

CONTEMPORARY World History



William J. Duiker

SEVENTH
EDITION

CONTEMPORARY WORLD HISTORY

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William J. Duiker

The Pennsylvania State University



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Seventh Edition
William J. Duiker**

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WILLIAM J. DUIKER is liberal arts professor emeritus of East Asian studies at The Pennsylvania State University. A former U.S. diplomat with service in Taiwan, South Vietnam, and Washington, D.C., he received his doctorate in Far Eastern history from Georgetown University in 1968, where his dissertation dealt with the Chinese educator and reformer Cai Yuanpei. At Penn State, he has written extensively on the history of Vietnam and modern China, including the highly acclaimed *The Communist Road to Power in Vietnam* (revised edition, Westview Press, 1996), which was selected for a Choice Outstanding Academic Book Award in 1982–1983 and 1996–1997. Other published books are *China and Vietnam: The Roots of Conflict* (Berkeley, 1987); *Sacred War: Nationalism and Revolution in a Divided Vietnam* (McGraw-Hill, 1995); and *Ho Chi Minh* (Hyperion, 2000), which was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize in 2001. He is the author, with colleague Jackson Spielvogel, of *World History* (ninth edition, Cengage, 2019). While his research specialization is in the field of nationalism and Asian revolutions, his intellectual interests are considerably more diverse. At Penn State, he served for ten years as Director of International Programs in the College of Liberal Arts, and was awarded a Faculty Scholar Medal for Outstanding Achievement in the spring of 1996. In 2002 the College of Liberal Arts honored him with an Emeritus Distinction Award.

TO JULES F. DIEBENOW (1929–2013),
INVETERATE FELLOW TRAVELER, MENTOR, AND FRIEND.
W.J.D.

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PREFACE

The twentieth century was an era of paradox. When it began, Western civilization was an emerging powerhouse that bestrode the world like a colossus. Internally, however, the continent of Europe was a patchwork of squabbling states that within a period of less than three decades engaged in two bitter internecine wars that threatened to obliterate two centuries of human progress. As the century came to an end, the Western world had become prosperous and increasingly united, yet there were clear signs that global economic and political hegemony was beginning to shift to the East. In the minds of many observers, the era of Western dominance had come to a close.

In other ways as well, the twentieth century was marked by countervailing trends. While parts of the world experienced rapid industrial growth and increasing economic prosperity, other regions were still mired in abject poverty. The century's final decades were characterized by a growing awareness of not only global interdependence, but also burgeoning ethnic and national consciousness; the period witnessed both the rising power of science and a new era of fervent religiosity and growing doubts about the impact of technology on the human experience.

As the closing chapters of this book indicate, these trends have continued and even intensified in the two decades that have ensued since the advent of the new millennium. The eastward shift of power and influence that had already occurred with the rise of China and Japan has become more pronounced, while the Western democracies have become increasingly mired in economic stagnation, self-doubt, and political disunity. In the meantime, the Technological Revolution, along with the inexorable force of globalization, is exerting an influence on world society similar to that exerted by the Industrial Revolution during the course of the nineteenth century. Although the ultimate effects cannot yet be foreseen, it is increasingly clear that the Enlightenment vision of a world characterized by peace, prosperity, and human freedom can no longer be taken for granted.

Contemporary World History (formerly titled *Twentieth-Century World History*) seeks to chronicle the key events in this revolutionary era while seeking to throw light on some of the underlying issues that have shaped our times. Did the beginning of a new millennium indeed mark the end of the long period of Western dominance? If so, will recent decades of European and American superiority be

followed by a "Pacific century," with economic and political power shifting to the nations of eastern Asia? Will the end of the Cold War eventually lead to a "new world order" marked by global cooperation, or are we now entering an unstable era of ethnic and national conflict? Will the dream of liberal democracy and human freedom give way to a new reality marked by political authoritarianism and social regimentation? Why has a time of unparalleled prosperity and technological advance been accompanied by deep pockets of poverty and widespread doubts about the role of government and the capabilities of human reason? Will the relentless process of globalization lead to a new world civilization or to an era of conflict similar to that brought about by the Industrial Revolution? Although this book does not promise final answers to such questions, it seeks to provide a framework for analysis and a better understanding of some of the salient issues of modern times.

Any author who seeks to encompass in a single volume the history of our turbulent times faces some important choices. First, should the book be arranged in strict chronological order, or should separate chapters focus on individual cultures and societies in order to place greater emphasis on the course of events taking place in different regions of the world? In this book, I have sought to achieve a balance between a global and a regional approach. I accept the commonplace observation that the world we live in is increasingly interdependent in terms of economics as well as culture and communications. Yet the inescapable reality is that this process of globalization is at best a work in progress, as ethnic, religious, and regional differences continue to proliferate and to shape the course of our times. It seems increasingly clear that the oft-predicted transformation of the world into what has been termed a "global village" marked by the inevitable triumph of the democratic capitalist way of life is by no means a preordained vision of the future of the human experience. In fact, influential figures in many countries, from China to Russia and the Middle East, emphatically deny that the forces of globalization will inevitably lead to the worldwide adoption of the Western model and have provided their own formula for the world experience.

There is another reason for avoiding a strictly thematic approach in favor of focusing on the historical experience of different countries and regions as they attempt to navigate the complexities of the contemporary world.

College students today are often not well informed about the distinctive character of civilizations such as China, India, and sub-Saharan Africa. Without sufficient exposure to the historical evolution of such societies, students will assume all too readily that the peoples in these countries have had historical experiences similar to their own and react to various stimuli in a fashion similar to those living in western Europe or the United States. If it is a mistake to ignore the forces that link us together, it is equally erroneous to underestimate the factors that still divide us.

Balancing the global and regional perspectives means that some chapters of this book focus on issues that have a global impact, such as the Industrial Revolution, the era of imperialism, and the two world wars. Others center on individual regions of the world, while singling out contrasts and comparisons that link them to the broader world community. The book is divided into five parts. The first four parts are each followed by a short section labeled “Reflections,” which attempts to link events in a broad comparative and global framework. The chapter in the fifth and final part examines some of the common problems of our time—including human inequality, climate change, the population explosion, the impact of technology, and spiritual malaise—and takes a cautious look into the future to explore how such issues might evolve over the course of the twenty-first century.

One issue that has recently attracted widespread discussion and debate among world historians is how to balance the treatment of Western civilization with that given other parts of the world. Until recently, the modern world has usually been viewed by Western historians essentially as the history of Europe and the United States, with other regions treated as mere appendages of the industrial countries. It is certainly true that much of the twentieth century was dominated by events that were initiated in Europe and North America, and in recognition of this fact, the opening chapters in this book focus on the Industrial Revolution and the age of imperialism, both issues directly related to the rise of the West and its impact on the modern world. In recent decades, however, other regions of the world have assumed greater importance, thus restoring a global balance that had existed prior to the scientific and technological revolution that transformed the West in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Later chapters in this book examine this phenomenon in more detail, thus according to regions such as Africa, Asia, and Latin America the importance that they merit today.

In sum, this seventh edition of *Contemporary World History* seeks to present a balanced treatment of the most important political, economic, social, and cultural events

of the modern era within an integrated and chronologically ordered synthesis. In my judgment, a strong narrative, linking key issues in a broad interpretive framework, is still the most effective way to present the story of the past to young minds.

Four different feature boxes appear throughout the chapters to supplement the text. **Historical Voices** present documents that illustrate key issues within each chapter. Another feature, **Opposing Viewpoints**, presents a comparison of two or more primary sources to facilitate student analysis of historical documents, including examples such as “Islam in the Modern World: Two Views” (Chapter 5), “Two Visions for India” (Chapter 13), and “Africa: Dark Continent or Radiant Land?” (Chapter 14). **Movies & History** presents a brief analysis of the plot as well as the historical significance, value, and accuracy of eleven films, including such movies as *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962), *Gandhi* (1982), *The Last Emperor* (1987), *The Lives of Others* (2006), and *Persepolis* (2007). New to this edition, **Comparative Illustrations** encourage readers to adopt a comparative approach in their understanding of the human experience. Each of these four different feature presentations includes a Focus Question to help students develop analysis skills in working with documents and images. Extensive maps and illustrations, each positioned at the appropriate place in the chapter, serve to deepen the reader’s understanding of the text. “Spot maps” provide details not visible in the larger maps.

The following resources are available to accompany this text.

Instructor’s Companion Website The Instructor’s Companion Website, accessed through the Instructor Resource Center (login.cengage.com), houses all of the supplemental materials you can use for your course. This includes a Test Bank, Instructor’s Manual, and PowerPoint Lecture Presentations.

- **Cognero® Test Bank** The Test Bank contains multiple-choice, short-answer historical identification, and essay questions for each chapter. Cognero® is a flexible, online system that allows you to author, edit, and manage test bank content for *Contemporary World History*, seventh edition. With Cognero®, you can create multiple test versions instantly and deliver them through your LMS from your classroom or wherever you may be, with no special software installs or downloads required. The following format types are available for download from the Instructor Companion Site: Blackboard, Angel, Moodle, Canvas, and Desire2Learn. You can import these files directly into your LMS to edit, manage questions, and create tests.

- **PowerPoint Lectures** These are ADA-compliant slide decks that collate the key takeaways from the chapter in concise visual formats perfect for in-class presentations or for student review. Each slide deck also includes the chapter's full set of images and maps. New to this edition, the PowerPoints now include six different types of Activity slides to enhance student engagement. The activities include “Think, Pair, Share”; “Quick Check”; “Written Reflection”; “Discussion”; “Diary”; and “Self-Assessment.”
- **Instructor's Resource Manual** The Instructor's Resource Manual closely complements the PowerPoint Lecture slides and is focused on supporting instructors who are new to teaching or new to using *Contemporary World History*. It includes instructional objectives, chapter summaries, chapter outlines, brief descriptions of specific chapter features (Historical Voices, Opposing Viewpoints, Movies & History), and notes for using the Activity slides featured in the PowerPoint deck for each chapter.

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William J. Duiker
The Pennsylvania State University

THEMES FOR UNDERSTANDING WORLD HISTORY

As they pursue their craft, historians often organize their material according to themes that enable them to ask and try to answer basic questions about the past. Such is the intention here. This new edition highlights several major themes that I believe are especially important in understanding the course of world history. Thinking about these themes will help students to perceive the similarities and differences among cultures since the beginning of the human experience. You will see these theme labels applied to the various feature boxes appearing throughout the chapters that follow.

Politics & Government

1. **Politics & Government** The study of politics seeks to answer certain basic questions that historians have about the structure of a society: How were people governed? What was the relationship between the ruler and the ruled? What people or groups of people (the political elites) held political power? What actions did people take to guarantee their security or change their form of government?

Art & Ideas

2. **Art & Ideas** We cannot understand a society without looking at its culture, or the common ideas, beliefs, and patterns of behavior that are passed on from one generation to the next. Culture includes both high culture and popular culture. High culture consists of the writings of a society's thinkers and the works of its artists. A society's popular culture encompasses the ideas and experiences of ordinary people. Today, the media have embraced the term *popular culture* to describe the current trends and fashionable styles.

Religion & Philosophy

3. **Religion & Philosophy** Throughout history, people have sought to find a deeper meaning to human life. How have the world's great religions, such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, influenced people's lives? How have they spread to create new patterns of culture in other parts of the world?

Family & Society

4. **Family & Society** The most basic social unit in human society has always been the family. From a study of family and social patterns, we learn about the different social classes that make up a society and their relationships with one another. We also learn about the role of gender in individual societies. What different roles did men and women play in their societies? How and why were those roles different?

Science & Technology

5. **Science & Technology** For thousands of years, people around the world have made scientific discoveries and technological innovations that have changed our world. From the creation of stone tools that made farming easier to advanced computers that guide our airplanes, science and technology have altered how humans have related to their world.

Earth & Environment

6. **Earth & Environment** Throughout history, peoples and societies have been affected by the physical world in which they live. Climatic changes alone have been an important factor in human history. Through their economic activities, peoples and societies, in turn, have also made an impact on their world. Human activities have affected the physical environment and even endangered the very existence of entire societies and species.

Interaction & Exchange

7. **Interaction & Exchange** Many world historians believe that the exchange of ideas and innovations is the driving force behind the evolution of human societies. Knowledge of agriculture, writing and printing, metalworking, and navigational techniques, for example, spread gradually from one part of the world to other regions and eventually changed the face of the entire globe. The process of cultural and technological exchange took place in various ways, including trade, conquest, and the migration of peoples.

PART I

NEW WORLD IN THE MAKING

- 1 The Rise of Industrial Society in the West
- 2 The High Tide of Imperialism: Africa and Asia in an Era of Western Dominance
- 3 Shadows over the Pacific: East Asia Under Challenge



The Crystal Palace in London

CHAPTER 1

THE RISE OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY IN THE WEST

Chapter Outline and Focus Questions

1-1 *The Industrial Revolution in Great Britain*

Q What factors appear to explain why Great Britain was the first nation to enter the industrial age?

1-2 *The Spread of the Industrial Revolution*

Q To what degree did other nations in Europe and North America follow the example of Great Britain in entering the industrial age?

1-3 *The Emergence of a Mass Society*

Q How did the advent of the Industrial Revolution change the nature of the social class system in Europe?

1-4 *Reaction and Revolution: The Decline of the Old Order*

Q What were the major ideas associated with the growth of liberalism and nationalism in nineteenth-century Europe? In the light of the ambiguous character of the term “nationalism,” in what conditions should it be applied today?

1-5 *The Triumph of Liberalism in the West*

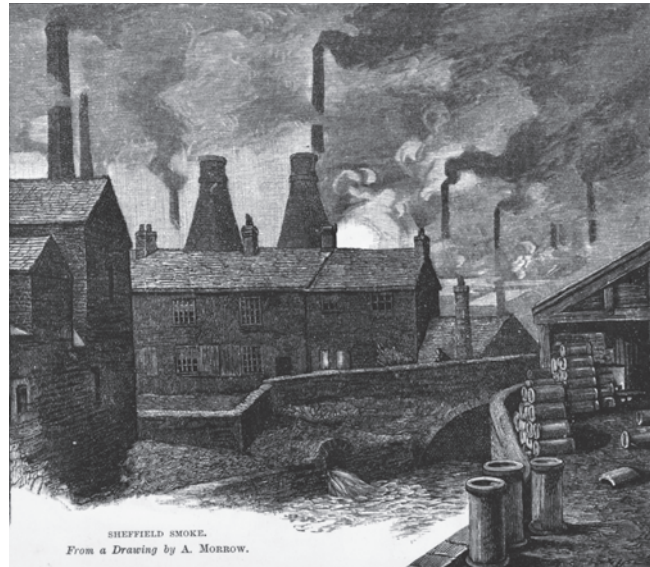
Q What factors do you think are responsible for the triumph of liberal principles in late nineteenth-century western Europe and the United States? Do you think such factors are relevant today?

1-6 *The Rise of the Socialist Movement*

Q How did Karl Marx predict that the Industrial Revolution would affect and change the nature of European society? Were his predictions correct?

1-7 *Toward the Modern Consciousness: Intellectual and Cultural Developments*

Q What intellectual and cultural developments opened the way to a modern consciousness in Europe, and how did this consciousness differ from earlier worldviews?



Hulton Archive/Getty Images

IMAGE 1.1 Sheffield became one of England's greatest manufacturing cities during the nineteenth century.

Connections to Today

In your observation, how would you compare the impact of the Industrial Revolution in the European continent with the changes taking place as a result of technological inventions in the world today?

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY was a turbulent era, marked by two violent global conflicts, a bitter ideological struggle between two dominant world powers, explosive developments in the realm of science, and dramatic social change. When the century began, the vast majority of the world's peoples lived on farms, and the horse was still the most common means of transportation. By its end, human beings had trod on the moon and lived in a world increasingly defined by urban sprawl and modern technology.

What had happened to bring about these momentous changes? Although a world as complex as ours

cannot be assigned a single cause, a good candidate for consideration is the Industrial Revolution, which began on the British Isles at the end of the eighteenth century and spread steadily throughout the world during the next 200 years. The Industrial Revolution was unquestionably one of the most important factors in laying the foundation of the modern world. It not only transformed the economic means of production and distribution, but also altered the political systems, the social institutions and values, and the intellectual and cultural life of all the societies that it touched. The impact has been both massive and controversial. While proponents have stressed the enormous material and technological benefits that industrialization has brought, critics have pointed out the high costs involved, from growing economic inequality and environmental pollution to the dehumanization of everyday life. Already in the nineteenth century, the German philosopher Karl Marx charged that factory labor had reduced workers to a mere “appendage of the machine,” and the English novelist Charles Dickens wrote about an urban environment of factories, smoke, and ashes that seemed an apparition from Dante’s Hell.

Today the world is undergoing a vast new social upheaval, spurred on by a revolution in science and technology—most notably in the fields of knowledge and communications. Like its predecessor, the technological revolution has begun to transform the attitudes, the behavioral patterns, and the livelihood of all the world’s peoples. Some of the consequences have been beneficial, while others clearly have not. A retrospective look at the dramatic events that took place during the nineteenth century can help us to understand how our own world came into being, as well as to provide us with a glimpse of what the future holds for our species.

1-1 THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN GREAT BRITAIN



Focus Question: What factors appear to explain why Great Britain was the first nation to enter the industrial age?

Why the Industrial Revolution occurred first in Great Britain rather than in another part of the world has been a subject for debate among historians for many decades, and I will briefly address this issue in the Reflection section at the end of Part I of this book. But it is important to note here that a number of distinctive features can help to explain why the transformation from an agricultural to an industrial society began in the British Isles. Certainly,

one key factor was the changing nature of the British political culture. A turbulent period of political strife in the mid-seventeenth century resulted in the weakening of royal authority and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, in which power was divided equally between the king and parliament. A Declaration of Rights, enacted in 1688, created a new political atmosphere based on the rule of law which shielded individuals and private property from arbitrary seizure and arrest. Under the cover of such protections, an emerging class of landed gentry and merchant capitalists, many of them animated by the Protestant belief that material rewards in this world were a sign of heavenly salvation to come, began to make their contributions to a growing national economy.

A number of other factors contributed to a quickening pace of economic change in late eighteenth-century Britain. First, improvements in agriculture—stimulated by a number of technological innovations—led to a significant increase in food production. British agriculture could now feed more people at lower prices with less labor; even ordinary British families no longer had to use most of their income to buy food, giving them the potential to purchase manufactured goods. At the same time, a rapidly growing population in the second half of the eighteenth century provided a pool of surplus labor for the new factories of the emerging British industrial sector.

Another factor that played a role in promoting the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain was the rapid increase in national wealth. Two centuries of expanding trade with the rest of the world, a product of the settlement and exploitation of the American colonies, as well as growing access to cheap materials from Africa and Asia, had provided Britain with a ready supply of capital for investment in the new industrial machines and the factories that were required to house them (see Chapter 2).¹ Infrastructural changes, such as an effective central bank and well-developed, flexible credit facilities, also contributed. Many early factory owners were merchants and entrepreneurs who had profited from the eighteenth-century cottage industry and now took advantage of new possibilities to expand their horizons.

Not the least of British advantages was the fact that the country was richly supplied with important mineral resources, such as coal and iron ore, soon to be vitally needed in the manufacturing process. Britain was also a small country with ready proximity to the sea, thus making transportation facilities readily accessible. In addition to abundant rivers, from the mid-seventeenth century onward both private and public investment poured into the construction of new roads, bridges, and canals.

A final factor was the appearance during the last decades of the eighteenth century of a number of technological inventions, including the flying shuttle, the spinning jenny,

and the power loom, that led to a significant increase in textile production. Cotton had begun to replace wool as the clothing material of choice as awareness of its advantages became public knowledge. But price was an obstacle, because imports of finished goods from India—a major producer of cotton goods for centuries—were expensive. Once mechanized textile factories had begun to appear in Great Britain, the country could provide for its own needs, using cheap cotton fibers imported from South Asia, now increasingly under British domination (see Chapter 2). The cotton textile industry achieved even greater heights of productivity with the invention of the steam engine, which proved invaluable to Britain's Industrial Revolution. The steam engine was a tireless source of power and depended for fuel on a substance—namely, coal—that seemed then to be available in unlimited quantities. The success of the steam engine increased the demand for coal and led to an expansion in coal production. In turn, new processes using coal furthered the development of an iron industry, the production of machinery, and the invention of the railroad. By the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the key elements of a fully industrialized society were in place, and Great Britain—which by 1871 was producing almost one-fifth of all manufactured products in the entire world—was well on its way to earning the popular sobriquet of “the world’s workshop.”

1-2 THE SPREAD OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION



Focus Question: To what degree did other nations in Europe and North America follow the example of Great Britain in entering the industrial age?

By the turn of the nineteenth century, industrialization had begun to spread to the continent of Europe, where it took a different path than had been followed in Great Britain (see Map 1.1). Unlike the situation in Great Britain, where much of the stimulus for entering the industrial age had been initiated by private entrepreneurs, no independent merchant class existed in Europe, so governments on the European continent were accustomed to playing a major role in economic affairs and continued to do so as the Industrial Revolution got under way, subsidizing inventors, providing incentives to factory owners, and improving the transportation network. By 1850, a network of iron rails (described by the French novelist Émile Zola as a “monstrous great steel skeleton”) had spread across much of western and central Europe, while water routes were improved by the deepening and widening of rivers and canals.

Across the Atlantic Ocean, the United States experienced the first stages of its industrial revolution in the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1800, America was still a predominantly agrarian society, as six out of every seven workers were farmers. Sixty years later, only half of all workers were farmers, while the total population had grown from 5 to 30 million people, larger than Great Britain itself.

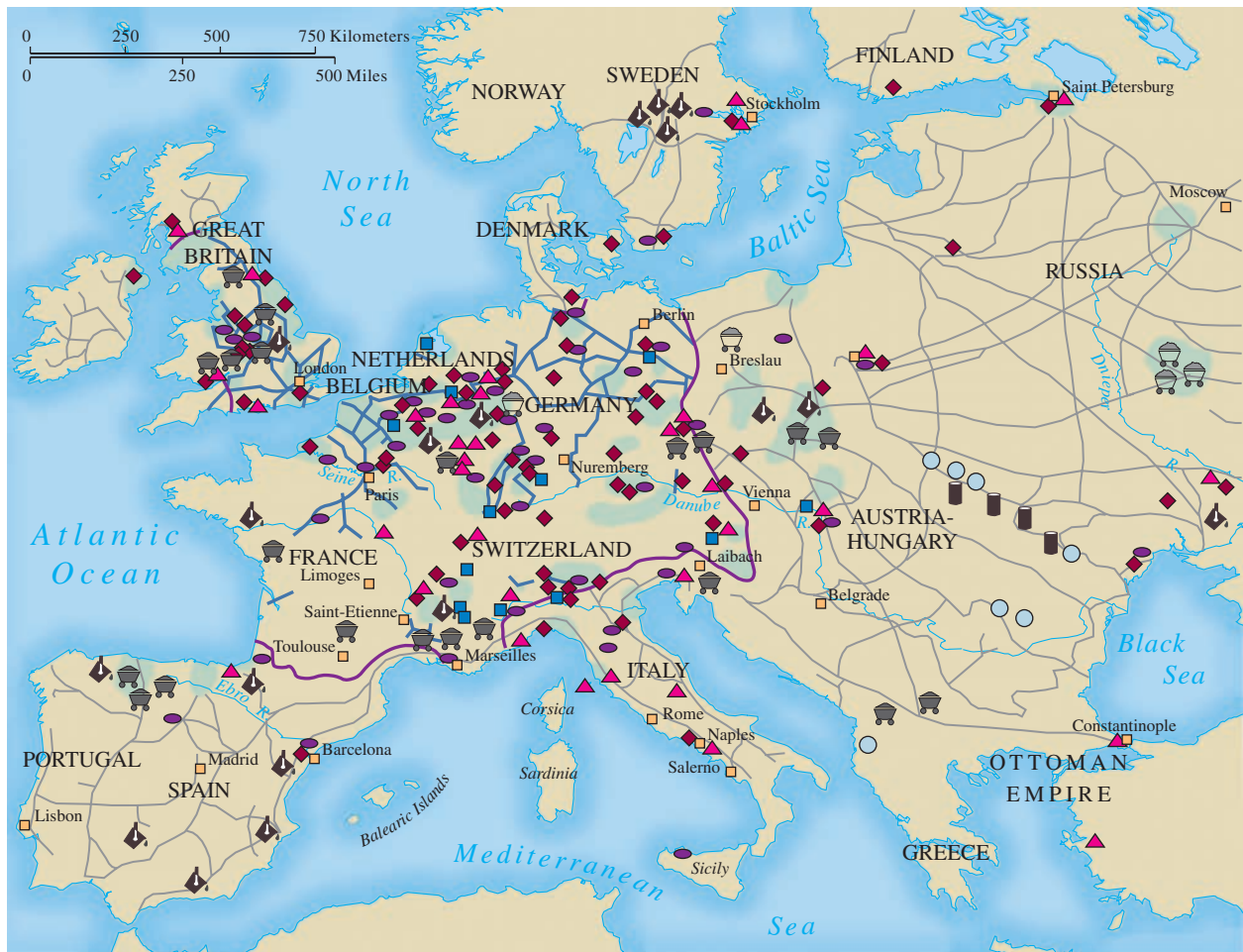
The initial application of machinery to production was accomplished by borrowing from Great Britain. Soon, however, Americans began to equal or surpass British technical achievements. The Harpers Ferry arsenal, for example, built muskets with interchangeable parts. Because all the individual parts of a musket were identical (for example, all triggers were the same), the final product could be put together quickly and easily; this innovation enabled Americans to avoid the more costly system in which skilled craftsmen fitted together individual parts made separately. The so-called American system reduced costs and revolutionized production by saving labor, an important consideration in a society that had few skilled artisans.

Unlike Britain, the United States was a large country, and the lack of a good system of internal transportation initially seemed to limit American economic development by making the transport of goods prohibitively expensive. This difficulty was gradually remedied, however. Thousands of miles of roads and canals were built linking east and west. The steamboat facilitated transportation on rivers and the Great Lakes and in Atlantic coastal waters. Most important of all in the development of an American transportation system was the railroad. Beginning with 100 miles in 1830, more than 27,000 miles of railroad track were laid in the next thirty years. This transportation revolution turned the United States into a single massive market for the manufactured goods of the northeast, the early center of American industrialization, and by 1860, the United States was well on its way to being an industrial nation.

1-2a The Pace Quickens

During the fifty years before the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the Western world witnessed a dynamic age of material prosperity. Thanks to new industries, new sources of energy, and new technological achievements, a second stage of the Industrial Revolution transformed the human environment and led many people to believe that material progress would improve world conditions and thus bring the problem of world poverty to an end.

The first major change in industrial development after 1870 was the substitution of steel for iron. Steel, an alloy stronger and more malleable than iron, soon became an essential component of the Industrial Revolution



MAP 1.1 The Industrial Regions of Europe at the End of the Nineteenth Century. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Industrial Revolution—in steelmaking, electricity, petroleum, and chemicals—had spurred substantial economic growth and prosperity in western and central Europe; it had also sparked economic and political competition between Great Britain and Germany.

Q Which parts of Europe became industrialized most quickly in the nineteenth century? Why do you think this was?

(see Image 1.2). New methods for rolling and shaping steel made it useful in the construction of lighter, smaller, and faster machines and engines, as well as for railways, shipbuilding, and armaments. It also paved the way for the building of the first skyscrapers, a development that would eventually transform the skylines of the cities of the West. In 1860, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Belgium produced 125,000 tons of steel; by 1913, the total was 32 million tons.

The Invention of Electricity Electricity was a major new form of energy that proved to be of great value since it moved relatively effortlessly through space by means of transmitting wires. The first commercially practical generators of electric current were not developed until the 1870s. By 1910, hydroelectric power stations and coal-fired steam-generating plants enabled entire districts to be tied into a single power distribution system that provided a common source of power for homes, shops, and industrial enterprises.



William J. Duiker

IMAGE 1.2 The Colossus of Paris. When it was completed for the Paris World's Fair in 1889, the Eiffel Tower became, at 1,056 feet, the tallest human-made monument in the world. The colossus, which seemed to be rising from the shadows of the city's feudal past like some new technological giant, symbolized the triumph of the Industrial Revolution and machine-age capitalism, proclaiming the dawn of a new era of endless possibilities and power. Constructed of wrought iron with more than 2.5 million rivet holes, the structure was completed in two years and was paid for entirely by the builder himself, the engineer Gustave Eiffel. From the outset, the monument was wildly popular. Nearly 2 million people lined up at the fair to visit this gravity-defying marvel.

Electricity spawned a whole series of new products. The invention of the incandescent filament lamp opened homes and cities to illumination by electric lights. Although most electricity was initially used for lighting, it was eventually put to use in transportation. By the 1880s, streetcars and subways had appeared in major European cities. Electricity also transformed the factory. Conveyor belts, cranes, machines, and machine tools could all be powered by electricity and located anywhere. Meanwhile, a revolution in communications ensued when Alexander Graham Bell invented the telephone in 1876 and Guglielmo Marconi sent the first radio waves across the Atlantic in 1901.

The Internal Combustion Engine The development of the internal combustion engine had a similar effect. The processing of liquid fuels—petroleum and its distilled derivatives—made possible the widespread use of the internal combustion engine as a source of power in transportation. An oil-fired engine was made in 1897, and by 1902, the Hamburg-Amerika Line had switched from coal to oil on its new ocean liners. By the beginning of the twentieth century, some naval fleets had been converted to oil burners as well.

The internal combustion engine gave rise to the automobile and the airplane. In 1900, world production, initially led by the French, stood at 9,000 cars, but by 1906, Americans had taken the lead. It was an American, Henry Ford, who revolutionized the automotive industry with the mass production of the Model T. By 1916, Ford's factories were producing 735,000 cars a year. In the meantime, air transportation had emerged with the Zeppelin airship in 1900. In 1903, at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, the Wright brothers made the first flight in a fixed-wing plane powered by a gasoline engine. World War I stimulated the aircraft industry, and in 1919 the first regular passenger air service was established.

Trade and Manufacturing The growth of industrial production depended on the development of markets for the sale of manufactured goods. Competition for foreign markets was keen, and by 1870, European countries were increasingly compelled to focus on promoting domestic demand. Between 1850 and 1900, real wages increased in Britain by two-thirds and in Germany by one-third. A decline in the cost of food combined with lower prices for manufactured goods because of reduced production and transportation costs made it easier for Europeans to buy consumer products. In the cities, new methods for retail distribution—in particular, the department store—were used to expand sales of a whole new range of consumer goods made possible by the development of the steel and electric industries. The desire to own sewing machines, clocks, bicycles, electric lights, and typewriters generated a new consumer ethic that has since become a crucial part of the modern economy.

Meanwhile, increased competition for foreign markets and the growing importance of domestic demand led to a reaction against the free trade that had characterized the European economy between 1820 and 1870. By the 1870s, European governments were returning to the use of protective **tariffs** to guarantee domestic markets for the products of their own industries. At the same time, cartels were being formed to decrease competition internally. In a **cartel**, independent enterprises worked together to control prices and fix production quotas, thereby restraining the kind

of competition that led to reduced prices. The Rhenish-Westphalian Coal Syndicate, founded in 1893, controlled 98 percent of Germany's coal production by 1904.

The formation of cartels was paralleled by a move toward larger and more efficient manufacturing plants, especially in the iron and steel, machinery, heavy electric equipment, and chemical industries. The result was a desire to streamline or rationalize production as much as possible. The development of precision tools enabled manufacturers to produce interchangeable parts, which in turn led to the creation of the assembly line for production.

By 1900, much of western and central Europe had entered a new era, characterized by rising industrial production and growing material prosperity. With its capital, industries, and military might, the region dominated the world economy. Eastern and southern Europe, however, was still largely agricultural and relegated by the industrialized countries to providing food and raw materials. The presence of Romanian oil, Greek olive oil, and Serbian pigs and prunes in western Europe served as reminders of an economic division in Europe that continued well into the twentieth century.

1-3 THE EMERGENCE OF A MASS SOCIETY



Focus Question: How did the advent of the Industrial Revolution change the nature of the social class system in Europe?

The new world created by the Industrial Revolution led to the emergence of a **mass society** in western Europe and the United States by the end of the nineteenth century. A mass society meant new forms of expression for the lower classes as they benefited from the extension of voting rights, an improved standard of living, and compulsory elementary education. But there was a price to pay. Urbanization and rapid population growth led to overcrowding in the burgeoning cities and increasing public health problems. Eventually, governments were driven to construct cheap housing for the working classes, thus being forced to step into areas of social engineering that they would never have touched earlier. In the meantime, air and water pollution, a product of the growing use of coal and factory waste, began to rise in industrial areas throughout the continent. In big cities like London and Birmingham, coal particles concentrated in dense fogs often had deadly consequences. For the first time, Europeans began to encounter the environmental costs of the Industrial Revolution. In the meantime, Europeans began for the first time to appreciate the environmental costs of industrialization, as air and water pollution

began to rise in various parts of the continent. In big industrialized cities like London, coal particles concentrated in dense “killer fogs” with deadly human consequences.

1-3a Social Structures

At the top of European society stood a wealthy elite, constituting only 5 percent of the population but controlling between 30 and 40 percent of its wealth. This privileged minority was an amalgamation of the traditional landed aristocracy that had dominated European society for centuries and the emerging upper middle class, sometimes called the bourgeoisie (literally “burghers” or “city people”). Over the course of the nineteenth century, aristocrats coalesced with the most successful industrialists, bankers, and merchants to form a new elite.

Increasingly, aristocrats and the affluent bourgeoisie fused as the latter purchased landed estates to join the aristocrats in the pleasures of country living, while the aristocrats bought lavish town houses for part-time urban life. Common bonds were also created when the sons of wealthy bourgeois families were admitted to the elite schools dominated by the children of the aristocracy. This educated elite assumed leadership roles in the government and the armed forces. Marriage also served to unite the two groups. Daughters of tycoons gained titles, and aristocratic heirs gained new sources of cash. When the American heiress Consuelo Vanderbilt married the duke of Marlborough, the new duchess brought £2 million (approximately \$10 million) to her husband.

A New Middle Class Below the upper class was a middle level of the bourgeoisie that included professionals in law, medicine, and the civil service as well as moderately well-to-do industrialists and merchants. The industrial expansion of the nineteenth century also added new vocations to Western society such as business managers, office workers, engineers, architects, accountants, and chemists, who formed professional associations as the symbols of their newfound importance. At the lower end of the middle class were the small shopkeepers, traders, manufacturers, and prosperous peasants. Their chief preoccupation was the provision of goods and services for the classes above them.

The moderately prosperous and successful members of this new mass society shared a certain style of life, one whose values tended to dominate much of nineteenth-century society. They were especially active in preaching their worldview to their children and to the upper and lower classes of their society. This was especially evident in Victorian Britain, often considered a model of middle-class society. It was the European middle classes who accepted and promulgated the importance of progress and science. They believed in hard work, which they viewed as the

primary human good, open to everyone and guaranteed to have positive results. They also believed in the good conduct associated with traditional Christian morality.

Such values were often scorned at the time by members of the economic and intellectual elite, and in later years, it became commonplace for observers to mock the Victorian era—the years of the long reign of Queen Victoria (r. 1837–1901) in Great Britain—for its vulgar materialism, cultural philistinism, and conformist values. As the historian Peter Gay has recently shown, however, this harsh portrayal of the “bourgeois” character of the age distorts the reality of an era of complexity and contradiction, with diverse forces interacting to lay the foundations of the modern world.²

The Working Class The working classes constituted almost 80 percent of the population of Europe. In rural areas, many of these people were landholding peasants, agricultural laborers, and sharecroppers, especially in eastern Europe. Only about 10 percent of the British population worked in agriculture, however; in Germany, the figure was 25 percent.

There was no homogeneous urban working class. At the top were skilled artisans in such traditional handicraft trades as cabinetmaking, printing, and jewelry making. The Industrial Revolution also brought new entrants into the group of highly skilled workers, including machine-tool specialists, shipbuilders, and metalworkers. Many skilled workers attempted to pattern themselves after the middle class by seeking good housing and educating their children.

Semiskilled laborers, including such people as carpenters, bricklayers, and many factory workers, earned wages that were about two-thirds of those of highly skilled workers (see Historical Voices, “Discipline in the New Factories,” p. 9). At the bottom of the hierarchy stood the largest group of workers, the unskilled laborers. They included day laborers, who worked irregularly for very low wages, and large numbers of domestic servants. One of every seven employed persons in Great Britain in 1900 was a domestic servant.

Urban workers did experience a betterment in the material conditions of their lives after 1870. A rise in real wages, accompanied by a decline in many consumer costs, especially in the 1880s and 1890s, made it possible for workers to buy more than just food and housing. Workers’ budgets now included money for more clothes and even leisure at the same time that strikes and labor agitation were winning ten-hour days and Saturday afternoons off. The combination of more income and more free time produced whole new patterns of mass leisure.

Among the least attractive aspects of the era, however, was the widespread practice of child labor. Working conditions for underage workers were often abysmal

(see Comparative Illustration, “The Dual Face of the Industrial Revolution,” p. 10). According to a report commissioned in 1832 to inquire into the conditions for child factory workers in Great Britain, children as young as six years of age began work before dawn. Those who were drowsy or fell asleep were tapped on the head, doused with cold water, strapped to a chair, or flogged with a stick. Another commission convened in the 1840s described conditions for underage workers in the coal mines as follows: “Chained, belted, harnessed like dogs in a go-cart, black, saturated with wet, and more than half naked—crawling upon their hands and feet, and dragging their heavy loads behind them—they present an appearance indescribably disgusting and unnatural.”³

1-3b Changing Roles for Women

The position of women during the Industrial Revolution was also changing. During much of the nineteenth century, many women adhered to the ideal of femininity popularized by writers and poets. The British poet Alfred, Lord Tennyson’s poem *The Princess* expressed it well:

*Man for the field and woman for the hearth:
Man for the sword and for the needle she:
Man with the head and woman with the heart:
Man to command and woman to obey; All else confusion.*

The reality was somewhat different. Under the impact of the Industrial Revolution, which created a wide variety of service and white-collar jobs, women began to accept employment as clerks, typists, secretaries, and salesclerks. Compulsory education opened the door to new opportunities in the teaching profession, and the expansion of hospital services enabled more women to find employment as nurses. In some countries in western Europe, women’s legal rights increased. Still, most women remained confined to their traditional roles of homemaking and child rearing. The less fortunate were compelled to undertake marginal work as domestic servants or as pieceworkers in sweatshops.

Paradoxically, however, employment in the new textile mills in the United States served as an effective means for young women in New England to escape their homes and establish an independent existence. As one female factory worker expressed it:

*Despite the toil we all agree
Out of the mill or in,
Dependent on others we ne’er will be
As long as we’re able to spin.*⁴

Eventually, however, female textile workers began to organize their efforts to increase wages and improve working conditions, provoking mill owners to move their factories to the southern states, where newly freed slaves provided a rich source of cheap labor.

Discipline in the New Factories



Which, if any, of the worker regulations described below do you believe would be acceptable to employers and employees in today's labor market? Why?

Family & Society

WORKERS IN THE NEW FACTORIES

of the Industrial Revolution had been accustomed to a lifestyle free of overseers. Unlike the cottage industry, where home-based workers spun thread and wove cloth in their own rhythm and time, the factories demanded a new, rigorous discipline geared to the requirements and operating hours of the machines. This selection is taken from a set of rules for a factory in Berlin in 1844. They were typical of company rules everywhere the factory system had been established.

Factory Rules, Foundry and Engineering Works, Royal Overseas Trading Company

In every large works, and in the coordination of any large number of workmen, good order and harmony must be looked upon as the fundamentals of success, and therefore the following rules shall be strictly observed.

1. The normal working day begins at all seasons at 6 A.M. precisely and ends, after the usual break of half an hour for breakfast, an hour for dinner, and half an hour for tea, at 7 P.M., and it shall be strictly observed. . . .
2. Workers arriving 2 minutes late shall lose half an hour's wages; whoever is more than 2 minutes late may not start work until after the next break, or at least shall lose his wages until then. Any disputes about the correct time shall be settled by the clock mounted above the gatekeeper's lodge. . . .
3. No workman, whether employed by time or piece, may leave before the end of the working day, without

having first received permission from the overseer and having given his name to the gatekeeper. Omission of these two actions shall lead to a fine of ten silver groschen payable to the sick fund.

4. Repeated irregular arrival at work shall lead to dismissal. This shall also apply to those who are found idling by an official or overseer, and refused to obey their order to resume work. . . .
6. No worker may leave his place of work otherwise than for reasons connected with his work.
7. All conversation with fellow-workers is prohibited; if any worker requires information about his work, he must turn to the overseer, or to the particular fellow-worker designated for the purpose.
8. Smoking in the workshops or in the yard is prohibited during working hours; anyone caught smoking shall be fined five silver groschen for the sick fund for every such offense. . . .
10. Natural functions must be performed at the appropriate places, and whoever is found soiling walls, fences, squares, etc., and similarly, whoever is found washing his face and hands in the workshop and not in the places assigned for the purpose, shall be fined five silver groschen for the sick fund. . . .
12. It goes without saying that all overseers and officials of the firm shall be obeyed without question, and shall be treated with due deference. Disobedience will be punished by dismissal.
13. Immediate dismissal shall also be the fate of anyone found drunk in any of the workshops. . . .
14. Every workman is obliged to report to his superiors any acts of dishonesty or embezzlement on the part of his fellow workmen. If he omits to do so, and it is shown after subsequent discovery of a misdemeanor that he knew about it at the time, he shall be liable to be taken to court as an accessory after the fact and the wage due to him shall be retained as punishment.

Source: From *Documents of European Economic History* by Sidney Pollard and Colin Holmes (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968). Copyright © 1968 by S. Pollard and C. Holmes.

Many of the improvements in women's position resulted from the rise of the first feminist movements. **Feminism** in Europe had its origins in the social upheaval of the French Revolution, when some women advocated equality for women based on the doctrine of natural rights. In the

1830s, a number of women in the United States and Europe sought improvements for women by focusing on family and marriage law to strengthen the property rights of wives and enhance their ability to secure a divorce. Later in the century, attention shifted to the issue of equal political rights.