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The Economic History of Modern Europe to 1914

Topic No. 14: Barriers to Continental European Industrialization:

Russia, 1815 - 1914

READINGS: are listed in chronological order of original publication, when that can be ascertained, except for collections of readings.

** and * indicate readings of primary importance.

A. **GENERAL READINGS: for the European Continent**

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- * 2. Hugh G.J. Aitken, ed., The State and Economic Growth (New York, 1959). See in particular: William Parker, 'National States and National Development: A Comparison of Elements in French and German Development in the Late Nineteenth Century.'
3. W. W. Rostow, The Stages of European Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto (1960), chapters 2, 3, and 4.
- ** 4. Alexander Gerschenkron, Economic Backwardness in Historical Experience: A Book of Essays (New York, 1962; reissued in paperback in 1965): in particular
 - (a) 'Economic Backwardness in Historical Experience', pp. 5-30. [From Bert Hoselitz, ed., The Progress of Underdeveloped Countries (1952).]
 - (b) 'Reflections on the Concept of 'Prerequisites' of Modern Industrialization', pp. 31-51. [From L'industria (Milan, 1952), no. 2]
 - (c) 'Social Attitudes, Entrepreneurship, and Economic Development', pp. 52-71. [From Leon H. Dupriez, ed., Economic Progress: Papers and Proceedings of a Round Table Held by the International Economic Association (Leuven, 1955).]

5. W. W. Rostow, ed., The Economics of the Take-Off into Sustained Growth (1963). Essays by various authors for the principal European economies.
- * 6. Barry E. Supple, ed., The Experience of Economic Growth: Case Studies in Economic History (New York, 1963):
 - (a) Part I: 'Introduction', by B.E. Supple, pp. 1-46.
 - (b) W.W. Rostow, 'The Take-Off into Self-Sustained Growth', pp. 81-110. [Reprinted from his The Stages of Economic Growth (Cambridge, 1960), pp. 17-58, with some omissions.]
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 - (b) David Landes, 'Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe, 1750-1914' in Part I (chapter 5), pp. 274 - 601, especially pp. 353-420. [Republished in an a revised, expanded version below in Landes (1969).]
 - (c) Folke Dovring, 'The Transformation of European Agriculture', in Part II (chapter 6), pp. 604-72.
- * 10. David Landes, The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present (Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 1-40 (introduction), and chapter 3: 'Continental Emulation', pp. 124-92.

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 - (b) A.K. Cairncross, 'The Stages of Economic Growth', pp. 29-41. [Reprinted from Economic History Review, 2nd ser., 13 (April 1961).]
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 - (b) 'Population Growth and Migration', pp. 118-170.
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 - b) Charles Feinstein, 'Capital Formation in Great Britain', pp. 28-96.
 - c) Sidney Pollard, 'Labour in Great Britain', pp. 97-179.
 - d) Peter Payne, 'Industrial Entrepreneurship and Management in Great Britain', pp. 180 - 231.
 - e) Maurice Lévy-Leboyer, 'Capital Investment and Economic Growth in France, 1820 - 1930', pp. 231 - 295.
 - f) Yves Lequin, 'Labour in the French Economy Since the Revolution', pp. 296 - 346 (to p. 318, up to 1914).
 - g) Claude Fohlen, 'Entrepreneurship and Management in France in the Nineteenth Century', pp. 347 - 381.
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 - i) J. J. Lee, 'Labour in German Industrialization', pp. 442 - 491.
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 - (e) T. Kemp, 'Economic and Social Policy in France', pp. 691 - 751.
 - (f) Volker Hentschel, 'German Economic and Social Policy, 1815 - 1939', pp. 752 - 813.
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QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION AND ESSAY TOPICS:

1. Analyze the chief barriers to industrialization in 19th century Russia, in terms of the following:
 - (a) the heritage of the medieval and recent past, in particular: the institutional barriers of feudalism-manorialism and serfdom, and also of craft guilds;
 - (b) agriculture: the economic and social organization of peasant society;
 - (c) the location of natural resources in relation to transport facilities, to major industrial towns, ports, etc.
 - (d) the nature of transportation facilities: land and water;
 - (e) population trends, demographic structures, and distributions;
 - (f) political institutions in general as legal and social barriers;
 - (g) government economic policies: tariffs, trade, fiscal, monetary;
 - (h) educational facilities: relationships between science and education and between education and industry;
 - (i) social and class structures: in terms of income and wealth distributions; social attitudes towards savings, investment, and profit seeking; attitudes towards commerce, industry, labour;
 - (j) the nature of the labour supply, its mobility, skills, attitude towards work and factory discipline; organization in guilds or unions;
 - (k) the structure of the market: political, social, economic factors;
 - (l) financial and banking institutions, company institutions; the legal and social impediments to business enterprise;
 - (m) warfare and the preparation for war.
2. Compare and contrast the agrarian structures the Russian Empire before and during 'peasant emancipation': in Poland, the Baltic states, north-west Russia, Ukraine, the Volga river basin, etc. Were the results of that 'peasant emancipation' and land-reform beneficial for the economic development of each region? For the Russian Empire as a whole?
3. Analyze the role of the state in the economic development of Russia in the 19th and early 20th centuries.
4. Analyze the role of railroads in the economic development of Russia, 1850-1914.
5. Discuss the role of financial institutions, domestic and foreign, and of foreign investment in the

economic development of Russia, 1870-1914.

6. Why was Germany so much more successful than Russia in overcoming the obstacles to economic development and in achieving modern industrialization before World War I?
7. Apply Gerschenkron's model of 'economic backwardness' to both Russia and Germany in the 19th century: compare and contrast, for the two countries, and for their major regions.

Table 1. OUTPUT OF PRINCIPAL GRAIN CROPS OF SELECTED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, IN MILLIONS OF QUINTALS, IN DECENNIAL AVERAGES, 1871-90 TO 1905-14

Decade	Great Britain	France	Germany	Russia
1781-90	35.0	85.3		
1800-13	43.0	94.5		268.6
1815-24	49.5	104.0		n.a.
1825-34	n.a.	116.3		n.a.
1835-44	n.a.	131.4		310.1
1845-54	64.0	146.6	122.6	363.3
1855-64	68.0	158.5	153.7	381.2
1865-74	70.0	160.1	204.8	410.1
1875-84	n.a.	161.8	248.4	451.0
1885-94	56.9	160.1	304.6	515.4
1895-1904	52.5	172.1	391.0	479.3
1905-14	51.7	171.9	457.9	543.1

1 quintal = 100 kilograms = 0.10 metric ton = 220.46 lb.

Source: Carlo Cipolla, ed., *Fontana Economic History of Europe*, (London, 1973), Vol. IV:2, pp. 752-53.

Table 2. THE POPULATIONS OF SELECTED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN MILLIONS, IN DECENNIAL INTERVALS, 1800-1910

Year	Great Britain	Belgium	France	Germany	Russia
1800	10.7	3.1	27.3	n.a.	35.5
1810	12.0	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1820	14.1	n.a.	30.5	25.0	48.6
1830	16.3	4.1	32.6	28.2	56.1
1840	18.5	4.1	34.2	31.4	62.4
1850	20.8	4.3	35.8	34.0	68.5
1860	23.2	4.5	37.4	36.2	74.1
1870	26.0	4.8	36.1 ^a	40.8 ^b	84.5
1880	29.7	5.3	37.7	45.2	97.7
1890	33.0	6.1	38.3	49.4	117.8
1900	37.0	6.6	39.0	56.4	132.9
1910	40.9	7.4	39.6	64.9	160.7

^a Excluding Alsace-Lorraine.

^b Including Alsace-Lorraine.

Sources: B.R. Mitchell and P. Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 8-10; Carlo Cipolla, ed., *Fontana Economic History of Europe* (London, 1973), Vol. IV:2, pp. 747-48.

**Table 3. OUTPUT OF COAL IN MILLIONS OF METRIC TONS:
FOR SELECTED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, DECENNIAL MEANS: 1820/9 - 1910/3**

Decade	Great Britain	Belgium	France	Germany	Russia
1820-9	20.00	n.a.	1.30	1.40	n.a.
1830-9	25.45	2.75	2.45	2.45	n.a.
1840-9	40.40	4.60	3.95	5.25	n.a.
1850-9	59.00	7.70	6.45	11.95	n.a.
1860-9	95.50	11.35	11.35	25.90	0.45
1870-9	129.45	14.70	16.20	45.65 ^a	1.60
1880-9	163.40	17.95	20.85	71.90 ^b	4.35
1890-9	194.15	20.70	28.45	107.05 ^c	9.05
1900-9	245.30	24.05	34.70	179.25 ^d	20.50
1910-3	275.40	24.80	39.90	247.50 ^e	30.20

Germany: proportion of total coal output accounted for by lignite:

a. in 1871	22.4%
b. in 1880	20.5%
c. in 1890	21.4%
d. in 1900	27.0%
e. in 1910	31.3%

1 metric tonne = 1000 kilograms = 2,204.6 lb.

Source: Carlo Cipolla, ed., *Fontana Economic History of Europe* (London, 1973), Vol. IV:2, p. 770.

Table 4. DECENNIAL AVERAGES OF THE OUTPUT OF PIG IRON AND STEEL IN FRANCE, GERMANY, RUSSIA, AND THE UNITED KINGDOM, IN MILLIONS OF METRIC TONS, 1830-9 TO 1910-3 (IRON) AND 1870-9 TO 1910-3 (STEEL)

Average of 1880-9 = 100. 1 metric ton = 1000 kg. = 2,204.6 lb.

Decade	France	Index	Germany	Index	Russia	Index	United Kingdom	Index
IRON								
1830-9	0.286	16	0.129	4	0.172	31	0.921	11
1840-9	0.442	25	0.172	5	0.192	35	1.625	20
1850-9	0.731	25	0.334	5	0.243	44	3.150	39
1860-9	1.164	66	0.813	25	0.304	56	4.602	57
1870-9	1.337	75	1.678	52	0.400	73	6.648	81
1880-9	1.772	100	3.217	100	0.547	100	8.040	100
1890-9	2.192	124	5.155	160	1.539	281	8.090	101
1900-9	3.028	171	9.296	289	2.786	509	9.317	116
1910-13	4.664	263	14.836	461	3.870	707	9.792	122
STEEL								
1870-9	0.260*	52			0.080*	33	0.695	30
1880-9	0.500	100	1.320	100	0.240	100	2.340	100
1890-9	1.015	203	3.985	302	0.930	388	3.760	161
1900-9	2.175	435	9.505	720	2.490	1038	5.565	238
1910-13	4.090	818	16.240	1230	4.200	1750	6.930	296

*1875-9 only.

Table 5. AGGREGATE AND PER CAPITA INDICES OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION (UNITED KINGDOM IN 1900 = 100), AND PERCENTAGE SHARES OF WORLD INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION, FOR VARIOUS

COUNTRIES: IN 1860 AND 1913

Country	Total Industrial Output		Per Capita Industrial Output		Percentage Shares of World Industrial Production	
	1860 Index	1913 Index	1860 Index	1913 Index	1860 %	1913 %
With 1913 Frontiers						
United Kingdom*	45	127	64	115	20%	14%
Germany	11	138	15	85	5%	15%
France	18	57	20	59	8%	6%
Russia	16	77	8	20	7%	8%
ALL EUROPE	120	528	17	45	53%	57%
United States	16	298	21	126	7%	32%
Canada	1	9	7	46	--	1%

Source: Paul Bairoch, 'International Industrialization Levels from 1760 to 1980', *Journal of European Economic History*, 11 (Fall 1982), 269-333, tables 4 - 13.

* The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland: the values for its aggregate and per capita industrial outputs for 1900 are taken as the base 100 for all the indices in columns 1 to 4. Note that columns 5 and 6 are percentages of total world industrial output.

Table 6. INDICES OF EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY FROM 1810 TO 1910

**Annual net output per agricultural worker (male)
measured in million of calories**

COUNTRY	1810	1840	1860	1880	1900	1910
Britain	14.0	17.5	20.0	23.5	22.5	23.5
France	7.0	11.5	14.5	14.0	15.5	17.0
Germany		7.5	10.5	14.5	22.0	25.0
Russia		7.0	7.5	7.0	9.0	11.0
U.S.A.		21.5	22.5	29.0	31.0	42.0

Source: Paul Bairoch, 'Niveaux de développement économique de 1810 à 1910', *Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations*, 20 (1965), 1096, Table 1.

**Table 7: Railway Tracks Open at Decennial Intervals, 1840 - 1914 in kilometres:
Britain, Belgium, France, Germany, and Russia***

Year	Britain	Belgium	France	Germany	Russia
1840	2,390	335	498	468	27
1850	9,791	903	2,914	5,856	500
1860	14,594	1,730	9,166	11,088	1,625
1870	21,545	2,897	16,464	18,875	10,731
1880	25,045	4,112	23,233 ^a	33,836 ^b	22,864
1890	27,810	4,525	33,278	42,868	30,594
1900	30,061	4,591	38,107	51,675	53,231
1910	32,163	4,678	40,483	61,205	66,579
1913	32,613	n.a.	40,768	63,375	70,153

* 1 km. = 0.6214 miles.

a. Excluding Alsace-Lorraine: ceded to Germany in 1871

b. Including Alsace-Lorraine: acquired from France in 1871

Sources:

B.R. Mitchell and Phyllis Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 225-26; Carlo Cipolla, ed., *Fontana Economic History of Europe*, Vol. IV:2, *The Emergence of Industrial Societies* (London, 1973), pp. 790, 794.

Table 8. RUSSIAN BANKING AND INVESTMENT, 1875 - 1914

Volume of Lending and Discounting by the Russian Banking System in millions of rubles, from 1875 to 1914 (in selected years)

Year	Total Loans and Discounts in millions of rubles	Index 1875 = 100	Percentage by Gosbank
1875	755.0	100	15.4%
1881	833.9	110	27.0%
1893	807.4	107	19.8%
1900	1498.4	198	25.3%
1908	2151.9	285	25.8%
1914	5330.6	706	20.2%

Table 9. FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN RUSSIA IN 1914

A. Percentages of Main Types of Russian Securities Held by Foreigners

1.	State and state-guaranteed bonds	48.7%
2.	Shares of joint-stock companies	39.4%
3.	Debentures of joint-stock companies	55.3%
4.	Municipal bonds	74.0%
5.	Mortgage debentures	5.0%
	Aggregate: 7.8 billion rubles out of a total of 21.6 billion rubles invested in Russia in 1914	36.1%

B. Distribution of Investments in Russia by Nationality

1.	French and Belgian	47%
2.	British	23%
3.	German	20%
4.	American	5%
5.	Other	5%

C. Distribution of Foreign Ownership of the Shares in the Ten Largest Joint-Stock Banks

in Russia (in 1916):

1.	French	50.5%
2.	German	37.0%
3.	British	9.0%
4.	Other	3.5%

Table 10. RUSSIA: Population and Urbanization, 1800 - 1913

Year	Total Population in Millions	Index 1860 = 100	European Russia: Population	Urban Population	Index 1860 - 100	Urban Population as % of European Russia's Pop.
1800	36.5	48				
1860	74.1	100	61.2	6.1	100	6.6%
1885			81.7	10.0	164	12.2%
1897	126.4	171	93.4	12.1	198	12.9%
1913	170.1	230	121.8	18.6	305	15.3%