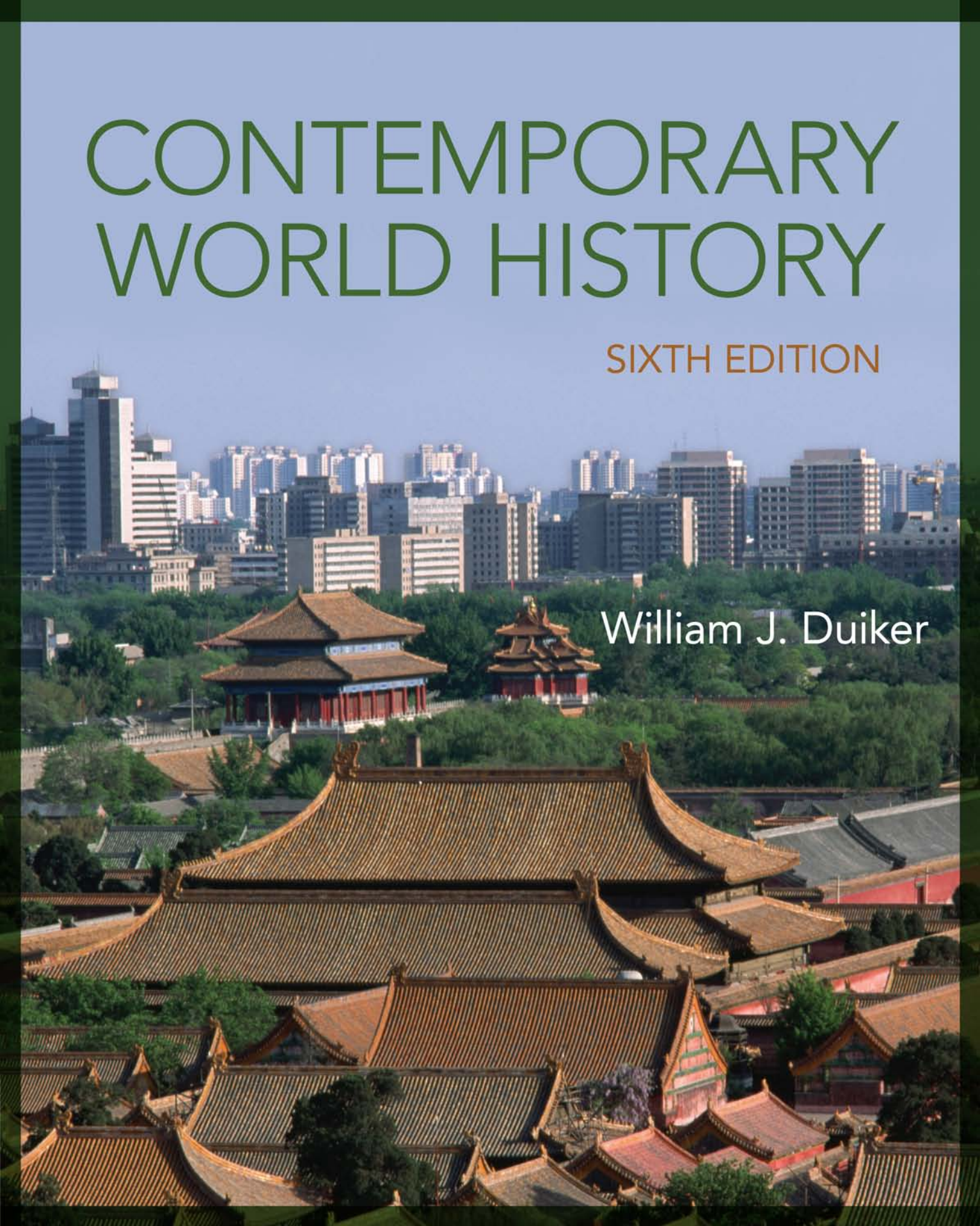


CONTEMPORARY WORLD HISTORY

SIXTH EDITION

William J. Duiker



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EDITION

CONTEMPORARY WORLD HISTORY

WILLIAM J. DUIKER
The Pennsylvania State University



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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 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 decade that has ensued since the advent of the new millennium.

Contemporary World History (formerly titled *Twentieth-Century World History*) attempts to chronicle the key events in this revolutionary century and its aftermath while seeking to throw light on some of the underlying issues that shaped the 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? 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? 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. To many observers around the world, the oft-predicted inevitable victory 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.

This issue has practical observations as well. 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 divide us.

Balancing the global and regional perspectives means that some chapters 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 environmental pollution, the

population explosion, and spiritual malaise—and takes a cautious look into the future to explore how such issues will evolve in the twenty-first century.

Another issue that has recently attracted widespread discussion and debate among historians is how to balance the treatment of Western civilization with other parts of the world. The modern world has traditionally been viewed 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 related to the rise of the West in the modern world. In recent decades, however, other parts 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 examine this phenomenon in more detail, according to regions such as Africa, Asia, and Latin America the importance that they merit today.

In sum, this sixth 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.

To supplement the text, I have included a number of boxed documents that illustrate key issues within each chapter. A new 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). *Film & History* features present a brief analysis of the plot as well as the historical significance, value, and accuracy of nine films, including such movies as *Khartoum* (1966), *Gandhi* (1982), *The Last Emperor* (1987), *The Lives of Others* (2006), and *Persepolis* (2007). 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. *Suggested Readings*, now available on the companion website, review the most recent literature on each period while referring also to some of the older “classic” works in the field.

The following supplements are available to accompany this text.

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Student Resources

Book Companion Site [ISBN: 9781285458229]

This website provides a variety of resources to help you review for class. These study tools include a glossary, crossword puzzles, short quizzes, essay questions, critical thinking questions, and primary sources.

Doing History: Research and Writing in the Digital Age, 2e [ISBN: 9781133587880]

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William J. Duiker
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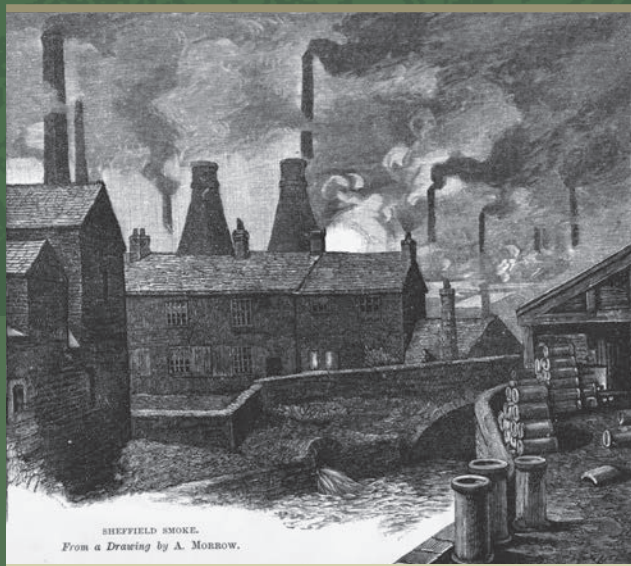
New World in the Making



The Crystal Palace in London

Everett Collection

The Rise of Industrial Society in the West



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

Hulton Archive/Getty Images

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 two hundred 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. ↵

CRITICAL THINKING

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

The Industrial Revolution in Great Britain

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. Some observers point to cultural factors, such as the Protestant “work ethic” that predisposed British citizens to risk taking and the belief that material rewards in this world were a sign of heavenly salvation to come.

Others point out more tangible factors that contributed to the rapid transformation of eighteenth-century British society from a predominantly agricultural to an industrial and commercial economy. First, improvements in agriculture during the eighteenth century had led to a significant increase in food production. British agriculture could now feed more people at lower prices with less labor; even

The Spread of the Industrial Revolution

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 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. As the historian Kenneth Pomeranz has recently pointed out, it was the country's access to cheap materials from other parts of the world—notably from Asia and the Americas—that provided the assets that fueled Britain's entrance into the industrial age (see Chapter 2).¹

In addition to profits from trade, Britain possessed an effective central bank and well-developed, flexible credit facilities. Many early factory owners were merchants and entrepreneurs who had profited from the eighteenth-century cottage industry. The country also possessed what might today be described as a “modernization elite”—individuals who were interested in making profits if the opportunity presented itself. In that objective, they were generally supported by the government.

Moreover, Britain was richly supplied with important mineral resources, such as coal and iron ore, needed in the manufacturing process. Britain was also a small country and the relatively short distances made transportation facilities readily accessible. In addition to nature's provision of abundant rivers, from the mid-seventeenth century onward, both private and public investment poured into the construction of new roads, bridges, and canals. By 1780, roads, rivers, and canals linked the major industrial centers of the north, the Midlands, London, and the Atlantic coast.

During the last decades of the eighteenth century, technological innovations, including the flying shuttle, the spinning jenny, and the power loom, led to a significant increase in textile production. The cotton textile industry—fueled by the import of cheap cotton fibers from Britain's growing empire in South Asia—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 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). Governments on the 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.



- | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| Railroad development | ▲ Steel | 🚂 Low-grade coal | ⊙ Oil production |
| — Lines completed by 1848 | ◆ Engineering | 🚂 High-grade coal | Industrial concentration: |
| — Area of main railroad completed by 1870 | ● Chemicals | ⚒ Iron ore deposits | ■ Cities |
| — Other major lines | ■ Electrical industry | 🛢 Petroleum deposits | ■ Areas |

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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?

New Products and New Patterns

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 people to believe that their

material progress would improve world conditions and solve all human problems.

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. New methods for rolling and shaping steel made it useful in the construction of lighter, smaller, and faster



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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.

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.

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, Europeans 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 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.

The Emergence of a Mass Society

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. As the number and size of cities continued to mushroom, by the 1880s governments came to the reluctant conclusion that private enterprise could not solve the housing crisis. In 1890, a British law empowered local town councils to construct cheap housing for the working classes. Similar activity had been set in motion in Germany by 1900. In general, however, such measures failed to do much to meet the real housing needs of the working classes. Nevertheless, the need for planning had been recognized, and in the 1920s, municipal governments moved into housing construction on a large scale. More and more, governments were stepping into areas of social engineering that they would never have touched earlier.

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”). In 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 the box on p. 8). 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. 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

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. 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

Discipline in the New Factories

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.



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

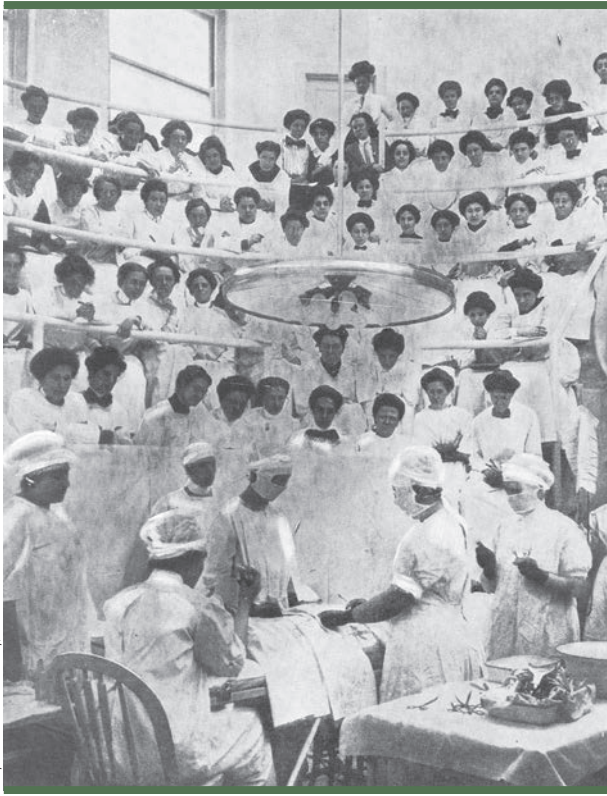
SOURCE: From *Documents of European Economic History* by Sidney Pollard and Colin Holmes (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968). Copyright © 1968 by S. Pollard and C. Holmes.

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*

Many of the improvements in women's position occurred as a result of 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 (see the box on p. 10). Later in the century, attention shifted to the issue of equal political rights. Many feminists



Cracks in the Glass Ceiling. Women were largely excluded from male-dominated educational institutions in the United States before 1900. Consequently, the demand for higher education for women led to the establishment of women's colleges, as well as specialized institutes and medical schools. The Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania in the city of Philadelphia was the world's first medical school created specifically for women. In this 1911 photograph, we see an operation performed by women surgeons as they instruct their students in the latest medical techniques.

believed that the right to vote was the key to all other reforms to improve the position of women.

The British women's movement was the most vocal and active in Europe, but it was divided over tactics. Moderates believed that women must demonstrate that they would use political power responsibly if they wanted Parliament to grant them the right to vote. Another group, however, favored a more radical approach. In 1903, Emmeline Pankhurst (1858–1928) and her daughters, Christabel and Sylvia, founded the Women's Social and Political Union, which enrolled mostly middle- and upper-class women. The members of Pankhurst's organization realized the value of the media and used unusual publicity stunts to call attention to their insistence on winning women the right to vote and other demands. They pelted government officials with eggs, chained themselves to lampposts, smashed the windows of department stores on

fashionable shopping streets, burned railroad cars, and went on hunger strikes in jail.

Before World War I, demands for women's rights were being heard throughout Europe and the United States, although only in Norway and a few American states as well as in Australia and New Zealand did women actually receive the right to vote before 1914. It would take the dramatic upheaval of World War I before male-dominated governments capitulated on this basic issue.

Reaction and Revolution: The Decline of the Old Order

While the Industrial Revolution shook the economic and social foundations of European society, similar revolutionary developments were reshaping the political map of the Continent. These developments were the product of a variety of factors, including not only the Industrial Revolution itself but also the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, and the French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century. The influence of these new forces resulted in a redefinition of political conditions in Europe. The conservative order—based on the principle of hereditary monarchy and the existence of great multinational states such as Russia, the Habsburg Empire, and the Ottoman Empire—had emerged intact from the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, but by mid-century, it had come under attack along a wide front. Arrayed against the conservative forces was a set of new political ideas that began to come into their own in the first half of the nineteenth century and continue to affect the entire world today.

Liberalism and Nationalism

One of these new political ideas was **liberalism**. Liberalism owed much to the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century and the American and French Revolutions that erupted at the end of that century, all of which proclaimed the autonomy of the individual against the power of the state. Opinions diverged among people classified as liberals—many of them members of the emerging middle class—but all began with a common denominator, a conviction that in both economic and political terms, people should be as free from restraint as possible. Economic liberalism, also known as classical economics, was based on the tenet of *laissez-faire*—the belief that the state should not interfere in the free play of natural economic forces, especially supply and demand. Political liberalism was based on the concept of a constitutional monarchy or constitutional state, with limits on the powers of government and a written charter to protect the basic civil rights of the people.