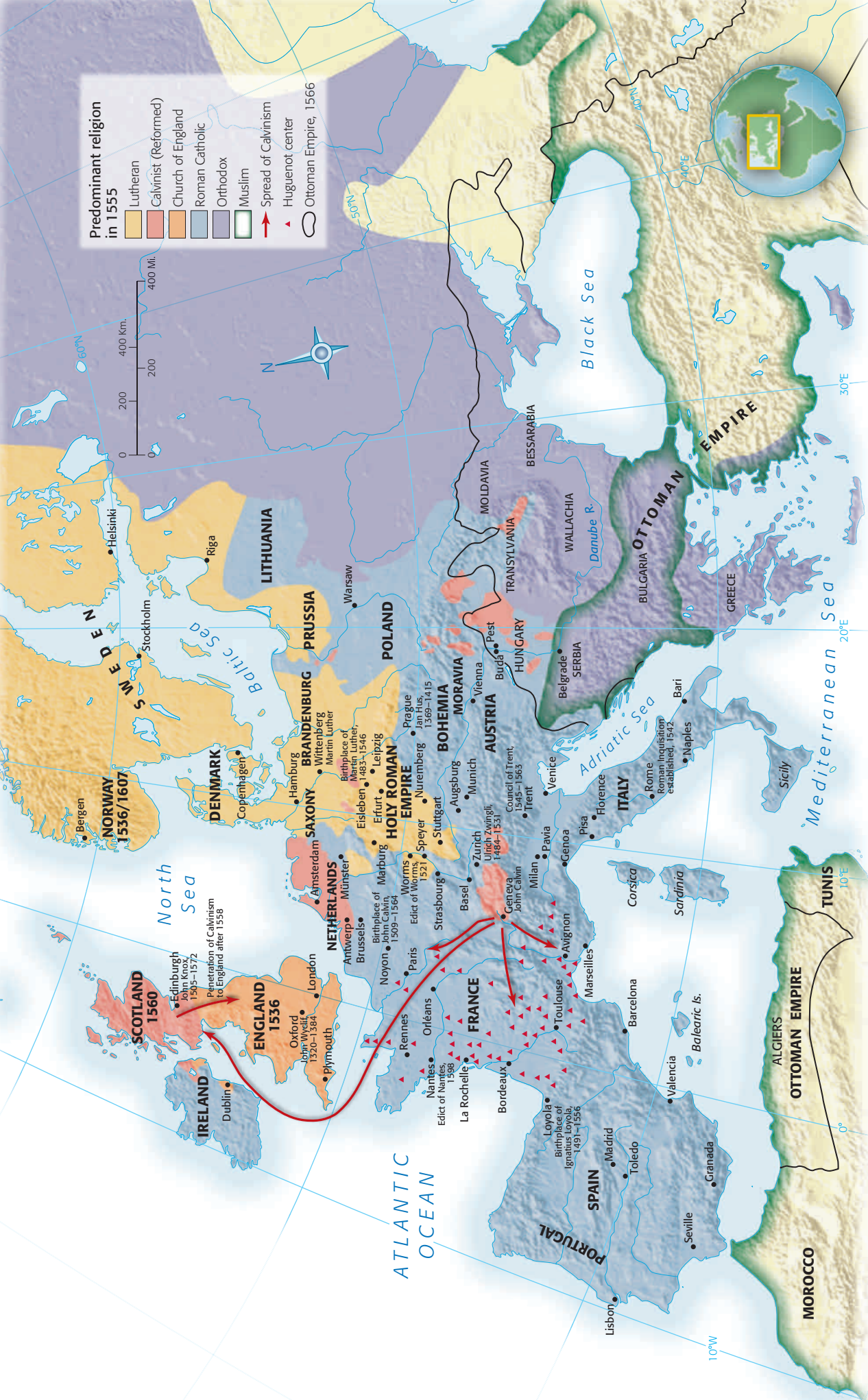
The World of Magic and Spirits

Both in the Protestant north and the Catholic south the institutions of religious orthodoxy were weakest in villages and small towns. In these settings, local religion commonly blended the rituals and beliefs of the established churches with local folk customs, pre-Christian beliefs, ancient curing practices, love magic, and the casting of spells. The vigor and power of these local religious traditions ebbed and flowed in response to the strength of national and regional religious institutions everywhere in Europe. The widespread **witch-hunts** that Protestants and Catholics undertook in early modern Europe were one manifestation of the ongoing contest between formal religious institutions and local beliefs and cultural heritage.

Prevailing European ideas about the natural world blended two distinct traditions. One was the folklore about magic and forest spirits passed down orally from pre-Christian times. The second was the biblical teachings of the Christian and Jewish scriptures, heard by all in church and read by growing numbers in vernacular translations. In the minds of most people, Christian teachings about miracles, saints, and devils mixed easily with folklore.



Death to Witches This woodcut from 1574 depicts three women convicted of witchcraft being burned alive in Baden, Switzerland. The well-dressed townsmen look on stolidly.



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Interactive Map

MAP 16.1 Religious Reformation in Europe The Reformation brought greater religious freedom but also led to religious conflict and persecution. In many places the Reformation accelerated the trend toward state control of religion and added religious differences to the motives for wars among Europeans.

The Witch-Hunts

Like people in other parts of the world, most early modern Europeans believed that natural events could have supernatural causes. When crops failed or domestic animals died unexpectedly, many people blamed unseen spirits and sought the help of men and women seen to have special powers. Many believed these same intermediaries had the power to solve romantic problems, fix disputes with masters or employers, or satisfy a desire for revenge.

Europeans continued to attribute human triumphs and tragedies to supernatural causes as well. When an earthquake destroyed much of Lisbon, Portugal's capital city, in November 1755, for example, both educated and uneducated people saw the event as a punishment sent by God. A Jesuit charged it "scandalous to pretend that the earthquake was just a natural event." An English Protestant leader agreed, comparing Lisbon's fate with that of Sodom, the city that God destroyed because of the sinfulness of its citizens, according to the Hebrew Bible.

The extraordinary fear of the power of witches that swept across northern Europe in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was powerful testimony to belief in the spiritual causes of natural events. Historians estimate that secular and church authorities tried over a hundred thousand people—some three-fourths of them women—for practicing witchcraft. Trial records make it clear that both the accusers and the accused believed that it was possible for angry and jealous individuals to use evil magic and the power of the Devil to cause people and domestic animals to sicken and die or to cause crops to wither in the fields. Researchers think that at least some of those accused in early modern Europe may really have tried to use witchcraft to harm their enemies. However, it was the Reformation's focus on the Devil—the enemy of God—as the source of evil and the Counter Reformation Catholic Church's enforcement of orthodoxy that promoted and justified these efforts to identify and punish witchcraft.

No single reason can explain the rise in witchcraft accusations and fears in early modern Europe, but, for both the accusers and the accused, there are plausible connections between the witch-hunts and rising social tensions, rural poverty, and environmental strains. Far from being a bizarre aberration, witch-hunts reflected the tension between popular beliefs and practices and the ambitions of aggressive new religious and political institutions.

The Scientific Revolution

Among the educated, the writings of Greco-Roman antiquity and the Bible were the most trusted guides to the natural world. The Renaissance had recovered many manuscripts of ancient writers, some of which were printed and widely circulated. The greatest authority on physics was Aristotle, a Greek philosopher who taught that everything on earth was reducible to four elements. The surface of the earth was composed of the two heavy elements, earth and water. The atmosphere was made up of two lighter elements, air and fire, which floated above the ground. Higher still were the sun, moon, planets, and stars, which, according to Aristotelian physics, were so light and pure that they floated in crystalline spheres. This division between the ponderous, heavy earth and the airy, celestial bodies accorded perfectly with the commonsense perception that all heavenly bodies revolved around the earth.

The prevailing conception of the universe was also influenced by the ancient Greek mathematician Pythagoras, who proved the famous theorem that still bears his name: in a right triangle, the square of the hypotenuse is equal to the sum of the squares of the other two sides ($a^2 + b^2 = c^2$). Pythagoreans attributed the ability of simple mathematical equations to describe physical objects to mystical properties. They attached special significance to the simplest (to them perfect) geometrical shapes: the circle (a point rotated around another point) and the sphere (a circle rotated on its axis). They believed that celestial objects were perfect spheres orbiting the earth in circular orbits.

In the sixteenth century, however, the careful observations and mathematical calculations of some daring and imaginative European investigators began to challenge these prevailing conceptions of the physical world. These pioneers of the **Scientific Revolution** demonstrated that natural causes could explain the workings of the universe.

Over the centuries, observers of the nighttime skies had plotted the movements of the heavenly bodies, and mathematicians had worked to fit these observations into the prevailing theories of circular orbits. To make all the evidence fit, they had come up with eighty different spheres and some ingenious theories to explain the many seemingly irregular movements. Pondering these complications, a Polish monk and mathematician named Nicholas Copernicus

Scientific Revolution The intellectual movement in Europe, initially associated with planetary motion and other aspects of physics, that by the seventeenth century had laid the groundwork for modern science.

New Questions and Methods



Meritime Museum Kronberg Castle Denmark/ G. Dagli-Orti/The Art Archive

Tycho Brahe at Work Between 1576 and 1597, on the island of Ven between Denmark and Sweden, Tycho built the best observatory in Europe and set a new standard for accurate celestial observations before the invention of the telescope. This contemporary hand-colored engraving shows the Danish astronomer at work.

(1473–1543) came up with a simpler solution: switching the center of the different orbits from the earth to the sun.

Copernicus did not challenge the idea that the sun, moon, and planets were light, perfect spheres or that they moved in circular orbits. But his placement of the sun, not the earth, at the center began a revolution in understanding the structure of the heavens and the central place of humans in the universe. To escape anticipated controversies, Copernicus delayed the publication of his heliocentric (sun-centered) theory until the end of his life.

Other astronomers, including the Danish Tycho Brahe (1546–1601) and his German assistant Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), strengthened and improved on Copernicus's model, showing that planets actually move in elliptical, not circular, orbits. The most brilliant of the Copernicans was the Italian Galileo Galilei (**gal-uh-LAY-oh gal-uh-LAY-ee**) (1564–1642). In 1609 Galileo built a telescope through which he could look more closely at the heavens. Able to magnify distant objects thirty times beyond the power of the naked eye, Galileo saw that heavenly bodies were not the perfectly smooth spheres of

the Aristotelians. The moon, he reported in *The Starry Messenger* (1610), had mountains and valleys; the sun had spots; other planets had their own moons. In other words, the earth was not alone in being heavy and changeable.

At first, the Copernican universe found more critics than supporters because it so directly challenged not just popular ideas but also the intellectual synthesis of classical and biblical authorities. Is the Bible wrong, asked the theologians, when the Book of Joshua says that, by God's command, "the sun [not the earth] stood still . . . for about a whole day" to give the ancient Israelites victory in their conquest of Palestine? If Aristotle's physics was wrong, worried other traditionalists, would not the theological synthesis built on other parts of his philosophy be open to question?

Intellectual and religious leaders encouraged political authorities to suppress the new ideas. Most Protestant leaders, following the lead of Martin Luther, condemned the heliocentric universe as contrary to the Bible. Catholic authorities waited longer to act. After all, both Copernicus and Galileo were Roman Catholics. Copernicus had dedicated his book to the pope, and in 1582 another pope, Gregory XIII, had used the latest astronomical findings to issue a new and more accurate calendar (still used today). Galileo ingeniously argued that the conflict between scripture and science was only apparent because the word of God was expressed in the language of ordinary people, but in nature God's truth was revealed more perfectly in a language that could be learned by careful observation and scientific reasoning. Galileo also ridiculed those who were slow to accept his findings. Smarting under Galileo's stinging sarcasm, his enemies complained to the Inquisition, which prohibited him from publishing further on the subject.

Despite official opposition, printed books spread the new scientific ideas among scholars across Europe. In England, Robert Boyle (1627–1691) demonstrated the usefulness of the experimental method and along with others became an enthusiastic missionary of mechanical science, using the Royal Society, chartered in London in 1662, to promote knowledge of the natural world. Another Englishman, the mathematician Isaac Newton (1642–1727), carried Galileo's

PRIMARY SOURCE:
Letter to the Grand

Duchess Christina Read Galileo's passionate defense of his scientific research against those who would condemn it as un-Christian.



AP* Exam Tip The Scientific Revolution is a major intellectual development.

Scientific Knowledge Expands

demonstration that the heavens and earth share a common physics to its logical conclusion by formulating mathematical laws that governed all physical objects. His Law of Gravity and his role in developing calculus made him the most famous and influential man of his era, serving as president of the Royal Society from 1703 until his death.

As late as 1700 most religious and intellectual leaders viewed the new science with suspicion or outright hostility because of the unwanted challenge it posed to established ways of thought. Yet most of the principal pioneers of the Scientific Revolution were convinced that scientific discoveries and revealed religion were not in conflict. However, by showing that the Aristotelians and biblical writers held ideas about the natural world that were untrue, these pioneers opened the door to others who used reason to challenge a broader range of unquestioned traditions and superstitions. The world of ideas was forever changed.

The Early Enlightenment

Advances in scientific thought inspired some to question the reasonableness of everything from agricultural methods to laws, religion, and social hierarchies. They believed that they could apply the scientific method to analyze economics, politics, and social organization and devise the best policies. This enthusiasm for an open and critical examination of human society energized a movement known as the **Enlightenment**. Like the Scientific Revolution, this movement was the work of a few “enlightened” individuals, who often faced bitter opposition from the political and religious establishments. Leading Enlightenment thinkers became accustomed to having their books burned or banned, and many spent long periods in exile to escape persecution.

Influences besides the Scientific Revolution affected the Enlightenment. The religious warfare and intolerance associated with the struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism undermined the moral authority of religion for many, and the efforts of church authorities to impugn the breakthroughs of science pushed European intellectual life in a secular direction. The popular bigotry manifested in the brutal treatment of suspected witches also shocked many thoughtful people. The leading French thinker Voltaire (1694–1778) declared: “No opinion is worth burning your neighbor for.”

Although many circumstances shaped “enlightened” thinking, the new scientific methods and discoveries provided the clearest model for changing European society. Voltaire posed the issues in these terms: “It would be very peculiar that all nature, all the planets, should obey eternal laws” but a human being, “in contempt of these laws, could act as he pleased solely according to his caprice.” The English poet Alexander Pope (1688–1774) made a similar point in verse: “Nature and Nature’s laws lay hidden in night; / God said, ‘Let Newton be’ and all was light.”

The Enlightenment was more a frame of mind than a coherent movement. Individuals who embraced it drew inspiration from different sources and promoted different agendas. Its proponents were clearer about what they disliked than about what changes were necessary. Some thought an “enlightened” society could function with the mechanical orderliness of planets spinning in their orbits. Nearly all were optimistic that—at least in the long run—their discoveries would improve human beliefs and institutions. This faith in progress would help foster political and social revolutions after 1750, as Chapter 21 recounts.

While the Catholic Church and many Protestant clergymen opposed the Enlightenment, European monarchs selectively endorsed new ideas. Monarchs, ambitious to increase their power, found anticlerical intellectuals useful allies against church power and wealth. More predictably, monarchs and their reforming advisers discovered in the Enlightenment’s demand for more rational and predictable policies justification for the expansion of royal authority and modern tax systems. Europe in 1750 was a place where political and religious divisions, growing literacy, and the printing press made it possible for these controversial and exciting new ideas to thrive in the face of opposition from ancient and powerful institutions.

Enlightenment A philosophical movement in eighteenth-century Europe that fostered the belief that one could reform society by discovering rational laws that governed social behavior and were just as scientific as the laws of physics.

The Enlightenment and Cultural Change



PRIMARY SOURCE: Treatise on Toleration

Voltaire makes a powerful argument for cultural and religious tolerance.

SECTION REVIEW

- Outraged by corrupt church practices, reformers like Luther and Calvin challenged papal authority and traditional Catholic theology.
- In response to the Protestant reformers, the Catholic Church launched a Counter Reformation.
- Both Protestants and Catholics, seeking to enforce orthodoxy, sanctioned widespread witch-hunts.
- The thinkers of the Scientific Revolution challenged traditional biblical and Greco-Roman conceptions of the cosmos.
- The advances in science prompted Enlightenment thinkers to question many conventional ideas and practices.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

European society was dominated by a small number of noble families who enjoyed privileged access to high offices in the church, government, and military and, in most cases, exemption from taxation. Below them was a much larger class of prosperous commoners that included many clergy, bureaucrats, professionals, and military officers as well as merchants, some artisans, and rural landowners. The vast majority of men and women were very poor. Laborers, journeymen, apprentices, and rural laborers struggled to earn their daily bread but often faced unemployment and privation. The poorest members of society lived truly desperate lives, surviving only through guile, begging, or crime. Women remained subordinated to men.

Some social mobility did occur, however, particularly in the middle. The principal engine of social change was the economy, and the locations where social change occurred most readily were the cities. A secondary means of change was education—for those who could get it.

The Bourgeoisie

Europe's cities grew in response to expanding trade. In 1500 Paris was the only northern European city with over 100,000 inhabitants. By 1700 both Paris and London had populations over 500,000, and twenty other European cities contained over 60,000 people.

Urban wealth came from manufacturing and finance, but especially from trade, both within Europe and overseas. The French called the urban class that dominated these activities the **bourgeoisie** (**boor-zwah-ZEE**) (burghers, town dwellers). Members of the bourgeoisie devoted long hours to their businesses and poured much of their profits back into them or into new ventures. Even so, most had enough money to live comfortably in large houses, and some had servants. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries wealthier consumers could buy exotic luxuries imported from the far corners of the earth—Caribbean and Brazilian sugar and rum, Mexican chocolate, Virginia tobacco, North American furs, East Indian cotton textiles and spices, and Chinese tea.

The Netherlands provides a good example of bourgeois enterprise. Dutch manufacturers and craftsmen turned out a variety of goods in their factories and workshops. The highly successful textile industry concentrated on the profitable weaving, finishing, and printing of cloth, leaving the spinning to low-paid workers elsewhere. Along with fine woolens and linens, the Dutch made cheaper textiles for mass markets. Other factories in Holland refined West Indian sugar, brewed beer from Baltic grain, cut Virginia tobacco, and made imitations of Chinese ceramics (see Environment and Technology: East Asian Porcelain in Chapter 20). Free from the censorship imposed by political and religious authorities in neighboring countries, Holland's printers published books in many languages, including manuals with the latest advances in machinery, metallurgy, agriculture, and other technical areas. For a small nation that lacked timber and other natural resources, this was a remarkable achievement.

With a population of 200,000 in 1700, Amsterdam was Holland's largest city and Europe's major port. The Dutch developed huge commercial fleets that dominated sea trade in Europe and overseas. They introduced new ship designs, including the *fluit*, or "flyboat," a large-capacity cargo ship that was inexpensive to build and required only a small crew. Another successful type of merchant ship, the heavily armed "East Indiaman," helped the Dutch establish their supremacy in the Indian Ocean. By one estimate, the Dutch conducted more than half of all the oceangoing commercial shipping in the world in the seventeenth century (for details see Chapters 19 and 20). Dutch mapmaking supported these distant commercial connections (see Environment and Technology: Mapping the World). Amsterdam also served as Europe's financial center. Seventeenth-century Dutch banks had such a reputation for security that wealthy individuals and governments from all over western Europe entrusted them with their money. The banks in turn invested these funds in real estate, loaned money to factory owners and governments, and provided capital for big business operations overseas.

Like merchants in the Islamic world, Europe's merchants relied on family and ethnic networks. In addition to families of local origin, the most dynamic northern European cities were culturally diverse, hosting merchant colonies from Venice, Florence, Genoa, and other Italian cities as well

Cities as Engines of Change

bourgeoisie In early modern Europe, the class of well-off town dwellers whose wealth came from manufacturing, finance, commerce, and allied professions.

The Netherlands



Rijksmuseum-Amsterdam

The Fishwife, 1572 Women were essential partners in most Dutch family businesses. This scene by the Dutch artist Adriaen van Ostade shows a woman preparing fish for retail sale.

joint-stock company

A business, often backed by a government charter, that sold shares to individuals to raise money for its trading enterprises and to spread the risks (and profits) among many investors.

stock exchange A place where shares in a company or business enterprise are bought and sold.

England and France

as Jewish merchants who had fled religious persecution in Iberia. Other Jewish communities emigrated from eastern Europe to the German states, especially after the Thirty Years War.

The bourgeoisie sought mutually beneficial alliances with European monarchs, who welcomed economic growth as a means of increasing state revenues. The Dutch government pioneered chartering **joint-stock companies** like the Dutch East and West India Companies, which were granted monopolies for trade with the East and West Indies. France and England chartered companies of their own. These companies then sold shares to individuals to raise large sums for overseas enterprises while spreading the risks (and profits) among many investors (see Chapter 18). Investors could buy and sell shares in specialized financial markets called **stock exchanges**, an Italian innovation transferred to the cities of northwestern Europe in the sixteenth century. The greatest stock market in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the Amsterdam Exchange, founded in 1530. Large insurance companies also emerged in this period, and insuring long voyages against loss became a standard practice after 1700.

Governments also sought to promote trade by investing in infrastructure. The Dutch built numerous canals to improve transport and drain the lowlands for agriculture. Other governments financed canals as well, including systems of locks to raise barges up over hills. One of the most important was the 150-mile (240-kilometer) Canal du Midi built by the French government between 1661 and 1682 to link the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.

After 1650 the Dutch faced growing competition from the English, who were developing their own close association between business and government. With government support, the English merchant fleet doubled between 1660 and 1700, and foreign trade rose by 50 percent. As a result, state revenue from customs duties tripled. In a series of wars (1652–1678) the English

Mapping the World

In 1602 in China the Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci printed an elaborate map of the world. Working from maps produced in Europe and incorporating the latest knowledge gathered by European maritime explorers, Ricci introduced two changes to make the map more appealing to his Chinese hosts. He labeled it in Chinese characters, and he split his map down the middle of the Atlantic so that China lay in the center. This version pleased the Chinese elite, who considered China the “Middle Kingdom” surrounded by lesser states. A copy of Ricci’s map in six large panels adorned the emperor’s Beijing palace.

The stunningly beautiful maps and globes of sixteenth-century Europe were the most complete, detailed, and useful representations of the earth that any society had ever produced. The best mapmaker of the century was Gerhard Kreymer, who is remembered as Mercator (the merchant) because his maps were so useful to European ocean traders. By incorporating the latest discoveries and scientific measurements,

Mercator could depict the outlines of the major continents in painstaking detail, even if their interiors were still largely unknown to outsiders.

To represent the spherical globe on a flat map, Mercator drew the lines of longitude as parallel lines. Because such lines actually meet at the poles, Mercator’s projection greatly exaggerated the size of every landmass and body of water distant from the equator. However, Mercator’s rendering offered a very practical advantage: sailors could plot their course by drawing a straight line between their point of departure and their destination. Because of this useful feature, the Mercator projection of the world remained in common use until quite recently. To some extent, its popularity came from the exaggerated size this projection gave to Europe. Like the Chinese, Europeans liked to think of themselves as at the center of things. Europeans also understood their true geographical position better than people in any other part of the world.



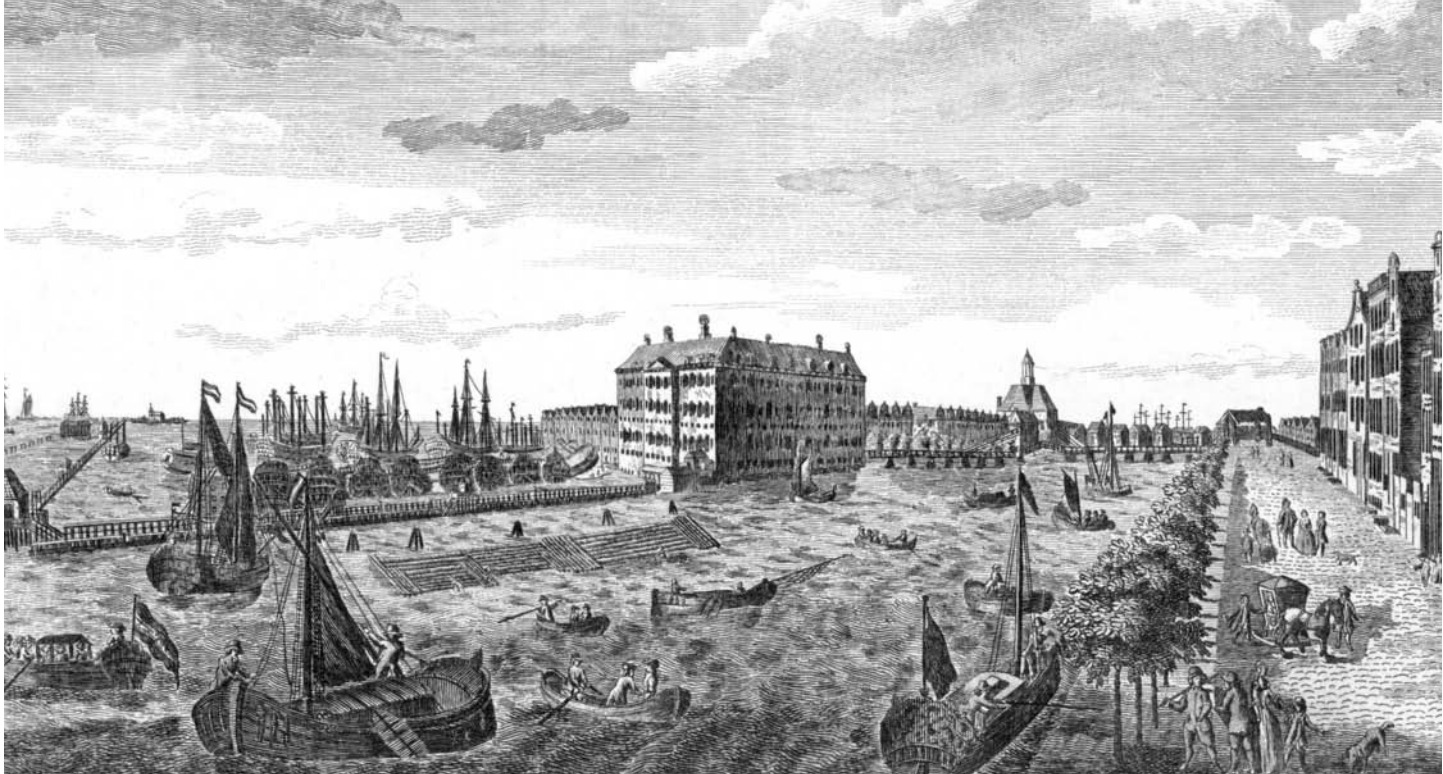
British Library Board. MAPS.C.4.6.1

Dutch World Map, 1641 It is easy to see why the Chinese would not have liked to see their empire at the far right edge of this widely printed map. Besides the distortions caused by the Mercator projection, geographical ignorance exaggerates the size of North America and Antarctica.

government used its new naval might to break Dutch dominance in overseas trade and to extend England’s colonial empire.

gentry The class of land-holding families in England below the aristocracy.

Some successful members of the bourgeoisie in England and France chose to use their wealth to raise their social status. By retiring from their businesses and buying country estates, they could become members of the **gentry**. They loaned money to impoverished peasants and to



Port of Amsterdam Ships, barges, and boats of all types are visible in this busy seventeenth-century scene. The large building in the center is the Admiralty House, the headquarters of the Dutch East India Company.

members of the nobility and in time increased their land ownership. Some sought aristocratic husbands for their daughters. The old nobility found such alliances attractive because of the large dowries that the bourgeoisie provided. In France a family could gain the exemption from taxation by living in gentility for three generations or, more quickly, by purchasing a title from the king.

Peasants and Laborers

Serfdom, which bound men and women to land owned by a local lord, had begun to decline after the great plague of the mid-fourteenth century. As population recovered in western Europe, the competition for work exerted a downward pressure on wages, reducing the usefulness of serfdom to landowners. In eastern Europe, on the other hand, large-scale landowners producing grain for cities found the bound labor of serfs crucial for profits. There had been a brief expansion of slavery in southern Europe with the introduction of African slaves around 1500, but after 1600 Europeans shipped nearly all African slaves to the Americas.

The Rural Poor

There is much truth in the argument that western Europe continued to depend on unfree labor but kept it at a distance in its colonies rather than at home. In any event, legal freedom did little to make a peasant's life safer and more secure. The efficiency of European agriculture had improved little since 1300. As a result, bad years brought famine; good ones provided only small surpluses. Indeed, the material conditions experienced by the poor in western Europe may have worsened between 1500 and 1750 as the result of warfare, environmental degradation, and economic contractions. Europeans also felt the adverse effects of a century of relatively cool climate that began in the 1590s. During this **Little Ice Age** average temperatures fell only a few degrees, but the effects were startling (see *Issues in World History: The Little Ice Age* on page 596).

Little Ice Age A century-long period of cool climate that began in the 1590s. Its ill effects on agriculture in northern Europe were notable.

By 1700 high-yielding new crops from the Americas were helping the rural poor avoid starvation. Once grown only as famine foods, potatoes and maize (corn) became staples for the rural poor in the eighteenth century. Potatoes sustained life in northeastern and central Europe and in Ireland, while poor peasants in Italy subsisted on maize. The irony is that all of these lands were major exporters of wheat, but most of those who planted and harvested it could not afford to eat it.

Deforestation

Other rural residents made their living as miners, lumber-jacks, and charcoal makers. The expanding iron industry in England provided work for all three, but the high consumption of

deforestation The removal of trees faster than forests can replace themselves.

wood fuel caused serious **deforestation**. One early-seventeenth-century observer lamented: “Within man’s memory, it was held impossible to have any want of wood in England. But . . . at present, through the great consuming of wood . . . and the neglect of planting of woods, there is a great scarcity of wood throughout the whole kingdom.”¹ Eventually, the high price of wood and charcoal encouraged smelters to use coal as an alternative fuel. England’s coal mining increased twelvefold, from 210,000 tons in 1550 to 2,500,000 tons in 1700 and nearly 5 million tons by 1750.

France was more heavily forested than England, but increasing deforestation prompted Jean Baptiste Colbert, France’s minister of finance, to predict that “France will perish for lack of wood.” By the late eighteenth century deforestation had become an issue even in Sweden and Russia, where iron production had become a major industry.

Poverty and Violence

Even in the prosperous Dutch towns, half of the population lived in acute poverty. Authorities estimated that permanent city residents who were too poor to tax, the “deserving poor,” made up 10 to 20 percent of the population. That calculation did not include the large numbers of “unworthy poor”—recent migrants from impoverished rural areas, peddlers traveling from place to place, and beggars (many with horrible deformities and sores) who tried to survive on charity. The pervasive poverty of rural and urban Europe shocked those who were not hardened to it. In about 1580 the mayor of the French city of Bordeaux (**bor-DOH**) asked a group of visiting Amerindian chiefs what impressed them most about European cities. The chiefs are said to have expressed astonishment at the disparity between the fat, well-fed people and the poor, half-starved men and women in rags. Why, the visitors wondered, did the poor not grab the rich by the throat or set fire to their homes?²

In fact, misery provoked many rebellions in early modern Europe. For example, in 1525 peasant rebels in the Alps attacked both nobles and the clergy as representatives of the privileged and landowning classes. They had no love for merchants either, whom they denounced for lending at interest and charging high prices. Rebellions multiplied as rural conditions worsened. In southwestern France alone some 450 uprisings occurred between 1590 and 1715, many of them set off by food shortages and tax increases. A rebellion in southern France in 1670 began when a mob of townswomen attacked the tax collector. It quickly spread to the country, where peasant leaders cried, “Death to the people’s oppressors!” Authorities dealt severely with such revolts and executed or maimed their leaders.

Women and the Family

Women’s social and economic status was closely tied to that of their husbands. In some nations a woman could inherit a throne (see Table 16.1 on page 478 for examples)—in the absence of a male heir. These rare exceptions do not negate the rule that women everywhere ranked below men, but one should also not forget that class and wealth defined a woman’s position in life more than her sex. The wife or daughter of a rich man, for example, though often closely confined, had a materially better life than any poor man. Sometimes a single woman might secure a position of responsibility, as in the case of women from good families who headed convents in Catholic countries. But while unmarried women were routinely controlled by fathers and married women controlled by husbands, some widows independently controlled substantial properties and other assets.

Marriage and the Family

In contrast to the arranged marriages that prevailed in much of the rest of the world, young men and women in early modern Europe often chose their own spouses, but privileged families were much more likely to arrange marriages than poor ones. Royal and noble families carefully plotted the suitability of their children’s marriages in furthering family interests. Bourgeois parents were less likely to force their children into arranged marriages, but the fact that nearly all found spouses within their own social class strongly suggests that the bourgeoisie promoted marriages that furthered their business alliances.

Europeans also married later than people in other cultural regions. Sons often put off marriage until they could live on their own. Many young women also had to work—helping their parents, as domestic servants, or in some other capacity—to save money for the dowry expected by potential husbands. A dowry was the money and household goods—the amount varied by social class—that enabled a young couple to begin marriage independent of their parents. The

typical groom in western and central Europe could not hope to marry before his late twenties, and his bride would be a few years younger—in contrast to the rest of the world, where people usually married in their teens.

Besides enabling young people to be independent of their parents, the late age of marriage in early modern Europe also held down the birthrate and thus limited family size. Even so, about one-tenth of urban births were to unmarried women, often servants. Many mothers, unable to provide for these infants, left them on the doorsteps of churches, convents, or rich households. Many perished. Delayed marriage and poverty helped force unfortunate young women newly arrived from the countryside into brothels.

Education

Bourgeois parents were very concerned that their children have the education and training necessary for success. They promoted the establishment of municipal schools to provide a solid education, including Latin and perhaps Greek, for their sons, who were then sent abroad to learn modern languages or to a university to earn a law degree. Legal training was useful for conducting business and was a prerequisite for obtaining judicial or treasury positions. Daughters were less likely to be formally educated, but women with basic education often helped their husbands as bookkeepers, and some inherited businesses.

The fact that most schools barred female students, as did most guilds and professions, explains why women were not prominent in the cultural Renaissance, the Reformation, the

SECTION REVIEW

- Early modern European society was more fluid than it appeared, with an expanding economy and improved education promoting some mobility.
- The urban bourgeoisie created much of Europe's wealth through trade, manufacture, finance, and technological innovation.
- Monarchs sought alliances with the bourgeoisie, whose wealth afforded them political and social advancement as well as revenue.
- Oppressed by economic and environmental trends, peasants and laborers generally lived in poverty, and their misery often provoked rebellion.
- Although women remained subordinate to men, class and wealth were the main determinants of their positions in life.

Scientific Revolution, and the Enlightenment. Yet from a global perspective, women in early modern Europe were more prominent in the creation of culture than were women in most other parts of the world. Recent research has discovered numerous successful women who were painters, musicians, and writers. Indeed, the spread of learning, the stress on religious reading, and the growth of business likely meant that Europe led the world in female literacy. In the late 1600s some wealthy French women began organizing intellectual gatherings, and many were prominent letter writers. Galileo's daughter, Maria Celeste Galilei, carried on a detailed correspondence with her father from the confinement of the convent she had vowed never to leave. Nevertheless, in a period when most men were illiterate, the number of literate women was small, and only women in wealthier families might have a good education.

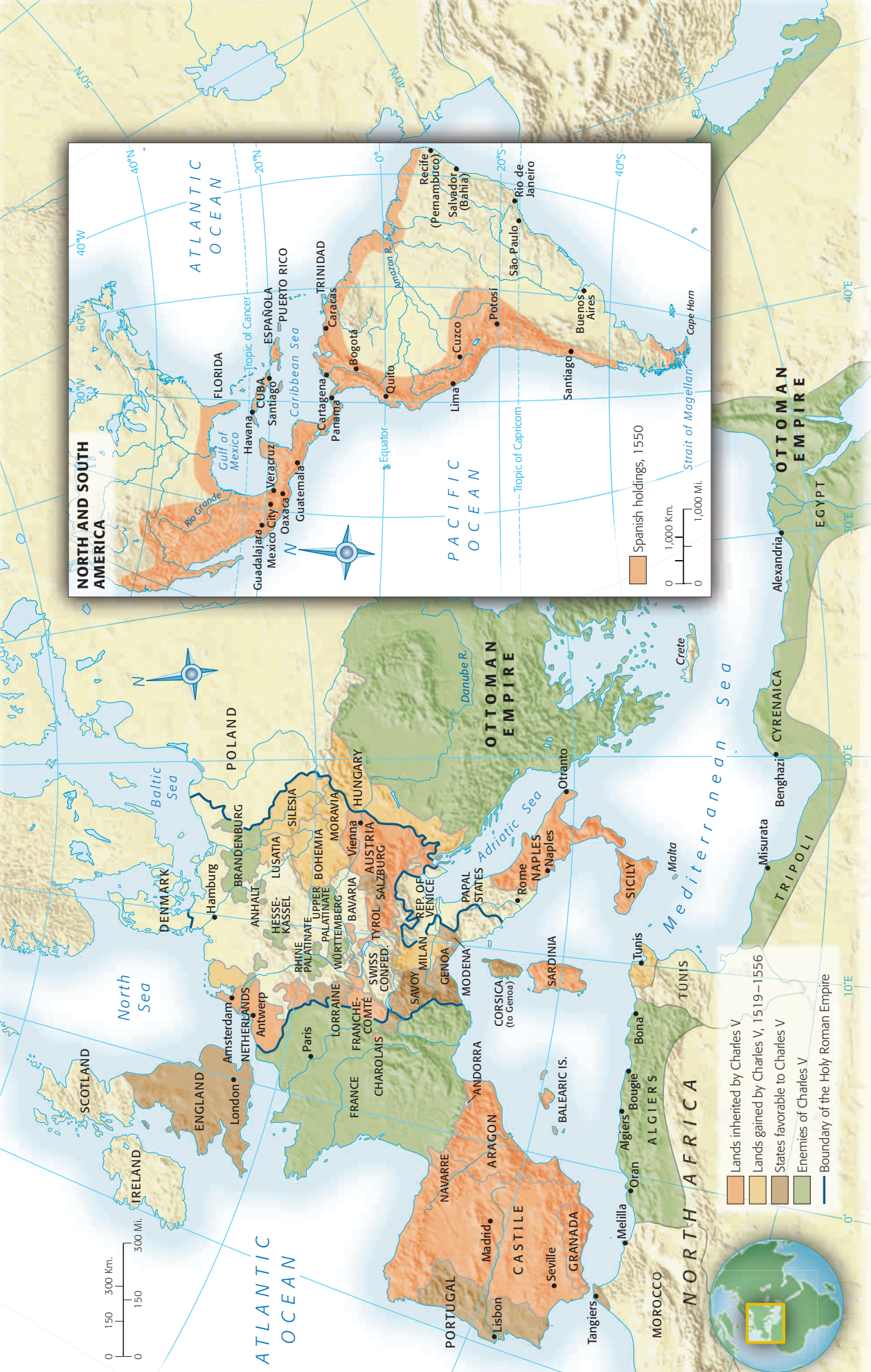
POLITICAL INNOVATIONS

The monarchs of early modern Europe occupied the apex of the social order, were arbitrators of the intellectual and religious conflicts of their day, and exercised important influence on the economies of their realms. Many European monarchs introduced reforms in this era that achieved a higher degree of political centralization and order, but their ambitions and rivalries could also provoke destructive and costly conflicts. In some cases, civil and international conflicts forced monarchs to find common ground with potential enemies or introduce political innovations that strengthened their nations. During this period, political leadership in Europe passed from Spain to the Netherlands and then to England and France.

Holy Roman Empire Loose federation of mostly German states and principalities, headed by an emperor elected by the princes. It lasted from 962 to 1806.

State Development

There was a great deal of political diversity in early modern Europe. City-states and principalities abounded, either independently or bound together in federations, of which the **Holy Roman Empire** of the German heartland was the most notable example. There were also a small number



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MAP 16.2 The European Empire of Charles V Charles was Europe's most powerful monarch, ruling Spain from 1516 and the Holy Roman Empire from 1519 to his abdication in 1556. The map does not show his extensive holdings in the Americas and Asia.



Interactive Map

Charles V

Habsburg A powerful European family that provided many Holy Roman Emperors, founded the Austrian (later Austro-Hungarian) Empire, and ruled sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain.



AP* Exam Tip The multiple choice portion of the exam requires a general understanding of European absolutism but not knowledge of individual rulers.

The Growing Power of Kings

England

English Civil War (1642–1649) A conflict over royal versus parliamentary rights, caused by King Charles I's arrest of his parliamentary critics and ending with his execution. Its outcome checked the growth of royal absolutism and, with the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the English Bill of Rights of 1689, ensured that England would be a constitutional monarchy.

of republics. At the same time a number of strong monarchies emerged and developed national identities.

Dynastic ambitions and historical circumstances combined to favor and then block the creation of a single, integrated empire in the early sixteenth century. In 1519 electors of the Holy Roman Empire chose Charles V (r. 1519–1556) to be the new emperor. Like his predecessors for three generations, Charles belonged to the powerful **Habsburg (HABZ-berg)** family of Austria, but he had also inherited the Spanish thrones of Castile and Aragon in 1516. With these vast resources (see Map 16.2), Charles hoped lead a Christian coalition to halt the advance into southeastern Europe of the Ottoman Empire, whose Muslim rulers already controlled most of the Middle East and North Africa.

Charles and his Christian allies did stop the Ottomans at the gates of Vienna in 1529, although Ottoman attacks continued until 1697. But Charles's efforts to forge his several possessions into Europe's strongest state failed. Francis I of France, who had also sought election as Holy Roman Emperor, openly supported the Muslim Turks to weaken his rival. In addition, many German princes, swayed by Luther's appeals to German nationalism, opposed Charles's defense of Catholic doctrine in the imperial Diet (assembly).

After these disputes turned to open warfare in 1546 (the German Wars of Religion), Charles V gave up his efforts at unification, abdicated control of his various possessions to different heirs, and retired to a monastery in 1556. By the Peace of Augsburg (1555), he had already recognized the princes' right to choose whether Catholicism or Lutheranism would prevail in their particular states, and permitted them to keep the church lands they had seized. The triumph of religious diversity ended Charles's political ambitions and put off German political unification for three centuries.

The rulers of Spain, France, and England were more successful in promoting national political unification and religious unity. The most successful rulers reduced the autonomy of the church and the nobility by making them part of a unified national structure with the monarch at its head (see Diversity and Dominance: Political Craft and Craftiness). The imposition of royal power over the church in the sixteenth century was stormy, but the outcome was clear. Bringing the nobles and other powerful interests into a centralized political system took longer and led to more diverse outcomes.

The Monarchies of England and France

Over the course of the seventeenth century, the monarchs of England and France faced intense conflict with powerful rivals. Religion was never absent as an issue in these struggles, but the different constitutional outcomes they produced were of more significance in the long run.

To evade any check on his power, King Charles I of England (see Table 16.1) ruled for eleven years without summoning Parliament, his kingdom's representative body. Lacking Parliament's consent to new taxes, he raised funds by coercing "loans" from wealthy subjects and applying existing tax laws more broadly. In 1640 a rebellion in Scotland forced him to summon Parliament to approve new taxes to pay for an army. Noblemen and churchmen sat in the House of Lords while representatives from towns and counties sat in the House of Commons. Before it would authorize new taxes, Parliament insisted on strict guarantees that the king would never again ignore the body's traditional rights. King Charles refused and attempted to arrest of his critics in the House of Commons in 1642, plunging the kingdom into the **English Civil War**.

Militarily defeated in 1648, Charles refused to compromise. A year later a "Rump" Parliament purged of his supporters ordered his execution. Parliament then replaced the monarchy with a republic led by the Puritan general Oliver Cromwell who ruled until his death in 1658. Cromwell expanded England's presence overseas and imposed firm control over Ireland and Scotland, but was also unwilling to share power with Parliament. Parliament restored the Stuart line in the person of Charles II (r. 1660–1685). James II, his brother, inherited the throne, but provoked new conflict by refusing to respect Parliament's rights and by baptizing his heir as a Roman Catholic. The leaders of Parliament forced him into exile in the bloodless Glorious Revolution of 1688. The Bill of Rights of 1689 formalized this new constitutional order by requiring the king to call Parliament frequently to consent to changes in laws or to raise an army in peacetime. Another law reaffirmed the official status of the Church of England but extended religious toleration to dissenting Puritans.

Political Craft and Craftiness

Political power was becoming more highly concentrated in early modern Europe, but absolute dominance was more a goal than a reality. Whether subject to constitutional checks or not, rulers were very concerned with creating and maintaining good relations with their more powerful subjects. Their efforts to manipulate public opinion and perceptions have much in common with the efforts of modern politicians to manage their “image.”

*A diplomat and civil servant in the rich and powerful Italian city-state of Florence, Niccolò Machiavelli, is best known for his book *The Prince* (1532). This influential essay on the proper exercise of political power has been interpreted as cynical by some and as supremely practical and realistic by others. Because Machiavelli did not have a high opinion of the intelligence and character of most people, he urged rulers to achieve obedience by fear and deception. But he also suggested that genuine mercy, honesty, and piety may be superior to feigned virtue.*

In What Manner Princes Should Keep Their Faith

It must be evident to every one that it is more praiseworthy for a prince always to maintain good faith, and practice integrity rather than craft and deceit. And yet the experience of our own times has shown those princes have achieved great things who made small account of good faith, and who understood by cunning to circumvent the intelligence of others; and that in the end they got the better of those whose actions were dictated by loyalty and good faith. You must know, therefore, that there are two ways of carrying on a struggle; one by law and the other by force. The first is practiced by men, and the other by animals; and as the first is often insufficient, it becomes necessary to resort to the second.

... If men were altogether good, this advice would be wrong; but since they are bad and will not keep faith with you, you need not keep faith with them. Nor will a prince ever be short of legitimate excuses to give color to his breaches of faith. Innumerable modern examples could be given of this; and it could easily be shown how many treaties of peace, and

how many engagements, have been made null and void by the faithlessness of princes; and he who has best known how to play the fox has ever been the most successful.

But it is necessary that the prince should know how to color this nature well, and how to be a great hypocrite and dissembler. For men are so simple, and yield so much to immediate necessity, that the deceiver will never lack dupes. I will mention one of the most recent examples. [Pope] Alexander VI never did nor ever thought of anything but to deceive, and always found a reason for doing so . . . and yet he was always successful in his deceits, because he knew the weakness of men in that particular.

It is not necessary, however, for a prince to possess all the above-mentioned qualities; but it is essential that he should at least seem to have them. I will even venture to say, that to have and practice them constantly is pernicious, but to seem to have them is useful. For instance, a prince should seem to be merciful, faithful, humane, religious, and upright, and should even be so in reality; but he should have his mind so trained that, when occasion requires it, he may know how to change to the opposite. And it must be understood that a prince, and especially one who has but recently acquired his state, cannot perform all those things which cause men to be esteemed as good; he being obligated, for the sake of maintaining his state, to act contrary to humanity, charity, and religion. And therefore, it is necessary that he should have a versatile mind, capable of changing readily, according as the winds and changes of fortune bid him; and, as has been said above, not to swerve from the good if possible, but to know how to resort to evil if necessity demands it.

A prince then should be very careful never to allow anything to escape his lips that does not abound in the abovementioned five qualities, so that to see and to hear him he may seem all charity, integrity, and humanity, all uprightness and all piety. And more than all else is it necessary for a prince to seem to possess the last quality; for mankind in general judge more by what they see than by what they feel, every one being capable of the former, and few of the latter. Everybody sees what you seem to be, but few really feel what you are; and those few dare

France

Versailles The huge palace built for French king Louis XVI south of Paris. The palace symbolized both French power and the triumph of royal authority over the French nobility.

In France the Estates General, like the English Parliament, represented the traditional rights of the clergy, the nobility, and the towns (that is, the bourgeoisie). The Estates General was able to assert its rights during the sixteenth-century French Wars of Religion, when the monarchy was weak. Thereafter Bourbon monarchs generally ruled without calling it into session. They avoided financial crises by more efficient tax collection and by selling appointments to high government offices. In justification they claimed that the monarch had absolute authority to rule in God's name on earth.

Louis XIV moved his court to a gigantic new palace at **Versailles (vuhr-SIGH)** in 1682. The palace helped the French monarch triumph over the traditional rights of the nobility, clergy, and

not oppose the opinion of the many, who are protected by the majority of the state; for the actions of all men, and especially those of princes, are judged by the result, where there is no other judge to whom to appeal.

A prince should look mainly to the successful maintenance of his state. For the means which he employs for this will always be counted honorable, and will be praised by everybody; for the common people are always taken in by appearances and by results, and it is the vulgar mass that constitutes the world.

Because, as Machiavelli argued, appearances count for as much in the public arena as realities, it is difficult to judge whether rulers' statements expressed their real feelings and beliefs or what may have been the most expedient to say at the moment. An example is this speech Queen Elizabeth of England made at the end of November 1601 to Parliament after a particularly difficult year. One senior noble had led a rebellion and was subsequently executed. Parliament was pressing for extended privileges. Having gained the throne in 1558 after many difficulties (including a time in prison), the sixty-eight-year-old queen had much experience in the language and wiles of politics and was well aware of the importance of public opinion. Reprinted many times, the speech became famous as "The Golden Speech of Queen Elizabeth."

I do assure you, there is no prince that loveth his subjects better, or whose love can countervail our love. There is no jewel, be it of never so rich a price, which I set before this jewel: I mean your love. For I do esteem it more than any treasure or riches; for that we know how to prize, but love and thanks I count invaluable.

And, though God has raised me high, yet this I count the glory of my crown, that I have reigned with your loves. This makes me that I do not so much rejoice that God hath made me to be a Queen, as to be Queen over so thankful a people.

Therefore, I have cause to wish nothing more than to content the subjects; and that is the duty I owe. Neither do I desire to live longer days than I may see your prosperity; and that is my only desire.

And as I am that person that still (yet under God) has delivered you, so I trust, by the almighty power of God, that I shall be His instrument to preserve you from every peril, dishonour, shame, tyranny, and oppression. . . .

Of myself I must say this: I was never any greedy scraping grasper, nor a straight, fast-holding prince, nor yet a waster. My heart was never set on worldly goods, but only for my subjects' good. What you bestow on me, I will not hoard it up, but receive it to bestow on you again. Yea, mine own properties I count yours, and to be expended for your good. . . .

To be a king and wear a crown is a thing more glorious to them that see it, than it is pleasing to them that bear it. For myself, I was never so much enticed with the glorious name of king, or royal authority of a queen, as delighted that God made me his instrument to maintain his truth and glory, and to defend this Kingdom (as I said) from peril, dishonour, tyranny and oppression.

There will never Queen sit in my seat with more zeal to my country, care for my subjects, and that sooner with willingness will venture her life for your good and safety than myself. For it is not my desire to live nor reign longer than my life and reign shall be for your good. And though you have had and may have many more princes more mighty and wise sitting in this state, yet you never had or shall have any that will be more careful and loving. Shall I ascribe anything to myself and my sexly weakness? I were not worthy to live then; and of all, most unworthy of the great mercies I have had from God, who has even yet given me a heart, which never feared foreign or home enemy. I speak to give God the praise . . . That I should speak for any glory, God forbid.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Do you find Machiavelli's advice to be cynical or realistic?
2. Describe how a member of Parliament might have responded to Queen Elizabeth's declarations of her concern for the welfare of her people above all else.
3. Can a ruler be sincere and manipulative at the same time?

Source: From *The Historical, Political, and Diplomatic Writings of Niccolo Machiavelli*, trans. Christian E. Detmold (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1891), II: 54–59; and Heywood Townshend, *Historical Collections, or an Exact Account of the Proceedings of the Last Four Parliaments of Q. Elizabeth* (London: Basset, Crooke, and Cademan, 1680), 263–266.

towns, since the elaborate ceremonies and banquets at the royal court served to keep nobles away from their estates where they might plot rebellion. Capable of housing ten thousand people and surrounded by elaborately landscaped grounds and parks, the palace became an effective symbol of royal absolutism.

While the balance of powers in the English model would be widely admired in later times, most European rulers admired and imitated the centralized powers and absolutist claims of the French. The checks and balances of the English model gained a favorable press with the beginnings of the Enlightenment. In his influential *Second Treatise of Civil Government* (1690), the English political philosopher John Locke (1632–1704) disputed monarchial claims to absolute

TABLE 16.1 Rulers in Early Modern Western Europe

<i>Spain</i>	<i>France</i>	<i>England/Great Britain</i>
Habsburg Dynasty Charles I (King of Spain 1516–1556), also known as Charles V (Holy Roman Emperor 1519–1556) Philip II (1556–1598)	Valois Dynasty Francis I (1515–1547) Henry II (1547–1559) Francis II (1559–1560) Charles IX (1560–1574) Henry III (1574–1589)	Tudor Dynasty Henry VIII (1509–1547) Edward VI (1547–1553) Mary I (1553–1558) Elizabeth I (1558–1603)
Philip III (1598–1621) Philip IV (1621–1665) Charles II (1665–1700)	Bourbon Dynasty Henry IV (1589–1610) ^a Louis XIII (1610–1643) Louis XIV (1643–1715)	Stuart Dynasty James I (1603–1625) Charles I (1625–1649) ^{a,b} (Puritan Republic, 1649–1660) Charles II (1660–1685) James II (1685–1688) ^b William III (1689–1702) and Mary II (1689–1694) Anne (1702–1714)
Bourbon Dynasty Philip V (1700–1746) Ferdinand VI (1746–1759)	Louis XV (1715–1774)	Hanoverian Dynasty George I (1714–1727) George II (1727–1760)

^aDied a violent death. ^bWas overthrown.

authority by divine right. He argued that rulers derived their authority from the consent of the governed and were subject to the law. If monarchs overstepped the law, Locke asserted, citizens had the right and the duty to rebel. The consequences of this idea are considered in Chapter 21.

Warfare and Diplomacy

In addition to the civil wars that afflicted the Holy Roman Empire, France, and England, European states fought numerous international conflicts. Warfare was almost constant in early modern Europe (see the Chronology at the beginning of the chapter). In their pursuit of power monarchs expended vast sums of money and caused widespread devastation and death. The worst of the international conflicts, the Thirty Years War (1618–1648), caused long-lasting depopulation and economic decline in much of the Holy Roman Empire.

European Militaries

These wars also led to dramatic improvements in the skill and weaponry of European armed forces, making them among the most powerful in the world. The numbers of men in arms increased steadily throughout the early modern period. French forces, for example, grew from about 150,000 in 1630 to 400,000 by the early eighteenth century. Even smaller European states built up impressive armies. Sweden, with under a million people, had one of the finest and best-armed military forces in the seventeenth century. Though the country had fewer than 2 million inhabitants in 1700, Prussia's army made it one of Europe's major powers.

Larger armies required more effective command structures. In the words of a modern historian, European armies “evolved . . . the equivalent of a central nervous system, capable of activating technologically differentiated claws and teeth.”³ New signaling techniques improved control of battlefield maneuvers. Frequent drills for professional troops and militias trained



Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY

Versailles Constructed during the reign of Louis XVI of France, the palace of Versailles could house ten thousand people. Surrounded by elaborately landscaped grounds and parks, the palace became an effective symbol of royal absolutism.



AP* Exam Tip Be prepared to analyze empire building for the exam.

balance of power The policy in international relations by which, beginning in the eighteenth century, the major European states acted together to prevent any one of them from becoming too powerful.

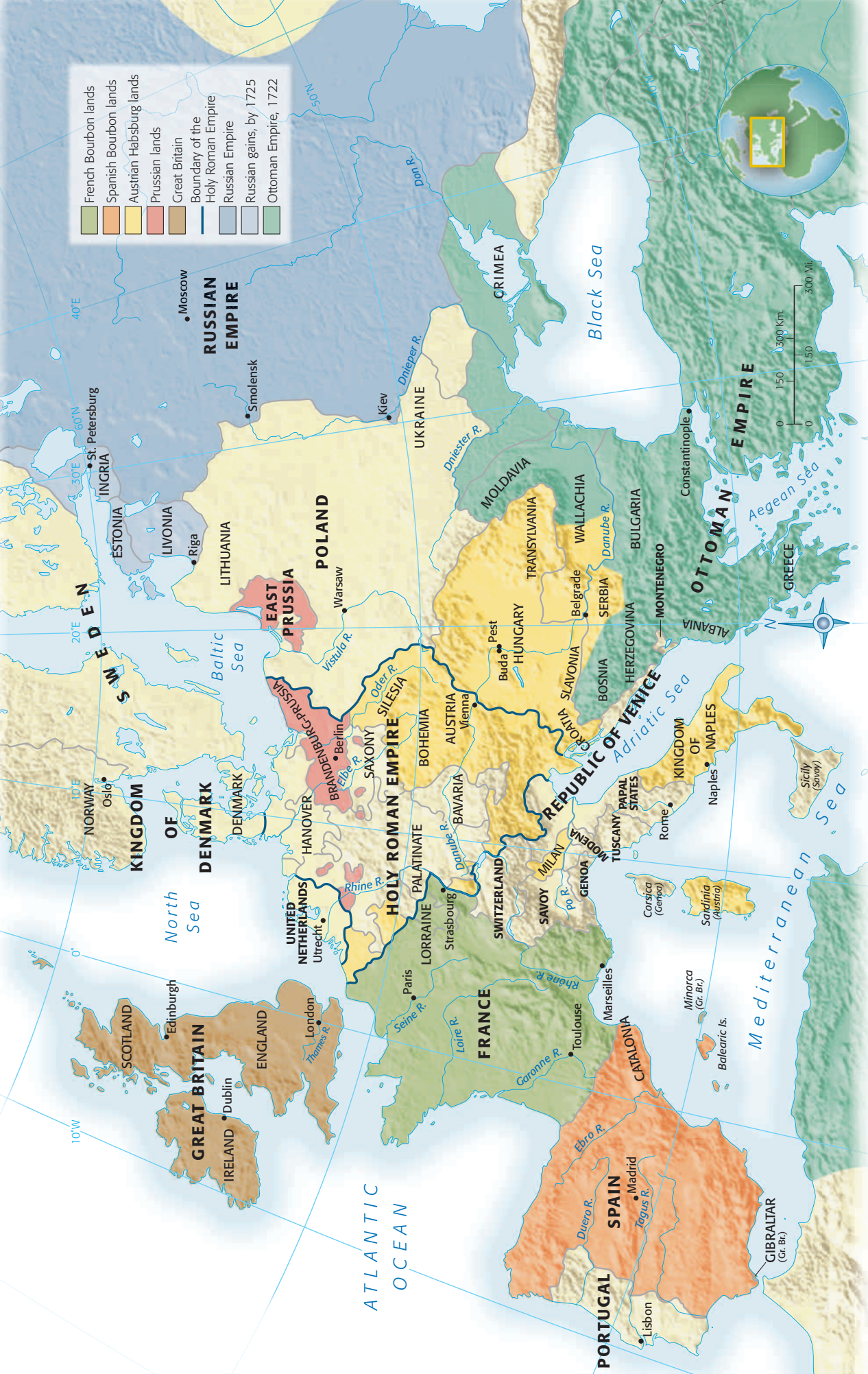
Balance of Power

troops to obey orders instantly and improved morale. New fortifications able to withstand cannon bombardments were constructed to protect major urban centers. While each state tried to outdo its rivals by improvements in military hardware, battles between evenly matched armies often ended in stalemates that prolonged the wars. Victory increasingly depended on naval superiority.

England was the only major nation that did not maintain an army. Its power depended on its navy. England's rise as a sea power had begun under King Henry VIII, who spent heavily on ships and promoted a domestic iron industry to supply cannon. The crushing defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 by Henry's daughter, Elizabeth I, demonstrated the usefulness of these decisions. The Royal Navy also copied innovative ship designs from the Dutch in the second half of the seventeenth century. By the early eighteenth century, the Royal Navy had surpassed the rival French fleet in numbers. Now more secure, England merged with Scotland to become Great Britain. It then annexed Ireland and built a North American empire.

Although France was Europe's most powerful state, coalitions of the other great powers frustrated Louis XIV's efforts to expand its borders. In a series of eighteenth-century wars beginning with the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), the combination of Britain's naval strength and the land armies of Austria and Prussia blocked French expansionist efforts and prevented the Bourbons from uniting the thrones of France and Spain.

This defeat of the French monarchy's empire-building efforts illustrated the principle of **balance of power** in international relations: the major European states formed temporary



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Interactive Map

MAP 16.3 Europe in 1740 By the middle of the eighteenth century the great powers of Europe were France, the Austrian Empire, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia. Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Ottoman Empire were far weaker in 1740 than they had been two centuries earlier.



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The Spanish Armada King Phillip II of Spain sent a massive fleet against England in 1588. England's defeat of the Spanish fleet weakened Spain and began England's rise to naval dominance.

alliances to prevent any one state from becoming too powerful. During the next two centuries, though adhering to four different branches of Christianity, the great powers of Europe—Catholic France, Anglican Britain, Catholic Austria, Lutheran Prussia, and Orthodox Russia (see Map 16.3)—maintained an effective balance of power in Europe by shifting their alliances for geopolitical rather than religious reasons. These pragmatic alliances were the first successful efforts at international peacekeeping.

Paying the Piper

To pay these extremely heavy military costs, European rulers had to increase their revenues. The most successful of them after 1600 promoted mutually beneficial, if often uneasy, alliances with commercial elites. Merchants and bankers sought to limit taxation and regulation and enhance the enforcement of contracts and the collection of debts without accepting insupportable tax burdens. Both sides believed that military power capable of protecting overseas expansion was crucial to economic growth, but they also knew that the cost of defending distant colonies could be overwhelming.

Spain and the Balance Sheet of Empire

Spain, sixteenth-century Europe's mightiest state, illustrates the costs of an aggressive military policy when coupled with a failure to promote economic development. Expensive wars against the Ottomans, northern European Protestants, and rebellious Dutch subjects led Spain to default and bankruptcy four times during the reign of King Philip II. The Spanish rulers' concerns for religious uniformity and traditional aristocratic privilege further undermined the country's economy. In the name of religious uniformity they expelled Jewish merchants, persecuted Protestant dissenters, and forced tens of thousands of Muslim farmers and artisans into exile. In the name of aristocratic privilege the 3 percent of the population that controlled 97 percent of the land in 1600 was exempt from taxation, while high sales taxes discouraged manufacturing.

For a time, vast imports of silver and gold from Spain's American colonies filled the treasury. These bullion shipments led to inflation (rising prices) across Europe, but prices rose fastest in Spain, making goods imported from France or other European nations cheaper than local goods. As a result, by 1700 most goods imported into Spain's colonies were of foreign origin. A Spanish saying captured the problem: American silver was like rain on the roof—it poured down and washed away.

Commerce and the Rise of the Netherlands

The rise of the Netherlands as an economic power stemmed from very different policies. The Spanish crown had acquired these resource-poor but commercially successful provinces as part of Charles V's inheritance. The decision of his son, King Philip II, to impose Spain's ruinous sales tax and to enforce Catholic orthodoxy drove the Dutch to revolt in 1566 and again in 1572. If successful, those measures would have discouraged business and driven away the Calvinists, Jews, and others who were essential to Dutch prosperity. The Dutch fought with skill and ingenuity, raising and training an army and a navy that were among the most effective in Europe. Unable to bear the military costs any longer, Spain accepted a truce that recognized autonomy in the northern Netherlands in 1609. Finally, in 1648, the independence of the seven United Provinces of the Free Netherlands (their full name) became final.

Rather than being ruined by the long war, the Netherlands emerged as the world's greatest trading nation. This economic success owed much to a decentralized government. During the long struggle against Spain, the provinces united around the prince of Orange, their sovereign, who served as commander-in-chief of the armed forces. But in economic matters each province was free to pursue its own interests. The maritime province of Holland grew rich by favoring commercial interests.

International Competition

After 1650 the Dutch faced growing competition from the English, who were developing their own close association of business and government. In a series of wars (1652–1678) England used its naval might to break Dutch dominance in overseas trade and extend its own colonial empire. With government support, the English merchant fleet doubled between 1660 and 1700, and foreign trade rose by 50 percent. As a result, state revenue from customs duties tripled. During the eighteenth century Britain's trading position strengthened still more.

The debts run up by the Anglo-Dutch Wars helped persuade the English monarchy to greatly enlarge the government's role in managing the economy. The government increased revenues

by taxing the formerly exempt landed estates of the aristocrats and by collecting taxes directly. Previously, private individuals known as tax farmers had advanced the government a fixed sum of money; in return they could keep whatever money they were able to collect from taxpayers. To secure cash quickly for warfare and other emergencies and to reduce the burden of debts from earlier wars, England imitated the Dutch by creating a central bank that could issue long-term loans at low rates.

The French government also developed its national economy, especially under the royal advisor Jean Baptiste Colbert. He streamlined tax collection, promoted French manufacturing and shipping by imposing taxes on foreign goods, and improved transportation within France itself. Yet the power of the wealthy aristocrats kept the French government from following England's lead in taxing wealthy landowners, collecting taxes directly, and securing low-cost loans. Nor did France succeed in managing its debt as efficiently as England. (The role of governments in promoting overseas trade is also discussed in Chapter 18.)

SECTION REVIEW

- Greater political centralization enabled early modern monarchs to exert increased influence on economic, religious, and social life.
- While the Holy Roman Empire fragmented along religious and political lines, Spain, France, and England achieved greater centralization and religious unity.
- Spain enforced Catholic unity through the Inquisition and France through Bourbon policy, while in England the church became an arm of royal power.
- In both England and France, monarchs struggled with rivals over the limits of royal authority.
- Armies grew larger and more sophisticated while European powers strove to maintain a balance of power.
- High military costs drove the European powers to attempt a variety of tax and financial policies, the most successful being those of England and the Netherlands.

CONCLUSION

Early modern Europe witnessed the weakening of the Catholic Church and the Protestant Reformation. Rejecting the authority of the pope and criticizing the institution of indulgences, Luther insisted on the moral primacy of faith over deeds; Calvin went further, holding that salvation was predestined by God. The pioneers of the Scientific Revolution such as Copernicus and Newton showed that they could explain the workings of the physical universe in natural terms. These scientists did not see any conflict between science and religion, but they paved the way for more secular thinkers of the Enlightenment, who believed that human reason was capable of—and responsible for—discovering the laws that govern social behavior.

Thanks to foreign and domestic trade, European cities in this period experienced rapid growth and the rise of a wealthy commercial class. The Netherlands in particular prospered from expanded manufacturing and trade: with the formation of joint-stock companies and a powerful stock market, Amsterdam became Europe's major port and financial center. For peasants and laborers, however, life did not improve much: serfdom had all but ended in western Europe, only to rise in eastern Europe. Agricultural techniques had not improved substantially since medieval times, and environmental hardships such as the Little Ice Age and deforestation caused by mining and logging brought great difficulties to the poor. Rural poverty, coupled with the exemption from taxation enjoyed by wealthy landowners, sparked numerous armed rebellions. Women were dependent on their families' and husbands' wealth or lack of it, and were barred from attending schools or joining guilds and professions.

Differing policies in the areas of religion, foreign relations, and economics explain the different histories of Europe's early modern states. Charles V, unable to reconcile the diverse interests of his Catholic and Protestant territories and their powerful local rulers, failed to create a unified Holy Roman Empire. Henry VIII, having failed to win an annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, severed all ties with the pope and led Parliament to accept him as head of the Church of England. Power struggles in England during this period led to a stronger Parliament, while in France a stronger monarchy emerged, symbolized by Louis XIV's construction of the palace at Versailles. Spain was Europe's mightiest state in the sixteenth century, but its failure to suppress the Netherlands Revolt and the costs of other wars led to bankruptcy. In the seventeenth century the United Netherlands had become the dominant commercial power on the continent.

The growth of English naval power led to the defeat of the Dutch in the Anglo-Dutch Wars and of France in the early eighteenth century when it attempted to expand its own empire through a union with Spain. Unlike Spain and France, which maintained aristocrats' traditional exemption from taxation, England began to tax their estates, and this policy—together with the establishment of direct taxation and the creation of a central bank from which it could secure low-cost loans—gave England a stronger financial foundation than its rivals enjoyed.

KEY TERMS

Renaissance
(European) p. 459
papacy p. 460
indulgence p. 460
Protestant
Reformation p. 461
Catholic
Reformation p. 462

witch-hunt p. 463
Scientific
Revolution p. 465
Enlightenment p. 467
bourgeoisie p. 468
joint-stock
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Little Ice Age p. 471
deforestation p. 472
Holy Roman
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Versailles p. 476
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EBOOK AND WEBSITE RESOURCES

Primary Sources

Table Talk
 Letter to the Grand Duchess Christina
 Treatise on Toleration

Interactive Maps

Map 16.1 Religious Reformation in Europe
Map 16.2 The European Empire of Charles V
Map 16.3 Europe in 1740

Plus flashcards, practice quizzes, and more. Go to:
www.cengage.com/history/bulletearthpeople5e

SUGGESTED READING

- Bergin, Joseph. *The Short Oxford History of Europe: The Seventeenth Century*. 2001. A general overview.
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NOTES

1. Quoted by Carlo M. Cipolla, “Introduction,” *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*, vol. 2, *The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Glasgow: Collins/Fontana Books, 1976), 11–12.
2. Michel de Montaigne, *Essais* (1588), ch. 31, “Des Cannibales.”
3. William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society Since A.D. 1000* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 124.

AP* REVIEW QUESTIONS FOR CHAPTER 16

- The Protestant Reformation is said to have begun with
 - the Treaty of Tordesillas.
 - the ascension of Ferdinand and Isabella to the Spanish throne.
 - Martin Luther's rejection of papal authority.
 - the French Wars of Religion.
- Unlike the Roman Catholic Church and Martin Luther, John Calvin
 - believed that the world was flat.
 - taught that salvation was predestined.
 - opposed conversion of the Amerindians.
 - believed that women should preach.
- Contemporaneous with the Scientific Revolution was the movement known as the Enlightenment. This movement
 - encouraged people to reject formal religion and to become deists.
 - was adopted only in Germanic kingdoms that had broken away from the Roman Catholic Church.
 - encouraged people to adopt Chinese discoveries in mathematics and science.
 - taught that human reason could discover the laws that governed social behavior.
- The French class known as the bourgeoisie is best described as
 - the lesser nobles and the wealthy bureaucrats.
 - the city dwellers who owned businesses or were skilled workers.
 - artists, writers, musicians, and poets.
 - all the people below the nobility.
- The Dutch government's method of funding businesses for overseas exploration was to grant companies monopolies over trade in an area. The companies then sold shares to spread the risk. This practice is known as
 - corporate financing.
 - government financing.
 - dealing in a stock exchange.
 - the use of a joint-stock company.
- One impact of the growth of manufacturing in urban areas between 1500 and 1750 was that
 - many rural poor moved to the towns and cities in hopes of better jobs.
 - shortages of staple foods became acute.
 - many more people became migrants to the colonies.
 - wages dropped as skilled crafts became flooded with workers.
- Unlike in other portions of the world, young men and women in early modern Europe
 - married young and had very large families.
 - based their marriages solely on improving their economic standing in society.
 - often chose their own spouses.
 - often had to migrate to a new city to marry.
- For the most part, early modern Europe was made up of
 - kingdoms and principalities that had political ties to the church.
 - city-states, principalities, and loose federations of states.
 - kingdoms unified by a national language and a common heritage.
 - religiously unified lands under a central governing authority.
- The rulers of Spain successfully defended Roman Catholicism against Protestant challenges. Following the patterns of his predecessors, Philip II of Spain
 - repented and permitted Jews, Muslims, and Protestants to live in peace in his lands.
 - ordered the expulsion of all non-Spaniards from Spanish lands.
 - forced non-Catholics to move to the Spanish colonies.
 - used ecclesiastical courts to bring into line those who resisted his authority.

10. The English Civil War
- (A) began when the Dutch monarch claimed the English throne.
 - (B) was caused by Charles I ignoring limits on his powers and the rights of Parliament.
 - (C) was caused by the proposed marriage of Elizabeth I to Philip II of Spain.
 - (D) began when Roman Catholics in England attempted to restore Catholicism as a state religion.
11. Which of the following would be a good example of both a theme park for royal absolutism and Baroque architecture?
- (A) The palace of Louis XIV at Versailles
 - (B) St. Peter's Square
 - (C) The English Parliament
 - (D) The Estates-General
12. As the cost of warfare, in both human and financial terms, increased in the early eighteenth century, European states
- (A) began to follow England's example of not keeping a standing army in peacetime.
 - (B) began to depend on large naval forces rather than land armies.
 - (C) began to form temporary alliances to prevent any one state from becoming too powerful.
 - (D) increased taxes to fund new war technologies.
13. By the seventeenth century, Spain, which had been the most powerful European state in the sixteenth century,
- (A) became the moneylender to the rest of Europe as it exploited South American gold and silver mines.
 - (B) was forced to join with the Netherlands in commercial ventures.
 - (C) spent so heavily on wars and its growing empire that it ended up bankrupt.
 - (D) had to enlarge the government's role in the economy to maintain economic growth.
14. Which of the following is true of the period from 1500 to 1750?
- (A) Rapid economic growth led to major improvements in life, particularly among the lower classes and the working classes in Russia.
 - (B) Portugal, Spain, and France all succumbed to overspending and military action.
 - (C) While there was broad economic growth in Europe, life for peasants and laborers did not improve much.
 - (D) The Holy Roman Empire became the dominant power in central Europe, as well as in eastern Europe.