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THE MODERN WORLD A SURPEY OF HISTORICAL FORCES

Volume IV: RUSSIA

THE MODERN WORLD

A SURVEY OF HISTORICAL FORCES

Edited by The Right Hon. H. A. L. FISHER, M.P.

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RUSSIA

By NICHOLAS MAKEEV & VALENTINE O'HARA

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE RIGHT HON. H. A. L. FISHER, M.P.



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INTRODUCTION

There is no greater event in modern history than the Russian Revolution, whether it be considered in relation to the vast extent of the territory which it has affected, or the nature and quality of the changes which it has introduced, or the mass suffering of which it has been the parent, or the influence which it has exerted, and continues to exert, in international relations. The break with Confucius in China may prove to be equally far-reaching in its consequences; but we know far too little about China to be sure. The nearest parallel, and most helpful guide to the understanding of recent events in Russia, is the French Revolution; a movement which now, thanks to the efflux of time and the labour of historians, can be judged with comparative accuracy

The French Revolution was an attack on privilege; the Bolshevik Revolution an attack on property. The one was the work of the bourgeoisie; the other of a knot of Communist sectaries working on the passions of a defeated army, and an ill-paid factory population. That revolution would occur in France, and in Russia, was a matter confidently foretold by many who visited the two countries under their ancient monarchies, but, while the particular course of the French revolution was unforeseen, the peculiarity of the Russian revolution lies in the fact that Lenin the communist had long predicted the nature of his opportunity, and had the plan of a Communist State ready formed in his brain.

Each revolution was formidable by reason of the fact that it was the triumph of a doctrine; but whereas the intellectual preparation for the French Revolution was the work of a great school of writers using the French tongue, the Bolshevik creed was made in Germany. The doctrine of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, which is the distinctive feature of the Russian creed, was derived from the writings of Karl Marx,

vi Russia

a German Jew. It was exotic, not a native Russian product, and its *chentèle* was largely to be found among the persecuted Russian co-religionists of its author.

Both in Russia and in France the peasants, profiting by the general confusion, seized the lands of the nobles and gentry of the neighbourhood, and as no French government has dared to upset the land settlement of the revolution, so no Russian government will venture to annul the vast transfer of property which has been effected in the time of trouble. Indeed the principal security of the Bolsheviki will be found to consist not in the popularity of their communist doctrine, but in the wide diffusion of private property among the peasants which is associated with their régime.

Each revolution was anti-religious in character, and resulted in a scheme of lay schools supported by the public purse. In each case ambitious educational ideals, compounded of enlightenment and folly, were accompanied by a temporary paralysis of real education. There is, however, this profound difference between the French and the Russian revolutionary state. The French system is based upon the equality of all; the Russian upon the tyranny of a class. It is sufficient to observe that the son of the peasant and the artisan has a preferential claim to education in a Russian University.

Both revolutions were profoundly influenced by foreign wars. It was the failure of the Tsarist government to conduct war efficiently which gave the Bolsheviki their opportunity, just as it was foreign invasion which led to the execution of Louis XVI and the establishment of the Terror. In each case the revolutionary government was helped by the activities of foreign powers allying themselves with parties in the revolutionary state. There was, however, one important difference between the two cases. The Powers, who fought the French revolution, wished to restore the Bourbons. The Entente, in the recent war, accepted the Russian revolution;

but they entered into a war upon the Bolsheviki when it was clear that they were set upon a peace with the Germans.

Each revolution was doctrinaire and propagandist. Robespierre and Lenin had a cause in which they saw a promise for the redemption of humanity. The creed of France was Liberty, Fraternity, Equality; the creed of Russia, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The French revolutionary government almost immediately reverted to the ancient French tradition of administrative centralization. Even so the Russian communists govern with the secret police of the Tsarist régime. In foreign policy, however, there is a difference. Revolutionary France swung back at once to the doctrine of the Rhine frontier which was the diplomatic tradition of ancient France, and so became involved in a war of conquest. The Bolsheviki, on the contrary, continue to pursue a policy of cosmopolitan conspiracy; and trust to doctrine rather than to guns to extend their rule.

The schism between revolutionary France and Europe lasted for more than twenty years, but though the doctrinal cleft between communist Moscow and the individualist societies of Western Europe is profound, Germany has already made a pact with the Bolshevist state.

The main outlines of French society to-day were traced by the thinkers of the French revolution. Civil marriage, secular schools, equality before the law, the abolition of privilege in finance, religious toleration, parliamentary government, all these conquests of the revolutionary spirit have been triumphantly maintained. In Russia large concessions have already been made to the principle of capitalism. The doctrine of Lenin has lost much of its vigour under the incluctable pressure of events; but though Communism will fail, both at home and abroad, the old régime in Russia has gone once for all, and there is no power in the world which can restore it.

viii Russia

To the understanding of this vast and complex Russian movement, this volume makes an important contribution. Since Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace published his famous book in 1887, I doubt whether any more substantial treatise on Russian affairs has been published in the English language. Of the authors, one is a Russian and the other a British subject long resident in the old Russian empire. Each has suffered imprisonment; M. Makeev at the hands of the Tsarist Government, Mr. O'Hara at the hands of the Bolsheviki.

M. Makeev became a member of the Social Revolutionary party in 1904. Later he took part in the Co-operative movement and in the activities of Local Government. Early in 1917 he became a member of the board of the all-Russian Union of Zemstvos, of which he was elected president in succession to Prince Lvov, and in October of the same year he became a member of the Constituent Assembly for Vladimir. He left Russia in 1919. His collaborator, Mr. O'Hara, has also a long and varied experience of Russian affairs, gained in business and as a member of the Anglo-Russian Committee in Petrograd, and as taking part, at the invitation of the Foreign Office, in the British political mission to the Baltic States in 1919

The attempt of the two authors to tell the truth about Russia, and to enable an accurate judgment to be formed as to the essential factors in the historical growth and political condition of this vast country is obvious upon every page. And since the reader is here invited neither to condemn nor to extenuate, but simply to understand, this volume should be read when thousands of polemical treatises on Russia, the fruits of anger, horror, prejudice, and spite, have passed into oblivion.

H. A. L. FISHER.

September, 1925.

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APPENDIX I

SUMMARY OF MORE IMPORTANT DATA AND DATES OF RUSSIAN HISTORY TO THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Centuries	
and Years.	
VIII c –IX c	Slav settlements in the basin of the Dnieper, and in the north along the rivers Volga and Oka. Trading centres and towns Three chief centres of civilization. Novgorod in north-west, Kiev in south-west, Tmutarakan in south-east. Coming of the Norsemen
IX c –X c.	The Slavs with the help of Norsemen successfully repel attacks of wild tribes. The Norsemen supported by the trading towns and centres extend their principalities, that of Kiev being the most important. The Slavs advance to shores of the Black Sea and Sea of Azov. The river trading route from Novgorod to Kiev established. Slav settlements in direction of countries of
987-989	Arabian civilization. Close relations with Byzantium
XI c.	Adoption of Christianity and of Greek alphabet.
	The Slavs spread over territory between the rivers Oka and Volga where a number of principalities and towns arise. In the first half of this century the Kiev State clears the south of nomadic tribes. In the second half of the century renewed incursions of other wild tribes.
about 1054	First collection of Russian laws (Russkaya Pravda). Free-lance, roving retainers of princes (Boyars), settle down as landed proprietors.
XII c	Settlement of north-east Russia proceeds. A new centre is formed at Suzdal rivalling Kiev and Novgorod in importance Change in loutes of world trade from Eastern to Western Europe, Decline of the Kiev State.
1147	First mention of Moscow Struggle for supremacy
1169	among the Russian princes Capture of Kiev by Prince Andrei of Suzdal-Vladimir. Slav penetration eastwards. Development of the "folk-mote" institutions (Veche). Legendary poetry and church literature flourish Rise of Moscow.
XIII c.	Decline of <i>Byzantium</i> adversely affects trade along the Novgorod and Kiev route. Territory around Kiev becomes devastated and from the time of the first Tartar
about 1224	invasion, when the hordes of Jenghiz Khan defeated the Russians at the battle of Kalka until the 15th century Kiev drops out of Russian history. Other centres in North east of Russia assume growing importance,

Suzdal, Tver and Moscow. The Novgorodians advance north and east to White Sea and Urals. Russia is now split up into a number of small principalities

1237-40

Invasion of Batu Khan. Devastation of South-west of Russia. North-east Russia submits to the Tartar voke. Development of popular institutions (Veches) in Novgorod. Novgorod, a Veche republic with a prince at head as leader of the military forces. In North-east Russia (Vladimir, Suzdal, Rostov, Yaroslav, etc.), the princes with help of the Tartars take upper hand over the Veches Swedes advance to Novgorod after conquering Finland. German settlements on the Baltic. Lithuania forms an independent state partly on the ruins of South Russia The Hanseatic League, a union of large trading centres of North-west German (Lübeck, Hamburg, Bremen, etc.), begin to trade with Novgorod. Tartars hinder Slav settlement in the South and Southeast of Russia, The Moscow prince becomes "the servant of the Khan " and with his support assumes title of Grand Duke The unification of Russia proceeds. Moscow now the largest town after Novgorod and Pskov rivals Novgorod as centre for foreign trade, especially with southern countries and Middle Asia. After many unsuccessful efforts to free themselves from Tartar oppression the Russian princes under Dmitri Donskoi defeat Tartars at Kulikovo. Church becomes more and more national. Growth of her political significance, Appearance of heresy. Break up of the Golden Horde into three Khanates: Kazan, Astrakhan, Crimea. the west of Moscow the newly-formed Polish Lithuanian Confederation is a menace. The Novgorodians penetrate to Siberia over the Urals in search of furs.

XIV c.

1380

1386

1470, 1485 1480

The Moscow prince profits by the gradual weakening of the Tartar power, and extends his dominion northwards. The Kazan Khanate checks this movement in the east. In the north the Muscovites follow the old Novgorodian routes eastwards and cross the Ural Mountains into Siberia. Unable to free himself completely from the Tartar yoke the Moscow prince returns to the old policy of nominal submission and is thus enabled to extend his power over neighbouring territories Ivan III (1462-Break up of Tartar Dominion. A strong national stock-Great Russian-created. Moscow outrivals Novgorod economically. Riazan and Yaroslav submit to Moscow. Series of wars between Moscow and Novgorod ends by submission of latter. Submission of

Growth of the Polish Lithuanian State. Muscovite advance to Finnish Gulf.

1499 Defeat of Lithuanians.

The change of Moscow from a principality to a State and the "treachery" of Byzantium in recognizing the Pope's authority give rise to a new politico-religious theory of the State. Church teaches that centre of Orthodoxy is now Moscow—the third Rome In consequence of the marriage of Ivan III with Sophia Paleologue, niece of the last Byzantine Emperor, the muscovite rulers consider themselves entitled to all the honours of the imperial dignity. The Church becomes their obedient servitor. New growth of heresy. New codex of laws ("Sudebnik.") Appearance of a new military landed class, nucleus of the future nobility, an offset to the old Boyar aristocracy. South-west Russia falls into the

hands

hands of Poland. The Moscow State now covers the vast territory known later as the Governments of Moscow, Novgorod, Tula, Iver, Vladimir, Riazan, Nijni-Novgorod, Smolensk, Yaroslav, Archangel, Vologda, Kostroma, Moscow one of the largest towns in Europe Direct relations with England during reign of Ivan the Terrible (1553-1584). Moscow drawn into trade between Europe and Asia. Unsuccessful attempt to reach the Baltic Sea. Livonian wars. Expansion eastwards and south-eastwards along the Volga and towards Steppes Colonization becomes regular state policy. Capture of Kasan Astrakhan. Colonisation leads to building of towns and fortresses. State colonization mostly follows on lines of settlements made by free Cossacks, runaway peasants and enterprising traders. Expansion beyond the Urals on same lines Conquest of Siberia by Ermak. Aggravation of disabilities of peasants at home helps on colonization. Growing dependence on landlords. Efforts of latter to bind peasants more closely to the land. Clandestine flight of peasants to free lands. Advance to south meets with great opposition from powerful Crimean Khan Attacks of latter on Moscow State. Moscow in danger. Tartar successes not followed up. Muscovite advance southwards proceeds. The old Boyar aristocracy descended from the ancient Rurik princes and their retainers, in endeavouring to maintain and strengthen its privileged position meets with vigorous opposition from the new military caste of landholders and the trading classes The Oprichina of Ivan the

Terrible. The Boyar Duma or Council loses significance.

XVI c.

1472

1497

1552 1556

1581-2

1521, 1571

1564

1598

Terror of Ivan directed not only against Boyars but against other social groups holding out for the old order and against the Church,

Position of peasantry grows from bad to worse owing to harsh exploitation by the new class of landlords. Borrs Godunov's " reforms ". (1) Metropolitan of Russian Orthodox Church now becomes Patriarch; (2) peasantry prohibited from migrating to other lands—serfdom. Destitution in the central districts Intensive Colonization of South-west Russia. Brest Church Union as instrument for bringing orthodox peasantry under subjection of Poles (Uniates).

First half of century mostly taken up with internal developments End of the Runk dynasty and struggle for throne First Romanov, Michael (1613-1645). Terrible famines Moscow Government takes strong measures to prevent "runaway" movement among peasants and their free settlement in the south.

Troublous Time Social and economic character of struggle among peasantry, runaways and Cossacks. Impostors and Pretenders. Foreign intervention-Poles, Swedes. Revival of national feeling cleared of Poles Expansion to east. Settlement in Siberia proceeds. First expedition across north-east of Russia and Siberia to Pacific Ocean by the Cossack Defneu who passed the straits 70 years later "discovered" by Behring Kamchatka occupied by Cossacks Gradual resumption of lost territories in south during second half of this century. During reign of Tsar Alexei (1645-1676) Ukraine breaks away from Poland and becomes integral part of Russia "Department of Secret Matters" under immediate control of Tsar-germ of the Police State. Efforts to establish regular army. Growth of the new aristocracy. More rigorous measures for "attaching" peasantry to land. Code of Tsar Alexeilaws of a bureaucratic state based on serfdom. rising under Stenka Razin sternly suppressed by now well organized army. Church which had regained certain influence during Troublous Time again submits to State towards end of century. Schism-Old Ritualists or Old Believers. Western influence in Moscow. Penetration

nucleus of the standing army, gets out of order. Peter the Great (1689-1726). Turbulent Streltsi disbanded leads to formation of regular army and fleet on western model. Colonization expansion eastwards and weatwards to Baltic Sea where strong opposition from

of technical, political and religious ideas. Strelisi, the

XVII c.

1602, 1604

1606-13

1612

1697

1700 1709

1721

Swedes has to be overcome Russians beaten by the Swedes at Narva-beginning of "northern war." Peter recreates army. Defeat of Swedes at Poltava. Landing of Russian troops in Sweden. Stockholm district ravaged. By Treaty of Nystadt Swedes cede Livonia. Estonia, part of Finland (Wyborg), Ingria and Karelia to Harbours of Reval and Riga now Russian 1711 he had proclaimed himself " Emperor of all Russia." Azov restored to Turks. Persian expedition. Expansion to Caspian Sea. Advance to Khiva Feverish reforming zeal. Old Boyar Duma transformed into Senate with ill-defined functions, legislative, administrative, executive, judicial, military Police bureaucratic system developed. Division of Russia into nine administrative districts under governors with extensive powers establishment of Holy Synod, under a lay Procurator Church definitely subordinated to State Efforts to introduce direct individual taxation falling especially on peasantry. Planting of factories First lay schools Increase of influence of nobles under successors of Peter the Great (Catherine I, 1725-1727; Peter II, 1727-1730; Anne 1730-1740; Ivan VI, 1740-1741; Elizabeth, 1741-1761; Peter III, 1761-1762). They acquire many privileges: educational advantages, freedom from obligatory military service, etc. Extension of serfdom by reason of grants of state lands to the nobility in return for services. General decline in position of peasantry owing to heavy taxation, recruiting and prohibition to leave village Abolition of the system of local customs duties within the Empire makes for economic unity. Catherine II the Great State colonization progresses south and south-east to shores of sea of Azov zation of New Russia and North Caucasus. Forward foreign policy: First Turkish War ended by the peace of Kuchuk which gave Russia access to the Mediterranean Crimea part of Russian Empire. Second Turkish War ended by peace of Jassy. Partitions of Poland. Russia receives White Russia.

1753

1762-96

1769-74

1787–91 1772, 1793, 1795

1800

Partitions of Poland. Russia receives White Russia, most of the Ukraine, Volhynia, Podolia, and greater part of Lithuania and Kurland. Decline of Swedish influence. Growth of Prussian influence. Georgia incorporated in Empire

Home policy strengthening of the influence of the nobility New administrative division of Empire (forty governments and about three hundred new towns). New departmental organization Nobility given considerable share in provincial government. It controls police and

judicial administration.

1773-4

1796-1801

system of granting monopolies to individuals wealthy serf-owning nobility start many factories. About one-hundred-and-sixty-one of these in 1796. The bourgeois elements, merchants, etc., assert themselves, Abuses of seridom. Sale of seri labour. Pugachev Rising. State power starts policing itself. Rights of the nobility greatly curtailed under Paul I. Growing centralization. Under Catherine the Great a remarkable revival in cultural life. Western influences, French philosophy. Formation of Russian as a literary language. Liberal movement among the nobility. Formation of the Intelligentsia. Freemasonry. Religious movements: Schism Strong feelings of Intelligentsia re serfdom. police system, etc. Novikov, Radishtsev (Journey to Moscow \.

Economic revival. End of

1790

1799

XIX c.

(First Half) 1801, 1803

1807 1807-12

1812-15 1815

1828

1829

First Anglo-Russian Alliance. Participation of Russia in coalition against Revolutionary France. Extension of Russian territory unaccompanied by expansion of Russian population.

Incorporation of Georgia and Mingrelia. Foreign policy of the Empire dictated not so much by Russian national interests as by the political sympathies and antipathies of autocratic rulers, by their desire to save "legitimate order" in Europe, to defend the old system against the new, and especially to prevent "the poison of the French Revolution" from penetrating into Russia. Anglo-Russian Alliance broken off on conclusion under Alexander I (1801-1825) of the Treaty of Tilsit when Russia was exposed to the so-called Continental Blockade of Napoleon During this period Russia annexes Finland (1809) as far as the river Torneo granting her full administrative and political autonomy. Annexation of Bessarabia (1812), Imeretia (1810) and part of Trans-Caucasia (1813). The National War against France. Russian Army in Paris (1814) Congress of Vienna and the Holy Alliance. Further partition of Poland. The Russian Empire at the summit of its power in Europe. Nicholas I (1825-1855) wages war with Turkey (1826-1828) and with Persia. Peace Treaties of Turkmanchas with Persia (Russia acquiring Erivan and Nakhichevan districts), and of Advianople with Turkey (Russia extending her territory to the north of the Danube; to the Caucasian shore of the Black Sea, and in Transcaucasia), Serbia, Moldavia and Vallachia guaranteed autonomy. By the support of Russia, France and England, Greece becomes an

	Appendix 1 327
1839	independent state (1830). Treaty of London, Belgian
1849	neutrality guaranteed by the Great Powers. Suppression
1853-6	of the Hungarian Revolt by Russian forces. Crimean
	War ends with Treaty of Paris. Southern part of
	Bessarabia goes to Turkey. Russian fleet not allowed
	in the Black Sea In the Baltic Sea Russia not allowed
	to fortify the Aland Islands.
	Home Affairs: Rise of industrial capitalism in Russia.
	Problems of serfdom, education and decentralization of
1802	administration Reform of the Senate which now takes
	"the highest place in the Empire" after the Emperor.
	Creation of eight Ministries replacing the functions of the
1	College system of Peter the Great.
	Alexander I puts an end to grant of serfs to nobility.
1803	Ukaze re free peasantry gave landowners right to liberate
	serfs. Four new universities founded, a number of
	secondary schools and primary schools Autocratic
	reaction against principles of the French Revolution.
i	Influence of Arakchèev (1814-1825). The ideal of
	Napoleonic France appeals to many higher officials
	Speranski's Liberalism. The progressive Intelligentsia
į	under the influence of French Revolutionary ideals.
1814	Secret societies: the Order of Russian Knights, Union
	of Salvation, Union of Welfare which split up into
1821	Southern Society and Northern Society.
Dec. 14, 1825	
	Nicholas I to throne.
1830–1	Polish Insurrection From this time Nicholas I adopts
	most reactionary policy. Creation of the Gendarmene
,	and of the Third Section
	Growth of Russian literature and art. Griboyedov
	(1795–1829), Pushkin (1799–1837), Koltzov (1808–1842),
	Gogol (1809–1852), Lermontov (1814–1861), Shevchenko
	(1814-1861); Kuprenski, Brullov, Ivanov, Fedorov;
	(artists) Glinka, Drogomijski, etc., etc. (musicians).
XIX c.	
(SecondHalf)	
1864	Conquest of the Caucasus
1868, 1873	Bokhara and Khiva become dependent States.
1864, 1876	Acquisition of Turkestan and the Fergan region Franco-

1871

1873

Acquisition of Turkestan and the Fergan region Franco-German War gives Alexander II (1855-1881) opportunity of retrieving situation in the Black Sea (London Convention).

Convention).
Franco-Russian alliance replaced in 1863 by the Prussa-Russian entente directed against Austria and less openly against France. Secret defensive alliance with Prussia.
Balhan War for the liberation of the Slav peoples from

1878

1878

the Turkish yoke ended by Treaty of San Stefano independence of Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania, and part of Bulgaria, special terms for the Armenians under Turkish rule, Russia receives Ardagan, Kars, Batum and Baiazet. In the Berlin Congress under Austrian and English pressure, and with connivance of Germany, the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano are modified to the disadvantage of Russia and of Slav interests: the Bulgarian territory is reduced by half, eastern Rumelia is given back to the military and political control of Turkey; reduction of territories of Serbia and Montenegro which are separated by narrow corridors under Austrian control. Austria occupies Bosnia and Herzegovina; Macedonia and a strip of land on the Ægean Sea given back to Turkey as also the fortress of Baiazet, Russia not allowed to fortify Batum

The ambiguous German policy and especially the aggressive tactics of William I and Bismark against France lead to strained relations between Russia and Germany

Secret Austro-German Alliance aimed against Russia

Anglo-Russian conflict of interests in Middle Asia Alexander III's (1881–1894) plan to keep Russia entirely out of European affairs.

Franco-Russian understan

and radical milieus.

Franco-Russian understanding in 1890 leads to a Military Convention in 1893 and to the Franco-Russian Alliance Home Affairs. The Crimean War (1853–1856) shows the complete failure of the old system of rule and of serfdom in Patter 1992 and Alliander IV.

"Better" says Alexander II" to abolish serfdom from above than to wait until it abolishes itself from beneath" The Russian Intelligentsia stand up for Abolition (cf the works of Radishchev, Pushkin, Gogol, Nekrasov, Turgenev, Aksakov, Tolstoy, Herzen, Chernyshevski)

Feb 19, 1861

Manifesto of Alexander II re Liberation of the Serfs. Under the influence of the reactionary nobility the land reforms are carried out unsatisfactorily Great discontent among the peasantry. The more radical groups of the Intelligentsia look forward to a revolution (Chernyshevski, Dobroliubov, Mikhailov) The liberal milieus of the nobility insist on judicial and administrative reforms, on the introduction of local government, and summoning of elected representatives of the whole State Discontent spreads to the universities and higher schools. Growth of Nihilism (Pisarev) Polish

1863

1895

1856

1864

The Judicial and Administrative Reforms: Zemstvo local government; system of elementary and secondary

Insurrection arouses sympathy among Russian liberal

1	schools, press censorship modified, abolition of corporal
	punishment, etc. etc.
	Secret Societies and revolutionary movement Bakunin
	Nechaev's "Popular Vengeance" (v "Demons" of Dostoevski) Labour strikes in Petersburg (1870).
1870	Statute of municipal administration and introduction of
1874	obligatory military service for all in place of old recruiting
10/4	system—measures already planned in 1864.
1872-3	Famine in the Samara government
1873~5	To the People movement of the Intelligentsia
_	(v. "Virgin Soil" of Turgenev). Severe government repression. Conflict of public opinion with Government.
· ·	Growth of revolutionary activities.
1878, 1879	Land and Freedom and People's Will Terrorism
Mar. 1, 1881	
1881	Manifesto of Alexander III (1881-1894) re the unalter-
	able character of the Autocracy No constitutional
	reforms to be expected
	The reactionary influence of Pobledonostsev, the
	Procurator of the Holy Synod. "Enforced Protection"
-0000-	—a system of martial law
1883, 1885 1882	The Peasants' Bank and the Nobles' Bank established.
1002	First labour legislation introduced by the Minister of Finance, Bunge. National rights curtailed.
	Justices of the peace in the villages replaced by Govern-
1889	ment officials chosen from the nobility, Zemskie
.009	Nachalniki (district chiefs or heads) with enormous
	powers of jurisdiction over local peasantry. The Poles
	deprived of right to be civil servants in Poland or in the
	western provinces.
	The powers of juries curtailed
1890	Restrictions of Zemstvo self-government rights; Govern-
	ment control extended over Zemstvo activities
1892	Municipal affairs subjected to greater government control
1891	Construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway started.
[Nicholas II (1894–1917) Culture of the Persod:
Literature	J Goncharov, J. Turgenev, N Nekrasov, Fedor
	Dostoevski, A Ostrovski, M Saltykov, Lev Tolstoy,
	A Chekhov, Maxim Gorki, J Bunin
Art	Aïvazovski, Repin, Surikov, Wasnetzov, Vrubel, Levitan,
	Serov.
Music	A Rubinstein, A Borodin, Chaikovski, Musorgski,
_	Rimski-Korsakov, Glazunov.
Science	Mechnikov, Bekhterev, Sechenov, Pavlov, Mendeléev,
	Lebedev; also the explorers Semenov-Tianshanski,
1	Przevalski, Kozlov, etc.

APPENDIX II

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