численности дальневосточных казачьих войск для удовлетворения их нужд достаточно было 4 млн десятин из 14 млн десятин отвода Духовского. [3]

В последующие годы активизировалась политика государства по отторжению казачьих земель. В 1913 г. все свободные от заселения казачьим населением государственные лесные площади были переданы в ведение главного управления землеустройства и земледелия с патронатом управления государственных имуществ в Приамурском генерал-губернаторстве. За изъятые войсковые леса казна должна была платить войскам денежную компенсацию. На Дальнем Востоке окончательно спорные вопросы по землеустройству отпали с ликвидацией казачьих войск.

Таким образом, традиционная система землепользования в казачьих войсках Дальнего Востока, обремененная особенностями наделения земель представителей служилого сословия и жесткой регламентацией общинных порядков, консервировала устоявшиеся способы обработки земли и постепенно эволюционизировала в русле традиционного российского хлебопашества

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Contradictions in the development of European capitalism at the initial industrial stage
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Abstract

The industrial stage of development of the European capitalism opens up a very broad field for research. A very long feudal period with its slow development in the late XVIII - early XIX centuries gave way to series of rapid changes in economy, culture, social relations and politics. Everything was changing - manners, clothes, habits, finances, relationships that people entered into during the production process. The main changes occurred in the beginning of the industrial revolution, which left the priority of agriculture in the economy behind.

The goal was not to identify and to analyze the main features of the initial industrial stage (the beginning of industrial capitalism), but to highlight the paradoxes and contradictions in the development of this phenomenon in the Western Europe.

To do this, the authors used a wide range of historical and historical-economic research methods, analyzed the work of the classical authors of political economy and a number of modern researchers. As a result, the authors revealed some regional geographic contradictions and peculiarities in the development of countries of the Western Europe in the initial industrial period and emphasized that some of them accelerated the beginning of the imperialism and even of the World War.

Keywords: industrial revolution, century, economy, labor, factory, market, manufacture, economy, competition, production, revolution, development

Introduction

The initial industrial stage of economic development in the Western Europe starts with the industrial revolution. But even in the very beginning, one can distinguish its special features depending on the region of development. In the developed countries of Europe (England, France), it starts from the end of the XVIII century. In England, it starts earlier, from the 1750s. (according to some authors, even from the 1740s.). A lot of works have been written about the English industrial revolution and the development of the industrial stage of capitalism in England (The British Industrial Revolution, 1998, Nuvolari, Verspagen, Tunzelmann, 2011, etc.). In Germany the industrial capitalism was thriving until the middle of the 19th century, mainly due to the fact that the territory of Germany was divided into many tiny (and not so tiny) states, and the economy was neither ready to accept an industrial revolution, nor was in dire need of it. The Peace of Westphalia made fragmentation in Germany even stronger. In the XVII-XVIII centuries there were about 300 principalities, 51 free towns and more than one thousand independent knighthoods. But even this did not prevent Germany from rapidly accelerating its development and becoming one of the world economic leaders by the end of the 19th century. The initial industrial stage of industrial capitalism was characterized by the onset of the industrial revolution and differed not only in chronological features in the European countries, but also by a number of other parameters. The industrial revolution and its regional geographic features determined the nature, pace and results of the development of the industrial capitalism in Europe as a whole.

Methodology

The methodology of the study is based on the principle of the problem-chronological analysis, involving systems analysis. The research methodology also includes elements of sociological and retrospective research. Developing the subject, the authors relied on monographs and works of academic economists of various periods. The authors used the electronic resources materials, a method of quantitative analysis and elements of historical situations computer modeling method.

Industrial revolution as a phenomenon and its inevitability

The main manifestations of the industrial transition, which was marked by the market economic relations and the principles of laissez faire taking the leading role in the economic life, are: the replacement (displacement) of manual labor by mechanization and the replacement of manufactories by factories, the increase in the industrial production in comparison with agriculture, completion of the differentiation (stratification) of society into capital owners and entrepreneurs in various sectors of the economy on the one hand, and into employees - on the other and intensification of chaos and anarchy in the process of production of goods and services, accompanied by fierce competition and periodic (intensifying from time to time) economic crises. (Ostroumov, 2019).

By the middle of the XVIII century the start of the industrial stage of the industrial capitalism, characterized by the industrial revolution, became urgent, because manufactory production no longer met the growing demand. (Hobsbawm, 1999). England, France and other countries felt the urgent need for technical re-equipment for the further development of industry and the economy. This technical re-equipment was so fast, large-scale and radical that it was later called the industrial revolution. England became the birthplace of the industrial revolution, having surpassed a number of countries in this process and staying 100-150 years ahead of them, which allowed it to create the largest empire in the history of mankind.

Distinctive features of the industrial revolution and industrial capitalism. Industrial revolution and agricultural achievements.

The second half of the XVIII and early XIX century was a remarkable period when the domestic and foreign markets were growing rapidly and needed more and more perfect products. This caused an invention surge and an increase in the role of science, as well as technical re-equipment of industry, which took place in all developed European countries.

Inventions that often played a large role in the industrial revolution were of greater importance. A. Toynbee, an English researcher, considers 3 inventions fateful and in this regard, he supports English classical writer and economist A. Smith: "Since the time of King Edward IV, there were only 3 important inventions: replacement of the spinning wheel and spindle with a treadle wheel, the use of machines that facilitate proper preparation of the warp and weft before they are put into the machine, the introduction of fulling mills for sealing the cloth, instead of wrinkling it in water." (Toynbee, 2011). The use of new mechanisms and the improvement of the industrial process has also boosted agriculture. The same researcher, A. Toynbee, considers the changes in the agricultural production no less important. Describing the era of the onset of industrial capitalism in England, he writes: "The role of the agricultural revolution in the greatest economic changes is as big and important as of manufacturing revolution, which is being taken into consideration more often." (Toynbee, 2011). This situation was typical for many countries of Western Europe. For example, the study "The economic history of the world. (Economic history of the world, 2004). mentions that "the agricultural sector of the Netherlands was not inferior to the industrial one in cost of production,"

Technological progress was accompanied by a growing demand for cheaper products. This led to a significant drop in wages for hired workers, since entrepreneurs resorted to the cheap labor of women and children, whose work "with the machine did not require special skills (which were required before)" and therefore led to "lower wages" (Konotopov M., Smetanin S., 1999).

And this was one of the first features of the initial industrial stage - being unconditionally progressive, it still led to the slave labor of a large number of people. Such labor — many hours, ungrateful, poorly paid — was more likely to be a characteristic of a feudal society than a capitalist one. Changes in the field of economic policy at the state level are closely connected with the industrial revolution, given that from now on, members of the government of many European countries began to reject the priority role of protectionist principles of economic policy, resorting to the policy of economic liberalism and especially free trade.

Classics on the industrial revolution and industrial capitalism

The main source covering the topic of industrial revolution in the country, where it originated, is the work of A. Toynbee, one of the greatest historians of the 19th century, "The Industrial Revolution in England in the 18th Century", in which he refers to the era of the industrial revolution as the most dire period in the history of England, when the gap between the proletariat and the ruling classes of the country has drastically widened. The industrial revolution and the transition to industrial capitalism marked a transition to the factory system.

Describing it, K. Marx noted that the machine in itself reduces working time, while its capitalist use lengthens the working day; in itself, the machine facilitates labor, while its capitalist use increases its intensity; in itself, it marks the victory of man over the force of nature, while its capitalist use enslaves the man; in itself, it increases the wealth of the producer, but its capitalist use turns them into a pauper. Pauperism (from lat. Pauper - poor) - the poverty of the working people, the absence of the most necessary means of subsistence among the broad masses of the population in societies based on private ownership of the means of production, wealth inequality and the exploitation of some classes by other. In capitalist society, pauperism, according to K. Marx, is the inevitable result of the universal law of capitalist accumulation. (Marx, 2020).

The period of the industrial revolution coincided with the years of life of D. Ricardo, who saw a great importance in the use of machines and its influence on the position of the main classes of society. It is no accident that in the work "The Beginning of Political Economy" he introduced a special chapter "On Machines" (Ricardo, 2016). Ricardo showed that the use of machines in capitalism is contradictory, that it can harm the interests of

workers if, as a result, “part of the workers lose their jobs and the population becomes redundant”.

A completely special look at the nature of capitalism and the preceding industrial revolution is presented by Max Weber in his work “The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism” (Weber, 2016). Weber, just as K. Marx, considers capitalism a unique historical phenomenon, a fundamentally new stage of development.

Weber substantiated the difference between capitalism and all non-capitalist, or, as he called them, traditional societies and value orientation systems. He wrote: “The first enemy that the “spirit” of capitalism had to face - as a particular style of life in the garb of an “ethic” and bound to norms - was the mode of feeling and acting that could be called traditionalism.” According to Weber, man is oriented toward production for profit - not for satisfying needs, and this orientation, according to Weber, constitutes the essence of the “spirit of capitalism.”

Industrial capitalism in Western Europe

The start of the industrial capitalism in Europe was associated with a whole complex of important events - a radical restructuring of industry in particular and the socio-economic system as a whole, the transition from manual labor to machinery. The success of the transition to industrial capitalism depended on a number of reasons — the availability of a developed transport system, sources of raw materials for industry, accumulated capital for production organization, and innovations in the technical field. But sometimes even the population of the pioneering countries on the path of industrial capitalism was not ready for major changes and understood them. Not only the lower classes of society — the Luddites — were breaking machines, but even the high society people often got in the way of change. Especially when it came to transport issues - an inevitable component of successful economic development. I.M. Kulisher writes in his work: “In 1825 English parliament while considering the first railway line construction plan insisted that railway should be horse-drawn, because the usage of steam would make passengers suffocate in the tunnels, the fields would be burned by steam engine sparks, cattle grazing in the fields would die of fear because of the sharp whistles of a locomotive, and the chickens would stop laying eggs...Belgium was the first country on the continent that had a railway built in 1839. When the parliament was considering the plan of construction of several railways, opponents of this idea were sure that its usefulness was not proven in the first place (Kulisher, 2004).”

In Europe, industrial capitalism developed mainly in a sharp, revolutionary way (England, France), or with a combination of reformist principles, which was the case for Germany and Russia.

England was way ahead of other countries in the era of industrial capitalism. The formation of industrial capitalism in England had its own special nature - the political system encouraged the development of entrepreneurship, the presence of extensive colonial possessions was beneficial for the country in a geopolitical way, the rapid development of technical invention gave start to a fundamentally new machinery. England originally applied this technique in the textile industry, and it was so successful that soon enough large factories started appearing in this area.

At an earlier stage England managed to gain the experience of breeding fine-fleece sheep from Spain (and Spain - from the Moors), which gave excellent wool for making high-quality cloth, and later England received cotton from their colonial possessions. A paradoxical situation arose: the basis for the start of the industrial stage in England was largely laid by other countries and states. Energy developed and steam energy was actively used. Transport and construction were modernized. The agricultural sector was developing.

Gradually, England began to claim leadership in the global economy. It abandoned protectionism and switched to a free trade regime, pursuing liberal reforms in this field. The development of trade was stimulated by the colonies. England has modernized the institutions of market infrastructure: by the XIX century it organized the labor market, trade unions, commodity exchanges and stock markets. The Central English Bank has accumulated

enormous resources, but the development of capitalism has also allowed the country to open joint-stock banks in provinces, which were the main financial and credit tool of the middle class, the pillar of capitalism. England transformed its tax system and introduced the progressive income tax. All of these successful steps made it possible for England to take significant steps towards the development of society: they carried out a democratization of the electoral system and adopted laws on labor and universal primary education. In a result, the English model of industrialization, based on a combination of coal-iron-steam transport, through industrial exports and loans spread around the world.

France was running a little late, in contrast to England, on the path to the development of industrial capitalism. The emphasis on trade development diminished opportunities for industrial development and only the textile industry had sufficiently strong resources for development. The processes of industrialization were suspended by the events of the French Revolution, which was a severe blow to the economy and social life of the country. Moreover, France wasn't bothered to hurry along the path of development of countries of the industrial capitalism. Until 1815, manual labor in France was replaced by machines only in very limited quantities...in 1816-1830s small production prevailed, writes I.M. Kulischer.

(Kulisher, 2004). However, due to the industrial revolution and the beginning of industrialization France was still one of the world's leading powers. Railways, which were built rapidly in the XX century, played an important role in the development of the French economy. The monetary system has also responded to the challenges of that time. In 1800, the central issuing institute - the French Bank with branches - was established, which gave provincial banks an opportunity to develop. Within two or three decades, large banks were formed - "Credit Mobile", "Lionne Credit", "General Society for Lending to Industry and Trade". Along with the banks, major tax collectors and notaries played an important role in the development of banking. The emphasis on the development of trade and the use of the benefits of the industrial revolution brought France to the second place in the world in terms of economic development after England. But the country's economic development was held back by revolutions and wars. There were also some setbacks. A.Pogrebinsky highlights in that one of them, in particular, emphasizes the return of the old tendencies in agriculture: "the most backward form of rent - the metayage, prevailed in France before and revived again in the middle of the XIX century. (Pogrebinsky, 1947). C. Friedland agrees, saying: "in France on the eve of the revolution, everywhere, along with elements of the emerging capitalist economic system, we find elements of the pre-capitalist economic system and even feudal relations." (Friedland, 1928). This author stresses that it was the existence of feudal relations that caused a series of revolutions in this country: "The rapid pace of capitalist development delayed the revolution in England and France, the contradictions between growing capitalism and feudal order exacerbated; hence, the revolution in France was inevitable. Unlike England and even France, Germany was somewhat delayed on the path of industrial development due to its fragmentation. The political unification of Germany occurred only in the second half of the 19th century, which ended up in a rapid development of the economy. Jacques Droz in his History of Germany writes: "Germany, a country of artisans and small dispersed enterprises, found itself in a new era of mechanics and capitalism. In a short time, it becomes a major producer of coal, iron, machinery and cotton fabrics" (Droz, 2005). The first step was taken with the formation of the German Union at the beginning of the XIX century. The new economic system was formed between 1815 and 1870 and initially it focused on agricultural reforms and trade, and later - on industry, which caused a general industrial and economic upsurge.

Examining the state of the German economy of this period, Pogrebinsky characterizes Germany as an industrially underdeveloped country with regional differences and tariff barriers, which were blocking the economic development, but emphasizes that there was a strong rise in the 50-60s in XIX century., due to wars of conquest with Austria and France. (Pogrebinsky, 1947). New branches of industrial production were developing - steel,

chemical, military. In the financial sector, process that was typical for other European countries was going slowly in Germany. The main reason of it being the government's policy, which required special permission for bank organization. It was not easy to get it. As a result, joint-stock commercial banks began to emerge first. But they were universal and had a cautious attitude to loans, which allowed them to be stable. At the end of the XIX century, a mortgage loan was developing in the bank sphere. It was also challenging to present innovations in trade. In the 1830s commercial and industrial advertising began to be actively used and trading standards were developed. The improvement in the economic situation has caused population growth. Between 1816 and 1870 Germany's population grew by 66% - from 24.8 to 40.8 million. The predominance of the rural population and the lack of land forced some Germans to emigrate to the United States.

The unification of Germany in 1871 played a decisive role in its industrial development. A single domestic market was quickly formed and now Germany needed an active foreign market. Germany went quickly along the path of modernization and soon faced the problem of marketing of its goods. German colonies were small and did not satisfy the metropolis with either their resources or markets. Eastern Europe was a great support for the German economy at that time.

The rapid development of Germany was alarming for the developed countries of Europe, which vigilantly stood guard over their economic interests. However, in the second half of the XIX century, large European countries made impressive investments in German economy. The German financial system received investments that went to the development of the railway system, industry, and trade. The rapid growth of capitalism spurred the development of science. The works of economists appeared, in which questions of modernization, capital, and finance were raised. The works of Friedrich List and Karl Marx are still relevant in the economic sphere.

The main achievements of the industrial capitalism

The initial industrial stage of capitalism was a natural consequence of the previous unhurried development of the economy. But rapid transformations began from the very beginning in the first half of the 19th century - in the economy, social life, politics and culture. Modernization has become a common phenomenon; countries of Europe were rapidly changing from agriculturally oriented countries with a leisurely lifestyle to industrial, urbanized and rapidly developing countries. The boundaries of modernization stretched between traditional agrarian society and urbanized, industrialized society. European countries were not equally successful in perceiving virtues of industrial capitalism and the speed of modernization. In most countries there was a separation of industrial areas and not all of them developed equally. In Europe Ireland, Brittany, Galicia and Sicily remained undeveloped. Due to uneven development, the contrast between certain regions intensified.

England and France were the first countries to benefit from modernization - rapidly growing revenues were being invested in the most advanced sectors, capital was rapidly growing, and even the tax growth could not hold it back. New forms of association were emerging. In the first third of the XIX century joint-stock companies, monopolies, concerns, trusts, cartels and syndicates were appearing in Europe. But their rapid introduction into economic life still varied across countries and regions. The growth of international trade was spurred by trade in Australia, the development of America and Africa, the pursuit of profit, the need for raw materials and all new industrial goods. The rapid development of the foreign market was another sign of the XIX century.

But here contradictions and paradoxes of development also appeared. Spain and Portugal, which were the first to begin the process of acquiring the colonies, did not make the slave trade an advantageous form of capital gathering, as industrialized England did. Slavery is a characteristic feature of a fairly early stage in the development of human society, which was raised to the surface in the early industrial stage by industrialized countries. The consequences of the industrial revolution became more visible. In the economic sphere, the

development of the monetary economy turned independent peasants into wage earners, consumers into taxpayers, and led to the appearance of new needs and claims. European countries started using paper notes. Now there was a need for many new skills in the field of marketing, advertising, delivery.

The need for all kinds of banking services has spawned many credit associations, savings banks and insurance companies. Repeatedly multiplied transactions prompted the standardization of measures and monetary units, which was done at an international conference in Paris in 1867, which universalized the monetary system of Europe and the United States.

The industrial revolution and the subsequent modernization had certain consequences by the end of the 19th century - in particular, a population explosion and an increase in average life expectancy. Mass urbanization demanded a change of the city. European cities had to pave the streets, develop urban transport, improve lighting, fire brigades, water supply, sewage, urban network of hospitals, parks and the police. The face of the city was already determined by the growing class of the bourgeoisie. At the same time, it led to the appearance of special working areas with poor living conditions. More and more people were involved in wage labor. The position of a woman was economically, legally and politically lower.

The uneven industrial development of Europe, both external and internal, caused waves of migration. Migrations occurred from village to city, from country to country. At the end of the century, the United States became the most popular destination for migrants. Uncontrolled migration in Europe brought many problems: urban overpopulation, vagrancy, lack of housing, homelessness, typhoid and cholera epidemics, unemployment, and persistent poverty. The mortality rate was high. Crime rates increased because of poverty and overpopulation. A large layer of professional criminals has appeared. It led to creation of a new professional police force. The need for education was also growing at the initial industrial stage. Industry needed a worker who was able to read the drawing; trade needed a talented seller; education has expanded its borders. Primary education has become a commonplace. In Europe mass education has spread not only among the male, but also among the female part of the population. This, in turn, caused the growth of printed materials and the development of literature as a whole and then led to the appearance of theater, music, and sports. Culture began to be more clearly divided into two categories: urban and elite. So, the development of the industry has affected the cultural realities.

Religious values and priorities have changed. Churches became the concentration of social and charitable activities and different societies, designed to help poor and increase the morality. In Protestant countries Sunday schools were appearing more and more often. National culture and science flourished. Religion was experiencing a new stage: people were becoming more tolerant.

Political forms were changing. Monarchies were undermined by ideological and social movements - liberalism, nationalism and socialism. In the XIX century Europe was shaken by revolutions.

XIX century was a century of changes in lifestyle. Society was being divided into several groups. The lifestyle was also being divided into urban and rural. Self-awareness has grown, national cultures have developed. The ideology of imperialism and colonialism appeared in large European countries; a whole generation of Europeans used to look down upon other nations, races and cultures.

The level of education has increased, culture has crossed the borders of states and nationalities. Politics was largely determined by the masses, and governments have started to pay attention to these masses. The 19th century brought political diversity and the party life began. The state structure has become more complicated. Numerous ministries and state bodies appeared, and the bureaucratic apparatus grew. The development of the system of local government has led to appearance of pensions, insurance and bank credits. Industrial capitalism with its goal of transition of production to the new rails, use of sophisticated

machine tools on factories and plants, had, according to the author, a larger side effect: the face of society has changed. The population of the developed countries of Europe quickly evolved, upholding new principles in the domestic, cultural, political and social life.

Conclusion and recommendations

It seemed that the development of industrial capitalism was leading the people of Europe to prosperity. But that was not entirely true. Imperialism was actively forming Europe in the second half of the XIX century. A handful of leading European powers entered a desperate struggle for the colonies as a source of resources and markets for their own enrichment and prosperity. Not only a quantitative, but also a qualitative leap took place in the intensity of operation.

International conflict was inevitable as a result of the conflict of interest. Military equipment developed, important changes took place in the organization of troops and supplies, fortification, communications and military theory. The world war was approaching.

The development of industry, finance, culture did not advance human society in every aspect of life. The prejudices were still very strong. The theory of Eurocentrism began to take shape. But along with an increase in knowledge of the world, European religious, national and racial prejudices intensified, new barriers arose and they were standing strong as long as the empires themselves. Such prejudices sometimes went very far. Norman Davis in his work "History of Europe" mentions that in 1904, the city of Hamburg exhibited a group of Samoa women in the local zoo. (Davies, 2007).

The industrial revolution was contributing to profound political, cultural and social changes and getting stronger in the new national, political and scientific thinking. The industrial model contributed to the acceleration of economic and socio-political processes. The 19th century became the century of modernization and industrialization and the most dynamic century in the history of Europe. The contradictions and paradoxes that developed in the capitalist society and economy of Europe in the 19th century led to a series of not only powerful socio-political movements, but also to social revolutions, as well as economic crises, inflation and upsurge in the development of society and culture. The rapid development of the economy, technology, social challenges and increasing militarism exacerbated the situation and at the end of the 19th century the world was on the verge of a world war.

The initial industrial stage of capitalism paved way for mass contradictions in the economy, culture, politics, etc. These contradictions and paradoxes were of a special nature. They were very specific and differed in their national and regional characteristics. England was the first to step into the era of the industrial revolution and industrial capitalism and by the end of the century it was lagging behind, standing on the verge of losing its primacy. Huge funds from the colonies and constant colonial wars were the only things to keep it afloat. Theory was often ahead of practice, but the rapid development of the theory went within the framework of the remnants of absolutism that restrained the development of education and science itself. The phenomenon of the mass development of invention, the popularity of mechanics became familiar and for some reason did not surprise the masses. Scientific development turned out to be very useful for the industrial leap in the development of the country.

France, which traditionally relied on the development of trade and finance and possessed a conservative absolutist dominant in development over a long period of time, gave rise to the phenomenon of social revolutions, which, despite the idea of progress, slowed down the country's development. It seemed that the dreams of the utopian socialists about the bright future of all mankind could come true at the end of the stage under developed industrial capitalism, but it all happened at the very beginning.

Russia, which had the most backward political regime that did not contribute to the development of the economy as a whole and industrial capitalism in particular, by the end of the century was the leader in the industrial development and was ahead of other countries in the speed of economic change. Already in the first half of the XIX century there were the so-

called "capitalist peasants" who, being in a heavy serfdom, could nevertheless own gold mines in Siberia.

These development paradoxes were laid down by the very idea of progress, but differed in national, mental and regional characteristics. Nevertheless, with all the differences in economic development, the paradoxes of industrial capitalism were the positive triggers: the deeper and more incomprehensible these paradoxes were, the more striking were the achievements of the next stage of development, after which there were no such obvious distortions and leaps in the development of European territories.

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