# THE LAST OF THE ROMANOFS

# CHARLES RIVET

# THE LAST OF THE ROMANOFS



RASPUTIN WITH SOME OF HIS ADEPTS (Rasputin in the centre)

# THE LAST OF THE ROMANOFS

# By CHARLES RIVET

Petrograd Correspondent of the Paris "Temps"

TRANSLATED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION, BY. HARDRESS O'GRADY

# LONDON CONSTABLE AND COMPANY LIMITED

-

First published 1918

# INTRODUCTION

M. CHARLES RIVET, the author of this book, is the Petrograd correspondent of the Paris Temps. His knowledge of Russia is quite exceptional. He has been in that country since 1001, and speaks Russian. He went out first as a Professor and remained as a journalist and in both capacities he had special opportunities of mixing with the three great sections of Russian society: the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, and the peasant class. His sympathies were always with the advanced thinkers, he had many friends among them, especially among the Cadets, and he was the avowed enemy of the old régime. In his letters to the Temps and the Illustration he attempted to awaken the French people to a sense of realities, to bring before them the truth about the Dual Alliance and to warn them of the dangers of secret diplomacy. His newspaper campaigns, somewhat shorn of their full value by the timidity of French statesmen in Russian matters and, later, by the Censorship, made him extremely unpopular with those who ruled the destinies of Russia. This was particularly the case in his attacks on the Minister Maklakof, in his sounding of the alarm when Krupp was about to become a

v

large shareholder in the Putilof Munition Works, and in his denunciation of the weak diplomacy which enabled Berlin to send to Constantinople the Liman von Sanders Military Commission. "This man," said M. Sazonof, "is constantly putting his spoke in our wheels." And M. Rivet was arrested, in Petrograd, in the very thick of the war, as a first step to expulsion. But the Russian bureaucrats were afraid to carry out their intention and he was released.

His book consists of four parts, to which the three divisions roughly correspond. He has desired to put before the French public—in the first instance—the immediate causes of the Revolution, with a sketch of personalities and powers, to give a clear account of that Revolution and its effects, to describe the political elements composing the last Duma of the old era and the political groupings of post-Revolutionary days, and, lastly, to tell the French how and why they were misled about the Dual Alliance.

It will seem to British and American readers, friends of France before the war, and, since the war and Verdun, not only her friends but also her steadfast admirers, that M. Rivet has used towards his country a merciless severity. It was indeed suggested that in the translation this section—the last in the book should be omitted, but there is in it so much fruitful unveiling of the crooked ways of diplomatists, of the timidity of Governments and the secrecy of agreements affecting, in their repercussions, the whole world, that the translator using his discretion retained practically all that M. Rivet had set down. This was not done in order that the private affairs of France should be held up to the ironical inspection of

foreigners, but in order that certainly the British should ask themselves whether they have much to boast about in their attitude towards true Russia both before and during the war. Was Russia known in English-speaking countries as well as she should have been? Did we not also believe in the fiction of a Russian Colossus? Did not educated men vouch for the accuracy of a report that vast numbers of Russian soldiers were passing through England on their way to help France, when the truth was that Russia was hard put to it to transport enough troops to fight on her own frontiers-to say nothing of a railway system which at that time was altogether incapable of carrying any troops to the Northern port? And have there not been democratic Englishmen who have reviled the Revolution because of its effect on military operations?

The truth is that, apart from a small number of men such as Mr. Stephen Graham and the Hon. Maurice Baring, Englishmen knew nothing of Russian internal affairs, and even those who did know were apt to put upon Russian things not a "realistic" but a personal interpretation.

It is M. Rivet's contention that the Russian Revolution has at least freed us from the dead weight of Tsarist incompetence and the duplicity of irresponsible favourites. We were, before, never certain of what might happen on the Russian front, nowgrimly-we are ready for the worst and rely upon other fronts for a decision in this war. M. Rivet further contends that the Revolution, in itself, and without any military victories by Russian Armies, in spite of the bitter disappointments of recent months, is the greatest blow struck at Prussianism in the whole war. His book should prove that to sceptical readers.

However, the purpose of this introduction, which takes the place of the original French introduction addressed exclusively to the French, is not to lecture English readers on their ignorance of foreign affairs. The translator himself, though cosmopolitan by education and inclination, confesses that he was shamefully ignorant of the movements which have shaken Russia to its foundations. M. Rivet's book is one of several that have served to correct deficiencies in his outlook. It is hoped that this English translation will help others not only to form a just appreciation of Russia risen from the dead, but also to determine that secret diplomacy shall be banished from our dealings with foreign countries, and that the new democracies shall be free to decide their own fates without the oblique because timid perversion of party politicians working in the dark.

# CONTENTS

## PART ONE-UNKNOWN RUSSIA

#### CHAPTER I

#### OF THE RUSSIANS IN GENERAL

PAGE

15

The Russians as seen from France (and England)— General features of the Russian character—A mentality resulting from their political system— Classes in Russia—The peasants—The middle class—The aristocracy—Their social relations.

## CHAPTER II

## THE TSAR AND HIS COURT

Nicholas II.—The Empress Alexandra Feodorowna— The Grand Dukes—The Court—Intrigues and secret influences—Rasputin and the tragi-comedy of Tsarkoyë-Selo

27

#### CHAPTER III

#### THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT AS IT WAS

The parody of constitutional government — The Ministers—The Parliament—The real masters of Russian policy: the *tchinovniks* who had remained the *Guard of Ivan*—Prussian traditions—German pushfulness—Police rule and its victims . . . 81

ix

### CONTENTS

### CHAPTER IV

#### RUSSIAN POLICY UNDER THE LAST TSAR

PAGE

The policy of "pacification"-Stolypin-The Black Hundreds-Repression-Nationalism-Khokovtsof's laisser faire-Reaction becomes more pronounced -The period of weak policy-Goremykin-Stürmer, Protopopof and the era of folly . . .

106

## PART TWO-THE REVOLUTION

#### CHAPTER I

#### **POLITICAL PARTIES BEFORE THE CHANGE**

The parties in the Duma-Octobrists, Progressives and Cadets-Labour deputies and Social-Democrats-The Centre party-The Right-Parties as they will be . . • . . .

135

## CHAPTER II

#### THE GENESIS OF THE REVOLUTION

Origins of the conflict between the rulers and the nation -Its first manifestations-Waiting Russia-Russia becomes tired of waiting-The crisis becomes more marked-Last provocative acts-The climax approaches . .

146

#### CHAPTER III

#### THE EPILOGUE '

The days of the Revolution-The Revolution and Nicholas II.—His abdication and his arrest—The Empress-The end of a reign-The character of the Revolution ۰, . 169

## CONTENTS

### CHAPTER IV

#### AFTERMATH OF THE REVOLUTION

# PART THREE—FRANCE AND RUSSIA

# CHAPTER I

## THE FRANCO-RUSSIAN ALLIANCE

## CHAPTER II

#### FRANCE AND THE RUSSIAN NATION

The ignorance of Russia and its consequences-	-The	
Government was not the nation-The cry of	the	
Russian people-A new definition of the Fra	inco-	·
Russian Alliance—The paradoxical position	ı of	
France and Russia yesterday and to-day	. •	235

xi '

# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1

RASPUTIN WITH SOME OF HIS ADEPTS Frontispie	ce.
Facing	page
THE TSAR AMONG HIS OFFICERS	30
THE EX-EMPRESS ALEXANDRA FEODOROWNA	38
THE MINISTER MAKLAKOF	66
M. PURICHKEVITCH	76
General Sukhomlinof	114
Boris Stürmer, President of the Council	124
Monsieur Miliukof	164
BARRICADES AND GUNS ON THE LITEVIN PROSPERT	170
A STATE PRISON (LE CHÂTEAU DE LITHUANIE) AFTER IT HAD BEEN SACKED AND BURNT	184
MEETING OF SOLDIERS IN THE DUMA BUILDING IN THE FIRST DAYS OF THE REVOLUTION	196
NATIONAL MILITIA FIRING ON A HOUSE SUSPECTED OF HARBOURING POLICE DURING THE REVOLUTION	214