

CHAPTER 24

AP® FOCUS & ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

AP® FOCUS

The following information provides a “cheat sheet” for you to use when teaching this chapter.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Europe engaged in significant imperialist expansion. This period provides teachers and students with an excellent opportunity to review the causes and consequences of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century European expansion and to compare and contrast them with the causes and consequences of the expansion of this era. The significant increase in military power and new technologies made European domination of Africa and Asia possible and set the stage for the globalization, and global conflicts, currently under way. For AP students, it’s important to focus on motivations and consequences in Europe as well as on responses to European imperialism in Asia and Africa.

ANNOTATED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following annotated chapter outline will help you review the major topics covered in this chapter.

I. Industrialization and the World Economy

A. The Rise of Global Inequality

1. At the peak of its power and pride, the West entered the most dynamic phase of the aggressive expansion that had begun with the Crusades and continued with the rise of seaborne colonial empires.
2. Areas that industrialized in the nineteenth century (mainly Europe and North America) increased their wealth and power enormously, opening a gap between the industrializing regions and the soon-to-be colonized or semi-colonized regions (mainly in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America).
3. This pattern of uneven global development became institutionalized, or built into the structure of the world economy, and a “lopsided world” evolved with a rich north and a poor south.
4. In 1750 the average standard of living was no higher in Europe as a whole than in the rest of the world.
5. Industrialization opened gaps in average wealth and well-being among countries and regions.
6. Income per person stagnated in the colonized world before 1913, and only after 1945, in the era of decolonization and political independence, did former colonies make real economic progress and begin the process of industrialization.
7. The rise of these enormous income disparities, which are indicators of disparities in food and clothing, health and education, and life expectancy and general material well-being, has generated a great deal of debate.
8. One school of interpretation stresses that the West used science, technology, capitalist organization, and even its rational worldview to create its massive wealth, and then used that wealth and power to its advantage.
9. Another school argues that the West used its political and economic power to steal much of the world’s riches, continuing the aggressive colonialism born during the era of expansion.

B. The World Market

1. In the nineteenth century, Great Britain took the lead in cultivating export markets for its booming industrial output.

2. As European nations and the United States erected protective tariffs to promote domestic industry, British cotton textile manufacturers aggressively sought markets in non-Western areas for their products.
 3. In 1820 India bought 6 percent and Europe bought 50 percent of Britain's cotton textile exports, but by 1850 India was buying 25 percent and Europe 16 percent of a much larger volume of production.
 4. As a British colony, India could not raise tariffs to protect its ancient, indigenous cotton textile industry, which collapsed, leaving thousands of Indian weavers unemployed.
 5. Britain was also the world's largest importer of goods, remaining the world's emporium—the largest trader of agricultural products, raw materials, and manufactured goods.
 6. Under free-trade policies, open access to Britain's market stimulated the development of mines and plantations in many non-Western areas.
 7. International trade also grew as transportation systems improved; railroads drastically reduced transportation costs, opened new economic opportunities, and called forth new skills and attitudes.
 8. European investors funded much of the railroad construction in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, connecting seaports with resource-rich inland cities and regions and facilitating the inflow and sale of Western manufactured goods and the export and development of local raw materials.
 9. The power of steam revolutionized transportation by sea and land, and passenger and freight rates tumbled, making the intercontinental shipment of low-priced raw materials feasible.
 10. The opening of the Suez and Panama Canals shortened global transport time considerably.
 11. Improved transportation enabled Asia, Africa, and Latin America to ship to Western manufacturers spices, tea, sugar, and coffee, as well as new raw materials for industry such as jute, rubber, cotton, and coconut oil.
 12. Exports of such raw materials boosted economic growth in industrialized countries but did little to establish independent industry in nonindustrialized countries.
 13. New communications systems directed the flow of goods across global networks, and transoceanic telegraph cables enabled rapid communications among the financial centers of the world.
 14. As their economies grew, Europeans began to make massive foreign investments, with three-quarters of investment going to other European countries or "neo-Europes"—regions with large proportions of ethnic Europeans, including the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Latin America, and Siberia.
 15. Europe found its most profitable opportunities for investment in construction of the railroads, ports, and utilities that were necessary to settle and develop the lands in such places as Australia and the Americas.
 16. By lending money to construct foreign railroads, Europeans enabled white settlers to buy European rails and locomotives and to develop sources of cheap food and raw materials.
 17. Much of this investment was peaceful and mutually beneficial for lenders and borrowers.
 18. The victims were Native Americans and Australian aborigines, who were decimated by the diseases, liquor, and weapons of an aggressively expanding Western society.
- C. The Opening of China
1. Europe's economic and cultural penetration of old, densely populated civilizations was also profoundly significant.
 2. China's trade with Europe was carefully regulated in the 1800s by the Chinese imperial government—the Qing, or Manchu, Dynasty—which required all foreign merchants to live in the southern port of Guangzhou (Canton) and to buy and sell only to licensed Chinese merchants.
 3. For years the little community of foreign merchants in Guangzhou had to accept the Chinese system.

4. Then in the 1820s, the British discovered that they could make huge profits by exploiting the growing Chinese addiction to opium, which could be grown legally in British-occupied India and then smuggled into China, where its use and sale were illegal.
5. By 1836 the British merchants in Guangzhou aggressively demanded an independent British colony in China and “safe and unrestricted liberty” in their Chinese trade.
6. Spurred on by economic motives, the merchants pressured the British government to take decisive action and enlisted the support of other British manufacturers with visions of vast Chinese markets to be opened to their goods also.
7. At the same time, the Qing government decided that the opium trade was ruining the people and stripping the empire of its silver, which was going to British merchants to pay for the opium.
8. The government began to prosecute Chinese drug dealers vigorously and in 1839 seized the opium supplies of the British merchants, who then withdrew to the barren island of Hong Kong.
9. The wealthy, well-connected British merchants appealed to their allies in London for support, and the British government, which wanted free, unregulated trade with China and diplomatic relations on the European model, responded.
10. Using troops from India and taking advantage of its control of the seas, Britain, in the first of two Opium Wars, forced China to give into its demands.
11. In the Treaty of Nanking (1842), China ceded the island of Hong Kong to Britain, paid an indemnity of \$100 million, and opened up four large cities to unlimited foreign trade with low tariffs.
12. Disputes over trade between China and the Western powers continued in the second Opium War (1856–1860), culminating in the occupation of Beijing by British and French troops and another round of one-sided treaties that forced the Chinese to accept trade and investment on unfavorable terms in several more cities.

D. Japan and the United States

1. Japan had its own highly distinctive civilization and even less use for Westerners; by 1640 the government had expelled all foreigners and sealed off the country from all European influences.
2. Japan’s unbending isolation seemed hostile and barbaric to the West, particularly to the United States; Americans shared the self-confidence of expanding Western society and felt destined to play a role in the Pacific, believing it their duty to force the Japanese to share their ports and behave as a “civilized” nation.
3. After several unsuccessful American attempts to establish commercial relations with Japan, Commodore Matthew Perry steamed into Edo (now Tokyo) Bay in 1853.
4. Relying on gunboat diplomacy and threatening to attack, Perry demanded diplomatic negotiations with the emperor.
5. Senior Japanese officials realized how defenseless their cities were against naval bombardment and reluctantly signed a treaty with the United States that opened two ports and permitted trade.
6. Over the next five years, more treaties spelled out the rights and privileges of the Western nations and their merchants in Japan.

E. Western Penetration of Egypt

1. European involvement in Egypt led to a new model of formal political control, which European powers applied widely in Africa and Asia after 1882.
2. Since 525 B.C.E., Egypt had been ruled by a succession of foreigners, most recently by the Ottoman sultans.
3. First appointed governor of Egypt in 1805 by the Ottoman sultan, Muhammad Ali (1769–1849) set out to build his own state on the strength of a large, powerful army organized along European lines.

4. Muhammad Ali also reformed the government, cultivated new lands, and improved communication networks, and by the end of his reign, he had established a strong and virtually independent Egyptian state.
5. His modernization program attracted large numbers of Europeans to the banks of the Nile to work as army officers, engineers, doctors, government officials, and merchants.
6. To pay for his ambitious plans, Muhammad Ali encouraged the development of commercial agriculture.
7. Faced with the possibility of export agriculture, high-ranking officials and members of Ali's family began carving large private landholdings out of state-owned lands; they made the peasants their tenants and forced them to grow cash crops such as cotton and rice for European markets.
8. Thus Egyptian landowners "modernized" agriculture, but to the detriment of peasant well-being, a trend that continued under Muhammad Ali's grandson Ismail.
9. Educated at France's leading military academy, Ismail (r. 1863–1879) was a westernizing autocrat who promoted large irrigation networks, which boosted cotton production and exports to Europe, and supported the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869.
10. Young Egyptians educated in Europe spread new skills, and Cairo acquired modern boulevards and Western hotels, but an impatient and reckless Ismail had amassed an enormous national debt by 1876.
11. France and Great Britain then intervened on behalf of foreign bondholders and forced Ismail to appoint French and British commissioners to oversee Egyptian finances and ensure repayment.
12. Foreign financial control evoked a violent nationalistic reaction among Egyptian religious leaders, young intellectuals, and army officers, who in 1879 formed the Egyptian Nationalist Party under the leadership of Colonel Ahmed Arabi.
13. Bloody anti-European riots in 1882 provoked a British bombardment of Alexandria, which resulted in more riots and a revolt led by Colonel Arabi, but the rebellion was quashed by British forces that subsequently occupied all of Egypt.
14. Although the British claimed their occupation was temporary, British armies remained in Egypt until 1956.
15. British rule did result in tax reforms and somewhat better conditions for peasants, while foreign bondholders received their interest and Egyptian nationalists nursed their injured pride.
16. British rule in Egypt provided a new model for European expansion based on military force, political domination, and a self-justifying ideology of beneficial reform.

II. Global Migration Around 1900

A. The Pressure of Population

1. A poignant human drama accompanied economic expansion: millions of people pulled up stakes and left their ancestral lands in a global mass migration that was the central experience in the saga of Western expansion.
2. European birthrates eventually declined in the nineteenth century, but so did death rates, mainly because of the rising standard of living and the revolution in medicine; thus the population of Europe grew from approximately 188 million in 1800 to roughly 432 million in 1900.
3. Between 1815 and 1932 more than 60 million people left Europe, emigrating primarily to the rapidly growing neo-Europes—North and South America, Australia, New Zealand, and Siberia—where they contributed to a rapid growth of people of predominately European origin.

4. Europe's population increase led to land hunger and relative overpopulation; in most places, emigration increased twenty years after a rapid growth in population, as children grew up, saw few opportunities and departed.
5. Large-scale emigration was a defining characteristic of European society at the turn of the century, although different countries had very different patterns of migration.
6. People left Britain and Ireland in large numbers from the 1840s on, a reflection of rural poverty and the movement of skilled industrial technicians, as well as the preferences shown to British migrants in the overseas British Empire.
7. German emigration grew irregularly after about 1830, reaching a peak in the early 1850s and again in the early 1880s and declining rapidly thereafter, when German industrialization provided adequate jobs at home.
8. More and more Italians left the country right up to 1914, reflecting severe problems in Italian villages and relatively slow industrial growth.
9. Though the United States absorbed the largest overall number of European emigrants, fewer than half of all emigrants went to the United States; Asiatic Russia, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Australia, and New Zealand also attracted large numbers.

B. European Emigration

1. European migrants were generally energetic small farmers or skilled artisans trying hard to stay ahead of poverty; they typically left Europe because the lack of available land and growing availability of cheap factory-made goods threatened their livelihoods.
2. Migrants were a great asset to the countries that received them because the vast majority of them were young, unmarried, and ready to work hard in the new land, at least for a time.
3. Many Europeans were migrants as opposed to immigrants—that is, they returned home after some time abroad; for example, one in two migrants to Argentina and probably one in three to the United States eventually returned to their native land.
4. The likelihood of repatriation varied by nationality, with the possibility of buying land in the old country a crucial deciding factor; for example, when Russian Jews (who faced discrimination and pogroms) and farmers from Ireland (where there was little land for sale) migrated, it was basically a once-and-for-all departure.
5. Many Italians had no intention of permanently settling abroad, working in Argentina to harvest wheat in the winter months and returning to Italy for the spring planting.
6. Ties of family and friendship played a crucial role in the emigration process; many people from a given province or village settled together in rural enclaves or tightly knit urban neighborhoods thousands of miles away.
7. Many landless young European men and women, frustrated by the power of the small privileged classes, were spurred to leave by a spirit of revolt and independence.
8. Emigration rates slowed in countries where the people won basic political and social reforms, such as the right to vote, equality before the law, and social security.

C. Asian Emigration

1. A substantial number of Chinese, Japanese, Indians, and Filipinos responded to rural hardship with temporary or permanent emigration.
2. Most went as indentured laborers to work under incredibly difficult conditions on the plantations or gold mines of Latin America, the Caribbean, southern Asia, Africa, California, Hawaii, and Australia.
3. Asians fled the plantations and gold mines as soon as possible, seeking greater opportunities in trade and towns; there they came into conflict with local populations.

4. By the 1880s, the American and Australian governments had enacted discriminatory laws to keep Asians from entering the country.
5. Inspired by nativism, governments established strict rules for granting citizenship and asylum to foreigners and monitored movement across increasingly tight national boundaries.
6. Largely successful in monopolizing the best overseas opportunities, Europeans and people of European ancestry reaped the main benefits from the great migration.

III. Western Imperialism, 1880–1914

1. The expansion of Western society reached its apex between about 1880 and 1914, as leading European nations not only sent massive streams of migrants, money, and manufactured goods around the world but also rushed to create or enlarge vast political empires.
 2. In a frantic surge to plant the flag over as many people and as much territory as possible, the new imperialism, which was aimed primarily at Africa and Asia, put millions of black, brown, and yellow peoples directly under the rule of whites.
 3. By the early 1900s, almost 84 percent of the globe was dominated by European nations, and Britain alone controlled one-quarter of the earth's territory and one-third of its population.
- A. The European Presence in Africa Before 1880
1. Prior to 1880, European nations controlled only 10 percent of the African continent.
 2. At the southern tip of the continent, Britain had taken possession of the Dutch settlements at Cape Town, which led disgruntled Dutch cattle ranchers and farmers in 1835 to move into the interior, where they fought the Zulu and Xhosa peoples for land.
 3. By 1880 Afrikaner settlers—the descendants of the Dutch in the Cape Colony—and British settlers, who detested each other, had wrested control of much of South Africa from the Zulu, Xhosa, and other African peoples.
 4. In addition to the French presence in Algeria in the north and the British and Afrikaners in the south, European trading posts and forts dotted the coast of West Africa and the Portuguese maintained a loose hold on possessions in Angola and Mozambique, but Europeans did not rule elsewhere on the enormous continent.
- B. The Scramble for Africa After 1880
1. Between 1880 and 1900, Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, and Italy scrambled for African possessions, as if their national livelihoods depended on it, until nearly the entire continent had been carved up and placed under European rule.
 2. Only Ethiopia, which fought off Italian invaders, and Liberia on the West African coast, which had been settled by freed slaves from the United States, remained independent.
 3. In the complex story of the European seizure of Africa, certain events and individuals stand out, such as the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, which established the new model of formal political control.
 4. Another example is Leopold II of Belgium (r. 1865–1909), an energetic, strong-willed monarch of a tiny country with a lust for distant territory who by 1876 had focused his sights on central Africa.
 5. Leopold sent Henry M. Stanley to the Congo basin, where Stanley established trading stations, signed unfair treaties with African chiefs, and planted the Belgian flag.
 6. Alarmed by Leopold's moves, the French sent an expedition under Pierre de Brazza, who in 1880 signed a treaty of protection with the chief of the large Teke tribe and began to establish a French protectorate on the north bank of the Congo River.
 7. Leopold's intrusion into the Congo called attention to the possibilities of African colonization, and by 1882 the gold rush mentality that had set in among Europeans led to a race for territory.

8. The Berlin Conference (1884–1885) established the principle that European claims to African territory had to rest on “effective occupation” in order to be recognized by other states.
9. The conference recognized Leopold’s personal rule over a neutral Congo Free State and agreed to work to stop slavery and the slave trade in Africa.
10. In the mid-1880s, Germany established protectorates over a number of small African kingdoms and tribes in Togo, the Cameroons region, southwest Africa, and, later, East Africa.
11. With Bismarck’s tacit approval, the French pressed southward from Algeria, eastward from their old forts on the Senegal coast, and northward from their protectorate on the Congo River.
12. The British, led by Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902) in the Cape Colony, leapfrogged over the two Afrikaner states—the Orange Free State and the Transvaal—and eventually conquered their white rivals in the bloody South African War, or Boer War (1899–1902).
13. In 1910 the Afrikaner territories were united with the old Cape Colony in a new Union of South Africa, established as a largely “self-governing” colony; the defeated Afrikaners used their numerical superiority to gradually take political power, even as nonwhites lost the right to vote.
14. The British began enlarging their West African enclaves and pushed northward from the Cape Colony and westward from Zanzibar, but their thrust southward from Egypt was blocked in Sudan by fiercely independent Muslims who massacred a British force at Khartoum in 1885.
15. A decade later, another British force, under General Horatio H. Kitchener, met their foe at Omdurman, where 10,000 poorly armed Sudanese Muslim troops were cut down by the recently invented Maxim machine gun in a battle that killed only 28 Britons.
16. Continuing up the Nile River, Kitchener’s armies found that a small French force had already occupied the village of Fashoda, resulting in a serious diplomatic crisis and threat of war.
17. Wracked by the Dreyfus affair and unwilling to fight, France eventually backed down and withdrew its forces, allowing the British to take over.
18. The British conquest of Sudan exemplifies the general process of empire building in Africa: all native peoples who resisted European rule were blown away by vastly superior military force, but Europeans stopped short of fighting each other.

C. Imperialism in Asia

1. The Dutch, who in 1815 ruled little more than the island of Java in the East Indies, gradually brought almost all of the three-thousand-mile Malay Archipelago under their political authority.
2. In the 1880s the French took Indochina, and India, Japan, and China also experienced a profound imperialist impact.
3. Russia conquered Muslim areas to the south in the Caucasus and in Central Asia and in the 1890s proceeded to nibble greedily on China’s outlying provinces.
4. The United States’s great conquest was the Philippines, taken from Spain in 1898 through the Spanish-American War.

D. Causes of the New Imperialism

1. Economic motives played an important role in the extension of political empires, especially in the British Empire, which was losing its early economic lead and facing increasing competition in foreign markets.
2. When other European powers began to seize Asian and African territory in the 1880s, the British followed suit because they feared that France and Germany would seal off their empires with high tariffs, resulting in the permanent loss of future economic opportunities.
3. Although the new colonies were too poor to buy much and offered few immediately profitable investments, they were jealously prized for political and diplomatic reasons.

4. Each leading European power saw colonies as crucial to national security and military power; for example, safeguarding the Suez Canal played an important role in the British occupation of Egypt.
 5. Many people were convinced that colonies were essential to great nations, an attitude that reflects both the increasing aggressiveness of European nationalism and Social Darwinian theories of brutal competition among races.
 6. European nations saw themselves as racially distinct parts of the dominant white race and seized colonies to show they were strong and virile; moreover, according to Social Darwinism's idea of the "survival of the fittest," the conquest of "inferior" peoples was just.
 7. Another enormous factor was the industrial world's unprecedented technological and military superiority, as evidenced by the rapidly firing Maxim machine gun, the use of quinine in controlling malaria, and the steamship and the international telegraph.
 8. Conservative political leaders manipulated colonial issues in order to divert popular attention from the class struggle at home and to create a false sense of unity.
 9. Conservative leaders defined imperialism as a national necessity, which they used to justify the status quo and their hold on power.
 10. Finally, certain special-interest groups in each country were powerful agents of expansion: white settlers demanded more land and greater state protection, missionaries and humanitarians wanted to spread religion and stop the slave trade, shipping companies wanted lucrative subsidies, and military men and colonial officials sought positions and rapid advancement.
- E. A "Civilizing Mission"
1. Imperialists developed additional arguments in order to satisfy their consciences and answer their critics.
 2. A favorite idea was that Europeans could and should civilize more primitive nonwhite peoples.
 3. According to this view, Westerners shouldered the responsibility for giving Africans and Asians the benefits of industrialization, Western education, Christianity, advanced medicine, and higher standards of living, all of which would eventually prepare them for self-government and Western democracy.
 4. In 1899 Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936), perhaps the most influential British writer of the 1890s, summarized these ideas in his poem "The White Man's Burden."
 5. Many Americans, like their European counterparts, accepted the ideology of the "white man's burden," believing that their civilization had reached unprecedented heights and that they had unique benefits to bestow on supposedly less advanced peoples.
 6. Another argument was that imperial government protected natives from tribal warfare as well as from cruder forms of exploitation by white settlers and business people.
 7. Peace and stability under European control also facilitated the spread of Christianity, as Catholic and Protestant missionaries competed with Islam in sub-Saharan Africa for converts and built schools to spread the Gospel.
 8. The occasional successes in converting Africans to Christianity contrasted with the general failure of missionary efforts in India, China, and the Islamic world, where Christians often preached in vain to peoples with ancient, complex religious beliefs.
- F. Orientalism
1. In the late 1970s, literary scholar Edward Said (1935–2003) coined the term "Orientalism" to describe the stereotypical and often racist Western views of non-Westerners that dominated nineteenth-century Western thought.

2. Politicians, scholarly experts, writers and artists, and ordinary people adopted “us vs. them” views and regarded the non-Western world as the “other”: the West, they believed, was modern, white, rational, and Christian, while the non-West was primitive, colored, emotional, and pagan or Islamic.
3. As part of this view, Westerners imagined the Orient as a place of mystery and romance, where Westerners might have remarkable experiences.
4. Such views swept the West in the late nineteenth century through the emergence of ethnography and anthropology as academic disciplines.
5. Scholars and adventurers went into the field to study supposedly “primitive” cultures, reporting their findings in publications and filling museums with the intriguing objects they traded for, bought, or stole.
6. Writers and artists contributed to the Orientalist worldview and helped spread attitudes of Western superiority through novels and paintings that depicted romance and high adventure in the colonies.

G. Critics of Imperialism

1. Following the unpopular South African War, radical English economist J. A. Hobson (1858–1940) wrote *Imperialism* (1902), a forceful attack on the expansion of empire.
2. Hobson contended that the economic needs of unregulated capitalism motivated the rush to acquire colonies.
3. Yet, Hobson argued, imperial possessions did not pay off economically for the colonizing country as a whole; only unscrupulous special-interest groups profited, at the expense of both European taxpayers and natives.
4. Hobson also argued that the quest for empire diverted popular attention away from domestic reform and the need to reduce the gap between rich and poor.
5. Rosa Luxemburg, a radical member of the German Social Democratic Party, argued that capitalism needed to expand into noncapitalist Asia and Africa to maintain high profits.
6. Future Russian revolutionary leader, Vladimir Lenin concluded that imperialism represented the “highest stage” of advanced monopoly capitalism and predicted that its onset signaled the coming decay and collapse of capitalist society.
7. Nonetheless, most people were sold on the idea that imperialism was economically profitable for the homeland and developed a broad and genuine enthusiasm for empire.
8. Hobson and many other critics struck home, however, with their moral condemnation of whites imperiously ruling nonwhites and their arguments against crude Social Darwinian thought.
9. Kipling and others who bought into the white-man’s-burden mentality were lampooned as racist bullies whose rule rested on brutality, racial contempt, and the Maxim machine gun.
10. In *The Heart of Darkness* (1902), Polish-born novelist Joseph Conrad (1857–1924) castigated the “pure selfishness” of Europeans in supposedly civilizing Africa.
11. Critics charged Europeans with applying a degrading double standard and failing to live up to their own noble ideals.
12. At home, Europeans had won or were winning representative government, individual liberties, and a certain equality of opportunity, but in their empires, Europeans imposed military dictatorships on Africans and Asians, forced them to work involuntarily, and discriminated against them shamelessly.
13. Such criticisms provided colonized peoples with a Western ideology of liberation.

IV. Responding to Western Imperialism

A. The Pattern of Response

1. Western expansion represented a profoundly disruptive assault that threatened traditional ruling classes, local economies, and longstanding beliefs, values, and ways of life, provoking a crisis of identity in non-Western peoples.
2. Generally, the initial response of African and Asian rulers to aggressive Western expansion was to try to drive the unwelcome foreigners away, but the superior military technology of the industrialized West almost invariably prevailed.
3. Responses to the Western impact can be thought of as a spectrum, with “traditionalists” (those who worked to preserve their culture at all costs) at one end, “westernizers” or “modernizers” at the other, and many shades of opinion in between.
4. When the power of both the traditionalists and the modernizers was thoroughly shattered by superior force, some Asians and Africans accepted imperial rule.
5. Where non-Westerners were used to doing what their rulers told them, the Europeans, clothed in power and convinced of their righteousness, tried to govern smoothly and effectively with support from local elites.
6. Support for European rule among subjugated peoples, however, was shallow and weak.
7. Small farmers and others who bore the burden of colonization tenaciously fought for some autonomy using the “weapons of the weak,” such as playing dumb and foot dragging, to undermine colonial rule.
8. Native people followed with greater or lesser enthusiasm the few determined people who came to openly oppose the Europeans.
9. The nonconformists—the eventual anti-imperialist leaders—developed a burning desire for human dignity, economic emancipation, and political independence, all incompatible with foreign rule.
10. Somewhat ironically, these potential leaders found in the Western world the ideologies—liberalism, with its credo of civil liberties and political self-determination, and nationalism—that justified their protest.
11. After 1917 anti-imperialist revolt would find another European-made weapon in Lenin’s version of Marxist socialism.

B. Empire in India

1. India, the jewel of the British Empire, had been ruled more or less absolutely by Britain since the British East India Company had conquered the last independent native state in 1848.
2. After crushing an insurrection by Muslim and Hindu mercenaries in the British army in northern and central India in 1857–1858 (the years of the Great Rebellion), Britain ruled India directly.
3. After 1858 India was ruled by the British Parliament in London and administered by a tiny, all-white civil service in India.
4. Although the British white elite, backed by white officers and native troops, was competent and generally well-disposed toward the welfare of the Indian peasant masses, it practiced strict job discrimination and social segregation.
5. After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 made travel to India much easier, British civil servants and businessmen increasingly brought their wives and children with them.
6. These British families tended to live in their own separate communities, where they occupied large houses with well-shaded porches, handsome lawns, and a multitude of servants.
7. Many officials’ wives learned to relish their duties, and they directed their households with the same self-confident authoritarianism that characterized their husbands’ political rule.
8. A small minority of British women—many of them feminists, social reformers, or missionaries—sought to improve the lives of Indian women, both Hindu and Muslim, through education and legislation.

9. Buoyed by a sense of mission and strong feelings of racial and cultural superiority, the British acted energetically and introduced many desirable changes to India, establishing, for example, a modern system of secondary education.
 10. Thus, through education and government service, some Indians gained excellent opportunities for economic and social advancement.
 11. High-caste Indians emerged as skilled intermediaries between the British and the Indian people and formed a new elite that was profoundly influenced by Western thought and culture.
 12. The new native elite played a crucial role in the development of irrigation projects for agriculture, the world's third-largest railroad network, and large tea and jute plantations.
 13. The lot of the Indian masses, however, improved little because profits from increased production went to native and British elites.
 14. With this well-educated, English-speaking Indian bureaucracy and economic development, the British created a unified, powerful state in which Hindus, Muslims, and other ethnic groups were placed under the same system of law and administration.
 15. Despite these achievements, the decisive reaction to European rule was the rise of nationalism among the Indian elite.
 16. The top jobs, best clubs, modern hotels, and even certain railroad compartments were off limits to brown-skinned Indians; for the well-educated, English-speaking elite, the bitter injustice of racial discrimination flagrantly contradicted the cherished Western concepts of human rights and equality that they learned about in Western schools.
 17. By 1885, when educated Indians came together to found the predominately Hindu Indian National Congress, demands for equality and self-government were increasing.
 18. Although Hindus and Muslims disagreed about the shape the Indian future should take, British rule and Western ideals, combined with the reform and revitalization of the Hindu religion, had created a movement for national independence.
- C. The Example of Japan
1. When Commodore Matthew Perry arrived in Tokyo in 1853 with his crude but effective gunboat diplomacy, Japan was a complex feudal society.
 2. The intensely proud samurai, a warrior nobility that helped the shogun govern, were humiliated by the sudden American intrusion and the unequal treaties with Western countries.
 3. When foreigners began to settle in Yokohama, radical samurai reacted with a wave of antforeign terrorism and antigovernment assassinations that lasted from 1858 to 1863.
 4. An allied fleet of American, British, Dutch, and French warships responded by demolishing key forts, further weakening the power and prestige of the shogun's government.
 5. Then in 1867, a coalition led by patriotic samurai seized control of the government and restored the political power of the emperor in the Meiji Restoration, a great turning point in Japanese history.
 6. To deal with the immediate foreign threat, the leaders of Meiji Japan dropped their antforeign attacks and initiated a series of measures to reform Japan along modern lines and thereby protect their country and catch up with the West.
 7. In 1871 the new leaders abolished the old feudal structure of aristocratic, decentralized government and formed a strong unified state.
 8. The Meiji leaders dismantled the four-class legal system and declared social equality; they also decreed freedom of movement and created a free, competitive, government-stimulated economy.
 9. Japan began to build railroads and modern factories and adopted many principles of a free, liberal society, which resulted in a tremendously creative release of human energy.

10. The overriding concern to maintain a powerful state and strong military led to the creation of a modern navy and an army reorganized along European lines.
11. Japan adapted skillfully the West's science and technology, particularly in industry, medicine, and education.
12. Many Japanese went to study abroad, while the government recruited foreign experts, replacing them with trained Japanese as soon as possible.
13. By 1890 the wholesale borrowing had given way to more selective emphasis on foreign elements that were in keeping with Japanese tradition; this included the rejection of democracy in favor of a powerful emperor and an authoritarian constitution.
14. Japan successfully copied the imperialism of Western society, in the process proving Japan's strength and cementing the nation together in a great mission.
15. Japan "opened" Korea with its own gunboat diplomacy in 1876 and decisively defeated China in a war over Korea in 1894 and 1895; in the next years, Japan competed aggressively with the European powers for influence and territory in China.
16. In 1904 Japan attacked Russia without warning, and after a bloody war, it emerged with a valuable foothold in China, Russia's former protectorate over Port Arthur.
17. By 1910, with the annexation of Korea, Japan had become a major imperialist power.
18. Japan demonstrated that a modern Asian nation could defeat and humble a great European power and provided patriots in Asia and Africa with an inspiring example of national recovery and liberation.

D. Toward Revolution in China

1. In 1860 the two-hundred-year-old Qing Dynasty in China appeared on the verge of collapse; efforts to repel foreigners had failed, and rebellion and chaos wracked the country.
2. Yet, in a surprising comeback, the traditional ruling groups temporarily produced new and effective leadership, as loyal scholar-statesmen and generals quelled disturbances such as the great Tai Ping rebellion.
3. The remarkable empress dowager Tzu Hsi combined shrewd insight with vigorous action to revitalize the bureaucracy.
4. Destructive foreign aggression also lessened, with some Europeans even contributing to the dynasty's recovery.
5. A talented Irishman effectively reorganized China's customs office, increasing government tax receipts, and a sympathetic American diplomat represented China in foreign lands, helping to strengthen the central government.
6. Such efforts dovetailed with the dynasty's attempts to adopt some aspects of Western government and technology while maintaining traditional Chinese values and beliefs.
7. The parallel movement toward domestic reform and limited cooperation with the West collapsed under the harsh peace treaty that followed China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 to 1895.
8. China's helplessness in the face of aggression triggered a rush by foreign powers for concessions and protectorates in China, to a point in 1898 when it appeared that the European powers might actually divide China among themselves.
9. China's precarious position after the war with Japan led to a renewed drive for fundamental reforms, and in 1898 modernizers convinced the young emperor to launch a desperate hundred days of reform in an attempt to meet the foreign challenge.
10. More radical reformers, such as the revolutionary Sun Yatsen (1866–1925), sought to overthrow the dynasty and establish a republic.

11. The efforts at reform threatened the Qing establishment, and Tzu Hsi led a palace coup that imprisoned the emperor, rejected the reform movement, and put reactionary officials in charge.
12. A violent antiforeign reaction swept the country, encouraged by the Qing court and led by a secret society that foreigners called the Boxers; the Boxers blamed China's ills on foreigners, especially foreign missionaries.
13. In northeastern China, more than two hundred foreign missionaries and several thousand Chinese Christians were killed, prompting threats and demands from Western governments.
14. The empress dowager answered by declaring war, hoping that the Boxers might relieve foreign pressure on the government.
15. After the Boxers besieged the embassy quarter in Beijing, foreign governments organized an international force of twenty thousand soldiers to rescue their diplomats and punish China.
16. Western armies defeated the Boxers and occupied and plundered Beijing, and in 1901 China was forced to accept a long list of penalties that included a heavy financial indemnity.
17. Anarchy and foreign influence spread, and antiforeign and antigovernment revolutionary groups agitated and plotted, until a spontaneous uprising in 1912 toppled the Qing Dynasty.
18. After thousands of years of emperors and empires, a loose coalition of revolutionaries proclaimed a Western-style republic and called for an elected parliament.