

# 11 – Industrial Society and the Struggle for Reform, 1815-1850

The Industrial Revolution in economic production and the French Revolution in politics combined to transform every facet of European life in the 19th century. Moving on parallel but often intersecting tracks, these two movements are often termed the Dual Revolution. Many historians consider the revolution in production, transportation, and marketing of goods associated with the Industrial Revolution the single most significant event in human history. In this chapter, we address the growth of industry in Great Britain, its spread to the continent, the effort to restore the Old Order at the Congress of Vienna, the development of political ideologies as a response to the Dual Revolution, and the revolutionary echoes rebounding through the first half of the 19th century from the French Revolution, culminating with the revolutions of 1848. This period lays the foundation for modern society, politics, and production, making it a turning point in European history.

- **Key Concept 3.1:** Industrialization of Britain, and eventual spread to the continent
- **Key Concept 3.2:** Social and economic effects of industrialization
- **Key Concept 3.3:** Governmental, reformist, and ideological responses to industrialization
- **Key Concept 3.4:** Congress of Vienna, Concert system, and subsequent revolutions
- **Key Concept 3.6:** Romanticism in literature, music, and the arts

## Great Britain's Industrial Experience

### Definitions and Great Britain's Advantages

Before exploring the reasons for Britain's industrial lead and dominance, let's define what is involved in the term Industrial Revolution. Each of the following three definitions expresses an essential feature of the process:

1. An assault on the scarcity of the Old Regime, leading to a revolution in access to the means supporting human life.
2. The substitution of mineral and mechanical energy (theoretically inexhaustible) for animal and human energy (which tires or wears out).
3. Rising output per capita (per person) at declining unit cost; in other words, each worker produces more goods at a cheaper cost, supporting a rising standard of living.

Of course, Europe had enjoyed commercial growth in the past and at times a rising standard of living. Inevitably, these periods of growth ran up against the limits of natural resources or the primitive nature of technology. Britain's accomplishment seemed unique in applying new production techniques and technologies to exploit the full potential of nature's bounty. Owing to the following package of advantages, Great Britain, first among European nations, realized the processes expressed above:

#### • SKILL SET

Here we have a major interpretive question of causation (CAUS): Why was Great Britain the first nation to experience industrialization? For practice, consider writing a focused introductory paragraph that not only identifies the relevant causal factors, but also takes a position with which another historian might disagree.

**Geographic advantages** – Britain's unique island status insulated it from continental strife, freeing it from supporting a standing army while at the same time promoting an overseas empire. No place in Britain was more than 70 miles from the ocean. Profits from trade could be reinvested in manufacturing enterprises. In addition, Britain possessed natural resources, such as coal and iron ore, necessary for industry.

**Economic advantages** – Promotion of the Agricultural Revolution allowed for a larger population and the resulting mobile labor force to staff the new factories. Also, no nation could boast a better financial network of banks and credit institutions able to supply entrepreneurs with the capital necessary for industrial enterprises.

**Political advantages** – Even if many nations mirrored Britain's industrial potential, chances are those inclined toward industry exercised little influence over government policy. Not so in Britain. Through Parliament, mercantile and industrial interests enacted laws such as the Enclosure Acts to promote commercial agriculture and laissez-faire policies to protect property rights. These groups supported development of the British Navy and the acquisition of colonies, the source of raw materials and markets for British products.

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**Social advantages** – In traditional European societies, elites frowned upon the pursuit of profit (to be distinguished from the accumulation of wealth) as characteristic of the “vulgar bourgeoisie.” In Britain, aristocrats and the middle class instead shared an interest in commerce and profit accumulation. Though Protestant dissenters experienced religious toleration, their exclusion from the paid clergy, the university system, and government positions drove them into commercial and industrial pursuits. Their dissenting academies emphasized practical and technical training, and indeed, many of the early inventors derived from this group.

### The Classical Economists

Many of the features outlined above correspond with capitalism, but note that industrial development can occur within a command or socialist economic model. The so-called classical economists articulated the nature of a *laissez-faire* capitalist economic order, though not always with a positive view of its potential. Of the three figures associated with capitalism, one (Adam Smith, “the father of capitalism”) was addressed in Chapter 9; now we look at two other important figures:

**Thomas Malthus** (1766-1834)-Malthus believed that food supplies, which increase only incrementally, could never keep up with natural population growth, which occurs exponentially. Even today, Malthus’s *Essay on Human Population* (1798) represents the classic statement of concern for population growth and the need for its limitation. Malthus was pessimistic about the prospects for birth control and technological advance, though he did underestimate the productive capacity unleashed by both the Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions.

**David Ricardo** (1772-1823)-Taking Malthus’s ideas regarding population, Ricardo introduced the concept of the Iron Law of Wages. In the short run, Ricardo argued, if the poor gain higher wages, they will simply produce more children, increasing the labor supply and driving down incomes. Thus, in the long run, humanity could not produce a higher standard of living. Once again; Ricardo miscalculated the potential of new technologies and techniques to generate wealth and the human desire for smaller families within this capitalist, consumerist regime.

### Textile Innovations

Textiles led the way during the early Industrial Revolution. The many processes of textile production lent themselves to the development of cottage industry, which took hold in Britain in the 18th century. Several

basic technological breakthroughs, beginning in the 1730s, paved the way for the mechanization of spinning under one roof, or the first factories. It’s important to keep in mind that production processes like mechanization and the putting-out system often complemented each other in industries with multiple steps, such as textile production. Further, mechanization did not penetrate production in other industries for several generations. As you review the textile innovations below, focus more on the incremental nature of technological change rather than the names of the inventors.

- **Flying shuttle, 1733:** John Kay halved the time of the weaving process and allowed a single loom operator to work with wider cloth by creating a shuttle that could be operated with one hand. The invention increased demand for spun yam.
- **Spinning Jenny, 1768:** Improving on the traditional spinning wheel, James Hargreaves developed the jenny, which enabled operators to spin eight or more threads with additional spindles.
- **Water frame, 1771, and “mule,” 1780:** Richard Arkwright added water power to the principle of the jenny, allowing for the development of factories near rivers, which could harness this natural resource. Samuel Crompton combined the mechanical principles of the jenny and the water frame to create the spinning mule.
- **Power loom, 1785:** Edmund Cartwright’s power loom took several generations to perfect, and when it finally became cost-effective in the 1830s, it quickly drove the many handloom weavers out of business.

By the middle of the 19th century, then, the entire textile industry had become mechanized. Demand for raw cotton jumped exponentially, which, along with the new cotton gin (1793), provided a new lease on life for American slavery. Britain thus established dominance in a key consumer item with its cheap, sturdy cotton cloth.

### Steam Power, Coal Mining, Iron, and Railroads

These four industries or technologies were closely related. Developments in one tended to feed demand in the others, like a feedback loop. The first steam engines in the early 18th century pumped water out of coal mines, but did so inefficiently, using more energy than they produced. James Watt (1736-1819), in partnership with the entrepreneur Matthew Boulton, perfected the steam engine by employing a separate condenser to cool the steam and later added rotary

motion, essential to the development of 10col11lotion. Watt's invention provided a much-needed source of power for factories, which could now be located anywhere.

Coal mining expanded significantly in Great Britain in the 18th century, driven by the energy needs of the new steam engines and for metallurgical processes. Traditionally, iron smelting employed charcoal (fuel produced from burning wood), but this had led to the depletion of English forests. In 1709, Quaker Abraham Darby developed the first blast furnace using coke (a by-product of coal) to heat iron ore, which burned cleaner and allowed for the production of greater amounts of iron. Later in the century, Henry Cort pioneered the puddling and rolling processes that enabled factories to produce higher-quality wrought iron and to shape it more easily for industrial purposes. Soon, all processes were consolidated under one roof, vastly increasing British production of iron in the first half of the 19th century. Metallurgy, in turn, required vast amounts of coal, stimulating both industries.

Eighteenth-century Britain witnessed a great age of canal building. Water transportation proved more reliable and cut the costs of bringing goods to market. Many of the first canals were privately funded, earning huge profits for their investors. With the advent of cheaper iron and the power of the steam engine, railroads replaced canals as the most efficient form of transportation. At first, railways consisted of horse-drawn wagons over wooden rails, used to transport coal out of mines to foundries. In 1804, Richard Trevithick designed and built the first steam-powered locomotive. Soon after, engineer George Stephenson created a faster engine, The Rocket, which could travel at the (for-the-time) amazing speed of 24 mph! Railroads soon veined across Britain, providing cheaper goods and a new form of reliable passenger transportation. Railroads decreased isolation and allowed for geographic and social mobility, making them one of the most important inventions of the 19th century.

The great age of railroad building energized the production of iron, steam engines, and the mining of coal. In addition, machine tools, made of more refined and flexible steel, enabled engineers to shape, mold, bore, drill, cut, and saw materials with great precision. Together, these industries formed the spine of the British economy and fed other industrial processes.

## The Factory System and Other Industries

History's first industrialists combined the roles of inventor, entrepreneur, and manager. Early businesses

grew out of limited partnerships and fed off borrowed funds from Britain's extensive credit network. These industrialists eventually realized the benefits of standardization and specialization by combining industrial processes in one locale—a factory. The first factories appeared in textile spinning in the 1780s in the new industrial towns of the north, such as Manchester and Liverpool. Josiah Wedgwood (1730–1795) stands as a fine example of the new entrepreneurs, who extended the factory principle to new industries. Lacking an academic background in chemistry, Wedgwood nonetheless used trial and error to develop new styles of pottery.

Like petroleum later, coal processing led to the development of important by-products. Mauvine, the first synthetic dye, was extracted from coal tar in the middle of the century. Synthetic bleaches and dyes replaced laborious traditional processes and opened up new fashion opportunities. Certain colors, such as purple, had been associated with aristocratic status; with cheap textiles and dyes, fashion could now be democratized. ‘

By the mid-19th century, Britain had established its industrial preeminence. To celebrate the nation's accomplishments, British leaders organized the first world's fair in 1851 in London called the Crystal Palace Exhibition. Symbols of technology and progress took center stage and beckoned as examples for the continent to initiate.

## Industrialization on the Continent

### •SKILL SET

Now that you've considered the reasons for Britain's lead, it is time to set out the similarities and differences with the continental experience with industry. As you read this section, you might create a complex Venn diagram to establish how Britain compares with France, Germany, and the lagging nations (COMP). and porcelain. Wedgwood not only centralized and standardized his industrial processes, he also marketed his products with a keen eye to consumer tastes. His Queen's Ware gained fame throughout Europe for its delicate style and refinement.

Continental European nations wished to copy Britain's industrial success. Some succeeded; others seemed unable to overcome institutional barriers or limited resources. In some ways, the British lead proved beneficial, as its engineers, technicians, and inventors might be enticed by continental powers to share their industrial secrets. Often, however, governments needed to take a more active role in promoting and overseeing industrial development. This government intervention

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stands in contrast to Britain's laissez-faire approach. Let's see how this worked with several brief examples.

### France: A Gradualist Path

Like Britain, France experienced industrialization, but more gradually and with fewer disturbing side effects. As a legacy of the revolution, France continued a tradition of small, family-based agriculture without the destabilizing impact of enclosure and the Agricultural Revolution. Also, France's large internal market and skilled labor force allowed it to focus on higher-end products, such as silks and intricately patterned textiles. Without extensive reserves of coal and iron ore, France did not develop Britain's level of heavy industry. As a result, French industrial cities were smaller in number and did not grow as rapidly, avoiding some of the worst effects attending those in Britain. It was not until after 1850 that French finance, railroads, and communications were able to bring about a fuller modernization of attitudes and habits related to production and consumption.

### Germany: A Shackled Giant

Remember that there was no such nation as Germany in 1815. "Germany" remained divided among several dozen states, each with its own tariffs, tax systems, and state priorities. Though Germany boasted an abundant supply of coal and iron ore, a rich agricultural sector, and a strong craft tradition, its disunity hindered its full economic potential. In the 1830s, Prussian economist Friedrich List (1789-1846) argued for the development of a national economic system, beginning with a customs union that would create a free trade zone among the member German states. This Prussian-led *Zollverein* promoted not only economic integration but laid the basis for Germany's later political unity. In addition, List recognized that Britain's hands-off approach would not work in Germany, so he urged government financing of railroads, subsidies for key industries, and protective tariffs. Germany's economic take-off would await political unity in 1871, but it was already establishing strength in key industrial sectors such as iron, coal mining, and chemicals.

### The Lagging Lands

While other regions of Europe, such as Belgium and northern Italy, as well as the United States, had built an industrial base by mid-century, many nations languished in the inertia of resource poverty, backward agriculture based on serfdom, and elitist attitudes that discouraged the profit motive. For example, Spain lacked resources necessary for industry and faced geographic obstacles with a barren plain dominating the

center of its nation. However, the most important barriers proved to be the continuing influence of aristocratic privilege and religious other-worldliness. After 1848, Russia remained the only major nation relying on serfdom, an enormous waste of labor and land that effectively hindered its economic development and negated its strong resource base. In some cases, underdeveloped nations adopted outward manifestations of industry, such as a show railroad or a model factory, but the essential economic attitudes and the legal and educational infrastructure needed to secure private property or supply technical skills were sadly lacking.

## Social Effects of and Responses to Industrialization

### • THEME MUSIC

The thematic driver for this section is clearly Poverty and Prosperity (PP), but you will notice how wealth and inequality create issues relevant for other themes: 1) class, gender roles, and family (IS) and 2) government involvement in the economy and reform movements (SP). You should practice establishing connections across themes, as it assists with synthesis and reinforces your grasp of chronology.

The Industrial Revolution profoundly influenced first British and later European society. Problems such as overcrowding, pollution, worker discontent, and inequality compelled governments, reformers, and radicals to devise a range of contending responses to such issues.

### Population Increase

Industrialization supported a marked increase in population. From 1750 to 1850, the population of the British Isles rose 200% from 10 to 30 million. What's more, most of this humanity found itself crowded into the new industrial cities of Lancashire and the Midlands, north of London. Manchester came to symbolize the problems of the new industrial city, growing from 20,000 people in 1750 to almost half a million by 1850, making it the second largest city in Britain. Many migrants to the cities were driven by famine in Ireland or landlessness in the countryside. Though many found work in the new cotton mills, urban problems followed closely behind.

### Working and Living Conditions

It is easy to dramatize the conditions in the first factories or urban areas, and even though basis exists for these facts, you should incline toward analysis and specifics for any essay prompts on the Industrial Revolution. Initial factory conditions were deplorable. Workers were expected to labor up to 14 hours per day

with inadequate light and ventilation. Strict rules punished tardiness and fraternization among workers. Owners often preferred children as laborers for their small hands able to reach into machinery, as well as women, considered more docile and willing to work for lower wages than men. In coal mines and factories, laborers were exposed to toxic substances and particulates, causing lung and other diseases. Finally, because machines often determined the pace of labor, workers found themselves living by a regimented schedule and subject to fatigue that could be deadly if they should fall into the moving parts of machines.

Living conditions mirrored those in the workplace. Because of their rapid growth, cities found that their infrastructure of streets, housing, and sewage disposal could not keep up with the onslaught of new residents. Cramped housing and diseases, such as cholera, dysentery, and typhoid, reduced life expectancies by half compared with rural areas. Air and water pollution rendered even breathing and drinking dangerous activities. In addition to sanitary and environmental problems, crime, prostitution, alcoholism, and family breakdown defined city life.

As a consequence of the mechanization of labor, the family was transformed from a unit of production to a unit of consumption, i.e., gathering only for activities related to eating and leisure. It is easy to exaggerate how quickly and commonly this occurred; nonetheless, mechanization of labor set the precedent of moving work from the home, where workers exercised control over the pace and conditions, to a process managed by the owners of capital seeking profit by squeezing out costs through lower wages and sacrificing on basic safety conditions. Once the British Parliament passed legislation protecting women and children in the 1830s and 1840s, family life was further altered by separating male “productive” work outside the home from female “reproductive” and domestic labor completed in the home.

## New Industrial Classes

Industrialization created new classes. At the top, the industrial middle class gained wealth and status from the profits of industry. Though they were still few in number, this growing bourgeoisie set a social tone of frugality, respectability, and hard work, exemplifying the ideal of social mobility through self-help. The growth of the unskilled working class, or proletariat, paralleled that of the industrial middle class. Owning no capital or personal property of which to speak, unskilled workers were forced to sell their labor at a disadvantage, as the supply of workers continued to grow and employers freely dismissed those deemed

unproductive or troublesome. Industrial workers remained a relatively small segment of the population in Europe until after the middle of the 19th century, and therefore could exercise little influence on politics through union activity or political pressure.

## Responses: Reform, Rebellion, and Rejection

It is helpful to think of responses to these industrial problems on a continuum from acceptance of the new industrial system on one side to complete rejection on the other. We explore this topic further in the section below on “isms,” but for now focus on immediate and practical responses to those issues. You may find the following diagram helpful in imagining how these varying responses relate to one another.

### Rejection

Luddism	revolutionary socialism	utopian socialism
Chartism/unions	reform legislation	laissez faire

We have already examined the laissez-faire approach of the classical economists. Many laypeople recognized the obvious problems with industrialization but believed that these side effects naturally attended all economic systems. To tamper with the workings of the free market, in their minds, would only create more suffering in the long run. Eventually the problems became too pronounced for any but the most hardened capitalist to ignore. Reformers feared that if nothing were done to ameliorate the torrid working and living conditions, moral breakdown or, worse, revolution, would occur. In 1832, Parliament appointed the Sadler Commission to investigate child labor in mines and factories. The appalling testimony of workers convinced Parliament to pass the Factory Act of 1833, which provided for inspection of factories, a limitation on hours, and at least 2 hours of education per day for children. Sanitary reformer Edwin Chadwick’s (1800–1890) writings highlighted the need for improved sewage and sanitary conditions in the crowded and polluted cities. Soon after, the Parliament again responded with the Public Health Act of 1848, providing for the development of sanitary systems and public health boards to inspect conditions. Further acts are discussed below in the section “Reform in Great Britain.”

Despite the first tentative steps toward reform, workers voiced a more fundamental need for change, one that involved greater control over the workplace and political power. It became clear that, as individuals, workers could do little to blunt the capitalist system. To

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exert collective power, laborers formed unions. Skilled engineers formed a trade union, later called the Amalgamated Society of Engineers in 1851, to bargain for better working conditions and higher wages, much like medieval guilds. The more radical Grand National Consolidated Trade Union, encouraged by the industrialist Robert Owen (see below), attempted to organize all industrial workers for strikes and labor agitation. The British government looked with hostility on efforts at worker organization, passing the Combination Acts in the early 19th century to prevent union activity. Many workers favored more direct political activity. The Chartists, named after the founding document of their principles, employed petitions, mass meetings, and agitation to achieve universal male suffrage and the payment of salaries to members of Parliament. Chartism became associated with violent disturbances and faded as a movement after 1848, even though many of its goals were later reached.

Since socialism developed into a coherent ideology, it is covered more extensively in the section on “isms.” Luddism represented an outright rejection of the principle of mechanization of labor. Named for a mythical figure, Ned Ludd, the supporters of the movement met in secret throughout the early 1810s to plan the destruction of knitting frames and spinning devices they perceived as taking their skilled jobs. Many viewed the perpetuation of an artisanal culture of sturdy skilled craftsmen as preferable to any benefits from industrial efficiency. The British government crushed the movement by exiling or executing those involved. Today, those who oppose technological change are often dubbed by their detractors as Luddites.

## The Congress of Vienna and Concert of Europe

### • THEME MUSIC

The Vienna settlement and Concert of Europe defined diplomacy in the 19th century. To appreciate the diplomatic issues of this period (SP), you may want to create a balance of sheet of the possible positive and negative assessments of this most important of treaties and efforts at collective security.

## The Vienna Settlement, 1814-1815

After the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars, the great powers of Europe met in Vienna to rebuild a stable diplomatic order. Twenty-five years of violent upheaval and warfare had convinced conservatives of the need to reestablish legitimate governments and create mechanisms to subdue revolutionary movements. Negotiations were interrupted by the escape of Napoleon from Elba and his 100 Days campaign culminating with his defeat at Waterloo. In general, the victorious powers treated France leniently – though somewhat less so after the 100 Days – so as not to saddle the restored Bourbon monarchy with a harsh treaty. The Congress of Vienna, then, was guided by the following three principles:

**Legitimacy** – Monarchs were restored to those nations that experienced revolutions. This meant the Bourbons back in France (Louis XVIII, brother of the executed king), Spain, and Naples. Though some monarchs conceded constitutions in deference to public opinion, power remained in the hands of conservative interests – “throne, altar, and estate” – that is, monarchy, church, and aristocracy.

**Compensation** – Nations that lost territory in one area received compensation in another. For example, Austria surrendered possession of the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) but gained control of several states in northern Italy.

**Balance of power** – Key to the Congress’s deliberations, balance-of-power considerations led to the creation of a series of buffer states to quarantine France should a revolution break out there again. The new Kingdom of the Netherlands combined the former Dutch republic and Austrian Netherlands, Prussia gained extensive territory on the Rhine, and Piedmont-Sardinia in Italy was strengthened on France’s southern border.

The chart below provides an overview of the key players and their nations’ goals.

Nation	Leader	Goals
Austria	Klemens von Metternich (1773-1859) The dominant personality at the Congress.	As the most multiethnic of the great powers, Austria wished to repress nationalism and build a system of collective security to maintain the status quo. Owing to Metternich’s association with the Congress of Vienna, the period 1815-1848 is sometimes termed the Age of

		Metternich.
France	Talleyrand (1754-1838) Wily political survivor who represented revolutionary France, Napoleon, and then the restored Bourbons.	France wished to be readmitted into the family of the great powers by demonstrating its return to legitimacy. Talleyrand won over Metternich by exposing the plan of Prussia and Russia to take all of Saxony and Poland without consulting the other powers.
Great Britain	Castlereagh (1769-1822) Focused on protecting British commercial interests.	Britain saw the Congress primarily as reestablishing the balance of power on the continent, its long-time goal. Britain did not wish to be involved in a kind of international police force to crush revolutions.
Prussia	Prince von Harden berg (1750-1822) Older leader often outmaneuvered by Metternich.	Least influential at the Congress, Prussia generally followed the lead of Austria, the other German power. Prussia also desired to incorporate its long-time enemy, Saxony, into its territory.
Russia	Alexander I (r.1801-1825) Began as a reformer, but grew conservative and more religious in response to revolution.	The largest of the powers and growing in influence, Russia under the once-Liberal Alexander wanted to control Poland and also gain support for a Holy Alliance of powers committed to stopping “godless” revolution.

The resolutions of the Congress of Vienna reflect the traditional diplomacy of elites redrawing the map of Europe to meet their goals. After almost nine months of deliberations and another war against Napoleon, the great powers finally completed their work in June 1815, with the following decisions:

**Territorial adjustments:** Some have been addressed above. The Polish-Saxon question almost led to war among the powers, but as a compromise, the Prussians gained 40% of Saxony and the Russian tsar was named King of Poland, though in reality ruled Congress Poland directly. To ensure stability in central Europe, a 39-state German Confederation was created with Austria as the dominant power. France relinquished conquests from the revolutionary wars.

**Alliances:** To ensure peace and stability, the great powers formed the Quadruple Alliance, which became the Quintuple Alliance with the inclusion of France after 1818. In addition, the three conservative central and eastern European powers – Austria, Prussia, and Russia – created the Holy Alliance, envisioned by Alexander I as a brake on revolutionary movements.

**Indemnities:** After Napoleon’s return and the 100 Days, the victorious powers placed some moderate sanctions on France. The nation was required to return the art Napoleon had stolen from conquered lands and had to support an occupation army, which was removed in 1818.

**Collective Security:** To ensure peace and stability, the great powers agreed to meet periodically to discuss issues of mutual concern, especially related to war and revolution. This Concert of Europe provided a degree of

informal security in the first half of the 19th century; however, Britain disagreed with Metternich’s vision of collective security as committing the members to the suppression of revolutionary movements.

### The Congress System

Several times after the meeting in Vienna, the great powers invoked the Concert of Europe to address revolutionary situations. The details of these meetings follow:

**Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1818:** Based on French compliance with the treaty, the army of occupation was removed and France admitted to the Concert of Europe and Quintuple Alliance.

**Congress of Troppau, 1820:** Revolutionaries in Spain and Naples forced the kings of those nations to admit to constitutional limits on royal power: Metternich perceived the situation as the beginning of revolutionary violence and urged the other powers to sign a protocol committed to united action. When France and Britain demurred, Austria (with Prussian and Russian backing) subdued the revolt in Italy.

**Congress of Verona, 1822:** Two situations preoccupied the great powers—the continuing instability in Spain and Latin American revolts against Spanish control. On the first question, the great powers, excluding Britain, authorized a French army to subdue the threats to the Spanish monarchy and punish the revolutionaries, which was successfully done. Britain strongly objected to armed intervention in Latin America, as it wished to exploit the breakup of the Spanish empire to enhance its own trade. More importantly, the United States issued the Monroe Doctrine in 1823 warning against further European colonial ventures in an American sphere of influence.

No congresses met after Verona, demonstrating the differing visions of the Concert of Europe among the Big Five. Even if the great powers failed to create an institutional structure of collective security, its spirit of cooperation lingered until 1848. In assessing the Vienna settlement, some historians point out how its failure to recognize the forces of Liberalism and nationalism ‘led to over 30 years of continuous revolution. However, the great powers did provide a framework that avoided a general war among all of the great powers for almost a century (until 1914). Regardless of interpretations, clearly the Congress of Vienna fundamentally shaped the political and diplomatic climate for the first half of the 19th century.

#### • EXAMPLE BASE

Though the examples in this section go beyond what is specifically required in the Course Description, they will assist you in making an interpretation regarding the success or failure of the Concert system.

## Restoration and Reaction

What follows is a review-in-brief of domestic developments relating to the post-1815 theme of states restoring traditional governments and attempting to ensure stability. France and other nations that experienced revolutions are covered in the section “Revolutions and Reform.”

### Great Britain

Conservative Tories controlled British politics after 1815 and were intent on clearing away latent radicalism in the kingdom, often with censorship. Parliament remained unrepresentative, as none of the new industrial towns in the north elected members. Landed interests passed the Com Laws protecting British grain from competition, but at the same time the policy harmed consumers by raising prices. Democratic movements agitated for political reform; one such peaceful gathering in 1819 in Manchester was met with armed force, killing 11 and wounding hundreds. Opponents of the government derisively dubbed this event the Peterloo Massacre. A gradual loosening of repression in the 1820s paved the way for Liberal reforms in the 1830s.

### Germany

The personality of Metternich dominated politics through the German Confederation. Idealistic young student nationalists formed the *Burschenschaft* to celebrate liberal German culture and discuss political issues. Viewing these fraternities as a threat, Metternich convinced the Confederation to issue the Carlsbad Decrees (1819), forcing the dissolution of the *Burschenschaft*, censoring the press, and appointing government officials to supervise universities.

### Russia

With an inconsequential middle-class and autocratic tradition, Russia proved infertile ground for political Liberalism. Nonetheless, army officers influenced by revolutionary ideology had formed the Decembrist Society to push for a constitutional government. When Alexander I died in 1825, the Decembrist Revolt agitated for the accession of Constantine, considered a Liberal, rather than his reactionary brother, Nicholas. Nicholas I (r. 1825-1855) crushed the revolt and ruled Russia in succeeding decades guided by the motto “Autocracy, Orthodoxy, and Nationality,” relying on a secret police, religious uniformity, and imposition of Russian language and culture on ethnic minorities.

## The “Isms”

The period 1815-1850 was the Age of Ideologies. In response to the issues raised by the Dual Revolution, many Europeans adhered to a set of ideas that provided both a systematic view of human affairs as well as a



blueprint for changing the world. Such ideologies or “isms” influenced how people viewed events as well as motivated them to action.

#### • THEME MUSIC

It can be difficult to get a handle on the Ideologies, but you may find it helpful to attempt some role-playing, i.e., Imagine the world from the perspective of each ideology. Often it is easier to understand an intellectual system from the “inside-out” rather than simply memorizing terms. All of the ideologies represent systematic Intellectual (OS) responses to the Dual Revolution, but of course, each offers a political solution that flows from its political world view (SP).

## Conservatism

Conservatism should not be equated with complete rejection of change (such adherents are known as reactionaries). Defying the optimistic views of human rationality associated with the Enlightenment and French Revolution, Conservatives believed that human nature was driven primarily by the passions. Edmund Burke (1729-1797) became a leading advocate for change through adaptation, not violent revolution, with his statements against events in France (see Chapter 10). Humans are capable of reason, he argued, but often employ it as an excuse for self-interested actions. Customs and traditions, which have evolved over time to meet the needs of particular human societies, act as checks on the passions and should not be discarded lightly. Along with Burke, French philosopher Joseph de Maistre (1753-1821) demonstrated how once the revolution in France broke from its traditions of church, monarchy, and nobility, it descended into violent chaos. Burke and de Maistre were not opposed to constitutions per se—as Burke supported the American Revolution—only those based on abstract and supposedly universal principles not in keeping with a society’s experiences. Conservative philosophy supported the restoration governments of the post-1815 order.

## Liberalism

Classical Liberalism of the 19th century should be distinguished from the way the term liberal is used today. Based on Enlightenment and revolutionary ideals of reason, progress, and individual rights, Liberalism acted as a powerful philosophy of change throughout the 19th century. Economically, Liberals embraced the laissez-faire principles of Adam Smith’s capitalism and strong protection of private property. Politically, Liberals favored the social contract theory of limited government advocated by John Locke and the French revolutionaries as the surest guarantee of religious toleration and individual rights. Many if not most Liberals came from the middle class and supported a more representative government and an expansion in

suffrage, though only for property holders. British philosopher Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) articulated the related approach of utilitarianism, wherein “good” was defined as providing pleasure and “evil” as causing pain. Holding that the purpose of government was to promote the “greatest good for the greatest number,” Bentham argued for separation of church and state, women’s rights, and the end of slavery. Beginning in the utilitarian tradition, John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) later provided in his *On Liberty* (1859) one of the most eloquent defenses of freedom of expression and the dangers of the tyranny of the majority. Mill also collaborated with his wife, Harriet Taylor, and defended the cause of female suffrage in Parliament.

## Socialism, Republicanism, and Feminism

Self-proclaimed radicals and republicans embraced the “principles of ’93” from the French Revolution. Many were drawn from intellectual circles or the working class and favored equality and universal male suffrage while opposing the influence of organized religion, as well as monarchy and aristocracy. Republicanism shaded off into socialism. Socialists criticized the capitalist system as unequal and unjust, wishing to replace it with social and economic planning. One of the first socialists, ironically, was a textile entrepreneur, Robert Owen (1771-1858). Owen built a model factory in New Lanark, Scotland, to better provide for his workers’ needs. With high wages, improved conditions, and provision for schools and other amenities. The industrialist also attempted to export his utopian socialism to the United States, constructing an experimental but failed colony in Indiana. Most other early socialists were French, reflecting the legacy of the revolution. Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-1825) and Charles Fourier (1772-1837) embraced an ethos of cooperation and shared property to realize human needs beyond merely the economic. Additionally, the socialist Louis Blanc’s idea of “national workshops” for the working class played a key role in the revolution in 1848 in France. Despite the creativity, utopian socialism led to few practical successes and gave way after 1850 to the more militant Marxian version of socialism.

Many advocates of women’s rights, such as Mary Wollstonecraft and John Stuart Mill, drew from the Enlightenment tradition of individual rights and social equality. Socialists combined their criticism of the class system with that of gender roles. French female socialist Flora Tristan (1803-1844) argued that the oppression of women, whether as factory workers or in domestic roles, sprang from the unequal ownership of property.

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Numerous famous female writers of the period, such as Jane Austen, George Sand, and Germaine de Stael, once again demonstrated that women could exercise independent creative voices. By 1850, many feminists had established a clear agenda for the movement, obtaining greater access to education along with legal, property, and political rights.

### Nationalism

Nationalism proved the most combustible ideology of the 19th century, and it is essential to your understanding of political and diplomatic events after 1800. Spread by the example of the French Revolution, nationalism initially focused on cultural revival and celebration of traditions. Long-divided Germany in particular experienced a wave of cultural nationalism fed by the Napoleonic Wars. Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) replaced the political-judicial conception of state with an organic folk-nation best represented by the term *Volksgeist*, or “spirit of the people.” Germans celebrated their music and folklore, as with Beethoven’s symphonies or the Grimm Brothers’ fairy tales. Such cultural nationalism eventually took on political overtones. The German philosopher Hegel (1770-1831) glorified the national state as the march of destiny through history. History itself consisted of a clash of opposing ideas, called the dialectic, which pointed the way to a new synthesis—the idea of German national unity.

Given the atmosphere of repression and reaction during the post-1815 period, many nationalists formed secret societies to promote their agendas of unity. The Italian Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872) first joined the secretive Carbonari, who aimed to expel the Habsburgs from the peninsula, before forming Young Italy in 1831. Mazzini worked to foment nationalist uprisings in his native land, while in his writings argued that the overthrow of the Concert of Europe would lead to free, independent states based on linguistic and ethnic identity. States constituted along national lines would eliminate the need for wars and create true brotherhood and peace. Eastern Europe also experienced a revival of national traditions. Intellectuals representing the diverse group of Slavic speakers—Poles, Serbs, Croats, Czechs, Slovaks looked to common linguistic and cultural traditions and advocated pan-Slavism, or the unity of all Slavs. Pan-Slavism inspired uprisings in the 1815-1850 period, but given the power of the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires over the Slavs, the subsequent failures of these revolutions demonstrated the need for the patronage of an outside power—namely Russia, the protector of the Slavs.

### Romanticism

Romanticism dominated literature, music, and the arts in the first half of the 19th century. Romantics reacted to the Enlightenment’s emphasis on reason and science, instead stressing the following:

- **Emotions** – Taking their cue from Rousseau, Romantics emphasized feeling and passion as the wellspring of knowledge and creativity.
- **Intuition** – Science alone cannot decipher the world; imagination and the “mind’s eye” can also reveal its truths.
- **Nature** – Whereas the *philosophes* studied nature analytically, the Romantics drew inspiration and awe from its mysteries and power.
- **Nationalism** – Romanticism found a natural connection with nationalism; both emphasized change, passion, and connection to the past.
- **Religion (Supernatural)** – Romanticism coincided with a religious revival, particularly in Catholicism. Spirit, mysticism, and emotions were central to both.
- **The unique individual** – Romantics celebrated the individual of genius and talent, like a Beethoven or a Napoleon, rather than what was universal in all humans.

With these themes in mind, consider the topics and individuals below:

#### • THEME MUSIC AND EXAMPLE BASE

Prior to the 19th century, you will have noted the rise of objective thinking toward the natural world (Scientific Revolution, Enlightenment), but with the Romantics, we see one of the first strong reactions to the notion that all knowledge stems from the scientific method (OS). Though not the first to do so, the Romantics embrace the subjectivity of experience in a singular and seductive manner.

## Literature and History

**Lord Byron** (1788-1824) – As famous for his scandalous lifestyle as for his narrative poems, Lord Byron died from fever on his way to fight for Greek independence, a cause he supported in his writings.

**Thomas Carlyle** (1795-1881) – Carlyle pioneered history as the story of great men, as with his famous study of the French Revolution.

François-Rene de Chateaubriand (1768-1848) – In *The Genius of Christianity*, Chateaubriand glorified the mystical pull of religious faith and its connection with the beauties of nature.

**Johann Wolfgang von Goethe** (1749-1832) – Goethe's *Sorrows of Young Werther* recounted the tale of a passionate young man who commits suicide over an unrequited love. Along with *Faust*, in which the title character sells his soul to the devil, Goethe's works proved enormously influential in combining a neoclassical style with the Romantic themes of intuition and emotion.

**Edgar Allan Poe** (1809-1849) – With his short stories, Poe demonstrates the Romantic interest in the occult and macabre.

**Sir Walter Scott** (1771-1832) – Reflecting the Romantic interest in medieval history, Scott's *Ivanhoe* chronicles the conflicts between Norman and Saxon knights in England.

**Mary Shelley** (1797-1851) – Daughter of Mary Wollstonecraft, Shelley gained fame with *Frankenstein*, a literary warning about the hubris of modern humans and technology gone awry.

**Percy Bysshe Shelley** (1792-1822) – Shelley gained fame both from his poetry, as with his tale of rebellion against social conventions in *Prometheus Unbound*, and his lifestyle of free love and vegetarianism. Husband of Mary Shelley.

**William Wordsworth** (1770-1850) – Wordsworth's poetry glorified nature and suggested that "one impulse from a vernal wood" would teach humans more "than all the sages can."

## Architecture and Painting

**Eugene Delacroix** (1798-1863) – Delacroix is most famous for his large canvases, bold use of color, and exotic themes. His tribute to the French revolutionary tradition, *Liberty Leading the People*, is his most famous work.

**Caspar David Friedrich** (1774-1840) – Friedrich's paintings gained notoriety for their portrayals of solitary figures confronting the immensity of nature, as with *Wanderer Above the Sea of Fog*.

**Theodore Gericault** (1791-1824) – His immense canvas, *The Raft of Medusa*, demonstrated the Romantic fascination with nature as well as a critique of a distant and uncaring monarchy. Gericault's works on the insane illustrate the Romantic interest in the exotic and unique.

**Houses of Parliament** (1830s) – The most famous architectural example of the neo-Gothic revival in Britain.

**J.M.W. Turner** (1775-1851) – Turner used vivid colors and atmospheric effects to depict the untamed power of nature in his *Rain, Steam, and Speed* and *Slavership*.

## Music

**Ludwig von Beethoven** (1770-1827) – Beethoven pushed the classical style to its limits with his sophisticated orchestral arrangements. Despite growing deafness, Beethoven helped establish the Romantic movement in music with his nine symphonies.

**Hector Berlioz** (1803-1869) – Berlioz developed program music in which a drama parallels the motifs of the music. His famous *Symphonie Fantastique* portrays a drug-induced imagination of a witches' gathering.

Though Romantics occupied themselves primarily with cultural expression, many combined their aesthetic vision with political activism. Romantics urged freer lifestyles and political systems, which explains the crossover from Romanticism to nationalism, as well as Liberalism. In fact, many historians term the first half of the 19th century the Age of Romantic Nationalism. As we see below, Romanticism fueled the revolutionary sentiments sweeping across Europe in the period 1815-1850.

## Revolutions and Reform

The Restoration political settlement, designed to stop revolution, inadvertently fed the grievances of nationalism and Liberalism in the period 1815-1848. This Age of Revolutions gained fuel from industrial problems and the legacy of unfulfilled promises from the French Revolution. Among the great powers, Great Britain avoided revolutionary outbursts through the enactment of tentative Liberal reforms in this period. Revolutionary turmoil culminated with the revolutions of 1848, one of the more overlooked events in European history.

### The Revolutions of 1830-1831

We have already seen how the great powers used the Concert of Europe from 1815 to 1830 to subdue revolutionary movements in Sicily and Spain. However, these successes hid the underlying force of Liberal and

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national movements. In 1830, the fever of revolution flared again, as usual beginning with France.

The restored Bourbon kings of France reestablished the power of the Catholic clergy and favored the interests of former aristocrats. When elections repudiated the monarchy's policies, it curtailed voting rights and censored the press. Militant republicans and middle-class moderates joined in overthrowing the king, who quickly abdicated. As a compromise, the throne went to a ostensibly reformist relative of the deposed monarch. The new King Louis Philippe (r. 1830-1848), known as the "bourgeois king," promised to abide by the Constitution of 1814.

Events in France inspired revolts in Belgium and Poland in 1830-1831. The Belgians never fully accepted their absorption into a Dutch kingdom and, following the French example, declared their independence. Because the great powers agreed to maintain Belgian neutrality, the new nation was permitted to establish a new Belgian kingdom. However, this was not the case with Poland, which also revolted against Russian authority in 1831. With no outside support, the Polish revolt was brutally crushed by Nicholas I, Congress Poland was eliminated, and the territory directly incorporated into Russia.

When the Christian Greeks revolted against their Islamic Turkish rulers in 1821, the event inspired an outpouring of support by European intellectuals, who praised the ancient Greeks as the founders of western civilization. By the 1820s, the great powers had come over to the cause of Greek nationalism, even Metternich. The Turks were defeated and by treaty (1829), a new independent Greek state was created, a rare example of a successful nationalist revolt in this era.

### Reform in Great Britain

Great Britain avoided revolutionary upheaval because of its ability to adapt to the challenge of Liberalism. To incorporate the new industrial bourgeoisie and provide an orderly process of representation for new cities, Parliament passed the Reform Act of 1832, which doubled the number of males who could vote, but retained a property

requirement. Further reforms followed with the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1833 and the Poor Law of 1834. In reflecting the Liberal notion of self-help, the latter law actually punished the poor by making relief in government workhouses more unpleasant than any job. One of the more important principles favored by Liberals was free trade, thus their opposition to the protective Corn Laws. In the context of the Irish potato famine, Parliament in 1846 finally repealed the Corn Laws, initiating a century of British support for free trade. Conservative Tories supported their own notion of reform-through protective legislation. Following the Factory Act of 1833, Tories in Parliament helped pass the Mines Act, banning children and women from mines, and the Ten Hours Act, limiting hours in textile mills. In giving the middle class a stake in society, British reformers hoped to gain their support for compromise over revolution.

### The Revolutions of 1848

#### • SKILL SET

You may note In this section how the unresolved issues of the French Revolution echoed throughout the 19th and Into the 20th centuries. Consider the continuities and changes (CCOT) In the Issues that prompted revolutions and the rhetoric and strategies employed by revolutionaries to achieve their aims.

Revolutions broke out all over Europe in tile fateful year 1848. Though few of these revolutions achieved their stated objectives, their consequences proved significant nonetheless.

Three major causes account for the stunning outburst of revolutionary activity: (1) Liberals felt profound frustration at the lack of political change toward constitutional and representative government, (2) nationalists chafed under the 1815 Vienna settlement and its blunt rejection of self-determination for ethnic minorities, and (3) the lives of the working class suffered from poor agricultural productivity (the era was known as the "hungry '40s") and jobs lost to new industrial machinery. The combination of these factors made for an explosive compound, and once again the match was lit in France. For an overview of events, review the following chart:

France			
Trigger	Leaders	Events	Results
Discontented over the slow pace of reform and corruption in Louis Philippe's government, Liberals agitate for suffrage expansion. When the	*Louis-Philippe (r.1830-1848) – king who abdicates under pressure of violence in Paris. *Louis Blanc – socialist advocate of national workshops for	*Following Louis's abdication, a provisional government is formed, composed of moderate and radical republicans. *To appease the working class of Paris, Blanc's national workshops are formed, but end up as a system of poor relief, not of	France establishes the Second Republic, but only after class warfare reveals the divisions in French society between the middle and working classes. Louis

government resists, Paris rises in revolt.	workers. *Louis Napoleon – nephew of Napoleon I and opponent of monarchy; elected president of the Second Republic in 1848.	worker control of industry. *In June, radicals attack the democratically elected Constituent Assembly in hopes of creating a socialist republic. *The June Days see class violence between radical republicans and the army, which results in the deaths of 10,000 radicals and the establishment of a moderate republic. -Louis Napoleon is elected president in December by a wide majority and moves to consolidate power	Napoleon exploits fears of further social conflict to establish authoritarian control of the nation.
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**Prussia**

Trigger	Leaders	Events	Results
Inspired by the French example, Prussian Liberals in March revolt in Berlin against the Prussian monarch, who had resisted sharing power.	*Frederick William IV (r.1840-1861) – agrees to the election of a Prussian assembly, but refuses the Frankfurt Liberals’ offer of a crown of a united Germany; does grant a conservative constitution to his kingdom in 1850.	*Liberals force the election of a Prussian Assembly, which grants autonomy to the Polish minority. *By spring’s end, the Prussian army has reestablished control of the nation and reversed the pro-Polish legislation of the Assembly.	Prussian Liberals failed to meet their objectives of political equality and reducing the influence of traditional institutions. However, despite its three-tiered class voting system, the 1850 Constitution provides for representation.

**Frankfurt**

Trigger	Leaders	Events	Results
After the riots in Berlin, Liberals overthrow the traditional political structures of other German states. After elections, delegates meet in Frankfurt to attempt Germany’s unification.		*Deliberations divide over whether the Austrian empire, with its large non-German population, should be included in a unified Germany. This debate causes a fatal delay while conservatives regather their strength. *By December, the Liberals issue a Declaration of Rights for the German people. *In April 1849, the Frankfurt Assembly completes its constitution and offers the crown to Prussian King Frederick William IV.	By the time German Liberals complete a constitution, their moment has passed. Frederick William IV rejects the “crown from the gutter,” and the work of German unification would await the wily diplomacy of a conservative (see next chapter).

**Austria**

Trigger	Leaders	Events	Results
Workers and students rebel in March in Vienna, causing Metternich to flee to Britain.	*Klemens von Metternich – conservative Foreign Minister and creator of the Congress System, unable to withstand the revolutions of 1848. *Franz Joseph I (r.1848-1916) – becomes emperor in December upon his father’s abdication.	*Serfdom is abolished throughout the Austrian empire. *Emperor Franz Joseph agrees to a Constitution in 1849.	After the initial nationalist revolts, the new emperor and army reestablish control and crush further opposition. Franz Joseph rejects the Liberal constitution and works toward centralization of power, though the ethnicities issue would

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			fester.
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Prague			
Trigger	Leaders	Events	Results
Seeing the turmoil in the Austrian Empire, Slavic nationalists meet in Prague to discuss the unification of all Slavs.	General Windischgratz – German army commander who succeeds in dispersing the Prague Assembly.	After initially promising autonomy to Bohemia, whose capital was Prague, the Austrian emperor reverses course and breaks up the Pan-Slav Congress.	Though unsuccessful, Slavic nationalism remains a problem for the Austrian Empire and forms an essential cause of the First World War.

Budapest			
Trigger	Leaders	Events	Results
Events in Paris inspire the Hungarian Diet in March to proclaim liberty for Magyars- (another name for Hungarians).	Louis Kossuth (1802-1894) – Hungarian Liberal and nationalist who leads the cause of the Magyars.	*In the fall of 1848, Hungarian nationalists proclaim a new constitution that promotes the Magyar language but suppresses the rights of Slavic minorities in Hungary. *After the constitution is rejected by the Austrian emperor, Hungary declares complete independence. *Emperor Franz Joseph in 1849 asks Russian leader, Nicholas I, to crush the nationalist movement in Budapest.	The Austrians exploit Slavic fear of Hungarian power to crush the revolt, with Russian support. However, Magyars remain the most restive of the ethnic minorities in the empire.

Italy			
Trigger	Leaders	Events	Results
After the March Days in Vienna, several Italian states rise in revolt against Austrian rule.	*Charles Albert (r. 1831-1849) – king of Piedmont-Sardinia who urges the Italian states to resist Austrian rule. *Pope Pius IX (r.1846-1878) – begins as a reformer, but when expelled from Rome by revolutionary forces, turns against modernism. *Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882) – Italian nationalist military leader who helps establish the Roman Republic.	*Charles Albert of Piedmont-Sardinia grants a constitution to his people and declares war on Austria to gain territory in Italy. *Numerous other Italian states rise in revolt against Austrian rule. When the Pope is expelled from Rome, Mazzini proclaims a Roman Republic. *Austrian authorities agree to abolish serfdom in Italian Habsburg lands, hoping to win over peasants. *The Austrian army defeats Charles Albert and restores authority in the other Italian states. *To win over Catholics, Louis Napoleon in 1849 sends French troops into Rome to restore Pope Pius IX.	Italians experience few specific victories in 1848, other than the abolition of serfdom in some states and a constitution for Piedmont. However, the revolutions set the stage for Italian unification under Piedmont-Sardinia later and its opposition by the papacy.

What began with heady enthusiasm and high hopes ended with bitter disappointment and violent suppression. In general, the Liberal and nationalist revolutions of 1848 failed to achieve their objectives, and for this three key factors are responsible: (1) Though revolutionaries boasted lofty rhetoric and inspiring visions, they lacked the institutional power of conservative forces, such as armies and bureaucracies, (2) conservatives successfully exploited middle-class

fears of radical revolution after the June Days in Paris, and (3) rulers pitted ethnic minorities against one another to divide and conquer and reestablish authority. Despite these failures, the revolutions of 1848 may be the most underestimated event in European history. The revolutions set the stage for the rise of socialism and a growing division between the middle and working class.

In addition, the Romantic age of revolution seemed dead and, philosophically, many intellectuals turned to a more hard-headed realist and materialist vision of the world. Most importantly, conservatives learned the lesson that they could no longer ignore nationalism; so if they wished to stay in power, they had to appeal to public opinion and sponsor movements of national unity from the top down. It is to this topic that the next chapter is devoted.

**• SKILL SET**

One pundit argued that the revolutions of 1848 were “a turning point at which history failed to turn.” It will be useful to take this notion and turn it into a Periodization (PER) question, identifying the ways in which this statement is true or false by tabulating the evidence, particularly in subsequent decades. The short answer is that they helped establish the modern world. How and why?