

Russia and Japan: Industrialization Outside the West

Russia's Reforms and Industrial Advance

- In the wake of the French Revolution, Russia turned from following Western models. Alexander I supported the **Holy Alliance** in their defense of the religious and political order. Yet Russian intellectuals maintained ties to the West. Pushkin was one of many writers to embrace and enhance the Romantic style. The **Decembrist Uprising** of 1825 pushed Nicholas I further to the right. Restrictions on political freedom followed. The revolutions of 1830 and 1848 skipped Russia. At the same time, Russia expanded its territory. A Polish national uprising in 1830–1831 was brutally suppressed. Pushing south, Russia took Ottoman lands and supported Greek independence.
- Russian industrialization did not keep pace with the West. Peasant labor service was increased to meet demands for grain exports, and the grain trade did have a positive effect on industrialization. The **Crimean War**—from 1854 to 1856—pitted Russia against the Ottoman Empire. France and Britain, fearful of expanding Russian power, supported the Ottomans. Russian leaders saw the advantage industrialization had given Western powers, and Alexander II pushed for reform. Serfdom was a key issue, and reforming the institution was clearly necessary.
- The **emancipation of the serfs**, in 1861, was carefully planned to maintain tsarist control. The serfs received lands, but had to pay redemption fees. Peasant revolts actually increased because of disappointment at the limitations of the reforms. The tsar set up **zemstvos**, which gave some political experience to more Russians. The army was reformed and recruitment expanded. Literacy and demands for popular fiction increased. Women's roles broadened. Industrialization was part of these changes. The **trans-Siberian railroad** linked western Russia to the Pacific, additionally stimulating the coal and iron industries. Industrialization picked up, especially in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Polish towns. **Sergei Witte**, the minister of finance from 1892 to 1903, modernized the Russian economy. Foreign control increased, and Russia became a debtor nation. While the volume of manufactures was large, Russia was still only partly industrialized.

Protest and Revolution in Russia

- Minority nationals raised concerns in Russia, but were secondary to the dislocations caused by industrialization. Calls for reform developed along two lines.

Liberal reforms were sought by businesspeople and professionals. The **intelligentsia** and student groups called for more radical reform, but remained isolated. **Lastly, anarchists** aimed to end all government. Failing to find popular support, they turned to violence. Alexander II responded by withdrawing support for reform. He was assassinated in 1881. Repressive measures followed, including anti-Semitic policies, and pogroms. Marxism took hold by the 1890s. **Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov**, Lenin, adapted Marx's ideas to Russian conditions. His version of Marxism was adopted by the **Bolsheviks**. Dissatisfaction grew among workers, who unionized and organized strikes. These different currents of unrest made revolution in Russia likely.

- Russia made gains against the Ottoman Empire in the late 19th century. Aiding the Serbian and Bulgarian independence movements added to Russian pride. However, the **Russo-Japanese War** broke out in 1904, when Russia threatened Japan's regional control. The Russian defeat led to the Russian Revolution in 1905. The tsars created the **duma** to satisfy liberals. The **Stolypin** reforms eased the peasants' redemption payments. **Kulaks**, peasant entrepreneurs, bought land to develop. The duma's power was steadily weakened, and the Russian government turned its attention to the Balkans.
- Similar patterns existed in other eastern European nations. Some chose parliamentary governments, some monarchies. Eastern Europe experienced a period of cultural flowering, with new pride in Slavic culture.

Japan: Transformation Without Revolution

- Japan's shogunate ruled in the early 19th century, with few changes. Shrinking revenues weakened the power of the shoguns after 1850. Developments in intellectual life included the **terakoya**, or public schools, leading to literacy rates of 40% for men and 15% for women. Nationalist leanings led to the celebration of Shintoism and Japanese culture. At the same time, **Dutch studies** continued in spite of bans on Western reading. Controlled by monopolies, commerce boomed. Slowing economic growth after 1850 and riots in rural areas led to a climate where change was welcome.
- The arrival of **Matthew Perry** in 1853 threatened Japanese isolation. By 1856, two Japanese ports were open to U.S. commerce. The emperor was pressured to open the country further. Samurai were especially keen, hoping that the change would dislodge the shogun. The samurai began using American firearms in 1866 and defeated the shogun's troops. Reform came with the installation of a new emperor—Mutsuhito—called **Meiji**.
- The Meiji government replaced the daimyo system with prefects. Samurai were sent to Europe and the United States to learn, turning the group into a force for change. The reforms of 1873–1876 ended samurai privileges and introduced conscription. Iwasaki Yataro is an example of a samurai who changed his stripes. Founding Mitsubishi in 1868, he built railroads and steamer lines. Political parties emerged. A new constitution in 1889 included a **diet**, modeled on the German legislature. Japan was successful in borrowing from the West while maintaining much of its traditional structure.

- Reforms continued with an overhaul of the army and navy. Priority was given to industrialization. Internal tariffs and guilds were ended to clear the way for a unified economy. The government was closely involved in the process of industrialization. Western models were adapted to Japanese conditions. At the same time, entrepreneurs from all levels of society played an important role in the changes. Industrial conglomerations, **zaibatsu**, emerged. Industrialization was well advanced by 1900. Still dependent on imports, however, the country lagged behind the West. Cottage industry and sweatshops were common.
- Japanese society experienced change as a result of economic and industrial change. Population growth was an important issue. Public education was offered to all, focusing on the sciences and technology. Rapid Westernization in the 1870s was replaced by more attention to Japanese values and social structure. Western lifestyles, clothes, and measures were adopted. Women's roles saw little change. Shintoism gained ground. Foreign policy was adapted to Japan's increasing involvement in the global economy. The **Sino-Japanese War** gave Japan a quick victory over China, and hegemony in Korea. Forced by European powers to abandon territory it had taken in mainland China, Japan turned its eyes to Russian lands. The **Russo-Japanese War** of 1904 was another Japanese victory, and Korea was annexed in 1910.
- Urbanization and industrialization resulted in strains in Japanese society. Politics reflected the tensions, with assassinations and frequent dismissal of the Diet. Among intellectuals, questions were rife about Japanese culture's survival. Their government's response was to promote nationalism. The country thus avoided the revolutionary turmoil that affected China and Russia.

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Nineteenth-century ruling elites in Russia embraced which philosophy and ideas?
 - (A) autocratic government, Orthodox religion, and extreme nationalism
 - (B) liberalism, including the emancipation of serfs and British-style democracy
 - (C) socialism, with land reform for peasants and protections for workers
 - (D) Bolshevism, or a worker-led revolution and abolition of private property
 - (E) constitutional monarchy, with an elected parliament and limitations on the ruler's powers
2. In Russia, the supporters of westernization and radical ideas were often
 - (A) nobles.
 - (B) the Russian Orthodox clergy.
 - (C) peasants.
 - (D) intellectuals and university-educated students.
 - (E) ethnic minorities, especially the Jews, Catholics, and Muslims.
3. Russia's 19th-century underdevelopment was most dramatically revealed by
 - (A) the French Revolution's impact on Russia.
 - (B) Napoleon's invasion of Russia, which nearly succeeded.
 - (C) the 1825 Decembrist Revolution.
 - (D) the Crimean War.
 - (E) the Russo-Japanese War.
4. Despite the emancipation of the serfs in Russia,
 - (A) serfdom persisted in many parts of the country.
 - (B) Russian aristocrats opposed the emancipation.
 - (C) few numbers of workers joined the factories or industrial workforce.
 - (D) slavery persisted in Russia.

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- (E) Russia was careful to preserve imperial and aristocratic power and influence.
5. All of these influences led to the 1905 revolutions EXCEPT:
- (A) businessmen and professionals pressuring the government for political rights.
 - (B) students agitating among the peasants.
 - (C) anarchist assassinations and agitations among peasants and workers.
 - (D) Count Witte's social and economic policies.
 - (E) the spread of Marxism and socialism among workers and intellectuals.
6. Prior to the arrival of the American fleet and Commodore Perry, Japan
- (A) was dominated by a Buddhist and Shinto religious hierarchy.
 - (B) had not developed a literate and educated population.
 - (C) was in self-imposed isolation.
 - (D) lacked a centralized, effective government.
 - (E) knew little of Western developments or ideas.
7. Which of these statements is a FACT about the policies of the Meiji restoration?
- (A) Political power was centralized, and the Emperor's authority was restored.
 - (B) Feudalism was retained, although it was limited.
 - (C) The samurai retained some of its rights and privileges.
 - (D) The samurai and educated Confucian elite staffed the state bureaucracy.
- (E) The Diet obtained rights and powers similar to the British parliament.
8. All of these social and cultural changes were the results of the Japanese Industrial Revolution EXCEPT:
- (A) the secularization of Japanese society.
 - (B) massive population growth due to better nutrition and medical provisions.
 - (C) a universal educational system.
 - (D) the explosive growth of towns as rural populations migrated to cities.
 - (E) an increased emphasis on technological and scientific education.
9. As a way to smooth over strains within Japanese society caused by the Industrial Revolution, the government
- (A) granted extensive rights and benefits to workers, women, and peasants
 - (B) established a social welfare and retirement system.
 - (C) tolerated unions and radical groups if they worked with the government.
 - (D) gave the Japanese Parliament (Diet) powers over ministers and government.
 - (E) supported Japanese nationalism and foreign expansion.
10. The nation that threatened Japanese colonial aspirations most in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was
- (A) Great Britain.
 - (B) Russia.
 - (C) China.
 - (D) Korea.
 - (E) the United States.

Document-Based Question

What were some of the key causes of social protest during the period 1750 to 1914? Do the following documents suggest shared grievances in different places and times during this period, or an array of largely separate issues? What additional documents would help illustrate the causes of protest during this period?

Historical Background: The period of 1750 to 1914 was one of great political, economic, and social change and upheaval in the world. Democratic revolutions occurred in Europe, the Americas, and Asia. The Industrial Revolution in the Western world allowed technologically advanced nations or groups to dominate other peoples.

DOCUMENT 1 Source: Cahiers [grievances] of the Third Estate in the French Revolution, 1789

Art. 23. All taxes now in operation are contrary to these principles and for the most part vexatious, oppressive and humiliating to the people. They ought to be abolished as soon as possible, and replaced by others common to the three orders [Estates] and to all classes of citizens, without exception.

Art. 24. In case the present taxes are provisionally retained, it should be for a short time, not longer than the session of the States General, and it shall be ordered that the proportional contribution of the two [upper Estates, the aristocracy and the clergy] shall be due from them on the day of the promulgation of the law of the constitution.

Art. 25. After the establishment of the new taxes, which shall be paid by the three orders [Estates], the present exceptional method of collecting from the clergy shall be done away with, and their future assemblies shall deal exclusively with matters of discipline and dogma.

Art. 26. All new taxes, real and personal, shall be established only for a limited time, never to exceed two or three years. At the expiration of this term, they shall be no longer collected, and collectors or other officials soliciting the same shall be proceeded against as guilty of extortion.

DOCUMENT 2 Source: Pugachev, leader of a revolt against the Russian government, 1774

Through this sovereign decree, in our monarchical and fatherly mercy, that all who were formerly peasants and subjected landowners shall be faithful subjects and slaves of our own crown;...and bestow upon you freedom and liberty and the eternal rights of Cossacks, including freedom from recruiting levies, the soul tax, and other monetary taxes; we confer likewise the ownership of lands, forests, hayfields, fisheries, and salt lakes without purchase or rent; and we free the peasants and all the people from the taxes and oppression formerly imposed by villainous nobles and the venal city judges.

DOCUMENT 3 Source: Chief Joseph, *An Indian's Views of Indian Affairs*, 1879

A chief called Lawyer [Aleiya], because he was a great talker, took the lead in this council, and sold nearly all the Nez Percés country. My father was not there. He said to me: "when you go into council with the white man, always remember your country. Do not give it away. The white man will cheat you out of your home. I have taken no pay from the United States. I have never sold our land." In this treaty Lawyer acted without authority from our band. He had no right to sell the Wallowa (winding water) country. That had always belonged to my father's own people, and the other bands had never disputed our right to it. No other Indians ever claimed Wallowa....

The United States claimed they brought all the Nez Percés country outside the Lapwai Reservation, from Lawyer and other chiefs, but we continued to live on this land in peace until eight years ago [1871], when white men began to come inside the bounds my father had set. We warned them against this great wrong, but they would not leave our land and some bad blood was raised. They reported many things that were false.

DOCUMENT 4 Source: Commissioner Lin's Letter to Queen Victoria, 1839

Yet there are barbarian ships that strive to come here for trade for the purpose of making a great profit. The wealth of China is used to profit barbarians. That is to say, the great profit made by barbarians is all taken from the rightful share of China. By what right do they then in return use the poisonous drug [opium] to injure the Chinese people?...

The goods from China carried away by your country not only supply your own consumption and use, but also can be divided up and sold to other countries, producing a triple profit. Even if you do not sell opium, you still have this threefold profit. How can you bear to go further, selling products injurious to others in order to fulfill your insatiable desire?

DOCUMENT 5 Source: Rural Indebtedness in the 1880s

[High land taxes (the revenue from which financed many of the Meiji reforms) and falling prices for farm products led to a flood of rural bankruptcies in Japan during the 1880s. The following petition, drawn up by a prosperous farmer in Kanagawa prefecture, was presented to the authorities in 1884.]

The 200,000 people of this prefecture are unable to repay their debts because of declining prices and the depressed state of the silkworm business and textile industry in general. They are plagued day and night with worries, sorrow, frustration, and hardship. People are being crushed underfoot by the usurers [moneylenders] as if they were ants. The demonstration by the members of the Debtors' Party in this prefecture in mid-1884 proved to be fruitless; all we got was a lecture from the authorities. No leniency or generosity was forthcoming... Under current conditions [the debtors] can find no way to repay their debts. I beg your Excellencies to allow sentiments of morality and benevolence to come forth, and, even if the letter of the law has to be distorted a little, to adopt measures that would aid the impoverished people.

DOCUMENT 6 Source: Karl Marx, *Communist Manifesto*, 1848

The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few.

In the sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property....

Nevertheless, in the most advanced countries, the following will be pretty generally applicable:

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1. Abolition of private [ownership] in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
 2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
 3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
 4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
 5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.
 6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.
 7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bringing into cultivation of wastelands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
 8. Equal liability of all to labor. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
 9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equable distribution of the population over the country.
 10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, &c., &c.

Free-Response Question

What pre-existing factors affected the impact of industrialization on the social, cultural, and political development of Russia and Japan?

ANSWERS AND EXPLANATIONS

Multiple-Choice Questions

- **1. (A) is correct.** Elements of the other answers also applied to Russia in the 19th century.
- **2. (D) is correct.** The other groups were either isolated from Western ideas, or opposed to the ideas that threatened their position. Western and radical ideas were spread by an intellectual minority.
- **3. (D) is correct.** The quick victory of Western powers over the much larger Russian empire was a clear lesson to the latter of the superiority of Western technology.
- **4. (E) is correct.** Although Russian leaders were themselves responsible for the emancipation, they were careful to preserve their own position, and that of the aristocracy on whom they depended.
- **5. (D) is correct.** All of the factors except Witte's work came together to produce the revolutions.
- **6. (C) is correct.** All of the other answers are false; it was Perry's arrival that forced Japan to open its doors.

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- **7. (A) is correct.** Although the emperor had always ruled, the shoguns or daimyo had long exercised real authority.
 - **8. (A) is correct.** If anything, Shinto became more important during industrialization and was increasingly used by the state.
 - **9. (E) is correct.** Nationalism was used by the Japanese government to unify the people, while expansion was intended to ease some of the pressures of industrialization.
 - **10. (B) is correct.** Russia's own expansion was a barrier to Japan's hopes to take territory in Asia.

Document-Based Question Sample Response

What were some of the key causes of social protest during the period 1750 to 1914? Do the following documents suggest shared grievances in different places and times during this period, or an array of largely separate issues? What additional documents would help illustrate the causes of protest during this period?

Causes of social protest in the period 1750 to 1914 were often economic in nature, including such issues as taxes, land ownership, and imperialism. Those who protested saw themselves as victims of either their own governments or imperializing nations. Although the protesters saw their situations generally as domestic issues, Karl Marx and contemporary historians view these responses of groups in various countries across the world from Japan to the United States as part of the process of social, political, and economic change resulting from the political revolutions, the Industrial Revolution, and imperialism in the Long Century.

The beginning of this period was one of great upheaval among the lower classes in Europe. Economic growth in European countries did not benefit all classes to the same degree. Social protest in Russia and France (**DOCUMENTS 1 AND 2**), although focused on the economic issue of taxation, included a resentment of the privileged classes, the clergy, and aristocracy, who were often tax-exempt. **DOCUMENT 1**, which includes the actual decrees of the Third Estate, represents the view of the middle class of late 18th-century France, as it is a legal document. Lawyers in the Third Estate would have been educated to write such literate grievances, whereas the peasantry of France would not have been able to do so. To get a better idea of the views of the lower classes, it would be useful to have a document describing actions of peasants in the Great Fear or the *sans culottes* riots in Paris in 1789. Pugachev described unfair taxation in Russia as part of the oppression of Cossacks and peasants. Although he saw himself as a new and benevolent ruler, his disdain and anger toward the ruling classes is evident in his characterization of the nobility as “villainous” and judges as “venal.” The French middle class and Pugachev sought reforms in government through revolution. The Japanese protestors saw themselves as victims of government reform. In order to pay for reforms, the Meiji government increased taxes, which created indebtedness for the rural farmers (**DOCUMENT 5**). Since the author of this document was more prosperous and therefore well educated, he wrote a letter to the government explain-

ing the problem. Although he addresses the government with respect (“your Excellencies”), he sees them as unfeeling (“No leniency or generosity was forthcoming.”) He clearly identifies with his fellow farmers, although they are probably poor. To understand if the problems in Japan were due to the actions of the Meiji government or due to more global pressures like the world market price for silk, it would be helpful to have a chart reflecting the market prices for silk in the later half of the 19th century and its economic impact on Japan and a chart reflecting the impact on Japanese farmers to see if this was more of a problem for the poor or more well-to-do farmers. Marx also resented the privileges of the upper classes and in his manifesto decrees “equal liability of all to labor” (**DOCUMENT 6**). He also wished to abolish the right of inheritance, largely a benefit for the upper classes, and to create a graduated income tax, which would tax the richer classes heavier than the lower classes. Social inequalities; which provided economic benefits to the upper classes, were discussed in the Enlightenment in Europe and continued to be an issue in the middle of the 19th century. Marx saw these inequalities as part of the broad process of a more universal history where the economic elite exploited the masses. He would most likely view the Meiji reforms as a bourgeois revolution and the taxation of the farmers as exploitation of the Japanese masses.

A second major economic issue in this period was land ownership. Karl Marx saw private land ownership as a major social problem and the first thing to be abolished (**DOCUMENT 6**). He believed that private ownership of land and businesses was the root of social inequalities within European countries, and also allowed the wealthy of those countries to exploit not only the lower classes in their own countries, but also was responsible for the imperialism by industrialized nations. Pugachev promised land ownership to the Cossacks in Russia (**DOCUMENT 2**). Chief Joseph felt that the United States had cheated his people out of their tribal lands (**DOCUMENT 3**). He clearly sees the Nez Percés as a separate nation in this passage, with their own country being overrun by the white man. Marx would view this as an example of 19th-century imperialism and see a solution in no private land ownership. Chief Joseph sees it as an issue of ancestral territory. He tries to appeal the takeover of his country as an illegal act based on right of ownership due to long habitation. His viewpoint is that this is primarily an issue of fairness between the Nez Percés and the white U.S. government. However, there were larger causes involved in the westward expansion of the white man in the United States. The Industrial Revolution of the 19th century created a demand for raw materials and markets. This led to industrial nations such as the United States and Great Britain dominating other territories for trade or expansion. Whether laying railroad track across western North America to consolidate economic control over that land or selling opium to the Chinese, these powerful nations used their military and economic strength to take advantage of weaker nations like the Nez Percés and the Chinese. Officials from these weaker nations tried to appeal to the sense of fairness they hoped the authorities in the industrial nations would show (**DOCUMENTS 3 AND 4**). Although the United States and Great Britain considered themselves more enlightened and democratic than the nations they domi-

nated, it is likely that protestors such as Chief Joseph and Commissioner Lin would have very different opinions about their sense of social justice. Lin, in particular, sees the British as nothing more than “insatiable” profit seekers with no regard to the welfare of others. Both authors are authority figures for their respective groups, applying for redress from the governments of these dominant nations and using reasonable arguments of educated men. To further assess social protest in 19th-century China, one would have to look at documents from the Taiping Rebellion, which was largely a peasant rebellion aimed against the Chinese government in the early part of the century, and the Boxer Rebellion of 1900, which had Chinese peasants targeting foreign imperialist powers, as the vast bulk of the Chinese population were peasants. For these peasants, land ownership and land use would have been major issues as it was their means of livelihood.

Social protest in the Long Century arose out of the global economic forces of the era. Protestors saw themselves as victims of governmental actions, either their own or foreign, but these governmental actions were really a response to the broader global economic trends of the period, in particular the Industrial Revolution and the increased globalization it created as industrialized nations sought raw materials for their industries, markets for their manufactures, and commodities to satisfy consumer demands. Although the economic elite might have shifted from the aristocracy in the 18th century to the entrepreneur in the 19th century, and focus on anger from privileged classes to privileged countries, Marx saw the situations as parallel. In both cases the wealthy could take advantage of the poor. The grievances may seem like local or national issues to the protestors, but they are part of the larger economic patterns operating in the period 1750 to 1914. To further illustrate the global nature of these forces one should also examine documents of protest from African miners or industrial workers in Latin America or perhaps reforms proposed by the Young Turks to compare their issues to those of Native Americans, Japanese, Chinese, and Europeans, as they also were impacted by 19th-century global economic change.

Free-Response Essay Sample Response

What pre-existing factors affected the impact of industrialization on the social, cultural, and political development of Russia and Japan?

While Russia and Japan were similar economically, different factors existed that changed their experience of industrialization. Both countries were ruled by an emperor, with a powerful aristocracy; the latter was a potential barrier to change. An important difference lay in Russia’s large serf population. Fear of serf uprisings and of unbalancing the socioeconomic system led the tsars to keep the serfs in their place. Culturally, Japan was more homogenous, while Russia had ethnic minorities that were a potential threat. Russia had welcomed change inspired by the Enlightenment, but had then withdrawn, creating a group of intellectuals frustrated in their goals. Both countries had experience in suppressing criticism, but Russia had been more effective in using its secret police

and other institutions to silence dissent. The result was, conversely, a greater buildup of violent tensions. Combined with a proactive policy of supporting religion and national sentiment, Japan was able to industrialize without violent upheaval revolution, while Russia was beset by a period of violent uprisings.

