

to have established preeminence in international affairs, they, too, began to feel that they had lost control over a world changing at an alarming rate. While continuing to trumpet the wonders of European civilization to the colonized abroad, Europeans at home began the search for new forms of social organization and cultural expression suitable to a deeply unsettled age.

This chapter tackles the anxieties and insecurities that unsettled the world around the turn of the twentieth century. It was then in particular to three key factors: (1) the uprooting of millions of people from countryside to city and from one continent to another; (2) discontent with the poverty that many suffered even as economic production leaped upward; and (3) resentment of and resistance to European domination. Around the globe, this turmoil caused a questioning of old ideas that led to a flowering of new thinking and fresh artistic expression under the label of “modernism.” Championed by some and despised by others, modernism meant to be unsettling—to represent the world in shocking new ways—and thus tells us a great deal about the conflicts and crises that defined this era.

PROGRESS, UPRHEAVAL, AND MOVEMENT

The period from 1890 to 1914 brought unprecedented prosperity and anxiety, integration and resistance. Rapid economic progress brought challenges to the established order and the people in power. In Europe, the United States, and Latin America, radicals and middle-class reformers agitated for political and social change. In areas colonized by European countries and the United States, resentment focused on either colonial rulers or indigenous elites. Even in nations such as China, which had not been formally colonized but which faced repeated incursions, popular discontent targeted domination by Europeans. In China, Mexico, and Russia, angry peasants and workers allied with frustrated reformers to topple autocratic regimes.

In the late nineteenth century, a larger concentration of capital made possible more intensive forms of agriculture and more mechanized forms of manufacturing, fueling economic growth. But advanced capitalism also spurred inequalities within industrial countries and, especially, between the world's industrial and nonindustrial regions. It also brought unwelcome changes in how and where people worked and lived. Rural folk flocked into the cities, hoping to escape the poverty that encumbered most people in the countryside. In the cities, even though public building projects produced sewer systems, museums, parks, and libraries, the poor had little access to them. Anxieties intensified when economic downturns left thousands out of work. This led, in some cases, to organized opposition to authoritarian regimes or to the free market system.

In Europe and North America, a generation of young artists, writers, and scientists broke with older conventions and sought new ways of seeing and describing the world. In Asia, Africa, and South America as well, many of these innovations were energized by the idea of moving beyond traditional forms of art, literature, music, and science. But this generation's exuberance worried those who were not ready to give up their cultural traditions and institutions.

Peoples in Motion

If the world was being unsettled by political, economic, and cultural changes, it was also being reshaped by mass emigration. (See Map 18.1.) A “Caucasian tsunami,” in the memorable words of historian Alfred Crosby, resulted in emigration of an unprecedented number of Europeans to North America, Australia, Argentina, Africa, and Cuba. This “tsunami” began after the Napoleonic wars and gathered momentum in the 1840s, when the Irish fled their starving communities to seek better lives in places like Ontario (Canada), New York (United States), and Patagonia (Argentina), the Irish exodus and the end of the slave trade meant that, for the first time, European migration eclipsed that of African captives. The United States was the favored destination, with European migrants exceeding by sixfold the number of Europeans who migrated to Argentina (the second-place receiving country) between 1871 and 1920. The high point occurred between 1901 and 1910, when over 6 million Europeans entered the United States. This was nothing less than a demographic revolution.

EMIGRATION, IMMIGRATION, INTERNAL MIGRATION

Europeans were not the only peoples on the move. Between the 1840s and the 1940s, 29 million South Asians migrated into the Malay Peninsula and Burma (British colonies), the Dutch Indies (Indonesia), East Africa, and the Caribbean. Most were recruited to labor on plantations, railways, and mines in British-controlled territories. Merchants followed laborers, making the South Asian migrant populations more diverse. Meanwhile, the Chinese, too, emigrated in significant numbers. Between 1843 and 1900, forces such as population pressure, a shortage of cultivable land, and social turmoil drove 800,000 Chinese to seek new homes in North and South America, New Zealand, Hawaii, and the West Indies. Close to four times as many settled in Southeast Asia.

At the same time, industrial changes caused millions to migrate within their own countries or to neighboring ones, seeking employment in the burgeoning cities or other opportunities in frontier regions. In North America, hundreds of thousands headed west, while millions relocated from the countryside to the cities. In Asia, about 10 million Russians went east to Siberia and central Asia, and 2 million Koreans moved northwest to Manchuria. In Africa, small numbers of South Africans moved north into Northern and Southern Rhodesia in search of arable land and precious metals

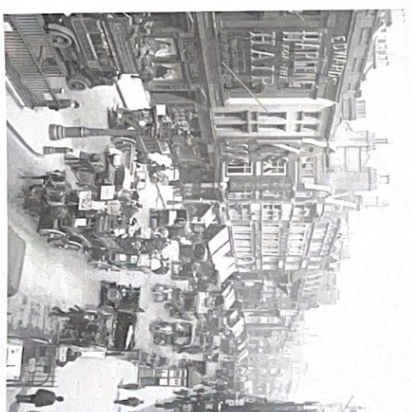
across the world, gold rushes, silver rushes, copper rushes, and a diamond rush took people across landmasses and across oceans. Mostly men, these emigrants were hell-bent on profit and were often willing to destroy the land in order to extract precious commodities as quickly as possible.

People traveled with varying credentials and goals. Some went as colonial officials or soldiers, some as missionaries or big-game hunters—most of these folks did not plan to stay. Merchants and traders were more likely to settle in for the long term. Several million East Asians (mostly Chinese) scattered all over Asia, East and South Africa, North America, the Pacific Coast of South America, and the Caribbean, replacing men and women who were formerly enslaved on plantations, or doing construction. Japanese laborers migrated to Peru to mine guano for fertilizer and to Hawaii to harvest sugar.

Migrants took big risks. Travel was often hazardous, and leaving behind native cultures and kin groups was painful. Many experienced conflicts with resident populations, as did Chinese migrants who ventured into Taiwan and other frontier regions. In the cities, tensions mounted as migrant workers faced low wages, poor working and living conditions, and barriers to higher-paying positions. In China, women without male relatives to protect them sometimes suffered abuse or exploitation. And yet, the economic rewards were substantial enough that the risks of sending the men abroad seemed worth taking.

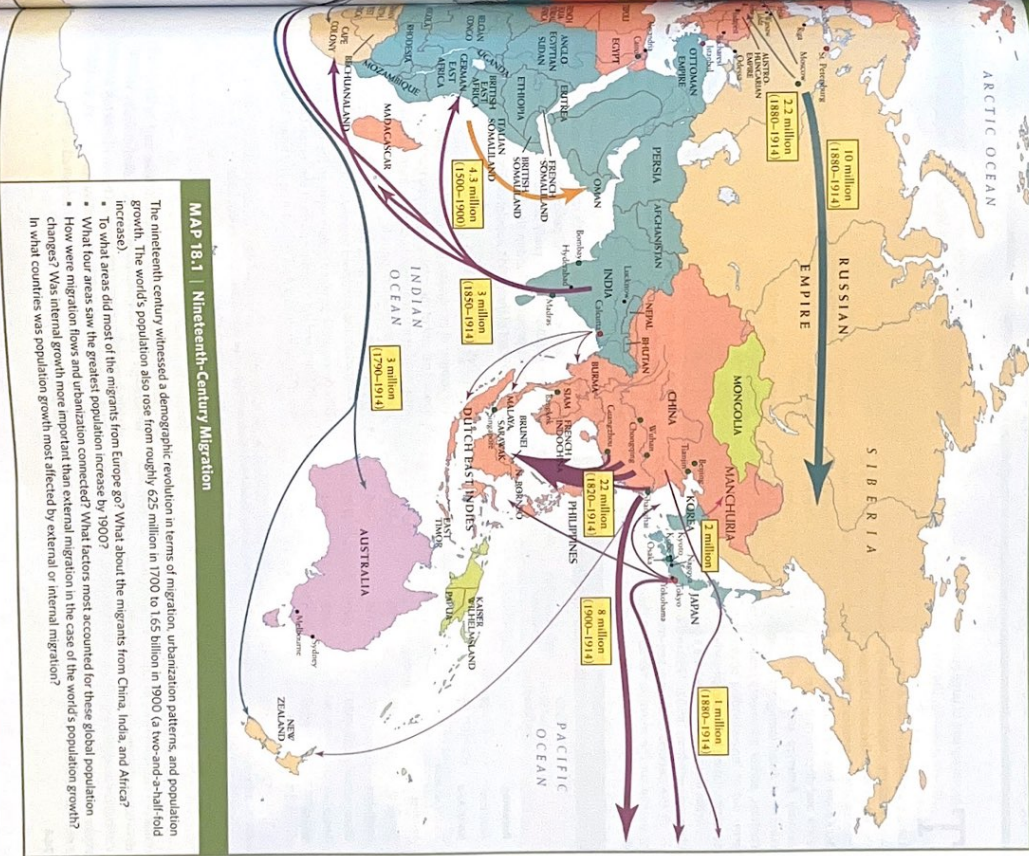
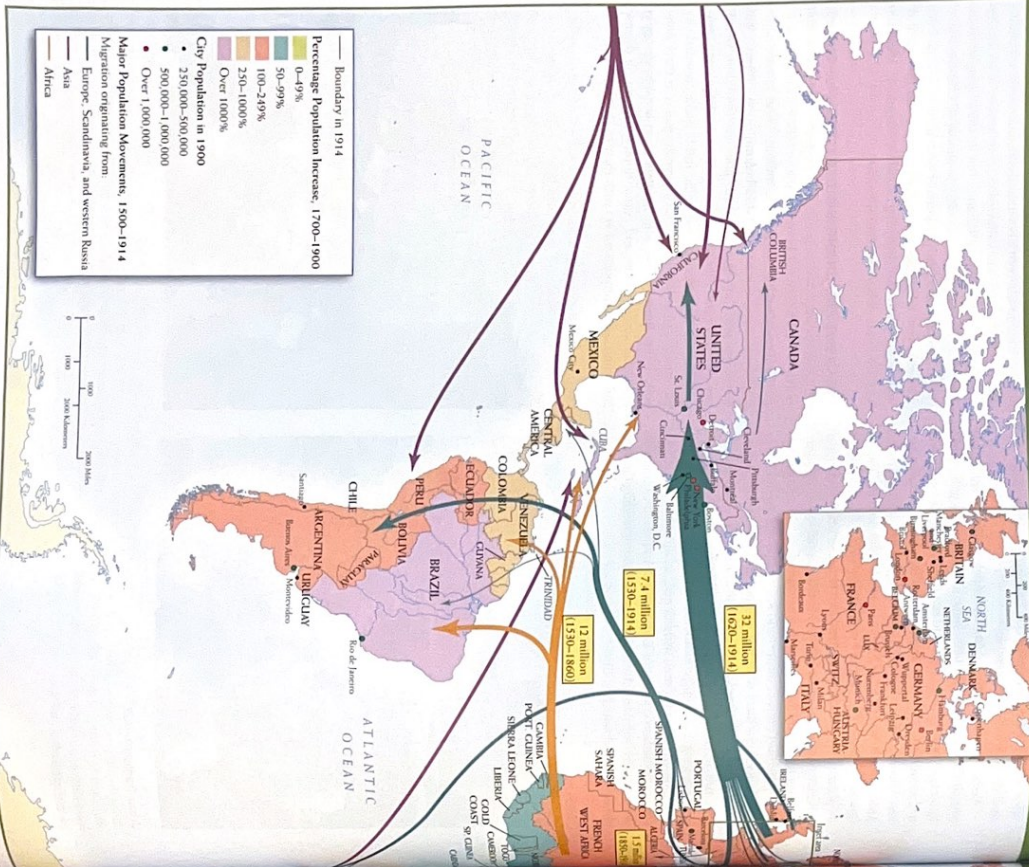
Until 1914, governments imposed almost no controls on immigration or emigration. In China, the Qing government tried to restrict emigration into the Manchus' northeastern homelands, but it failed. Eager to add both laborers and consumers to its expanding territory, the United States allowed entry to anyone who was not a prostitute, a convict, or a “lunatic,” but in 1882 racist reactions spurred legislation that barred entry to almost all Chinese. Travel within Europe required no passports or work permits; foreign-born criminals were subject to deportation, but that was the extent of immigration policy. (See Analyzing Global Developments: Migration and the Origin of Border Control Policies.)

URBAN LIFE AND CHANGING IDENTITIES Cities boomed, with both positive and negative repercussions. The population of Buenos Aires climbed from 180,000 in 1869 to 1.58 million in 1914, and London's passed 6.5 million. Local governments undertook massive rebuilding and beautification projects, but severe housing shortages remained. This was the era in which city planning came into its own—to widen and regularize thoroughfares for train and streetcar traffic and to make crowded city life attractive to new inhabitants. City governments in Paris, New York, Cairo, Buenos Aires, and Brussels spent lavishly on opera houses, libraries, sewers, and parks, hoping to ward off disease and crime and to impress others with their modernity.



Urban Transportation. Left, Streetcars in Tokyo, Japan's capital, are watched over by sword-bearing patrolmen in 1905, during the Russo-Japanese War. The first electric streetcar began running in Japan in 1895. Note the elevated electric lines, which date to the 1880s. Right, Heavy traffic in London, in about 1910, points to an urban population on the move. Note the many kinds of transportation—motor buses as well as horse-drawn wagons, the railings in the foreground mark the entrance to the underground, or subway.

THE GLOBAL VIEW



ANALYZING GLOBAL DEVELOPMENTS

Migration and the Origin of Border Control Policies

The movement of large numbers of people within and across regions—namely, the spread of the Mongols, the Atlantic world slave trade, and nineteenth-century migrations from Europe and Asia to the Americas—is not a new phenomenon in world history. What is relatively more recent to world history is the effort over the last 150 years to increase border control and identity documentation of peoples on the move. Historian Adam Mickeworn has demonstrated that the origins of the effort to regulate and document border control go back to late nineteenth-century America and the efforts to substantially restrict the number of Asian immigrants trying to enter the United States. In contrast, earlier arguments held that modern-day border control grew out of long-standing sovereignty practices of states and countries dating back to even earlier centuries.

In the first table below, we see a comparison of the rates of population growth from 1850 to 1950 in the major regions of the world. In the second table, we see more concretely the number of people on the move in terms of their points of origin and destinations.

World Population Growth, 1850-1950

Receiving	1850 Population (millions)	1950 Population (millions)	Average Annual Growth (%)
Americas	59	325	1.72
North Asia	22	104	1.57
Southeast Asia	42	177	1.45
Sending			
Europe	265	515	0.67
South Asia	230	445	0.66
China	420	520	0.21
Africa	81	205	0.93
World	1,200	2,500	0.74

Source: Colin McEvedy and Richard Jones, *Atlas of World Population History* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1978); Adam Mickeworn, "Global Migration, 1840-1940," *Journal of World History* 15 (2004): 135-69; Adam M. Mickeworn, *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Colonization of Greater New York* (Columbia University Press, 2008).

Rebuilding medieval cities meant opening them up—to traffic, to consumption, to public enlightenment, to light and air—but it also meant reorganizing them along class lines. In Verona, for example, a wide, circular boulevard, the *Ringsstrasse*, replaced medieval walls. It showcased a grand imperial theater, a neo-Renaissance opera house, and a neoclassical parliament.

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Global Long-Distance Migration, 1840-1940

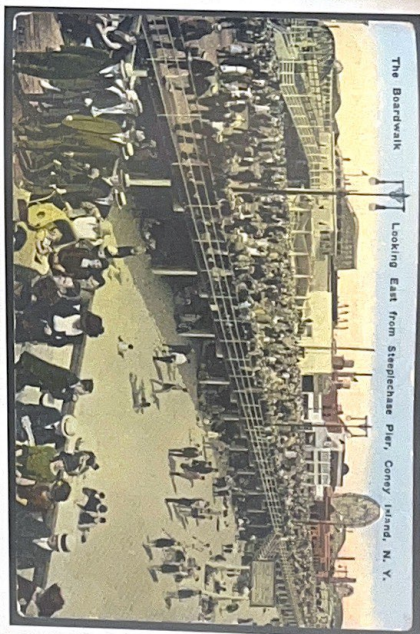
Destinations	Origins	Migrants (millions)	Auxiliary Origins
Americas	Europe	55-58	2.5 million from India, China, Japan, Africa
Southeast Asia, Indian Ocean, Australia	India, South China	48-52	5 million from Africa, Europe, Northeast Asia, Middle East
Manchuria, Siberia, central Asia, Japan	Northeast Asia, Russia	46-51	

These data were compiled from port and customs statistics at significant entry points to major countries. What we see in the data is that the "receiving" nations' populations grew by a factor of 4.0-5.5 during this 100-year period and that their overall growth was more than twice that of the "sending" regions during this time. Not only was the population growth rate of the receiving nations much more dramatic during this period, but the redistribution of the world's population was equally dramatic. In 1850, 10 percent of the world's population lived in the "receiving" areas; by 1950, nearly 25 percent of the world's population lived in those areas.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

- The number of immigrants from Asia to the Americas was only about 3 percent of the total. Why do you think such a relatively small number of people would cause a dramatic change in border and identification control?
- Why do you think that during this period the populations in the sending areas also continued to grow at substantial rates?
- Why do you think so many people were on the move from South China and India to other parts of the Indian Ocean world? From northeast Asia to East Asia and Inner Asia?

In Paris, fashionable new apartment houses and cafes edged out strategic but dilapidated workers' hovels; wide, well-lit avenues replaced narrow, dark streets. The small, narrow streets of Tokyo, which had 2 million inhabitants by 1905, escaped such engineering, but the city also acquired a new national museum in a city park.



The Boardwalk Looking East from Steeplechase Pier, Coney Island, N. Y.

Coney Island in 1905. As societies grew richer and more consumer-oriented, cities cleared space for promenades, parks, and beaches for leisure time. Coney Island in New York became a model for local escapes from the work week and the bustle of the metropolis. Sites like this were designed to be spectacular and to provide images for even for distant consumers to gawk at. Visiting Coney Island meant leaving with memorabilia to show off—the the postcard pictured here.

Tokyo, like so many other booming cities, had also made cities safe for the new leisured classes to enjoy their wealth through recreation. For instance, in Europe, parks and broad sidewalks, like the famous Champs-Élysées in Paris, were made to stroll in, to see and to be seen. Women, no longer cooped up in the domestic sphere, donned the latest furs and dresses; men were no less fashion-conscious. Cities pushed their smelly and pestilent ports to the outskirts. Shores were ideal, in good weather, for public bathing. In Buenos Aires, for instance, it was no longer shameful to show some flesh on municipal beaches. Despite the influence of the Catholic Church, migrants from Italy, Spain, and Russia, as well as native-born Argentine women, congregated and pushed fashion trends to the edge with ever more revealing bathing suits. The same happened on New York's Coney Island beaches.

In theory, the new public institutions were accessible to all, but in practice they mostly benefited the elite, and in many cases poorer people were forced to leave their downtown dwellings and take up residence in shabby suburbs. For these urbanites, life continued to revolve around long hours at work, and they continued to inhale overcrowded and unsanitary living conditions and to die from diseases such as cholera and tuberculosis.

Even the poorest, however, felt that the metropolis offered opportunities unavailable in small towns or in the countryside; here one could at least hope to change one's lot in life. For western women, in particular, the cities offered new possibilities. Some of those who had worked as domestic servants, textile workers, or agricultural laborers now took positions as shop girls, secretaries, or—thanks to educational opportunities—teachers; a very few

became doctors, although their practices were largely limited to treating other women. Increasing female literacy and the falling price of books and magazines gave western women access to new models of acceptable behavior. In cities it became respectable, even fashionable, for women to be seen on the boulevards. The availability in some places of ready-made clothes and packaged goods changed the way wealthier women shopped and cooked. Yet, for most women, leisure time, professional work, and luxury consumption remained dreams rather than realities.

Increased population density made possible more collective action—and collective amusement—but did not necessarily lead to greater social harmony. The turn of the century was marked by the construction of new parks, soccer and baseball stadiums, theaters, and pubs, but also by an increasing number of conflicts between workers and business owners or police. Social clubs, political organizations, and charitable associations met more and more frequently—but often battled with one another for members or influence. As cities grew, they often developed ethnically homogeneous neighborhoods—"Little Italies" or "Chinatowns" in the United States; *Basque barrios* in Buenos Aires; and Jewish or Irish neighborhoods in England—where inhabitants kept to themselves and were sometimes feared and hated by their neighbors. Seeking to unify nations internally, many writers, artists, and political leaders created mythic histories that aimed to give diverse groups a common story of nationhood. Such inventions were crucial in nation building, but they also fueled conflict among nations that in 1914 erupted in the Great War, a conflict that would generate another huge wave of emigration and urban expansion—and hostility to "foreigners."

DISCONTENT WITH IMPERIALISM

In the decades before the Great War, opposition to European domination in Asia and Africa gathered strength. During the nineteenth century, as Europeans touted imperialism as a “civilizing mission,” local peoples voiced alternative visions concerning European supremacy (see Chapter 16). While imperialists consolidated their hold, suppression of unrest in the colonies required ever more force and bloodshed. As the cycle of resistance and repression escalated, many Europeans back home questioned the harsh means of controlling their colonies. By 1914, these questions were intensifying as colonial subjects across Asia and Africa challenged imperial domination. In China, too, where Europeans were scrambling for trading opportunities without actually establishing formal colonial power, local populations resisted foreign influences.

Unrest in Africa

Africa witnessed many anticolonial uprisings in the first decades of colonial rule. (See Map 18.2.) Violent conflicts embroiled not only the Belgians and the Germans, who ruled autocratically, but also the British, whose colonial system left traditional African rulers in place. These uprisings made Europeans uneasy. Why were Africans resisting regimes that had huge advantages in firepower and transport and that were bringing medical skills, literacy, and other fruits of European civilization? Some Europeans concluded that Africans were too stubborn or unsophisticated to appreciate Europe’s generosity. Others, shocked by colonial cruelty, called for reform. A few radicals even demanded an end to imperialism.

African opposition was too spirited to ignore. Across the continent, organized armies and unorganized villagers rose up to challenge the European conquest. The resistance of villagers in the central highlands of British East Africa (Kenya) was so intense that the British mounted savage punitive expeditions to bring the area back under their control. Nonetheless, Africans continued to revolt against imperial authority—especially in areas where colonial rulers imposed forced labor, increased taxes, and appropriated land.

THE ANGLO-BOER WAR The continent’s most devastating anticolonial uprising occurred in South Africa. This unique struggle pitted two White communities against each other: the British in the Cape Colony and Natal against the Afrikaners, descendants of original Dutch settlers who lived in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. (See Map 18.2 inset.) Although two White regimes were the main adversaries, the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902) involved the areas’ 4 million Black inhabitants as fully as its 1 million Whites.

The war’s origins lay in the discovery of gold in the Transvaal in the mid-1880s. As the area rapidly became Africa’s richest state, the prospect that Afrikaner republics might become the

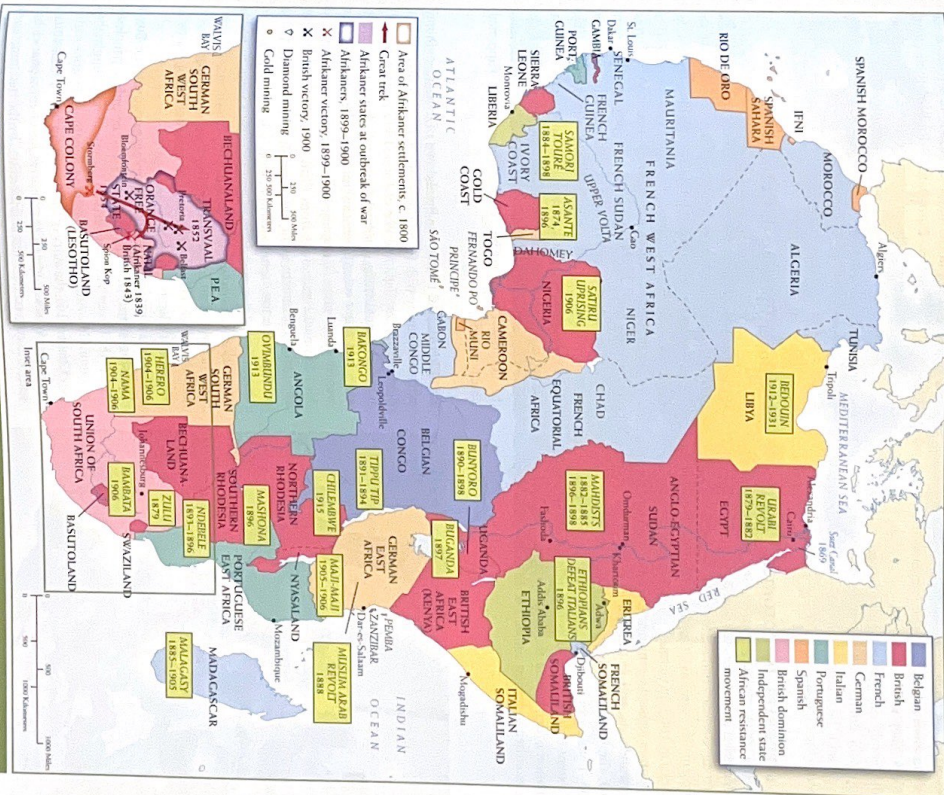
powerhouse in southern Africa was more than British imperialists could accept. They also fretted over rumors of German influence on Afrikaners.

Fearing that war was inevitable, the president of the Transvaal launched a preemptive strike against the British. In late 1899, Afrikaner forces crossed into South Africa. Fighting a relentless guerrilla campaign, Afrikaners waged a war that would last three years and cost Britain 20,000 soldiers and £200 million. Britain’s difficulties containing the Afrikaner insurgency led commanders to devise a strategy that cut insurgents off from the local civilian population. Commanders also borrowed a Spanish innovation from the concentration camps in Cuba: the concentration camp. Meant to drain all civilians, and especially women, support for male rebels, concentration camps became humanitarian catastrophes. At one moment in the war, giant prison camps penned over 135,000 people, many of them women and children. Nor were the camps restricted to Afrikaners. The British also rounded up Africans whom they feared would side with the “anticolonial” Dutch descendants. The suffering and loss in these camps were appalling, by the war’s end, 28,000 Afrikaner women and children, as well as 14,000 Black Africans, had perished there.

Thanks to a new sort of international actor, the war correspondent, newspaper reports and photographs brought the misery of the **Anglo-Boer War**, including reports of its atrocities and photographs of starving women and children, back to Europe.



The Anglo-Boer War. The British sent a large contingent of troops to South Africa to deal with the resistance of the two Boer republics—the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. The loss of life and the cruelties inflicted on soldiers and civilians alike during the war, which lasted from 1899 to 1902, did much to undermine the British people’s views of their imperial mission. The Transvaal and the Orange Free State fought valiantly to keep from becoming part of the British Empire. In the end, they lost.



MAP 18.2 | Uprisings and Wars in Africa

The European partition and conquest of Africa were violent affairs.

- How many separate African resistance movements can you count on this map?
- Where was resistance the most prolonged?
- According to your reading, why were Ethiopians (see Chapter 17), who sustained their autonomy, able to do what other African opponents of European armies were not?

The horrors of the war traumatized the British, who were used to regarding themselves as Europe's most enlightened and efficient colonial rulers. They were scandalized, too, by how long it had taken for the "empire on which the sun never sets" to subdue such a ragged opponent, but they did, eventually, win the war, bringing the Transvaal and the Orange Free State—with their vast gold reserves—into their empire.

OTHER STRUGGLES IN COLONIZED AFRICA The revision that the Anglo-Boer War aroused in western public opinion deepened after Germany's activities in Africa also went brutally wrong. Germany had established colonies in South West Africa (present-day Namibia), Cameroon, and Togo in 1884 and in East Africa in 1885. In German South West Africa, the Herero and San peoples resisted German settlers' attempts to seize their native pastures, and in German East Africa (modern-day Tanzania), the Muslim Arab peoples rebelled. Between 1904 and 1906, fighting in German South West Africa escalated to such an extent that the German commander issued a genocidal extermination order against the Herero population. Portraying Africans as either accepting subjects or childlike primitives—as



Extermination of the Herero. The Germans carried out a campaign of near-extirmination against the Herero population in German South West Africa in 1904–1906. Nearly 90 percent of the Herero were killed. In this 1906 photograph, a German soldier stands guard over Herero women and children in a prison camp.

in the Mayi Mayi Revolt in German East Africa, described at the beginning of this chapter—Europeans redoubled their efforts to impose colonial order. The problems in their view, was not that empire building destroyed local ways of life, but that they had not yet succeeded in imposing civilization on a stubbornly "backward" world.

The Boxer Uprising in China

At the turn of the century, forces from within and without also unsettled China. Although not formally under colonial rule, but divided into spheres of influence, the Chinese, like the Africans, deeply resented European intrusions. As the population swelled to over half a billion and outstripped the country's resources, problems of landlessness, poverty, and peasant discontent (constants in China's modern history) led many to mourn the decay of political authority. In response, in 1898 the Qing emperor tried to modernize industry, agriculture, commerce, education, and the military. But opponents blocked the emperor's designs. Before long, the emperor faced house arrest in the palace, while the Empress Dowager Cixi, whom conservatives supported, actually ruled.

EXTERNAL FACTORS The breakdown of dynastic authority originated largely with foreign pressure. For one thing, China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 (see Chapter 17) was deeply humiliating. Although Japan, which acquired Taiwan as its first major colony, was the immediate beneficiary of the war, Britain, France, Germany, and Russia quickly scrambled for additional concessions from China. They demanded that the Qing government grant them specific areas within China as their respective "spheres of influence." (See Map 18.3.) The United States also pushed the Qing to accept western norms of political and economic exchange. The Americans, however, were in favor of an "open-door" policy that would keep access available to all traders, while supporting missionary efforts to spread Christianity.

The most explosive reaction to these pressures, the **Boxer Uprising**, started within the peasantry. Like colonized peoples in Africa, the Boxers violently resisted European meddling in their communities. And as in the Taping Rebellion decades earlier (see Chapter 16), the story of the Boxers was tied to missionary activities. Whereas in earlier centuries Jesuit missionaries had sought to convert the court and the elites, by the mid-nineteenth century the missionary goal was to convert commoners. After the Taping Rebellion, Christian missionaries had streamed into China, impatient to make new converts in the hinterlands and confident of their governments' backing. With the Qing dynasty in a weakened state, Christian missionaries became more aggressive.



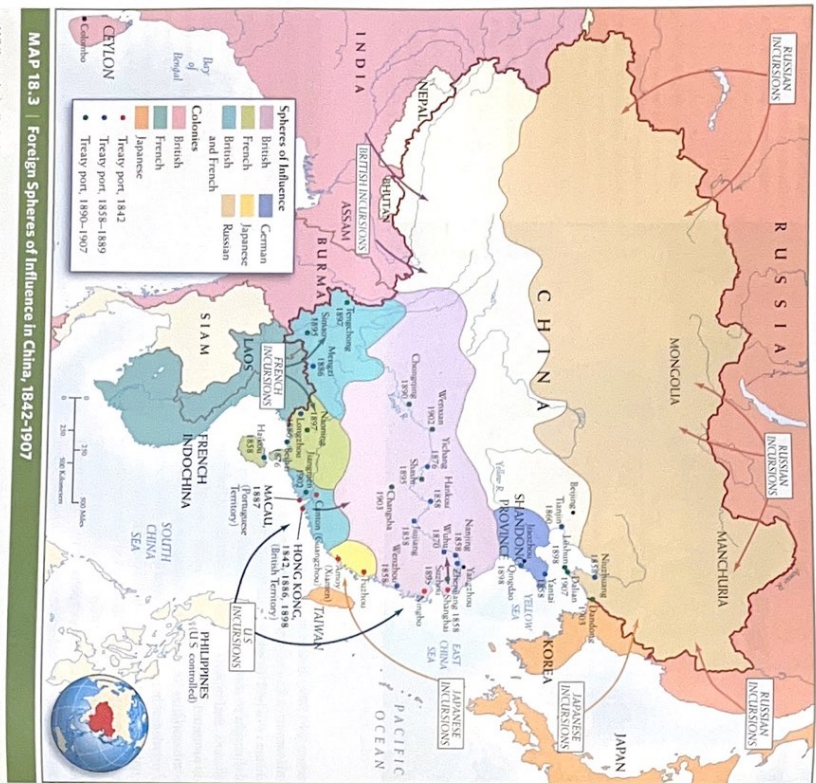
Cixi's Allies. The Empress Dowager Cixi emerged as the most powerful figure in the Qing court in the last decades of the dynasty. From the 1860s until her death in 1908, highly able, she approved many of the early reforms of the Self-Strengthening movement, but her commitment to the preservation of the Manchu Qing dynasty made her suspicious of more fundamental and wide-ranging changes. Here she is shown surrounded by court eunuchs. Cixi relied upon them, especially as her relationships with orthodox officials were often ambivalent.

An incident in 1897, in which Chinese residents killed two German missionaries in the northern province of Shandong, brought censors to a boil. In retribution, the German government demanded the right to construct three cathedrals, to remove hostile local officials, and to seize the northeastern port of Jiaozhou. As tensions mounted, martial arts groups in the region began to attack the missionaries and converts, calling for an end to the Christians' privileges. In early 1899, several of these groups united under the name Boxers United in Righteousness and adopted the slogan "Support the Qing, destroy the foreign." Like the African followers of Kijikilile, the Boxers believed that divine protection made them immune to all earthly weapons. As one fighter noted, "We requested the gods to attach themselves to our bodies. When they had done so, we became Spirit Boxers, after which we were invulnerable to swords and spears, our courage was enhanced, and in fighting we were unafraid to die and dared to charge straight ahead."

INTERNAL FACTORS The Boxer movement flourished especially where natural disasters and harsh economic conditions increased hardships. Shandong Province had suffered floods throughout much of the decade, followed by prolonged drought in the winter of 1898. Idle, restless, and often hungry, many peasants, boatmen, and peddlers turned to the Boxers for support. They also liked the Boxers' message that the gods were angry over the foreign presence in general and Christian activities in particular.

As these activists, many of them young men, swelled the Boxers' ranks, women also found a place in the movement. The so-called Red Lanterns were mostly teenage girls and unmarried women who announced their loyalty by wearing red garments. Although the Red Lanterns were segregated from the male Boxers—they worshipped at their own altars and practiced martial arts at separate boxing grounds—they were important to the movement in countering the influence of Christian women. Indeed, one of the Boxers' greatest fears was that cunning Christian women would use their guile to weaken the Boxers' spirits. The rebels believed that their invulnerability came from spirit possession and that the inherent polluting power of women threatened their "magic." However, they claimed that the "purity" of the Red Lanterns could counter this threat. The Red Lanterns were supposedly capable of incredible feats: they could walk on water or fly through the air. Relief in their magical powers provided critical assistance for the uprising.

As the movement gained momentum, the Qing vacillated between viewing the Boxers as a threat to order and embracing them as a force to check foreign intrusion. Early in 1900, Qing troops clashed with the Boxers in an escalating cycle of violence. By spring, however, the Qing could no longer control the tens of thousands of Boxers roaming the vicinities of Beijing and Tianjin. Embracing the Boxers' cause, the empress dowager declared war against the foreign powers in June 1900. Acting without any discernible plan or leadership, the Boxers went after Christian and foreign symbols and persons. They harassed



and sometimes killed Chinese Christians in parts of northern China, destroyed railroad tracks and telegraph lines, and attacked owners of foreign objects such as lamps and clocks. In Beijing, the Boxers besieged foreign embassy compounds, where diplomats and their families cowered in fear.

FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT AND AFTERMATH In August 1900, a foreign army of 20,000 troops crushed the Boxers. About half came from Japan; the rest came primarily from Russia, Britain, Germany, France, and the United States. Thereafter, the victors forced the Chinese to sign the punitive Boxer Protocol. Among



The Boxer Uprising in China. The Boxer Uprising was eventually suppressed by a foreign army made up of Japanese, European, and American troops that arrived in Beijing in August 1900. The picture here shows fighting between the foreign troops and the combined forces of Qing soldiers and the Boxers. After a period of seclusion, the Qing court, against the advice of some of its officials, finally threw its support behind the quotic struggle of the Boxers against the foreign presence, laying the ground for the military intervention of the imperialist powers.

other punishments, it required the regime to pay an exorbitant compensation in gold (about twice the empire's annual income) for damages to foreign life and property. The protocol also authorized western powers to station troops in Beijing. The effect: a crippling blow to the dynasty's standing.

Even in defeat, the Boxers' anti-western uprising showed how much had changed in China since the Taiping Rebellion. Although the Boxers were primarily peasants, even they had felt the unsettling generated by European intrusions into China. Indeed, the Europeans' commercial and spiritual reach, once confined to elites and port cities, had extended across much of China. Whereas the Taiping Rebellion had mobilized millions against the Qing, the Boxers remained loyal to the dynasty and focused their wrath on foreigners and Chinese Christians. The Boxer Uprising was, in many ways, like the Maji Maji Revolt in East Africa: both were widespread protests against increased western influence. But whereas African protesters wanted to restore their precolonial societies, the Boxers sought to banish from their land all symbols and elements of a western way of life that angered their gods and ruined their world.

WORLDWIDE INSECURITIES

Protests against European intrusion in Africa and China were distant movements that most Europeans could disregard. There were dissenters like the African American intellectual W. E. B. Du Bois, who denounced the violence in German Africa; the English

economist John A. Hobson, who decried the war in South Africa, and the American novelist Mark Twain, who accused President Theodore Roosevelt of hypocrisy in the bloody occupation war in the Philippines. But for the most part, news of distant wars reinforced public belief in the supposed inferiority of other cultures. For example, when news of butchery in the suppression of the Maji Maji reached the British media, it was instantly trumpeted as a sign of German savagery; for their part, Germans gleated in the same way over news of South African concentration camps. At the same time, however, conflicts closer to home tore at European and North American confidence. These included rivalries among western powers, the booms and busts of expanding industrial economies, new types of class conflict, challenges about the proper roles of women, and problems of uncontrolled urbanization. (See again Map 18.1.)

Imperial Rivalries at Home

The rise of a European-centered world deepened rivalries within Europe and promoted instability there. Numerous factors festered conflict, including France's smoldering resentment at its defeat in the Franco-Prussian War (see Chapter 17), but tension increased as the European states competed for raw materials and colonial footholds. Even as these powers built up their supply of weapons, as well as ships and railroads to transport troops, not everyone supported the buildup. Many Europeans, for example, disapproved of spending on massive steam-powered warships. Others warned that the arms race would end in a devastating war.

The formation of new empires destabilized the heart of Europe. The unifications of Germany and Italy at the expense of France and the Austro-Hungarian Empire had smashed the old balance of power in Europe. Then, new alliances after 1890 compounded the tensions. German-French hostility persisted; German-Russian friendship crumbled. This left Germany surrounded by foes: Britain and France to the west, Russia to the east. Meanwhile, ethnic nationalism fractured the multinational Ottoman and Habsburg Empires as Arabs, Turks, Czechs, and southern Slavs challenged their old masters. The Balkans in particular became a hotbed. Pled by internal conflicts, the two venerable empires created power vacuums in central and southeastern Europe. Sensing conflict on the horizon, Britain, Germany, France, and Russia entered into a massive arms race.

FINANCIAL, INDUSTRIAL, AND TECHNOLOGICAL INSECURITIES

Economic leaps helped make powers "great," but they could also unsettle societies. Indeed, pride about wealth and growth contended with lamens about changes in national and international economies. To begin with, Americans and Europeans recognized that the small-scale, laissez-faire capitalism championed by Adam Smith (see Chapter 14) was giving way to an economic order dominated by huge, heavily capitalized firms. Gone,

It seemed, was Smith's vision of many small producers in vigorous competition with one another, all benefiting from efficient—but not exploitative—divisions of labor.

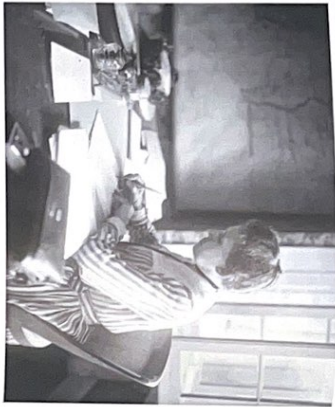
Instead of progressing smoothly, the economy of the west in the nineteenth century bounced between booms and busts: long-term business cycles of rapid growth followed by stagnation. Late in the century, the pace of economic change accelerated. Large-scale steel production, railroad building, and textile manufacturing expanded at breakneck speed, while waves of bank closures, bankruptcies, and agricultural crises ruined many small property owners, including farmers. By the century's end, a few large firms, such as John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil and the large banking institutions, dominated in France, Britain, Germany, and the United States. The same was true in Japan, where *zaibatsu*—large companies with banking subsidiaries for finance and industrial wings dominating different sectors of the market—like Sumitomo, Mitsubishi, and Dai-ichi were the engine of Japan's extraordinary economic growth.

GLOBAL FINANCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL INTEGRATION

These were years of heady international financial integration. More and more countries joined the world system of borrowing and lending, more and more countries were linked financially because their national currencies were all backed by gold. At the hub of this world system were the banks of London, which since the Napoleonic wars had been a major source of capital for international borrowers.

The rise of giant banks and huge industrial corporations caused alarm, for it seemed to signal an end to free markets and competitive capitalism. In the United States, an entire generation of journalists cut their teeth exposing the shoddiness (shady dealings) of financial and industrial giants. Ida Tarbell grew up in company towns in Pennsylvania and watched as bigger oil firms drove out little ones until they fell under one mantle: the Standard Oil Company of John D. Rockefeller. As one of the investigative "muckraker" journalists, Tarbell published a celebrated book about Standard Oil in 1904, a work that heavily influenced the drafting of new regulatory policies. In Europe, too, critics lamented a similar trend in which lack of competition created greater disparities of wealth between the owners of firms and the workforce.

Rather than longing for the return of truly free markets, many critics sought reforms that would protect people from economic instability. To cope with an unmythical market, farmers created cooperatives. For their part, big industrialists fashioned monopolies, or cartels, in the name of improving efficiency, correcting failures in the market, and heightening profits. At the same time, government officials and academic specialists worried that modern economies were inherently unstable, prone to overproduce, and vulnerable to bankruptcy and crisis. The solution, many economists thought, was for the state to manage the national economies.



Ida Tarbell. *Ida Minerva Tarbell (1857–1944) grew up near oilfields in Pennsylvania, where her father was an oilman. Her family was rocked by the boom and bust of American finance when their savings were wiped out in the Panic of 1857, only to recover with the oil boom in 1859. Tarbell attended college and began her career as a teacher, eventually becoming an intrepid investigative reporter. She parlayed her research into the dozens of oil magnates into a series of articles in McClure's magazine exposing the ruthless practices of Standard Oil. Such "muckraking" became a new model for investigative journalism directed against the high and the mighty.*

FINANCIAL CRISES

Banking especially seemed in need of closer government supervision. Many industrial societies already had central banks (banks that issued national currencies, fixed underlying interest rates, and in general controlled monetary policy), and London's Bank of England had long since overseen local and international money markets. But public institutions did not yet have the resources to protect all investments during times of economic crisis. Between 1890 and 1893, fully 550 American banks collapsed, and only the intervention of J. P. Morgan prevented the depletion of the nation's gold reserves. In 1907, a more serious crisis threatened, caused by a panic on Wall Street that led to a run on the banks. Once again, it fell to J. P. Morgan to rescue the American dollar from financial panic. Morgan himself lost \$21 million and emerged from the bank panic convinced that some sort of public oversight was needed. In 1913, the U.S. Congress ratified the Federal Reserve Act, creating boards to monitor the supply and demand of the nation's money.

The crisis of 1907 showed how national financial matters could quickly become international affairs. The sell-off of the shares of banks and trusts in the United States also led American investors to withdraw their funds from other countries that relied on American capital. As a result, Canada, for instance, suffered a bank crisis of its own. Countries like Egypt and Mexico, far apart geographically, yet linked through international capital, also

suffered either withdrawal of investors' funds or a suspension of new investments and a string of bankruptcies. Although the head of Mexico's government, General Porfirio Díaz, tried to regain investors' confidence and their funds, Mexico fell into a severe recession as U.S. capital dried up. In turn, Mexicans lost faith in their economic—and political—system. Unemployed and suffering new hardships, many Mexicans flocked to Díaz's political opponents, who eventually raised the flag of rebellion in 1910. A year later, the entire regime collapsed in revolution (discussed later in this chapter).

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND THE MODERN ECONOMY

As financial circuits linked nations as never before, so did industrialization. Backed by big banks, industrialists could afford to extend their enterprises physically and geographically, so heavy industries now came to new places. In Russia, for example, industrial activity quickened. With loans from European (especially French, Belgian, and British) investors, Russia built railways, telegraph lines, and factories and developed coal, iron, steel, and petroleum industries. By 1900, Russia was producing half of the world's oil and a considerable amount of steel. Yet industrial development remained uneven: southern Europe and the American South continued to lag behind northern regions. The gap was



Labor Disputes. *The late nineteenth century witnessed a surge in industrial strike, worker strikes, and violent suppression of labor movements. Left: One of the deadliest confrontations in the United States occurred in May 1892, when a strike against the Carnegie Steel Company escalated into a gunfight, which left ten dead and many more wounded. Here, a group of striking workers keeps watch over the steel mill in Homestead, Pennsylvania. Right: Striking dock workers rally in London's Trafalgar Square in 1911. By this time, residents of European cities were used to seeing crowds of protesters pressing for improved working conditions or political reform.*



even more pronounced in colonial territories, which contained few industrial enterprises aside from railroad building and mining. By 1914, the factory and the railroad had become global symbols of the modern economy—and of its positive and negative effects. Everywhere, the coming of the railroad to one's town or village was a big event; for some, it represented an exhilarating leap into the modern world; for others, a terrifying abandonment of the past. Ocean liners, automobiles, and airplanes, likewise, could be both dazzling and disorienting.

For ordinary people, the new economy brought benefits and drawbacks: Factories produced cheaper goods, but they belched clouds of black smoke. Railways offered faster transport, but they ruined small towns unlucky enough to be left off the branch line. Machines (when operating properly) were more efficient than human and animal labor, but workers who used them felt reduced to machines themselves. Indeed, the American Frederick Winslow Taylor proposed a system of "scientific management" to make human bodies perform more like machines, maximizing the efficiency of workers' movements. But workers did not want to be managed or to cede control of the pace of production to employers. "Exploitation" was the source of great resistance and strike waves. For strikers, as for conservatives, progress had taken an unsettling turn.

The “Woman Question”

Complicating the struggle over social inequalities was the increasingly urgent issue of how women fit into the world’s rapidly changing economies and societies. Male advocates of empire, interestingly, had drawn attention early on to the hardships suffered by women in Asia and Africa imposing reforms here was one way that imperial architects felt they could justify colonial regimes. At the same time, in the west, female advocates were demanding that women be given more rights as citizens, and more radical voices called for fundamental changes to the family and the larger society. Like the labor and socialist movements, feminists also formed cross-border alliances and, thanks to the media, followed each other’s news. When the English suffragette Emily Davison dashed into the lanes at the aristocratic Epsom Derby horse race



Komako Kimura. Komako Kimura (1887–1980) was a pioneering Japanese feminist. She traveled widely and drew inspiration from suffragist movements in Europe and North America to campaign in Japan. But she also became a global celebrity, making the case for women’s suffrage in an international crusade. Conscious that mass politics was becoming a media phenomenon, she used her training in dance and theater to cultivate her public persona. She also got in trouble. The Japanese government censored her magazine, *The True Woman*, for advocating women’s right to choose their husbands and practice birth control. In this photo, she poses during a massive suffragist march in New York in October 1917.

and got trampled to death by the king’s horse, the news made headlines around the world. The clamor for women’s rights was a truly global one. Komako Kimura, trained in Japanese dance and theater and raised to be a “proper wife,” was also an avid reader of western literature and developed a reputation as a rebel for her daring performances. She soon became one of Japan’s early suffragettes and co-founded the True New Women’s Association and labored to send her magazine to Europe and North America. She finally traveled to the United States in 1917 to study how American activists had succeeded in winning the vote there. She was among the celebrities who marched through New York that October demanding women’s emancipation worldwide.

In fact, few of the world’s politics made significant progress in giving women opportunities or compensation equivalent to their male counterparts in this era. The most that could be said was that more people were now aware that the question of how society treated 50 percent of the population was a question worth asking. Radical women met still repression wherever they challenged the established order. In 1903, China’s Qiu Jin (1875–1907) left her husband and headed to Japan to study. There she befriended other radicals and made a name for herself by dressing in men’s clothing, carrying a sword, and trying her hand at bomb making. Returning to China in 1906, she founded the *Chinese Women’s Journal* (*Zhongguo nishan*) and wrote articles urging women to fight for their rights and to leave home if necessary. Qing authorities executed Qiu Jin after she participated in a failed attempt to topple the dynasty.

WOMEN’S STATUS IN THE COLONIES In the colonial world, the woman question was a contentious issue—but it was mainly argued among men. European authorities liked to boast that colonial rule improved women’s status. Citing examples of traditional societies’ subordination of women, they criticized as barbaric the veiling of women in Islamic societies, the binding of women’s feet in China, widow burning (*sati*) in India, and female genital mutilation in Africa. Europeans believed that prohibiting such acts was a justification for colonial intervention.

And yet, for women in Africa, the Middle East, and India, colonialism added to their burdens. As male workers headed into the export economy, formerly shared agricultural work fell exclusively on women’s shoulders. In Africa, for example, the opening of vast gold and diamond mines drew thousands of men away to work in the mines, leaving women to fend for themselves. Similarly, the rise of European-owned agricultural estates in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia depicted surrounding villages of male family members, who went to work on the estates. In these circumstances, women kept the local, food-producing economy afloat.

Not did colonial “civilizing” theories improve women’s political or cultural circumstances. In fact, European missionaries preached a message of democracy to Asian and African families, emphasizing that a woman’s place was in the home raising children and that

women’s education should be different from men’s. Thus, males overwhelmingly dominated the new schools that Europeans built. Moreover, customary law in colonial Africa, as interpreted by chiefs who collaborated with colonial officials, favored men. As a result, African women often lost landholding and other rights that they had enjoyed before the Europeans’ arrival.

WOMEN’S ISSUES IN THE WEST In western countries, for most of the nineteenth century, a belief in “separate spheres” had supposedly confined women to domestic matters, while leaving men in charge of public life and economic undertakings. (In practice, only women from middle- and upper-class families avoided working outside the home for wages.) Men did not mind having women work for their charities or churches or educate their daughters at home. But most men as well as most women continued to think that higher education and public activism were not suitable for “ladies”—and that, if possible, these “ladies” should not have to labor outside the home or acquire a profession. Urbanization and advancing capitalism did begin to change this picture, especially in western Europe and America. Some women who craved new opportunities increasingly found work as teachers, secretaries, typists, department store clerks, social workers, and telephone operators. These jobs offered greater economic and social independence, at least for a few. But women in eastern and southern Europe and in Latin America were largely left out of these developments and remained subordinate members of their communities.

Advances toward political equality for women came even more slowly. By midcentury, several women’s suffrage movements had appeared, but these campaigns bore little immediate fruit. In 1868, women received the right to vote in local elections in Britain. Within a few years, Finland, Sweden, and some American states allowed single, property-owning women the right to cast ballots—again, only in local elections. Women obtained the right to vote in national elections in New Zealand in 1893, in Australia in 1902, in Finland in 1906, and in Norway in 1913. Despite these modest gains, male alarmists portrayed women’s suffrage and women’s rights as the beginning of civilization’s end.

Quietly, and without conferring with one another, many women began to take charge of their lives in another way, and that was to assert control over reproduction. Although in numerous countries the use of contraceptive devices was illegal, women still found ways to limit the number of children they bore. The French birthrate fell so precipitously in the second half of the nineteenth century that commentators began to worry about France’s “degeneration.” That commentators, along with improved medicine, also meant that fewer women died in childbirth and more would see their children reach adulthood. Even in the first years of the twentieth century, these demographic changes, together with urbanization, resulted in much greater changes in women’s lives than did political movements.



Women’s Suffrage in Finland. The British and then the French introduced the concept of citizenship with universal rhetoric, but in practice the category of citizen was generally restricted to property-holding males. Finland granted its women the right to vote in 1906, earlier than most countries. In this photograph, a Finnish woman casts her ballot in the election of 1906.

Social Conflict in a New Key

Capitalism’s volatility shook confidence in free market economies and sharpened conflicts between classes; the tone of political debates was transformed as new, more strident voices called for radical change. Although living conditions for European and North American workers improved over time, widening inequalities in income and the slow pace of reform led to frustration. Most workers remained committed to peaceful agitation, but some radicals turned to violence. Often, especially in eastern Europe and Russia, the closed character of political systems fueled frustration—and radicalism. This was also the case in Latin America, where even the middle classes were largely shut out of politics until new parties offered fresh opportunities for political expression. In Argentina, for example, urban workers found outlets for protest within movements known as **syndicalism** (the organization of workplace associations that included unskilled laborers), socialism, and **anarchism** (the belief that society should be a free association of members, not subject to government, laws, or police).

STRIKES AND REVOLTS In the Americas and in Europe, radicals adopted numerous tactics for asserting the interests of the working class. In Europe, the franchise was gradually expanded in hopes that the lower classes would prefer voting to revolution—and indeed, most of the new political parties that catered to workers had no desire to overthrow the state. But conservatives feared them



The Mexican Revolution. Left: By 1915, Mexican peasants, workers, and farmers had destroyed much of the old elitist system. This was the first popular, peasant revolution of the twentieth century. Among the most famous leaders were Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata. They are pictured here in the presidential office in the capital, Villa took the president's chair (although Zapata carried the broad hat typical of his people, refused to wear military gear and glowered at the camera suspiciously). Right: By the 1920s, Mexican artists and writers were putting recent events into myths and words. Pictured here is a detail from a mural by Diego Rivera. Notice the nationalist interpretation: Porfirio Díaz's troops defend foreign oil companies and White aristocrats against middle-class and peasant (and darker-skinned) reformers who call for a "social revolution." Observe also the absence of women in this epic mural.



anyway, especially as they gained electoral clout. The Labour Party, founded in Britain in 1900, quickly boasted a large share of the vote. By 1912, the German Social Democratic Party was the largest party in the Reichstag. But it was not the legally sanctioned parties that sparked violent street protests and strikes. A whole array of syndicalists, anarchists, radical royalists, and revolutionary socialists sprung up in this period, making work stoppages everyday affairs.

Although the United States did not have similarly radical factions or successful labor parties, American workers were also organizing. The labor movement's power burst forth dramatically in 1894 when the American Railway Union launched a strike that spread across the nation. Spurred by wage cuts and firings following an economic downturn, the Pullman Strike (directed against the maker of railway sleeping cars, George Pullman) involved approximately 3 million workers. The strike's conclusion, however, revealed the enduring power of the status quo. After hiring replacement workers to break the strike, Pullman requested federal troops to protect his operation. When the troops arrived, infuriated strikers reacted with violence—which led to a further crackdown by the government against the union. After its leaders were jailed, the strike collapsed. Although strikes and protests in the United States often failed to achieve their immediate goals, they worried those in power and ultimately led to important changes.

REVOLUTION IN MEXICO Perhaps the most successful revolution of the prewar era occurred in Mexico. A peasant uprising, it thoroughly transformed the country. Fueled by the unequal distribution of land and by disgruntled workers, the Mexican

Revolution erupted in 1910 when political elites split over the succession of General Porfirio Díaz after decades of his strong-arm rule. Dissidents balked when Díaz refused to step down, and peasants and workers rallied to the call to arms.

What destroyed the Díaz regime and its powerful army was the swelling flood of peasants, farmers, cattlemen, and rural workers who were desperate for a change in the social order. From the north led by the charismatic Pancho Villa) to the south (under the legendary Emiliano Zapata), rural folk helped topple the Díaz regime. In the name of providing land for farmers and ending oligarchic rule, peasant armies defeated Díaz's troops and then proceeded to destroy many large estates. The fighting lasted for ten brutal years, during which almost 10 percent of the country's population perished.

The ruler, political leaders had to accept popular demands for democracy, respect for the sovereignty of peasant communities, and land reform. As a result, the Constitution of 1917 incorporated widespread reform, and by 1920 an emerging generation of politicians recognized the power of a militarized peasantry and initiated deep-seated changes in Mexico's social structure. These leaders also realized that their new regime had to appeal ideologically to common folk. Revolutionaries gave trade unions sweeping rights to organize, paving the way for nationalizing the country's mines and oil industries. But perhaps the radicals' most lasting legacy was the creation of rural communes for Mexico's peasant. These communal village holdings, called *ejidos*, sought to revive a precolonial way of life. The revolution thus spawned a set of new national myths, based on the heroism of rural peoples, Mexican nationalism, and a celebration of the Aztec past.



Díaz and the Liberal Party. In this 1910 print, the Mexican socialist José Guadalupe Posada portrays the leaders of the popular Liberal Party as being literally under the feet of the elitist followers of General Porfirio Díaz.

PRESERVING ESTABLISHED ORDERS Although the Mexican Revolution succeeded in toppling the old elite, elsewhere in Latin America the ruling establishment remained united against assaults from below. Already in 1897, the Brazilian army had mercilessly suppressed a peasant movement in the northeastern part of the country. Moreover, in Cuba, the Spanish and then the American armies crushed tenant farmers' efforts to reclaim land from sugar estates. In Guatemala, Maya Indians lost land to coffee barons.

Much the same occurred in Europe and the United States, where the preservation of established orders did not rest on repression alone. Here, too, elites grudgingly agreed to gradual change. Indeed, by the end of the nineteenth century, left-wing agitators, muckraking reporters, and middle-class reformers began to win meaningful social improvements. Unable to suppress the socialist movement, Otto von Bismarck, the German chancellor, deeded the appeal of socialism by enacting social welfare measures in 1883–1884 (as did France in 1904 and England in 1906). He enacted legislation insuring workers against illness, accidents, and

old age and establishing maximum working hours. In the United States, it took hard journalistic accounts of unsanitary practices in Chicago slaughterhouses, a series of bank failures (discussed earlier), and anxieties about the ill effects of the "closing of the frontier" in the American West to spur the federal government into action. In 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt signed the Federal Meat Inspection Act, which provided for government supervision of meatpacking operations. In other cases (banking, steel production, railroads), the federal government's enhanced supervisory authority served corporate interests as well.

These consumer and family protection measures reflected a broader reform movement, one dedicated to creating a more efficient society and correcting the undesirable consequences of urbanization and industrialization. At local and state levels, **progressive reformers** attacked corrupt city governments that had allegedly fallen into the hands of immigrant-dominated "political machines." The progressives also attacked other vices, such as gambling, drinking, and prostitution—all associated with industrial, urban settings. The creation of city parks preoccupied urban planners, who hoped parks' green spaces would serve as the city's "lungs" and offer healthier forms of entertainment than houses of prostitution, gambling dens, and bars. From Scandinavia to California, the proponents of old-age pensions and public ownership of utilities put pressure on lawmakers. Thousands of associations took shape against capitalists' excesses, and they occasionally succeeded in changing state policies.

The period leading up to World War I was one of rapid social changes and of new social conflicts. Women and workers pressed for new rights, strikes disrupted industrial output, and revolutions broke out in Mexico and Russia. As financial crises reverberated across the globe, European elites were forced to make reforms, though they tended to be limited, especially in the colonial world.

CULTURAL MODERNISM

As revolutionaries and reformers wrestled with increasing social and economic tensions, the intellectuals, artists, and scientists began to recognize that a new cultural world, along with a new century, was dawning. What we call **modernism**—the sense of having broken with tradition—came to prominence in many fields, from physics to architecture, from painting to the social sciences. The experimental thinking of this era was shaped by turn-of-the-century anxieties and opportunities; its leaders sought not to please the public or make slight changes to older scientific theories but to question all the old rules and test the limits of the arts and sciences. Often older Enlightenment ideals of rationality and clarity were challenged in favor of the exploration of more primitive and darker sources of meaning and inspiration; in the sciences, probabilities replaced certainties.



Pablo Picasso. The Franco-Spanish artist Pablo Picasso was one of the first to incorporate “primitive” artistic forms into his work, as depicted in his breakthrough canvas *Les Femmes d’Alger* (The Courtesans of Algiers, 1907), which was inspired by the artist’s study of African sculpture and motifs.

Emblematic of the new ideas was the work of Pablo Picasso (1881–1973), a Spanish painter who spent much of his life in Paris, inspired by African masks in Paris’s Ethnographic Museum. Picasso broke with the Renaissance style of representation in producing *Les Femmes d’Alger* (1907). Shocking in its form, this painting also depicted a series of nude prostitutes, who confront the viewer and seem to say, “Go ahead and look at me and here see what really lies beneath your civilized exterior.” No wonder modernism remained, throughout its existence, controversial; it meant to break the rules and sometimes to terrify the rule makers.

Modernist movements were notably international. Egyptian social scientists read the works of European thinkers, while French and German painters flocked to museums to inspect artifacts from Africa and Oceania. The Mexican writer and, later, minister of education José Vasconcelos became an avid reader of the Indian intellectual Swami Vivekananda, popularizer of yoga and champion of Hinduism as one of the world’s great religions. His spiritual nationalism helped shape Vasconcelos’s and other Latin American anticolonial reforms. Thanks to the efforts of the publisher Eugen Diederichs, Germans at the turn of the century could read translations of modernist works originally written in Swedish, English, Russian, and Chinese. As travel times decreased, students, scholars, artists, social reformers, and writers crossed oceans and inspired one another with new ideas.

Popular Culture Comes of Age

From the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth century, production and consumption of the arts, books, music, and sports changed dramatically. The change derived mainly from new urban settings: technological innovations, and increased leisure time. As education (especially in America and Europe) became nearly universal, there were many more readers and museumgoers. At the same time, cultural works now found their way down to nonelite members of society. Middle-class art lovers who could not afford original paintings eagerly purchased lithographs and mass-produced engravings; millions who could not attend operas and formal dress balls attended dance halls and vaudeville shows (entertainment by singers, dancers, and comedians). People flocked to hear lectures given by travelers, often accompanied by slide shows. For the first time, sports attracted mass followings. Soccer in Europe, baseball in the United States, and cricket in India had wildly devoted middle- and working-class fans. Thus did a truly **popular culture** emerge, delivering affordable and accessible forms of art and entertainment to the masses.

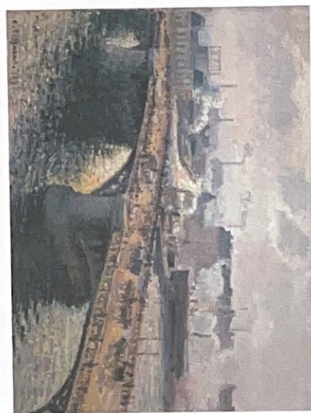
By the century’s close, the press constituted a major form of popular entertainment and information. This was partly because publishers were offering different wares to different classes of readers and partly because many more people could read, especially in Europe and the Americas. The “yellow press” was full of stories of murder and sensationalism that appealed to the urban masses. By now, the English *Daily Mail* and the French *Parisien* boasted circulations of over 1 million. In the United States, urban dwellers, many of whom were immigrants, avidly read newspapers—some in English, others in their native languages. Here, too, banner headlines, sensational stories, and simple language drew in readers with little education or poor English skills. Books, too, proliferated and fell in price; penny novels about cowboys, murder, and romance became the rage.

By now the kind of culture one consumed had become a reflection of one’s real (or desired) status in society, a central part of one’s identity. For many Latin American workers, for example, reading one’s own newspaper or comic strip was part of the business of being a worker. Argentina’s socialist newspaper, *La Vanguardia*, was one of Buenos Aires’s most prominent periodicals, read and debated at work and in the cafes of working-class neighborhoods. Anyone seen reading the bourgeois paper, *La Prensa*, faced heckling and ridicule by proletarian poets.

As the community of cultural consumers broadened and as ideas from across the globe flooded in, writers, artists, and scholars struggled to adapt. They attempted to confront the brave new world in the making, resulting in the remarkable innovations that characterize modernism—the breaking with tradition.



Impressionism. Emerging in Paris in the last third of the nineteenth century, impressionism was an artistic movement that was radical in its day. Impressionists stressed the changing qualities of light, the passage of time, and movement as they sought to capture perceptions of a modern world in rapid flux, as seen here in Claude Monet’s *The Gare Saint-Lazare* (left) and Camille Pissarro’s *Sunset over the Boulevard Bridge at Rouen* (right).



Modernism in European Culture

In intellectual and artistic terms, Europe at the turn of the twentieth century experienced perhaps its richest age since the Renaissance. Artists’ work reflected their ambivalence about the modern, as represented by the railroad, the big city, and the factory. While the artists and writers of the mid-nineteenth century had largely celebrated progress, the painters and novelists of the century’s end took a darker view. They turned away from enlightened clarity and descriptive prose, searching for more instinctual truths. Now the primitive came to symbolize both Europe’s lost innocence and

the forces that reason could not control, such as sexual drives, religious fervor, or brute strength. The painter who led the way in incorporating these themes into modern art was Paul Gauguin (1848–1903), who left Europe for Tahiti in 1891 and there found new forms of contentment and new ways of representing the world that he believed were less artificial than those practiced in Europe. In paintings such as *Where Do We Come From? What Are We? Where Are We Going?* (1897), Gauguin posed humankind’s great questions and intimated that the Polynesians—despite European contempt for their religious rituals and lack of “progress”—might have more answers than did his “civilized” compatriots back home.



Paul Gauguin’s *Where Do We Come From? What Are We? Where Are We Going?* In this large-scale painting, Gauguin used Tahitian rather than European biblical figures to pose some of humanity’s deepest questions about the meaning of life, the relationship between humans and gods, and our destinies after death.

However, the arts alone did not undermine older views of the world. Even science, in which the Enlightenment had placed so much faith, worked a disenchanting magic on the midcentury bourgeois worldview. After the century's turn, pioneering physicists and mathematicians like Albert Einstein took apart the Enlightenment conviction that humans could achieve full knowledge of, and control over, nature. In his later work, Einstein drew on the previously ridiculed work of the Indian physicist Satyendra Nath Bose (1894–1974), who understood light to be a gas composed of particles. These particles were too tiny to be distinguished by any microscope, but their existence could be hypothesized through the application of statistics. The work of Einstein, Bose, and other scholars of their generation laid the foundations for today's quantum physics. In this modernist form of science, probabilities took the place of certainties.

In philosophy and the social sciences, some European modernists began to question rationality itself. From the time of the Enlightenment, Europeans had prided themselves on their reason. To be rational was to be civilized and to master irrational urges; respectable middle-class nineteenth-century men were thought to embody these virtues. But in the late nineteenth century, faith in rationality began to falter. Perhaps reason was not humankind's highest attainment, said some; perhaps reason was too hard for mortal beings to sustain, said others. Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) claimed that conventional European attempts to assert the Truth—including science and Judeo-Christian moral codes—were nothing more than life-destroying quests for power,



Sigmund Freud, at Work in His Study in Vienna. Freud surrounded himself not only with books but also with Egyptian figurines and African masks, expressions of universal artistic prowess—and irrational psychological drives.

individuals would do better to dispense with the old forms and invent new forms of truth to live by. In 1895, the French social psychologist Gustave Le Bon (1841–1931) wrote a treatise in which he equated the unconscious volatility of crowds (including crowds of striking workers) with the irrationality of women and “primitives.” Le Bon’s work became wildly popular, appealing to Benito Mussolini in Italy and Vladimir Lenin in Russia and inspiring the work of Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) on “the collective unconscious.” By this time, Freud had already begun to excavate layers of the human subconscious, where irrational desires and fears lay buried. For Freud, human nature was not as simple as it had seemed to Enlightenment thinkers. Instead, he asserted, humans were driven by sexual longings and childhood traumas, some revealed only as neuroses, in dreams, or during extensive psychoanalysis.

Neither Nietzsche nor Freud was well loved among liberal elites. But in the new century, Nietzsche would become the prophet for many antiliberal, antirational causes, from nudism to Nazism, and Freud’s dark vision would become central to the twentieth century’s understanding of the self.

Cultural Modernism in China

What it meant to be modern sparked debate beyond western Europe. Europeans provided one set of answers; thinkers elsewhere offered quite different answers. Chinese artists and scientists at the turn of the century selectively engaged western ideas and transformed them. Indeed, some scholars have described the late Qing period as a time of competing cultural modernities, in contrast to the post-Qing era, which pursued a single, western-oriented modernity. These forms of modernity involved critical reflection on Chinese traditions and mixed reactions to western culture.

As in the west, Chinese writers now had a wider readership. By the later nineteenth century, more than 170 presses in China were serving a potential readership of 2 to 4 million, concentrated mostly in the urban areas. These cities were more economically and culturally vibrant than the hinterlands. Not only was there an expanding body of readers, but newly rich beneficiaries of the treaty-port economy now patronized the arts.

Painters from the Lower Yangzi region congregated in Shanghai. Collectively known as the **Shanghai School**, these classically trained painters appropriated western technical novelties into their artistic practice. Consider the self-portrait of the artist Ren Xiong (1820–1877), banheaded and legs apart, he stands upright and stares straight at the viewer. Ren Xiong’s work reflected the influence of photography; a new visual medium. Similarly, experimental writers drew on modern science, sometimes to explore the question of China’s future relations with the west. The novel *New Era* (1908) by Bigeluan Zhuren, for example,



Ren Xiong, Self-Portrait. This famous self-portrait of Ren Xiong was most likely produced in the 1850s. Ren Xiong was probably familiar with the new practice of portrait photography in the treaty ports. Although his self-portrait reproduced some old conventions of Chinese scholarly art, such as the unity of the visual image with a lengthy self-composed inscription, it is also clear that through its rather unconventional pose and image, it reflects the trend of cultural modernism in China during this period.

put its opening scenes in the year 1999, by which time, as the story envisioned, China would be a supreme world power and a constitutional monarchy. Depicting China at war with western powers, *New Era* celebrated military strength but also introduced inventions such as electricity-repelling clothing and bulletproof satin. More visionary still was *The Stone of Goddess Niuu* (1905), whose male author, Haitan Duxuozhi, imagined a technologically advanced feminist utopia. Its female residents studied subjects ranging from the arts to physics, drove electric cars, and ate purified liquid food extracts. Their mission was to save China by eliminating corrupt male officials. Such works, combining the fanciful with the critical, offered a new and provocative vision of China.

Yet the integration of western modes of knowledge into Chinese culture was an intellectual challenge. Did being modern mean giving up China’s scholarly traditions and values? Many Chinese scholars, for example, recognized and promoted the usefulness of western science and technology, although most of them considered these a way to acquire national wealth and power rather than a way to understand the world. Indeed, many of the elite in this period still insisted that Chinese learning remain the principal source of all knowledge. What kind of balance should exist between western thought and Chinese learning, or even whether the ancient classics should keep their fundamental role, was an issue that would haunt generations to come. In this respect, the Chinese dilemma reflected a worldwide challenge to accepting the impulses of modernism.

Modernism arose at a time when intellectuals began to question the values that had sustained Europe and North America throughout most of the nineteenth century. It reflected discontent with industrialization, income inequality, and colonial repression. Even though modernism had its origins and most profound impact in Europe, in many ways, especially in art, it drew upon nonwestern traditions and spread its influence throughout Asia and Africa among the educated classes.

RETHINKING RACE AND REIMAGINING NATIONS

Ironically, at this time of huge population transfers and shared technological modernization, individuals and nations became passionate defenders of the idea that identities were deeply rooted and unchangeable and were based on physical as well as cultural characteristics. Although physical characteristics had always played some role in identifying persons, by the late nineteenth century the Linnaean classifications (see Chapter 14) had become the means for ranking the worth of whole nations and for defining who could belong to the nation and enjoy its rights and privileges.

CURRENT TRENDS IN WORLD HISTORY

Adapting to the Environment: Russian Peasants Take on the Steppe

The Eurasian steppe extends for some 5,000 miles north of the Caucasus Mountains, from northern China and Mongolia to Hungary, and below the forest belt of the original Muscovy. When historians mention these grasslands at all, it is generally to treat them as a military highway for armies of nomads that formed their own short-lived empires and harassed others. In this telling, when steppe warriors stood in the way of imperial Russian state expansion, they were wiped out or bribed to enter into bargains with the state. In the case of the powerful freebooters of the Don River basin, known as Cossacks, the Russian Empire offered grants of land and respect for Cossack self-government in exchange for the Cossacks' help in defending the empire's southern frontier. But there is another, lesser known environmental history of the steppe—one that tells of wheat fields and locusts, of snowstorms and boundless skies, and of the ways in which peasant migrants from northern, watered forests learned to adapt, their farming methods to the land.

By the century's close, racial roots had become a crucial part of national identity. This was the era of ethnographic museums, folkloric collectors, national essence movements, eugemics, and racial geneticologists. People wanted to know who they (and their neighbors) were—especially in terms of biological ancestry. Now the idea of inheritance took on new weight, in both cultural and biological forms. Doctors, officials, and novelists described the genetic inheritance of mental illness, alcoholism, criminality, and same-sex attraction; nationalists spoke of the uniqueness of the Slavic soul, the German mind, and the Hispanic race. They spoke of Hindu spirituality and of Islamic principles as if there were no variations or conflicts within these categories. The preoccupation with race reflected a worldwide longing for

Russians first became aware of the environmental peculiarities of this region soon after Catherine the Great annexed a large swath of the southern steppe, dubbing it "New Russia." The tsarina had hoped to use this rich earth to feed Russians living on poorer northern lands. But already by the late eighteenth century, it was clear that increased farming was not yielding great increases in food production. Why not? Catherine sent officials to investigate, and at first they blamed the land, pointing to natural vegetation, recurring droughts, and other special qualities of the steppe environment. Over time, however, they realized that the problem lay in the farmers' practices, not in the land itself. The peasants were practicing farming as they had up north, grateful for the land but ignorant of it. Gradually, painfully, peasants as well as officials learned that because the steppe was different—hot and dry—it required different methods. The old implements did not work either; a new type of plow was needed to break the heavier-rooted plant life, especially steppe fescue (feather grass).

A breakthrough occurred when a Mennonite farmer observed topsoil blowing off his field. He planted a line of trees to break the wind and, in winter, to help retain snow for moisture. Similarly, an agronomist noticed that ravines near the river were widening and advised peasants to leave a band of steppe grasses in place as they plowed, since the grasses would help hold down the soil. At first, many peasants resisted sowing less of the land. Eventually, however, they discovered that the advice enabled them to increase crop production because of reduced erosion. In other words, environmental awareness spread—and made a difference.

The geologist Vasily Dokuchaev (1846–1903) turned the environmental awareness of the settlers and peasants into the first form of soil science. Dokuchaev's breakthrough idea was this: the problem with steppe farming was not the steppe but the farmer. He made extensive studies across Russian regions, developed a theory of soil formation in relation to climate and human usage, and created the first soil classification system. He recommended

fixed roots in an age that seemed to be burning all its bridges to the past.

Nationalist and racial ideas were different in different parts of the world, and they produced a variety of nationalist or sometimes panethnic movements. In Europe and America, debates about race and national purity reflected several concerns: fear of losing individuality in a technological world, rising tensions among states, and fear of being overrun by Brown, Black, and East Asian peoples beyond the borders of "civilization." By contrast, in India these ideas were part of the anticolonial debate. This was also the case in China, Latin America, and the Islamic world, where discussions of identity went hand in hand with opposition to western domination and corrupt indigenous elites.



Harvest in the Ukraine (1880). This 1880 painting by Vladimir Orlovsky shows Ukrainian peasants bringing in the rich harvest of the steppe.

crop rotations, longer fallow periods, and lighter plowing (to preserve topsoil). He wanted peasants to become stewards, not just exploiters, of the land.

By the latter part of the nineteenth century, agriculture in the steppe had taken off. Cossacks, too, had become successful farmers. New Russia, which was also called Ukraine, became a breadbasket (which it still is to a large extent). Imperial Russia

became the world's leading agricultural exporter, feeding both Germany and Britain in the run-up to World War I.

Russia's environment was transformed. And yet, like the agriculture of the steppe, not what we would call "sustainable." The minimal woods in the area were depleted (peasants continued to act as if they still lived in northern forests with endless supplies of timber), and the black-earth

topsoil was significantly diminished. Later, this would spur the introduction of chemical fertilizers—which would increase crop yields but once again change the steppe ecosystem, adding pollutants to rivers. Like human history, the natural history of the steppe never stands still.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

- How did the steppe lands' usefulness to the Russian Empire change during the period described?
- How did peasants, officials, and scientists learn to think differently about steppe lands?

Explore Further

Moon, David. *The Plough That Broke the Steppes: Agriculture and Environment on Russia's Grasslands, 1700–1914* (2013).

Racial nationalisms were not necessarily to the taste of political leaders. Panethnic movements such as pan-Germanism, for example, looked beyond the nation-state, envisioning a Germanic community whose formation would require the breakup of the Habsburg Empire and economic ruin in multethnic cities such as Vienna and Prague. Pan-Islamic movements, too, threatened to cause havoc in the Ottoman and British Empires. Behind these movements was the notion that political communities should be built on racial purity or unaltered indigenous traditions, but it was unclear which traditions could actually claim any sort of purity. Racial language might unify some communities—such as White Americans—but it also threatened the existence of the multethnic empires and flourishing metropolises.

Nation and Race in North America and Europe

In Europe and the United States, the changing mood was striking. Americans and Europeans greeted the end of the century with a combination of chest-beating pride and shoulder-slumping pessimism, and this mood influenced attitudes about national identity, race, and religion. In the early 1890s, for example, Americans looked to extravagant commemorations of the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's discovery. The largest was the Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Such events displayed the most modern machinery and celebrated the nation's marvelous destiny. Yet, at the same time, Americans—like many

Europeans—fear for their future, viewing the 1890s not only as the last decade of the nineteenth century but more broadly as the end of an era.

RESTRICTING IMMIGRATION For many White Americans, concerns about the end of an era triggered cultural alarms and political reforms. In his 1893 essay “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” which became one of the most enduring and influential interpretations of the American past, the historian Frederick Jackson Turner called attention to the U.S. Census Bureau’s 1890 announcement that the “American frontier” had “closed.” According to Turner, that closing threatened the future access to new lands (new to him, though not to those lands’ indigenous populations) that had long shaped the individualistic nature of the American people and the democratic character of their political institutions.

Such fears fueled the rise of nativist political movements that sought to curb immigration into the United States, which often involved discriminations based on race, ethnicity, or religion. Antimosity toward Chinese workers was particularly fervent in the American West and led to the 1882 Exclusion Act, which prohibited almost all immigration from China. After the Spanish-American War brought the United States new colonies in the Pacific and the Caribbean, darker peoples from the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Cuba became a focus for those who feared the loss of “White America.” Even more threatening at the turn of the century because they numbered in the millions were “swarthy” immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. To many White Americans of northwestern European heritage, these newcomers from the other end of Europe were barely more “White” than immigrants from Asia and Latin America. Reducing the flow from southern and eastern Europe—if not halting it entirely, galvanized anti-immigration movements in the first decades of the twentieth century (and culminated in the passage of severe restrictions during the 1920s).

FACING NEW SOCIAL ISSUES Like Americans, Europeans also expressed concerns about trends at home. For example, intellectuals suggested that mechanization deprived men of their vitality. Darwinist theory provoked new anxieties about **degeneration**, the fear that inherited diseases and racial mixing were causing “civilized” people to become soft, weak, and sickly. Sexual relations between European colonizers and indigenous women—and their mixed offspring—had almost always been a part of European expansionism, but as racial identities hardened, many saw racial mixing as harmful to the supposed “superior” White races and to the moral fiber of the whole nation. Talk of virility arose, partly provoked by doctors’ and scientists’ involvement in treating social problems. Before long, English and American schoolboys were encouraged to play sports, to avoid becoming too weak to defend the nation. In addition, medical attention focused on homosexuality, regarding it as a disease and a threat to Anglo-Saxon

civilization. In France, the falling birthrate seemed to signal a period of decadence characterized by weak, sickly men and irrational women.

Some people tied degeneration to debates about whether Jews—defined by religious practice or, increasingly, by ethnicity—could be fully assimilated into European society. Even though Jews had gained rights as citizens in most European nations by the late nineteenth century, powerful prejudices persisted. In the 1880s and 1890s, violent pogroms, often involving police complicity, targeted the large Jewish populations in the Russian Empire’s western territories and pushed the persecuted farther westward. These emigrants’ presence, in turn, stirred up fear and resentment, especially in Austria, Germany, and France. Reactionaries began to talk about the “pollution” of the European races by mixing with Semites and to circulate rumors about Jewish bankers conspiratorial powers. Perhaps because nothing else seemed stable and enduring, wealthy White male Europeans (like their American counterparts) promoted programs of racial purity to shore up the civilizations they saw coming apart at the seams.

PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT In addition to immigration restriction, the dawning recognition about limitations on new lands and other vital natural resources prompted a rethinking of attitudes and policies about the environment on both sides of the North Atlantic. In the United States, the near extinction of the bison by hunters, the dramatic reduction of timber stands by logging companies, the rapid depletion of grasslands from overgrazing, and the pressing need to find water to sustain agriculture on the other parched lands of the American West alerted to the passing of the frontier. When Theodore Roosevelt became president of the United States in 1901, he translated concerns about protecting natural resources into government policy. The market, insisted Roosevelt and like-minded conservationists, could not be trusted to sustain natural resources. Instead, federal action and regulation were necessary. This led in 1902 to the passage of the National Reclamation Act, which provided funding for large-scale dams and irrigation projects. Three years later, the Roosevelt administration orchestrated the establishment of the National Forest Service to manage the development of millions of acres of permanent public lands.

Similar worries and remedies were at work in Europe. In France, nostalgia about vanishing pastoral landscapes and anxieties about widespread deforestation provoked efforts to restore at least portions of the countryside. As in the United States, conservation efforts were spearheaded not by rural inhabitants but by urban bourgeoisie, with newly protected landscapes often becoming tourist destinations for city dwellers. In Russia, however, it was peasant farmers and local officials, seeking to make the steppe lands more productive, who laid the foundation for a new kind of soil science. (See *Current Trends in World History: Adapting to the Environment: Russian Peasants Take on the Steppe*.)



Brazilian Modernization. These photographs convey two aspects of Brazilians’ drive to civilize. To the left is an image of the military leader Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, himself of mixed-blood descent, who was raised as an orphan in military schools—which were important institutions for racial blending and modernization. He made a career surveying the Amazon rivers and became a great defender of indigenous peoples. Here he is in 1910, posing as the civilizer-protector and receiving gifts from indigenous people in the Guaporé River valley near the Bolivian border. Contrast this scene of peaceful uplift with the image at right, of Café do Rio, one of the elite hot spots in the capital of Rio de Janeiro in 1912. Café was the symbol of Europeanization, fostering the spread of new customs of gentlemanly socializing among writers, politicians, and military leaders. The lishon of the day was to wear Panama hats, to sport brocaded shoes, and to drink local spirits. Note the absence of women. And there appears to be only one Afro-Brazilian customer (seated, with hat on, at the central table). For all its modernizing rhetoric, this elite culture was still highly exclusive.



Race-Mixing and the Problem of Nationhood in Latin America

In Latin America, debates about identity chiefly addressed ethnic intermingling and the legacy of a system of government that, unlike much of the North Atlantic world, excluded rather than included the populace. After all, social hierarchies reaching back to the sixteenth century ranked White Iberians (Whites born in Spain and Portugal) at the top, creole elites in the middle, and indigenous and African populations at the bottom. Thus, the higher on the social ladder, the more likely the people were to be White.

CONTESTED MIXTURES It is important to note that “mixing” did not lead to a shared heritage. Nor did it necessarily lead to homogeneity. In fact, the “racial” order did not stick, since some Iberians occupied the lower ranks, while a few people of color did manage to ascend the social ladder. Moreover, starting in the 1880s, the racial hierarchy saw further disruption by the deluge of poor European immigrants, the new flooding into prospering Latin American countryside or into booming cities like Buenos Aires in Argentina and São Paulo in Brazil. Latin American societies, then, did not easily

become homogeneous “nations.” Indeed, many Latin American observers wondered whether national identities could survive these transformations at all.

In an age of acute nationalism, the mixed racial composition of Latin Americans generated special anxieties. In the 1870s in Mexico, it was common to view Indians as obstacles to change. One demagogue, Antonio García Cubas, considered indigenous people “decadent and degenerate.” According to him, their presence deprived the republic of the right kind of citizens. In Cuba and Brazil, observers made the same claims about Black people. According to many modernizers, Latin America’s own people were holding it back. The solution, argued some writers, was to attract White immigrants and to establish educational programs that would “uplift” Indians, Blacks, and people of mixed descent. Thus, many intellectuals joined the crusade to modernize and westernize their populations. In the effort to “whiten” their republics, many Latin American governments made especially strong pitches for northern European migrants, despite the mounting evidence that they often made inferior farmers and did not work well with others. So, even by 1900, some of the shine of “pure” White races was rubbing off, not least because European migrants did not live up to the propagandists’ expectations.



Diego Rivera's History of Mexico. This is one of the most famous works of Mexican art, a portrait of the history of Mexico by the radical nationalist painter Diego Rivera. In this chapter and in Chapter 12, we have shown details from this mural. In stepping back to view the whole work, which is in the National Palace in Mexico City, we can see how Rivera envisioned the history of his people generally. Completed in 1935, this work seeks to show a people fighting constantly against outside aggressors. It winds like a grand epic from their glorious precolonial days (lower center) to the conquest, the colonial exploitation, the revolution for independence, nineteenth-century invasions from France and the United States, and the popular 1910 Mexican Revolution. It culminates in an image of Karl Marx, formed by a "scientific sun" that shone here—pointing to a future of progress and prosperity for all, as if restoring a modern Touchstone of the Aztecs. This work captured many Mexicans' efforts to return to the indigenous roots of the nation and to fuse them with modern scientific ideas.

PROMOTING NATIONALHOOD BY CELEBRATING THE PAST For their part, Latin American leaders began to exalt bygone glories as a way to promote national identity and foster unity. Inventing successful myths could make a government seem more legitimate—as the hero to a rightful struggle of the past. Thus, in Mexico, General Díaz took the bell that Father Hidalgo had tolled on September 16, 1810, to mark the beginning of the war against Spain (see Chapter 15) and placed it in the National Palace in Mexico City. In the month of that centennial in 1910, grand processions wound through the capital. Many of the parades celebrated Aztec grandeur, thereby creating a mythic arc from the greatness of the Aztec past to the triumphal story of Mexican independence—and to the benevolence and progress of the Díaz regime. As the government glorified the Aztecs with pageants, statues, and pavilions, however, it continued to ignore modern Aztec descendants, who lived in squalor.

Some thinkers now began to celebrate ancient heritages as a basis for modern national identities. For example, in Mexico and eventually in the Andes, the pre-Spanish past became a critical foundation stone of the nation-state. The young Mexican writer José Vasconcelos (1882–1959) grew disenchanted with

the brutal rule of Díaz and his westernizing ambitions. Nonetheless, he endorsed Díaz's celebration of the Indian past, for he believed that Mexicans were capable of a superior form of civilization. He insisted that if they had fewer material concerns, their combined Aztec and Spanish Catholic origins could create a spiritual realm of even higher achievement. In Vasconcelos's view, Mexico's greatness flowed not in spite of, but because of, its mixed nature.

Sun Yat-sen and the Making of a Chinese Nation

Just as Latin Americans celebrated an authentic past, Chinese writers emphasized the power and depth of Chinese culture—in contrast to the Qing Empire's failing political and social strength. Here, writers used race to emphasize the superiority of the Han Chinese. Here, too, the pace of change generated a desire to trace one's roots back to secure foundations. Moreover, traditions were renewed in the hope of saving a "Chinese culture" threatened by modernity.

In China, as elsewhere, scholars and political mobilizers took up the challenge of redefining identities. By the century's end, prominent members of both groups had abandoned their commitment to preserving the old order but were not ready to fully adopt western practices. Their attempts at combining traditions and values from home and abroad gave rise to the modern Chinese intelligentsia and modern Chinese nationalism.

PROMOTING HAN NATIONALISM Symbolizing the challenge of nation building were the endeavors of **Sun Yat-sen** (1886–1925), who was part of an emerging generation of critics of the old regime. Like his European counterparts, Sun dreamed of a political community reshaped along national lines. Born into a modest rural household in southern China, he studied medicine in the British colony of Hong Kong and then turned to politics during the Sino-Japanese War. When the Qing government rejected his offer of service to the Chinese cause, he became convinced that China's rulers were out of touch with the times. Subsequently, he established an organization based in Hawaii to advocate the Qing downfall and the cause of republicanism. The cornerstone of his message was Chinese nationalism—specifically, Han (the majority of the population) nationalism.

Sun blasted the feeble rule by the non-Han "considers," the Manchus, and trumpeted a sovereign political community of "race" Chinese. No ruler, he argued, could enjoy legitimacy without the nation's consent. He envisioned a new China free of Manchu rule, building a democratic form of government and an economic system based on equalized land rights. In this fashion, Sun claimed, China would join the world of nation-states and have the power to defend its borders.

Sun's nationalism did not catch on immediately in China itself, partly because the Qing regime persecuted all dissenters. His ideas fared better among the hundreds of thousands of Chinese who had emigrated in the second half of the nineteenth century. Often facing discrimination in their adopted homelands, these overseas communities applauded Sun's racial nationalism and democratic ideas. In addition, Chinese students studying abroad found inspiration in his message.

REPLACING THE QING AND RECONSTITUTING A NATION Sun's nationalist and republican call resonated more powerfully as the Qing Empire grew weaker early in the twentieth century. Military defeat at the hands of neighboring Japan and the fiasco of the Boxer Uprising further shook the dynasty. Realizing that reforms were necessary, the Manchu court began overhauling the administrative system and the military after the turn of the century. Yet these changes came too late. The old elites grumbled, and the new class of urban merchants, entrepreneurs, and professionals (who often benefited from business with westerners) regarded the government as outmoded. Moreover, peasants and

laborers resented the high cost of the reforms, which seemed to help only the rulers.

A mutiny, sparked in part by the government's nationalization of railroads and its low compensation to native Chinese investors, broke out in the city of Wuchang in central China in 1911. It signaled the start of what became known as the 1911 Revolution as unrest spread to other parts of the country, and Sun Yat-sen hurried home from traveling in the United States. Few people rallied to the emperor's cause, and the Qing dynasty collapsed—bringing an abrupt end to a dynastic tradition of more than 2,000 years.

China would soon be reconstituted, and Sun's ideas, especially those regarding race, would play a central role. The original flag of the republic, for example, consisted of five colors representing the citizenry's major racial groups: red for the Han, yellow for the Manchus, blue for the Mongols, white for the Tibetans, and black for the Muslims. But Sun had reservations about this multiracial flag, believing there should be only one Chinese race. The existence of different groups in China, he argued, was the result of incomplete assimilation—a problem that the modern nation now had to confront.

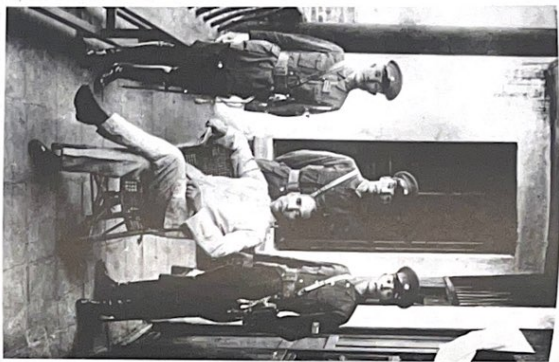
Nationalism and Invented Traditions in India

British imperial rule persisted in India, but the turn of the century saw cracks in its stronghold. Four strands had woven the territory together: the consolidation of colonial administration, the establishment of railways and telegraphs, the growth of western education and ideas, and the development of colonial capitalism. Now it was possible to speak of India as a single unit. And it was also possible for anticolonial thinkers to imagine seizing and ruling India by themselves. Thus, a new form of resistance emerged, different from peasant rebellions of the past. Now, dissenters talked of Indians as "a people" who had both a national past and national traditions.

A MODERNIZING ELITE Leaders of the nationalist opposition were western-educated intellectuals from colonial cities and towns. Although a tiny minority of the Indian population, they gained influence through their access to the official world and their familiarity with European knowledge and history. This elite group used their knowledge to develop modern cultural forms. For example, they turned colloquial languages (such as Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Tamil, and Malayalam) into standardized, literary forms for writing novels and dramas. Now the publication of journals, magazines, newspapers, pamphlets, novels, and dramas surged, facilitating communication throughout British India.



Sun Yat-sen. These two images of Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925), the man generally known as the “father of the Chinese nation,” capture the evolution of China’s cultural identity during this period. Left: In early 1912, Sun and the officials of the new republic, all of them civilians, in public in full western-style jackets and ties. Right: Sun is pictured here shortly before his death, surrounded by generals. Chung Kai-shek (1887–1975), standing behind him, had just been appointed commander of the Whompa Military Academy. By the time this photo was taken, China was sliding into civil war, and Sun was relying increasingly on the army. He feared that sovereignty could be assured only through a strong military.



Along with print culture came a growing public sphere where intellectuals debated social and political matters. By 1885, voluntary associations in big cities had united to establish a political party, the **Indian National Congress**. Lawyers, prominent merchants, and local nobles dominated its early leadership. The congress demanded greater representation of Indians in administrative and legislative bodies, criticized the government’s economic policies, and encouraged India’s industrialization.

Underlying this political nationalism, embodied by the Indian National Congress, was cultural nationalism. The nationalists claimed that Indians might not be a single race but were at least a unified people because of their unique culture and common colonial history. Indeed, nationalism in India (unlike in Europe) developed with an acute awareness of Indians as colonial subjects. The critical question was, Could India be a modern nation and hold on to its Indian identity?

intellectuals promoted the idea of the nation-state even though the region had no integrated, national history prior to colonization. To portray Indians as a people with a unifying religious creed, intellectuals reconfigured Hinduism so that it resembled western religion. This was no easy task, for traditional Hinduism did not have a supreme textual authority, a monotheistic God, an organized church, or an established creed. Nonetheless, nationalist Hindu intellectuals combined various philosophical texts, cultural beliefs, social practices, and Hindu traditions into a mix that they labeled the authentic Hindu religion. Other Indian revivalists, too, explored the roots of a national culture. Some researched ancient Indian contributions to astronomy, mathematics, algebra, chemistry, and medicine and called for a national science. In the fine arts, intellectuals constructed an imaginary line of continuity to the glorious past to promote a specifically Indian art and aesthetic sense of beauty).

While fashioning hybrid forms, revivalists also narrowed the definition of Indian traditions. As Hindu intellectuals looked back, they identified Hindu traditions and the pre-Islamic past as the only sources of India’s culture. Other contributors to the region’s mosaic past were forgotten; the Muslim past, in particular, had no prominent role. However, the Muslims and other religious, ethnic, and linguistic groups also attempted to mobilize their communities



Modern Indian Art. Painter Raja Ravi Varma’s 1899 portrait of Mahatma Gandhi incorporates elements typical to western art while retaining the palette, the patterns, and the focus on prominent individuals that reach back to India’s glorious past.

for modern, secular purposes. The Indian National Muslim League, for example, which formed in 1906, advanced the political interests of Muslims, not the Islamic religion.

HINDU REVIVALISM Hindu revivalism became a powerful political force in the late nineteenth century, when the nationalist challenge to the colonial regime took a militant turn. New leaders rejected constitutionalism and called for militant agitation. The British decision to partition Bengal in 1905 drew militants into the predominantly Muslim, the other Hindu—drew militants into the streets to urge the boycott of British goods. Rabindranath Tagore, a famous Bengali poet and future Nobel laureate, composed stirring nationalist poetry. Activists formed voluntary organizations, called Swadeshi (“one’s own country”) Samitis (“societies”), that championed indigenous enterprises for manufacturing soap, cloth, medicine, iron, and paper, as well as schools for imparting nationalist education. Although few of these ventures succeeded, they asserted Indians’ autonomy as a people. But the movement’s Hindu revivalist flavor alienated the Muslims. Even Tagore, who had served as the poet laureate of the Swadeshi movement, was so troubled by its

diversity that he went on to pen a novel, *Home and the World* (1916), that lamented the narrow-mindedness of nationalism.

Meanwhile, the Swadeshi movement swept aside the moderate leadership of the Indian National Congress and installed a radical leadership that broadened the nationalist agitation. Although the people did not topple the colonial regime, Indian mass mobilization was enough to alarm the British rulers, who turned to force to keep the colony intact. When the movement slipped into a campaign of terrorism in 1908, the government responded by imprisoning militant leaders. However, the colonial administrators annulled their partition of Bengal in 1911.

Late nineteenth-century Indian nationalism posed a kind of challenge to the British that was different from that of the suppressed 1857 rebellion. Back then, insurgents had wanted to preserve local identities against the encroaching modern state and colonial economy. Now, in contrast, nationalists imagined a modern national community. Involving religious and ethnic symbols, they formed modern political associations to operate in a national public arena. Unlike the insurgents of 1857, they did not seek a radical alternative to the colonial order; instead, they fought for the political rights of Indians as a national community. In these new nationalists, British rulers discovered an enemy not so different from themselves.

The Pan Movements

India and China were not the only places where activists dreamed of founding new states. Across the globe, groups had begun to imagine new communities based on ethnicity or, in



Rabindranath Tagore. The Bengali writer, philosopher, and teacher Rabindranath Tagore became the poet laureate of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal in 1903–1908. The first Asian Nobel laureate, he became disenchanted with nationalism, viewing it as narrow and not universalistic. The photo shows Tagore reading to a group of his students in 1929.

some cases, religion. **Pan movements** (from the Greek *pan-*, “all”) sought to link people across state boundaries. The grand aspiration of all these movements—which included pan-Islamism, pan-Islamism, pan-Africanism, pan-Slavism, pan-Turkism, pan-Arabism, pan-Germanism, and Zionism—was the rearrangement of borders to unite dispersed communities. But such remappings posed a threat to rulers of the Russian, Austrian, and Ottoman Empires, as well as to overseers of the British and the French colonial empires.

PAN-ISLAMISM Within the Muslim world, intellectuals and political leaders begged their coreligionists to put aside sectarian and political differences so that they could unite under the banner of Islam in opposition to European incursions. The leading spokesman for pan-Islamism was the well-traveled Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1838–1897). Born in Iran and given a Shiite upbringing, he nonetheless called on Muslims worldwide to overcome



Sultan Abdul Hamid II Agrees to a Constitution. In 1876, the new Ottoman sultan, Abdul Hamid II, agreed to reign as a constitutional monarch. Thanks in part to a war with Russia, which commenced the next year, and in part to the sultan's own dictatorial instincts, within two years' time the Ottoman Empire had reverted to absolute monarchy, and the sultan had begun to promote himself as a Muslim leader.

their Sunna and Shiite differences so that they could work together against the west. During a sojourn in Egypt, he joined with a young Egyptian reformer, Muhammad Abduh (1849–1905), to inspire an Islamic protest against Europe. Later, Afghani and Abduh (then living in Paris) published a pan-Islamic newspaper. Afghani subsequently made his way to Istanbul, where he supported the pan-Islamic ambitions of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, who promoted the defense of Islam as a way to thwart European schemes to divide up the Ottoman Empire.

The pan-Islamic appeal only added to Muslims' confusion as they confronted the west. Indeed, Arab Muslims living as Ottoman subjects had many calls on their loyalties. Should they support the Ottoman Empire to resist European encroachments? Or should they embrace the Islamism of Afghani? Most decided to work within the hedging nation-states of the Islamic world, looking to a Syrian or Lebanese identity as the way to deal with the west and gain autonomy. But Afghani and his disciples had struck a chord in Muslim culture, and their Islamic message has long retained a powerful appeal.

PAN-GERMANISM AND PAN-SLAVISM Pan-Germanism found followers across central Europe, where it often competed with a pan-Slavic movement that sought to unite all Slavs against their Austrian, German, and Ottoman overlords. This area had traditionally been ruled by German-speaking elites, who owned the land farmed by Poles, Czechs, Russians, and other Slavs. German elites began to feel increasingly uneasy as Slavic nationalisms (spurred by the midcentury revivals of traditional Czech, Polish, Serbian, and Ukrainian languages and cultures) became more popular. Even more threatening was the fact that the Slavic populations were growing faster than the German. As pogroms in the Russian Empire's borderlands in the 1880s, as well as economic opportunities, drew crowds of eastern European Jews westward, German resentment toward these newcomers also increased.

What made pan-Germanism a movement, however, was the intervention of a former liberal, Georg von Schönerer (1842–1921). In 1882, Schönerer, outraged by the Habsburg Empire's failure to favor Germans, founded the League of German Nationalists. It brought together students, artisans, teachers, and small businessmen in the interest of uniting German Austrians with the Germans in Bismarck's Empire. Schönerer decried the Jews, defining them by their “racial characteristics” rather than by their religious practices. After his election to the Austrian upper house, he attempted to pass anti-Jewish legislation modeled on the American Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.

The rhetoric of pan-Germanism motivated central Europeans to think of themselves as members of a German race, their identities determined by blood rather than defined by state boundaries. This, too, was the lesson of pan-Slavism. Both movements led fanatics to take actions that were dangerous to existing states. The organization

of networks of radical southern Slavs, for example, unsettled Serbia and Herzegovina (annexed by the Austrians in 1908). Indeed, it was a Serbian proponent of plans to carve an independent Slavic state out of Austrian territory in the Balkans who assassinated the heir to the Habsburg throne in June 1914. By August, the whole of Europe had descended into mass warfare, bringing much of the rest of the world directly or indirectly into the conflict as well. Eventually, the Great War would fulfill the pan-Slav, pan-German, and anti-Ottoman Muslim nationalist longings to tear down the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires.

Intellectuals articulated the pan movements, and aspiring political leaders and secret societies took up their ideologies, leaving Europe and much of Asia at the end of the nineteenth century boiling with ideas on how to create new political communities that could go beyond the nations and transcend the borders of the states.

CONCLUSION

Ever since the Enlightenment, Europeans had put their faith in “progress.” Through the nineteenth century, educated elites took pride in their booming industries, bustling cities, and burgeoning colonial empires. Yet by the century's end, urbanization and industrialization seemed more disrupting than uplifting, more disorienting than reassuring. Moreover, colonized people's resistance to the “civilizing mission” fueled doubts about the course of progress. Especially unsettling to the ruling elite was the realization that the people not only were against them but also were developing

ways to unsettle them. In colonial settings, nationalist leaders learned how to mobilize large populations. In Europe, socialists and right-wing leaders challenged liberal political power. By contrast, old elites, whose politics relied on closed-door negotiations between “rational” gentlemen, were unprepared to deal with modern ideas and identities. Nor were the elites able to control the scope of change: for the expansion of empires had drawn ever more people into an unbalanced global economy. Everywhere, disparities in wealth appeared—especially in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Moreover, the size and power of industrial operations threatened small firms and made individuals seem insignificant. Even some cities seemed too big and too dangerous. All these social and economic challenges stretched the capacities of gentlemanly politics.

Yet anxieties stimulated creative energy and experimental thinking that found expression in a movement that became known as modernism. Western artists borrowed nonwestern images and vocabularies; nonwestern intellectuals looked to the west for inspiration, even as they formulated anti-western ideas. The upheavals of modern experience propelled scholars to study the past and to fabricate utopian visions of the future.

Revels and dislocations, as well as cultural and political movements, influenced the reformulating of identities. However, this was an incomplete process. For even as these changes unsettled the European-centered world, they intensified rivalries among Europe's powers themselves. Thus, this order was unstable at its center—Europe itself. And in the massive conflict that destroyed this erst faith in progress, Europe would ravage itself. The Great War would yield an age of even more rapid change—and even more violent consequences.

TRACING THE GLOBAL STORYLINE

FOCUS ON: The Global Impact of Modernity

Global Trends

- Mass migrations and unprecedented urban expansion challenge national identities.
- Africa and China: Anticolonialism
- The Anglo-Boer War and violent uprisings against colonial rule in Africa call Europe's imperializing mission into question.
- The Chinese rebel against European encroachments in the Boxer Uprising.

Cultural Modernism

- Increased earning power gives workers in wealthy nations the leisure to enjoy music, vaudeville shows, sports, and other forms of popular culture and to read mass circulation newspapers.
- Elite culture explores new forms in painting, architecture, music, literature, and science in order to break with the past and differentiate itself more dramatically from popular culture.
- New ideas of race emerge, as does a renewed emphasis on the nation-state and nationalism.

After You Read This Chapter

- Europe and North America: Mounting Tensions
- Intense political rivalries, financial insecurities and crises, rapid industrialization, feminism, and class conflict roll Europe and spread to the rest of the world.

- Mexico: Resentment toward elites
- The most widespread revolution from below takes place in Mexico.



KEY TERMS

- anarchism p. 755
- Anglo-Boer War p. 746
- Boer Uprising p. 748
- doing of the frontier p. 757
- degeneration p. 764
- Indian National Congress p. 768
- Modern Revolution p. 756
- modernism p. 757
- pan movements p. 770
- popular culture p. 758
- progressive reformers p. 757
- Shanghai School p. 760
- Sun Yat-sen p. 767
- syndicalism p. 755

THINKING ABOUT GLOBAL CONNECTIONS

- **Thinking about Crossing Borders and an Unsettled World** How did mobility of different kinds unsettle established certainties in this period? Think in particular of the massive flight of farmers toward cities and the erosion of traditional social hierarchies; the prevalence of steamships and rail travel, which made long-distance journeys easier than ever before; and the emergence of the telephone and telegraph, which revolutionized communications.
- **Thinking about Changing Power Relationships and an Unsettled World** To what extent were challenges to western influence internal to the western tradition—the product of growing doubts and contradictions within the Enlightenment project—articulated by Europeans like Nietzsche and Freud? To what degree were they external to that tradition—a reaction against the massive concentration of wealth and power centered in the west and the values that supported western dominance?
- **Thinking about Women and Gender in an Unsettled World** To what degree did the economic and technological breakthroughs of the nineteenth century improve women's lives? To what extent were women able to make claims on governments in different parts of the world? How did ordinary women take control of their bodies and their lives, and how did feminists challenge patriarchal cultures?



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CHRONOLOGY



GLOBAL THEMES AND SOURCES

Global Feminisms

The word *feminist* first entered common usage in French in the 1890s; shortly thereafter, it appeared in English and then in a wide array of languages. Demands for women's rights, however, emerged long before that, as we have seen, and they did so around the world.

Here we present a range of women's voices on women's rights. From the middle of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth, all four women spoke up on behalf of women and basic justice. All invoked religion in their writings. But they made their cases in very different ways: they differed in particular in their appreciation (or rejection) of women's difference from men and, in varying degrees, in their views of work, education, and the importance of motherhood. Sojourner Truth (c. 1797–1883) became known as a powerful abolitionist orator and preacher after her emancipation. Though unable to read or write, she left an indelible mark with her speeches. In the speech reprinted here, delivered at a women's rights convention in Akron, Ohio, in 1851, she rebukes the antilemnist statements of White male ministers. The next three documents were written by privileged women. Argentine writer María Eugenia Echenique centers her argument on equality of opportunity in an article published in a feminist journal. In a public speech Qiu Jin urges Chinese women to take their destiny into their own hands and encourages those who marry to be full partners with their husbands, while Bahaiyah al-Badiya concentrates in her lecture on equality in the workplace for Egyptian women.

Compare these documents. Pay attention to the different ways in which they all challenge women's exclusion.

Analyzing Global Feminisms Comparatively

- Explain what women's rights means to these authors. What supports rights in their view, and what stands in the way of rights? Do the authors agree or disagree with one another?
- What social classes did these women represent? Explain the significance of class in each document.
- Compare the opinions of marriage and motherhood expressed in these documents.
- Compare the distinctions the texts draw between the private and public life.

PRIMARY SOURCE 18.1

"Ain't I a Woman?" (1851), Sojourner Truth

Born into slavery in New York State, Sojourner Truth gained her freedom in 1827 and became well known as an abolitionist speaker and advocate of women's rights. This document is an extemporaneous speech to a women's convention in Akron, Ohio, in 1851, as remembered later by Frances D. Gage.

- Why did the other women at the meeting ask Gage not to allow Sojourner Truth to speak? What were they afraid of?
- What does Truth mean when she says, "Ain't I a woman?"
- What role does religion play in this document?

Reminiscences by Frances D. Gage.

Sojourner Truth.

The leaders of the movement trembled on seeing a tall, gaunt black woman in a gray dress and white turban, surmounted with an uncouth sun-bonnet, march deliberately into the church, walk with the air of a queen up the aisle, and take her seat upon the pulpit steps. A buzz of disapprobation was heard all over the house, and there fell on the hissing ear, "An abolition affair!" "Woman's rights and niggers!" "I told you so!" "Go it, darkey!"

I chanced on that occasion to wear my first laurels in public life as president of the meeting. At my request order was restored, and the business of the Convention went on. Morning, afternoon, and evening exercises came and went. Through all these sessions old Sojourner, quiet and reticent as the "Lydian Statue," sat crouched against the wall on the corner of the pulpit stairs, her sun-bonnet shading her eyes, her elbows on her knees, her chin resting upon her broad, hard palms. At intermission she was busy selling the "Life of Sojourner Truth," a narrative of her own strange and adventurous life. Agagin and again, timorous and trembling ones came to me and said, with earnestness, "Don't let her speak, Mrs. Gage; it will ruin us. Every newspaper in the land will have our cause mixed up with abolition and niggers, and we shall be utterly denounced! My only answer was, "We shall see when the time comes!"

The second day the work waxed warm. Methodists, Baptists, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Universalist ministers came in to hear and discuss the resolutions presented. One claimed

superior rights and privileges for man, on the ground of "superior intellect," another, because of the "manhood of Christ; if God had desired the equality of woman, He would have given some token of His will through the birth, life, and death of the Saviour." Another gave us a theological view of the "sin of our first mother."

There were very few women in those days who dared to "speak in meetings," and the august teachers of the people were seemingly getting the better of us, while the boys in the galleries, and the sisters among the pews, were hugely enjoying the discomfiture, as they supposed, of the "strong-minded." Some of the tender-skinned friends were on the point of losing dignity, and the atmosphere brooked a storm. When, slowly from her seat in the corner rose Sojourner Truth, who, till now, had scarcely lifted her head, "Don't let her speak!" gasped half a dozen in my ear. She moved slowly and solemnly to the front, laid her old bonnet at her feet, and turned her great speaking eyes to me. There was a hissing sound of disapprobation above and below. I rose and announced, "Sojourner Truth," and begged the audience to keep silence for a few moments.

The tumult subsided at once, and every eye was fixed on this almost Amazon form, which stood nearly six feet high, head erect, and eyes piercing the upper air like one in a dream. At her first word there was a profound hush. She spoke in deep tones, which, though not loud, reached every ear in the house, and away through the throng at the doors and windows.

"Wall, children, what dar is so much racket dar must be something out o' kilter. I talk dar, twixt de niggers of de South and de woman at de North, I talk dar 'bout rights, de white men will be in a fix pretty soon, but what's all dis here talkin' 'bout?"

"Dat man ober dar say dat woman needs to be helped into carriages, and lifted ober ditches, and to hab de best place every-where. Nobody eber helps me into carriages, or ober mud-puddles, or gibs me any best place!" And raising herself to her full height, and her voice to a pitch like rolling thunder, she asked, "And a'ti I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arm! (and she bared her right arm to the shoulder, showing her tremendous muscular power). I have ploughed, and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me! And a'ti I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man—when I could get it—and bear de lash as well! And a'ti I a woman? I have borne thirteen children, and seen 'em mos' all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me! And a'ti I a woman?"

"Den dey talks 'bout dis ting in de head, what dis dey call it?" ("Intellect," whispered some one near.) "Dat's it, honey. What's dat you do do wid woman's rights or nigger's rights? If my cup won't hold but a pint, and yourn holds a quart, wouldn't ye be mean but to let me have my little half-measure full?" And she pointed her significant finger, and sent a keen glance at the minister who had made the argument. The cheering was long and loud.

"Den dat little man in black dar, he say women can't have as much rights as men, cause Christ want a woman! What did your Christ come from?" Rolling thunder couldn't have sullied that crowd, as did those deep, wonderful tones, as she stood there with outstretched arms and eyes of fire. Raising her voice still louder, she repeated, "What did your Christ come from? From God and a woman! Man had nothin' to do wid Him." "Oh, what a rebuke dat was to that little man."

Turning again to another objector, she took up the defense of Mother Eve: I can not follow her through it all. It was pointed, and witty, and solemn, eliciting at almost every sentence deafening applause; and she ended by asserting, "If de first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn de world upside down all alone, dese women togedder (and she glanced her eye over the platform) ought to be able to turn it back, and get it right side up again! And now dey is asking to do it, de men better let em." Long-continued cheering greeted this. "Blessed to ye for hearn' on me, and now ole Sojourner hant' you nothin' more to say!"

Amid roars of applause, she returned to her corner, leaving more than one of us with streaming eyes, and hearts beaming with gratitude. She had taken us up in her strong arms and carried us safely over the slough of difficulty turning the whole tide in our favor. I have never in my life seen anything like the magical influence that subdued the mobbish spirit of the day, and turned the sneers and jeers of an excited crowd into notes of respect and admiration. Hundreds rushed up to shake hands with her, and congratulate the glorious old mother, and bid her God-speed on her mission of "testifyin' agin concerning the wickedness of this 'ere people."

Source: Sojourner Truth, "Ain't I a Woman?" in *History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 1, 2nd ed., edited by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joselyn Gage (Rochester, NY: Charles Mann, 1899), 113–17.

PRIMARY SOURCE 18.2

"The Emancipation of Women" (1876),

María Eugenia Echenique

In Argentina, the young writer María Eugenia Echenique (1851–1878) advocated scientific education for women. She presented her views in a leading women's newspaper, *La Orlina del Plata*, in July 1876, in reply to a critic who celebrated women's role as mothers who were responsible for the home and could only be corrupted by public life.

- What, according to Echenique, is the principal obstacle standing in the way of women's rights?
- What is the relationship between motherhood and women's rights?
- Explain the significance of biological difference in this document.

When emancipation was given to men, it was also given to women in recognition of the equality of rights, consistent with the principles of nature on which they are founded; that proclaim the identity of soul between men and women. Thus, Argentine women have been emancipated by law for a long time. The code of law that governs a widow to defend her rights in court, just as an educated woman can in North America, and like her, we can manage the interests of our children, these rights being the basis for emancipation. What we lack is sufficient education and instruction to make use of them, instruction that North American women have; it is not just recently that we have proclaimed our freedom. To try to question or to oppose women's emancipation is to oppose something that is almost a fact; it is to attack our laws and destroy the Republic.

So let the debate be there, on the true point where it should be, whether or not it is proper for women to make use of those granted rights, asking as a consequence the authorization to go to the university so as to practice those rights or make them effective. And this constitutes another right and duty in woman: a duty to accept the role that our own laws bestow on her when extending the circle of her jurisdiction and which makes her responsible before the members of her family.

This assuming that the woman is a mother. But, are all women going to marry? Are all going to be relegated to a life of inaction during their youth or while they remain single? Is it so easy for all women to look for a stranger to defend their offended dignity, their belittled honor, their stolen interests? Don't we see every day how the laws are trodden underfoot, and the victim, being a woman, is forced to bow her head because she does not know how to defend herself, exposed to lies and tricks because she does not know the way to clarify the truth?

Far from causing the breakdown of the social classes, the emancipation of women would establish morality and justice in them; men would have a brake that would halt the "impetuous need" that they have made of the "lies and tricks" of litigation, and the science of jurisprudence, so sacred and magnificent in itself but degenerated today because of abuses, would return to its splendor and true objective once women take part in the forum. Generous and abnegated by nature, women would teach men humanitarian principles and would condemn the frenzy and insults that make a battlefield out of the courtroom.

Women either resolve to drown the voice of their hearts, or they listen to that voice and renounce emancipation. If emancipation is opposed to the tender sentiments, to the voice of the heart, then men who are completely emancipated and study science are not capable of love. The beautiful and tender girl who gives her heart to a doctor or to a scientist, gives it, then, to a story man, incapable of appreciating it or responding to her; women could not love emancipated men, because where women find love, men find it too, in both burns the same heart's flame.

I have seen that those who do not practice science, who do not know their duties or the rights of women, who are ignorant, are the ones who abandon their wives, not the ones who, concentrated on their studies and duties, barely have time to give them a caress.

Men as much as women are victims of the indifference that ignorance, not science, produces. Men are more slaves of women who abuse the prestige of their weakness and become tyrants in their home, than of the schooled and scientific women who understand their duties and are capable of something. With the former the husband has to play the role of man and woman, because she ignores everything she is not capable of consoling nor helping her husband; she is not capable of giving tenderness because, preoccupied with herself, she becomes demanding, despondent, and vain, and she does not know how to make a happy home. For her there are no responsibilities to carry out, only whims to satisfy. This is typical, we see it happening every day.

The ignorant woman, the one who voluntarily closes her heart to the sublime principles that provoke sweet emotions in it and elevate the mind, revealing to men the deep secrets of the All-Powerful, the woman incapable of helping her husband in great enterprises for fear of losing the prestige of her weakness and ignorance; the woman who only aspires to get married and reproduce, and understands maternity as the only mission of women on earth—she can be the wife of a savage because in him she can satisfy all her aspirations and hopes, following the law of nature that operates even on beasts and inanimate beings.

I would renounce and disown my sex if the mission of women were reduced only to procreation, yes, I would renounce it, but the mission of women in the world is much more grandiose and sublime, it is more than the Beasts; it is the one of teaching humankind, and in order to teach it is necessary to know. A mother should know science in order to inspire in her children great deeds and noble sentiments, making them feel superior to the other objects in the universe; teaching them from the cradle to become familiar with great scenes of nature where they should go to look for God and love Him. And nothing more sublime and ideal than the scientific mother who, while her husband goes to cafes or to the political club to talk about state interests, she goes to spend some of the evening at the astronomical observatory, with her children by her hand to show them Jupiter, Venus, preparing in that way their tender hearts for the most legitimate and sublime aspirations that could occupy the minds. This sacred mission in the scientific mother who understands emancipation—the fulfillment of which, far from causing the abandonment of the home, causes it to unite more closely—instead of causing displeasure to her husband, she will cause his happiness.

The abilities of men are not so miserable that the carrying out of one responsibility would make it impossible to carry out

others. There is enough time and competence for cooking and mending, and a great soul such as that of women, equal to that of their males, born to embrace all the beauty that exists in Creation of divine origin and end, should not be wasted all on seeing if the plates are clean and rocking the cradle.

Source: Maria Eugenia FitzGibbon, "The Emancipation of Women," translated by Francisco Alonso Pablos, in *Reading about the World*, vol. 2, edited by Paul Harris et al. (Oxford: Harcourt Brace College Publishing, 1999).

PRIMARY SOURCE 18.3

Injustices to Chinese Women (early twentieth century), Qiu Jin

Qiu Jin (1875–1907) was a Chinese revolutionary, feminist, and writer. She left her two children and an abusive marriage behind in 1903 to travel to Japan, where she wore men's clothing and learned to make bombs. She joined a range of overseas Chinese groups that strove to overthrow the Qing Empire and was later executed for her role in an abortive nationalist uprising. In the public address reprinted here, Qiu speaks out against arranged marriages and urges women to take charge of their own future.

- According to Qiu Jin, what is the principal obstacle standing in the way of women's rights?
- On what basis does Qiu criticize arranged marriages?
- What significance, if any, does motherhood have in this document? Does Qiu demand women's rights as mothers and educators of children or on some other basis?

An Address to Two Hundred Million Fellow Countrywomen

Alas! The greatest injustice in this world must be the injustice suffered by our female population of two hundred million. If a girl is lucky enough to have a good father, then her childhood is at least tolerable. But if by chance her father is an ill-tempered and unreasonable man, he may curse her birth. "What rotten luck! another useless thing." Some men go as far as killing baby girls while most hold the opinion that "girls are eventually someone else's property" and treat them with coldness and disdain. In a few years, without thinking about whether it is right or wrong, he forcibly binds his daughter's soul, white feet with white cloth so that even in her sleep she cannot find comfort and relief until the flesh becomes rotten and the bones broken. What is all this misery for? Is it just so that on the girl's wedding day friends and neighbors will compliment him, saying, "Our daughter's feet are really small"? Is that what the pain is for?

But that is not the worst of it. When the time for marriage comes, a girl's future life is placed in the hands of a couple of shameless matchmakers and a family seeking rich and powerful in-laws. A match can be made without anyone ever inquiring whether the prospective bridegroom is honest, kind, or educated. On the day of the marriage the girl is forced into a red and green

bridal sedan chair, and all this time she is not allowed to breathe one word about her future. After her marriage, if the man doesn't do her any harm, she is told that she should thank Heaven for her good fortune. But if the man is bad or if he ill-treats her, she is told that her marriage is retribution for some sin committed in her previous existence. If she complains at all or tries to reason with her husband, he may get angry and beat her. When other people find out they will criticize, saying, "That woman is bad; she doesn't know how to behave like a wife." What can she do? When a man dies, his wife must mourn him for three years and never remarry. But if the woman dies, her husband only needs to tie his queue with a blue thread. Some men consider this to be ugly and don't even do it. In some cases, three days after his wife's death, a man will go out for some "entertainment." Sometimes, before seven weeks have passed, a new bride has already arrived at the door. When Heaven created people it never intended such injustice because if the world is without women, how can men be born? Why is there no justice for women? We constantly hear men say, "The human mind is just and we must treat people with fairness and equality." Then why do they great women like black slaves from Africa? How did inequality and injustice reach this state?

Dear sisters, you must know that you'll get nothing if you rely upon others. You must go out and get things for yourselves. In ancient times when decadent scholars came out with such nonsense as "men are exalted, women are lowly," a virtuous woman is one without talent, and "the husband guides the wife," ambitious and spirited women should have organized and opposed them. When the second Chen ruler popularized footbinding, women should have challenged him if they had any sense of humiliation at all. . . . Men feared that if women were educated they would become superior to men, so they did not allow us to be educated. Couldn't the women have challenged the men and refused to submit? It seems clear now that it was we women who abandoned our responsibilities to ourselves and felt content to let men do everything for us. As long as we could live in comfort and leisure, we let men make all the decisions for us. When men said we were useless, we became useless; when they said we were incapable, we stopped questioning them even when our entire female sex had reached slave status. At the same time, we were insecure in our good fortune and our physical comfort, so we did everything to please men. When we heard that men like small feet, we immediately bound them just to please them, just to keep our free meal tickets. As for their forbidding us to read and their knowledge, wisdom, and hard work, received the right to freedom while we became their slaves. And as slaves, how can we escape repression? Whom can we blame but ourselves since we have brought this on ourselves? I feel very sad talking about

this, yet I feel that there is no need for me to elaborate since all of us are in the same situation.

I hope that we all shall put aside the past and work hard for the future. Let us all put aside our former selves and be resurrected as complete human beings. Those of you who are old, do not call yourselves old and useless. If your husbands want to open schools, don't stop them; if your good sons want to study abroad, don't hold them back. Those among us who are middle-aged, don't hold back your husbands lest they lose their ambition and spirit and fall in their work. After your sons are born, send them to schools. You must do the same for your daughters and, whatever you do, don't bind their feet. As for you young girls among us, go to school if you can. If not, read and study at home. Those of you who are rich, persuade your husbands to open schools, build factories, and contribute to charitable organizations. Those of you who are poor, work hard and help your husbands. Don't be lazy, don't eat idle rice. These are what I hope for you. You must know that when a country is near destruction, women cannot rely on the men any more because they aren't even able to protect themselves. If we don't take heart now and shape up, it will be too late when China is destroyed.

Sisters, we must follow through on these ideas!

Source: Qiu Jin, "An Address to Two Hundred Million Fellow Countrywomen," in *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook*, 2nd ed., edited by Francis H. H. King (New York: Free Press, 1931), pp. 343–44.

PRIMARY SOURCE 18.4

Industrialization and Women's Freedom in Egypt (1909), Bahithat al-Badiya

Malik Hifni Nasif (1886–1918) was born into a literary, middle-class Cairo family that encouraged her education. She was a member of the first graduating class of the Girls' Section of the Abbas Primary School in 1901 and continued her schooling in the Saniyyah Teacher Training College but had to quit when she married. She moved to the desert and began writing under the pseudonym Bahithat al-Badiya ("Seeker in the Desert").

- How does the author's social background shape her views?
- Analyze the relationship between public and private in this text. What is the author's view of the idea of separate spheres for men and women?
- Explain al-Badiya's support for the veil.

A Lecture in the Club of the Urma Party

Ladies, I greet you as a sister who feels what you feel, suffers what you suffer and rejoices in what you rejoice . . .

Our meeting today is not simply for getting acquainted or for displaying our finery but it is a serious meeting. I wish to seek agreement on an approach we can take and to examine

our shortcomings in order to correct them. . . . At the moment there is a semi-flood between us and men because of the low level of agreement between us. Men blame the discord on our poor upbringing and haphazard education while we claim it is due to men's arrogance and pride. This mutual blame which has deepened the antagonism between the sexes is something to be regretted and feared. God did not create man and woman to hate each other but to love each other and to live together so the world would be populated. If men live alone in one part of the world and women are isolated in another both will vanish in time.

Men say when we become educated we shall push them out of work and abandon the role for which God has created us. But, isn't it rather men who have pushed women out of work? Before, women used to spin and to weave cloth for clothes for themselves and their children, but men invented machines for spinning and weaving and put women out of work. In the past, women sewed clothes for themselves and their households but men invented the sewing machine. The iron for these machines is mined by men and the machines themselves are made by men. Then men took up the profession of tailoring and began to make clothes for our men and children. Before women winnowed the wheat and ground flour on grinding stones for the bread they used to make with their own hands, sifting flour and kneading dough. Then men established bakeries employing men. They gave us bread but at the same time pushed us out of work. . . .

I do not mean to denigrate these useful inventions which do a lot of our work. Nor do I mean to imply that they do not satisfy our needs. But, I simply wanted to show that men are the ones who started to push us out of work and that if we were to edge them out today we would only be doing what they have already done to us.

The question of monopolizing the workplace comes down to individual freedom. One man wishes to become a doctor, another a merchant. Is it right to tell a doctor he must quit his profession and become a merchant or vice versa? No. Each has the freedom to do as he wishes. . . .

Specialized work for each sex is a matter of convention. It is not mandatory. We women are now unable to do hard work because we have not been accustomed to it. . . .

Nothing irritates me more than when men claim they do not wish us to work because they wish to spare us the burden. We do not want condescension, we want respect. They should replace the first with the second. . . .

Men criticize the way we dress in the street. They have a point because we have exceeded the bounds of custom and propriety. We claim we are veiling but we are neither properly covered nor unveiled. I do not advocate a return to the veils of our grandmothers because it can rightly be called being buried alive, not *hijab*, correct covering. The woman used to spend her whole life within the walls of her house not going out into the street

except when she was carried to her grave. I do not, on the other hand, advocate unveiling, like Europeans, and mixing with men, because they are harmful to us. . . .

If we had been raised from childhood to go unveiled and if our men were ready for it I would approve of unveiling for those who want it. But the nation is not ready for it now. . . .

Veiling should not prevent us from breathing fresh air or going out to buy what we need if no one can buy it for us. It must not prevent us from gaining an education nor cause our health to deteriorate. When we have finished our work and feel restless and if our house does not have a spacious garden why shouldn't we go to the outskirts of the city and take the fresh air that God has created for everyone and not just put in boxes exclusively for men. But, we should be prudent and not take promenades alone

and we should avoid gossip. We should not saunter moving our heads right and left. . . .

The imprisonment in the home of the Egyptian woman of the past is detrimental while the current freedom of the Europeans is excessive. I cannot find a better model of today's Turkish woman. She falls between the two extremes and does not violate what Islam prescribes. She is a good example of decorum and modesty. . . .

If we pursue everything western we shall destroy our own civilization and a nation that has lost its civilization grows weak and vanishes.

Source: Bahithat al-Badiya, "A Public Lecture for Women Only in the Club of the Urma Party," from "Industrialization and Women's Freedom in Egypt," in *Opening the Gates: A Century of Arab Feminist Writing*, edited by Margot Badran and Mervin Cooke (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), pp. 228–34, 236.

INTERPRETING VISUAL EVIDENCE

Global Modernism

Modernism was an international cultural movement that reacted against established traditions and sought to mark a break between the old and the new. In Europe, the movement's center, modernists challenged the Enlightenment belief in stable, universal truth. They criticized realism—the attempt to reproduce the natural world and human interactions faithfully—like a photograph—as naive and superficial; they believed realists compressed a three-dimensional reality into two and left out the passions and often-irrational urges that motivate human behavior.

When the Franco-Spanish artist Pablo Picasso first showed his painting *Les Femmes d'Alger* (The Courtesans of Algiers, 1907), his friends accused him of wasting his talents, and outraged critics likened the canvas to a broken pane of glass.



Picasso, *Les Femmes d'Alger*.

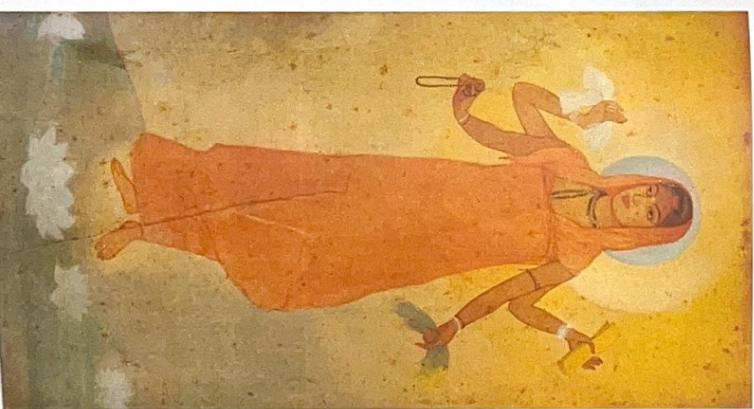
Picasso broke all the rules of the art academies. He abandoned perspective and proportion, distorted shapes, and borrowed from what at the time were considered primitive cultures in order to criticize the hypocrites of bourgeois European culture. Rather than idealizing the human form of nymphs or classical goddesses, Picasso rendered it in jagged, jarring terms, presenting five common prostitutes in a brothel.

Influenced by Europe, modernists elsewhere challenged a different set of established traditions, but they too set out to redefine what it meant to be modern. For them, the problem was how to be Bengali, Chinese, or Egyptian, for example, and modern at the same time. In *Playing the Flute* (painted between 1860 and 1880), the Shanghai School artist Ren Bonian relied on old conventions in Chinese art like the use of text and folk elements (the solitary,



Ren Bonian, *Playing the Flute*.

meditative figure). But he also drew inspiration from international currents in the use of colors and naturalist imagery. Note, for instance, the grained roots. Like many European Romantics, Ren Bonian offers a pastoral scene, a retreat from the noisy urban world alluded to by the wall or tall fence. This fades into a plain



Jagore Bhavai Mata

white background, as if to clear room for imported western motifs among the established traditions of Chinese art.

The Indian artist Abanindranath Tagore painted a number of works that drew inspiration from Mughal art. His best-known work, *Bhavai Mata* (Mother India, 1905), presents a young woman with four arms, in the manner of Hindu gods, holding symbols of India's national aspirations—a book, sheaves of rice, Hindu prayer beads, and a white cloth—in an effort to create nationalist feeling in Indians across the subcontinent.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Identify similarities in these works. Do you see connections in terms of the use of color or other artistic techniques? What characteristics, if any, do they share?
2. With whom were the artists trying to communicate? To whom were they responding? How broad do you think they imagined their public was, compared to the audiences for the images reproduced in the Interpreting Visual Evidence section of Chapter 17?
3. What do you think each artist understood by the term *modern*, and how is this reflected in his work?