



REVISION – RUSSIA 1825-1894



Tsar Nicholas I (1825-1855)
Tsar Alexander II (1855-1881)
Tsar Nicholas I (1881-1894)

MATERIAL: Morris 1760-1871 = 267-312 Morris 1870-1991 = 35-62

OVERVIEW 1825-1894:

Tsar Nicholas I 1825-1855

Reactionary Autocrat

- Decembrist revolt
- Personal revulsion against the spread of radical ideas in Europe
- Support from the Orthodox Church
- Collected Laws of the Russian Empire (1832) No Constitution – just a confirmation of Autocracy
- Paternal system
- Nationalism – Slavophil
- The Serfdom
- Lack of industrial development
- Intellectual criticism
- Higher education another problem...

Foreign policy

EUROPE:

- Russo-Turkish war 1828-29
- Polish Revolt of 1830-31
- Russo-Turkish agreement 1833
- Wallachia 1848 (Rumania) 1848
- Hungary 1849
- Crimean War 1854-1856

ASIA:

- Persia 1826-28
- Influence over Dagestan and the Caucasus + control over the Uzbeks and the Kazakhs + Expansion East (Vladivostok 1861)

Tsar Alexander II 1855-1881

Tsar Reformer!

Alexander's Reforms:

1. Emancipation of the serfs
2. New local governments - Zemstvos
3. Reforms of the legal system
4. Military reforms
5. Educational reforms

Pan-slavism: The slavophile movement was also going through a new phase - a union of all Slav nations under Russian leadership stretching from the Baltic to the Adriatic...

DOMESTIC CRITICISM:

- Nihilism
- Populism
- Terrorism
- Anarchism
- Marxism

Alexander II:s last year - a liberal attempt?

Foreign policy

- Russia and France 1856-1863
- The Polish revolt, 1863
- Russia and Prussia 1863-1870
- The Russo-Turkish War 1877-1878

Tsar Alexander III 1881-1894

- Reactionary ministers
- Restrictions against the zemstvos to restore the position of the nobility
- Restrictions against higher education
- Russification
- **Economic development:** 1892 – Sergei Witte became Minister of Finance. Protective tariffs, foreign capital and placing the Russian currency on the Gold Standard were Witte's measures which proved to be successful...

Foreign policy of Tsar Alexander III.

- German-Russian agreement – Reinsurance Treaty 1887
- France again – the French “Entente”
- Franco-Russian alliance (January 1894)

Alexander III dies: 1 November 1894, Alexander died. His son Nicholas was only 26 years old. When Nicholas heard his father was dead he said “*What am I to do? I am not prepared to be Tsar. I know nothing of the business of ruling*”

Tsar Nicholas I 1825-1855

1. The **Decembrist revolt** was one early attempt to change the old Russian autocratic system. The Decembrist conspirators were of liberal inclination, and their background was Russian freemasonry and the Russian army. The Masonic lodges, where men were treated as equals irrespective of their official rank, in effect were semi-secret societies where those of similar views could meet and make plans. Although Alexander I banned all freemasonry, it was too late to prevent some of the masons forming new and completely secret societies with revolutionary aims. Prominent among those who realized that drastic changes were needed were Russian army men, especially those who had been in the army of occupation in France. They had observed conditions in France, where there were no serfs, where there was relative freedom of speech and of the press, where there were regular judicial processes, where there was a constitution of sorts, and where new ideas circulated and were openly discussed. The Decembrists failed because they were divided among themselves, had made no real preparations for their revolt, refused to make use of discontent among the masses, and were mentally prepared in advance for a glorious failure:

2. **His personal revulsion** against the spread of radical ideas in Europe (increased with the deposition of Charles X by the French in 1830, by the Polish revolt of 1831 (A strong reaction against the attempt to westernize Poland) and by the uprisings all over Europe in 1848):

3. **Support from the Orthodox Church.** Throughout the 19th century the Orthodox Church, with its message of faith in God and unquestioning submission to God's will, was the major support of the Tsarist regime. The Tsar also held the position as titular "Head of the Church":

4. **The Russian Constitution of 1832** "Collected Laws of the Russian Empire". According to the Constitution;
 - a) The Tsar made all final decisions to Russia's government, army, economy and foreign relations. The other bodies of government were just administrative or advisory
 - b) The three bodies of administration and advice's were;
 - (i) The Imperial Council (or His Imperial Majesty's Private Chancery. The **Third Section** of this Chancery was in charge of state security, standing at the centre of a complex web of censorship and surveillance)
 - (ii) The Committee of Ministers (8)
 - (iii) The Senate

5. **A Paternal system.** "The Tsar is a father. His subjects are his children, and children ought never to reason about their parents." This opinion is also a reason why the government so strictly was in the hands of the Tsar:

6. **Nationality - slavophiles.** A conviction that Russian social organization, religion, government, culture and philosophy were superior of the system of western Europe; "Slavophil's" against "westernizers". Russia and the Tsar also saw it as a duty to protect the Slavs against all external threats. The effect of Western liberalism and nationalism which resulted in the Polish revolt 1831 is an example of this. It was ruthlessly suppressed and resulted in the abolition of many important elements of Polish national identity. The Polish constitution was withdrawn, the

universities closed and the Russian language was more vigorously imposed in Polish public life. During the 19th century Russia also saw itself as the protector of the Slavs and the Orthodox Christians in the declining Ottoman Empire. This view would lead to problems: _____

7. **The Serfdom.** Even though Tsar Nicholas I recognized serfdom as "*in its present situation in our country is an evil, palpable and obvious to all, but to attack it now would be something still more harmful.*" (1842). The serfdom supported the autocratic system, not only because the state owned 19 million "*state peasants*", but also because of the allegiance of the serf to the landowner. This was combined with the allegiance of the landowner to the Tsar to constitute the whole political hierarchy upon which the stability of Russia seemed to depend. Nicholas I legislation did away with some of the most inhuman aspects of the institution, forbidding the splitting up of families by the sale of individuals (1833), and banning the auctioning of serfs (1841): _____

8. **Lack of industrial development.** This prevented the development of an urban middle class, or of an urban work force. This preserved the rigid system of serfdom: _____

9. **Intellectual criticism.** Liberal ideas were driven underground and found expression mainly in **literature** and in the rarified discussions of intellectuals. Alexander Pushkin, Russia's greatest poet, was personally censored by the Tsar! Some delivered their criticism more indirect; Nikolai Gogol exposed provincial corruption in his play "*The Government Inspector*" (1836) and satirized the institution of serfdom in his novel "*Dead Souls*" (1842). Several new magazines were published during the reign of Nicholas I (224 new magazines in the years 1826-54): _____

10. **Higher education** was another institution where liberal ideas were discussed. The number of university students doubled between 1836 and 1848. This was predominantly due to the government's desire to educate an administrative élite, but inevitably a proportion of this élite learn to think for themselves. We could see the emergence of "*enlightened bureaucrats*" (mentioned by W. Bruce Lincoln). The revolutions of 1848 and the poor performance in the Crimean War saw a reaction in Russia. Nicholas I fought any hint of liberalism at home. In higher education was this constituted by the appointment of a new minister of Education. P. Shirinsky-Shikhmatov duly raised school fees, reduced the number of university students (from 4,600 in 1848 to 3,600 in 1954), and suppressed the study of such dangerous subjects as philosophy and European constitution law: _____

Foreign policy

1. EUROPE:

a) **Russo-Turkish war 1828-29.** Russia espoused the cause of the Greek revolutionists to form an independent state. A Russian fleet joined the British and French vessels which destroyed the Turkish fleet in the battle of Navarino (1827). In the resulting Russo-Turkish War of 1828-29, Turkey was defeated. The treaty of Adrianople gave Russia suzerainty over the tribes of the Caucasus, and gave the emperor a protectorate over Moldavia and Wallachia with accompanying rights of interference in their domestic affairs as the protector of Christians living under Turkish rule. Russia also achieved free passage for its ships on the Danube River and through the Straits of Bosphoria. After this war Russia became a friend of

Turkey, for Nicholas did not wish to see the fall of a long established dynasty in Constantinople:_____

b) The **Polish Revolt of 1830-31** was a mixture of international influence (from France especially), Polish nationalism and an attempt to introduce western more liberal ideas. The Revolt was crushed and the Polish constitution was abrogated, it became more and more ruled by St. Petersburg bureaucrats, its universities were closed, and the Russian language was imposed in official institutions:_____

c) **Russo-Turkish agreement.** In 1833 Russia acquired virtual control of the Dardanelles by agreement with Turkey. This agreement was the Sultans way of showing gratitude since Russia had aided Turkey by sending its Black Sea fleet against Egyptian rebellions:_____

d) **Wallachia 1848** (Rumania). In 1848 there was another revolution in Paris which led to upheavals all over Europe. Tsar Nicholas I now became known as the "gendarme of Europe". He warned the revolutionaries "*Give heed, O ye peoples, and submit, for God is with us!*" Russian troops helped the Turks suppress a revolutionary government that had formed in Wallachia under the impression of the events in Western Europe:_____

e) **Hungary 1849.** Nicholas I also send in the Russian army to enable the Emperor of Austria to suppress a revolt of Hungarian revolutionaries in 1849. Hungarian nationalists demanded a formation of a Hungarian ministry. This ministry was put into office and it then severed practically all ties with Austria. Extreme Magyar nationalism, expressed in part by a decree making Hungarian the official language of the State, rapidly alienated the Slavic section of the population. In May 1849 the Austrian emperor Francis Joseph succeeded in arranging a military alliance with Tsar Nicholas I. Austria and Russia "won" but the Russian army lost 10,000 men in this campaign (9000 died from disease...):_____

f) **Crimean War 1854-1856.** Russian interests after 1815 focused on the Balkans and on the straits (Bosphorus and the Dardanelles) leading from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. The Turkish subjects of the Balkan countries were mostly Slavs and Orthodox, and the Russians therefore saw themselves as their natural protectors; because Turkey lay athwart Russia's link with the Mediterranean it seemed essential that Constantinople should be amenable only to Russian influence. But France, Austria and Prussia also had imperial ambitions in the Balkans or in the eastern Mediterranean, while Great Britain was opposed to any further Russian aggrandizement anywhere and regarded the maintenance of a Turkey independent of Russia as equally essential. The allies saw the aggressive policy of Tsar Nicholas I toward the Sultan and the Ottoman Empire as an obstacle to the realization of Russian imperial domination of southeastern Europe.

After a quarrel about the respective rights of Orthodox and Catholic priests in the Holy Places under Turkish rule had been settled, Russia demanded the right to "protect" Christians in the Turkish Empire. To emphasize this demand, Russian troops entered the Danubian provinces, and this led to a Russo-Turkish conflict. In 1853 Russia gained control of the Black Sea by sinking the Turkish navy at Sinope. French and British ships now moved in to prevent a possible Russian landing near Constantinople, and then, in 1854, France and Britain declared war, while Austria just insisted on the withdrawal of Russian troops replacing them with her

own. Britain and France then invaded the Crimea and defeated the Russians at the battle of Alma (1854). The war then developed into a costly contest over the possession of Sevastopol, whose value was more symbolic than strategic. After a year's siege the Russian army withdrew from this fortified base, and peace followed in 1856. The Russians had to accept the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1856, undertaking to keep no navy on the Black Sea and to maintain no bases on its shores (the Black Sea clauses). The greatest loss though was the humiliation! Russia was not the dominant power of Europe anymore. Russia's vast military strength had proved to be an illusion, partly because of the lack of a modern system of communication. Russia could never muster more than 60,000 of the more than one million soldiers. According to J.S. Curtiss the cavalry officers, especially the senior officers, were almost entirely to blame for the poor showing of their men in the Crimean War. Their horses, fed on oats and beer, were magnificently glossy and plump but when, at one annual maneuvers, Nicholas ordered the cavalry to do everything at the gallop, 700 horses died in one day from unaccustomed exertion.

A.J.P Taylor supports the view of the military incompetence. "Destroyed the myth and the reality of Russian military power." The Crimean War had a big impact in Europe except the changed view of Russia's military capacity;

- It was the end of the "Congress System" that had existed since Vienna 1815. No major war had occurred between 1815-1854
 - It weakened the two traditional guarantors of the status quo in Europe; Austria and Russia. Britain, although a victor in the Crimean War, eventually lost her continental role after the poor handling of the Italian unification, the Polish uprising (1863) and the Schleswig-Holstein dispute 1864
 - It cut the link between Austria and Russia
 - The balance of power in Central Europe was destroyed.
 - The change of balance gave a unique opportunity to a new generation of statesmen with revisionist aims; Napoleon III (France), Cavour (Sardinia - Italy) and Bismarck (Prussia - Germany)
 - Two countries were unified; Italy (1861) and Germany (1871). The formation of Germany definitely ruined the balance of power in Central Europe
 - Short wars with specific objectives became favorable
 - The eastern question became a constant irritant inflaming relation between Austria-Hungary and Russia
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2. **ASIA:**

a) **Persia 1826-28.** Not content with the previous conquest of Georgia and Azerbaijan from the Persians, Russia claimed still more territory from the Shah. The latter's counter-attack was defeated, and in 1828 a peace treaty brought Persian Armenia into the Russian Empire: _____

b) **Influence** over Dagestan and the Caucasus consolidated in the 1830s and 1840s, control over the Uzbeks and the Kazakhs in the same decades, and the establishment of influence in the Far East, typified by the foundation of the aptly named Vladivostok ("Lord of the East") in 1861: _____

David Saunders concluded "the Tsar knew that changes had to be undertaken, but was determined not to allow them to be promoted by any movement or group beyond the control of the government. He believed that reform could be achieved by the government acting alone." In this respect there was not much difference, after all, between the mentalities of Nicholas I and of Alexander II.

Tsar Alexander II 1855-1881

Alexander's Reforms:

1. **Emancipation of the serfs.** The institution of serfdom recognized the ownership of one man, woman or family by another, and involved the total subjection of the serf to the will of his or her owner. In 1858, 31 per cent of Russia's population of 74 million, that is some 22.5 million persons, were serfs. In addition over 19 million were "state peasants", tied to lands owned by the crown. The authority of their owners, sometimes delegated to the elders of the peasant commune (the *mir*), was almost absolute.

By the **Edict of Emancipation of 1861**, Tsar Alexander II ended the system of serfs. The Edict freed them from serfdom and provided them with some land (usually too small). This land was initially paid for by the State (in government bonds), and the peasants then had to repay the debt. The landlords rarely hesitated to compensate themselves for the loss of free serf labor by inflating the estimated value of the land. The "*mir*" became responsible to the state for collecting the redemption dues (regularly payments over 49 years) as well as the taxes. To ensure that peasants would not escape their debts, the *mir* issued passports and until 1903 no peasant could leave his village without a passport and the consent of the *mir*. The peasants could not sell or mortgage the land to anybody outside his local *mir*. Instead of being a serf under a landlord he was now a serf under the *mir*! **Impact of emancipation:** Some historians said it had a great impact, (Hugh Seton-Watson - compares it with the less peaceful and less successful emancipation in USA) others said it was a "fraud" (Lionel Kochan). Morris claims that it would be more correct to talk about "*that serfdom was abolished rather than that the serfs had been emancipated.*" He gives four reasons for this;

1. The process was slow, dictated by the needs of the individual landowner.
 2. The settlement made upon the ex-serfs was usually unsatisfactory. The serf got too little and the landowner saw to it that he got as much as possible.
 3. Many peasants resented the redemption payments of property that they thought belonged to them from the very beginning.
 4. As mentioned, the serf was freed from the landowner but became a serf under the *mir*. In the shorter run, emancipation did not seem to solve the twin problems of rural unrest and industrial backwardness:
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2. **New local governments - Zemstvos.** One consequence of the emancipation was the need to replace the local government, consisting of serf-owning landlords before 1861. Alexander II did this in 1864 when he approved the reform of setting up "*zemstvos*" - local Parliaments, elected by an electoral college system that gave most votes to the richest citizens. The members of each *zemstvo* were to be responsible for transport, health, education, the poor, famine relief, and the encouragement of agriculture and industry in their area. *Zemstvos* only existed in European Russia. In 1870 similar assemblies were formed in the urban districts - town councils. These local assemblies could have been a step away from the old autocracy, but the system of voting and their established local reputations made it easy for the conservative nobility to dominate. At provincial level they occupied 74 per cent of all *zemstvo* seats in 1865-67. When suggestions came up to form a central, national body with delegates from different *zemstvos* the Tsar "*sharply reminded them of the limitations upon their powers*". Seton-Watson claims that this was where Alexander stood at the crossroads between autocracy and liberal reforms. Having whetted the appetite for the latter, he remained committed to the former (maybe with the exception of his last year...):

3. **Reforms of the legal system.** From 1865 a new legal system replaced the old "*summary justice of the landlord.*" It made the legal proceedings public, included all the classes of society, introduced a common jury system and saw to it that judges were independent of the government.

Seton-Watson claims that these were remarkable reforms, ensuring that "the court room was the one place in Russia where real freedom of speech prevailed.":

4. **Military reforms.** The disasters of the Crimean war made apparent the need of changes within the military system. The minister of war, Dmitri Milyutin, got this responsibility. Florinsky and other Russian historians has "hailed" this man for being one of the few outstanding statesmen of imperial Russia. Milyutin 1. Reduced the term of service from 25 years ("life sentence") to a period of six years. 2. He introduced universal military service (1874) to which all males were liable at 20 years of age (no loopholes for the rich and the nobility). 3. He abolished the more brutal form of military punishment and military service as a punishment for criminal offenses. 4 He also took away the "military colonies" an institution where the sons of long-term service men were sent to be trained as the next generation of soldiers:

5. **Educational reforms.** The numbers of university students were allowed to rise again in 1855. European government (1857) and philosophy (1860) was permitted once more. A new University Statute (1863) gave the universities more autonomy in their own affairs:

Pan-slavism: The slavophile movement was also going through a new phase. **Nikolai Danilyevski** wrote "*Russia and Europe*" in 1871. He rejected the Western philosophy and forwarded a more aggressive support for Russia's Slav nature and inheritance. He preached a union of all Slav nations under Russian leadership stretching from the Baltic to the Adriatic. This regeneration of aggressive, autocratic nationalism was called **pan-slavism**:

DOMESTIC CRITICISM. The Tsar was criticized from both sides - the conservatives resented the loss of influence and privilege and the liberals became frustrated at the Tsar's refusal to take his reforms to their logical conclusion. More radical and revolutionary forms of opposition developed as Alexander's reign progressed. In some ways the reforms created this "hot" political atmosphere.

- The most important names on the Russian left in the 1850s and the 1860s were those of **Alexander Herzen** (exiled in 1848. Published a journal "*The Bell*" (Kolokol) from London), **Nikolai Chernyshevsky** (part of then literary radicalism of the 1850s. He claimed that reforms were impossible without a fundamental alteration of Russia's political and economical bases. His novel "*What is to be Done?*" inspired the next generation) and **D. I. Pisarev** (he advised his followers to not "*accept any single principle on trust, however much respect surrounds that principle*". This principle to accept nothing of the existing society without question was named "**nihilism**" (nihil (lat.) - nothing)).
- **Populism** was a movement that dominated Russian radicalism in the mid-1870s. The basic idea was to re-educate the Russian peasantry. In 1874-75 3,000 young radicals invaded the countryside to open the eyes of the population to their plight and show them the sources of salvation This movement "*To the People*" was a depressing failure. Over 1,600 of these populists (*narodniki*) were arrested between 1873-77, often handed over to the police by the peasants! A breakaway group calling itself "*Land and Liberty*" (*Zemlya i Volya*) made some progress in the following years. Members of "Land and Liberty" also founded the first unions for Russian industrial workers in Odessa (1875) and in St. Petersburg (1878).
- **Terrorism** was the more attractive alternative for those with less patience. The first attempt on the life of the Tsar was in 1866 when a student shot at him in the streets of St. Petersburg. In 1879 a split in the ranks of "*Land and Liberty*" gave birth to a group called "*The Peoples Will*" (*Narodnaya Volya*) that advocated violence as the trigger to general

revolution. Although other government officials were among their early victims, their chief target was always the Tsar himself. Attempts to shoot him, dynamite the royal train and explosives in the Winter Palace came within a year 1879-80. In March 1881 they succeeded!

Alexander II:s last year - a liberal attempt? Alexander had during the latter part of his reign showed that he remained committed to an autocratic system, though there was maybe an attempt to go back to a more liberal system during his last years... When Alexander's first wife died in 1880, he married the much younger Princess Dolgoruky. She was the friend and patron of a number of liberal politicians. It was under this period a liberal politician; Mikhail Loris-Melikov was appointed minister of the interior. He managed to abolish the Third Section (as described before, the Third Section was a part of the Imperial Council or His Imperial Majesty's Private Chancery, and this section was in charge of state security). Loris-Melikov also managed to replace one of the most reactionary ministers - Dmitri Tolstoy (Ministry of Education). Right before Alexander II was killed he had just given his personal approval for calling in a national assembly, partly of nominated members, but also elected representatives of the **zemstvos** and the town councils. The Soviet historian P. A. Zaionchkovsky concedes that "*in the conditions of an increasingly complex situation it might have been the beginning of the establishment of a parliamentary system in Russia*". This came to a stop when Alexander was killed by the second of two bombs thrown at his sledge in a St Petersburg street:_____

Foreign policy

Russia and France 1856-1863. Between 1856 (the end of the Crimean War) and the 1870's Russia came to play a more passive role in European politic. The major aim between these years was to revise the Black Sea clauses (from the Treaty of Paris 1856, undertaking to keep no navy on the Black Sea and to maintain no bases on its shores). The best way to achieve this goal was to cultivate the friendship of France. Russia accepted the formation of Wallachia and Moldavia into an effectively independent Rumanian state (Paris conference May-August 1858) and she agreed in 1859 to remain neutral in case of French actions in northern Italy (as long as it was for France protection...). Alexander II could though not tolerate the French interference with the "legitimate" regimes in Italy in the early 1860's and the French support for Poland 1863 broke the "friendship":_____

The Polish revolt, 1863. In Poland it would become clear that it was impossible to reconcile such beliefs as Polish nationalism with Tsarist autocracy. The first Polish rebellion (1830-31) had been suppressed by Nicholas I. When the "Tsar Liberator" came into office he was greeted with great optimism. After some nationalistic demonstrations in 1861 in Warsaw the link between the Agricultural Society and nationalists made the Tsar dissolve the society. Demonstration where 200 were killed became the result of this. The Tsar's brother, Constantine (reputation of being a liberal), was appointed viceroy in an attempt to defuse the situation. He was nearly assassinated during his first month! A proposal for the conscription of Poles into the Russian army made an armed insurrection break out in January 1863. It was largely a rural rebellion. It took Russia nearly a year to control it! This rebellion and the ingratitude over agrarian reforms in Poland made the Russian policy towards all the nationalities of the Empire become one of Russification. In Poland the property of the Polish Roman Catholic Church was seized (1864) and Warsaw's university was closed (1869). Russian replaced Polish as the administrative language and more and more Russians replaced Poles in the ranks of the administrators. These measures set the pattern for the policies of Russification elsewhere:_____

Russia and Prussia 1863-1870: After the Polish revolt Russia became isolated in European diplomacy, with the exception of Prussia. Prussia offered aid against the Polish rebels. Russia didn't accept it but in return for the friendly gesture Russia remained neutral during the conflict between Prussia and Austria. Prussia's war against France 1870 served Russia very well - she took the opportunity and renounced the Black Sea clauses in November 1870. The major powers condemned this action, but no retaliatory action was taken: _____

Dreikaiserbund: In 1872 Otto von Bismarck, Chancellor of the new German Empire, managed to get the three Emperors of Russia, Austria and Germany to sign an agreement between the countries. It consisted of a series of bilateral military agreements promising aid to any party attacked by a fourth power. Behind the facade Russia resented the rising German power and at Austrian pretensions in the Balkans: _____

The Russo-Turkish War 1877-1878: After the successful renunciation of the Black Sea clauses Russia came to play a more active role in the Balkans. The League of the Three Emperors though restricted the Russian ambitions for some time. She became more cautious. Under the impression of several revolts among Serbians, Bosnians and Bulgarians in 1875/1876 Russia made an agreement with Austria (Reichstadt July 1876) whereby Russia would regain southern Bessarabia, lost in 1856, and Austria would receive part of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the event of a successful Russian clash with Turkey. The war started in April 1877. Both Turkey and Russia suffered from military incompetence - L. Kochan describes it as "*a war between the one-eyed and the blind - so many errors of strategy and judgment were committed*". Nevertheless, Russia was the less incompetent and at the Treaty of Stefano (3 March 1878) she enjoyed considerable gains. Russia gained territory in Caucasus and regained the southern part of Bessarabia. Ignoring the agreement of Reichstadt Russia helped the creation of Rumania, Serbia, Montenegro and a large Bulgarian state (all open for Russian influence). The diplomatic protests and hostilities forced Russia to a revision of the treaty. At an international congress in Berlin (June-July 1878) the major powers of Europe (especially Britain) ensured that Russia would not be able to maintain the San Stefano settlement. Russia and Tsar Alexander II saw the Congress of Berlin as "*a European coalition against Russia under the leadership of Prince Bismarck*". The tension between Germany and Russia escalated the next year when Germany introduced protective tariffs against Russian agriculture. The League was also undermined by the installation of Austria in Bosnia and Herzegovina against the local population's will. Then in 1881 Alexander was assassinated: _____

Tsar Alexander III 1881-1894

Reactionary ministers: The bomb that destroyed Alexander II also destroyed the careers of his more liberal ministers. Loris-Melikov was replaced as minister of the interior by Nikolai Ignatiev, who later gave way to Dmitri Tolstoy! **Alexander III's policy was Autocracy, Orthodoxy and Russification.** It has been said of him that he set out to undo all that his father had done. The greatest influence of his political policies came from his former tutor (who also came to serve his eldest son, Nicholas, as a tutor) and trusted adviser, **Konstantin Pobedonostsev.** Pobedonostsev's sympathies lay with Autocracy against democracy, with Orthodoxy against all other sects, and with Russians against all other nationalities of the Empire. "*Alexander III,*" wrote Hugh Seton-Watson, "*was a true Russian. He knew his people. He would not sacrifice the truly Russian principle of autocracy.*" One of the victims was Lenin's elder

brother. He was hanged in 1886 for plotting to kill the Tsar. The universities, the press and the law courts were strictly supervised. Konstantin Pobedonostsev - appointed to Procurator of the Holy Synod (the lay supervisor of the Orthodox Church) used his authority to crush free thought and to browbeat minority religions, especially Jews, who were herded into ghettos:_____

Restrictions against the zemstvos to restore the position of the nobility: The new ministers tried to restore the Russian nobility to the position of strength and influence that it had held before the emancipation. In July 1889 the office of justice of the peace was abolished in local government and a new office, that of **Land Commandant** (*Zemsky Nachalnik*) was created. Land Commandants were imposed on the peasantry: they had to belong the nobility (this was the essential qualification for this office). The Land Commandant also sat in the zemstvo which now became more dominated by the landowners. He had senior administrative and judicial power in the locality, over-riding the authority of the *zemstvos*. To restrict the power of the partly elective *zemstvo* became a prime target for the reactionaries. Laws of 1890 and 1892 restricted the popular vote to the zemstvos. Not only did the proportion of peasant votes become reduced but they could not vote for zemstvo deputies anymore. They were presented with a list of candidates from whom they could choose. The local governments often found their proposals obstructed and undermined by the objections of a government who fundamentally opposed the principle of elected assemblies:_____

Restrictions against higher education: The minister of education I. V. Delyanov proposed legislation against the "dangerous" advance in education. In 1884 came *a limitation of the administrative autonomy* and in 1887 *the tuition fees were raised*. This was useful methods against anybody from the lower classes - they could not afford the new fees. Raising tuition fees was also a useful method in primary and secondary education... Only the parish elementary schools under the influence of the local clergy were allowed any real expansion. 1897 the illiteracy rate was a staggering 79 per cent! (This is a bit of a paradox since Russia at the same time produced such talents as Pavlov, Checkov, Tolstoy, Gorky, and Tchaikovsky...):_____

Russification: The **policy of Russification** was to attempt to suppress the local characteristics to all the Tsar's subjects. In the census of 1897 the Russian Empire had a total population of a little bit more than 125 million people. The Russians was a minority of 45% of this total population. The Ukrainians were about half the size - 22.4 million people. They were followed by the Poles (7.9 million), White Russians (5.8 million), Jews (5.2 million), Tartars (3.4 million), Germans (1.8 million), Armenians 1.2 million), and Georgians (0.8 million) + other smaller groups (about 25 million people). Against the Tartars and Georgians the Orthodox Church played a leading role. The Georgian Church and Islamic groups put up fierce resistance and the problems of separatism was still very much alive in 1917.

Even in areas who previously been loyal to the Tsar, efforts of Russification started. This included areas as Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Armenia. The effect was the opposite - cries for independence and resistance. In Finland these measures came late. It was Nicholas II that deprived the Finnish Diet of nearly all their legislative power 1899. Under the Russian governor-general Nikolai Bobrikov all opposition was ruthlessly suppressed (Nicholas II had granted him dictatorial power in 1903). 1904 Bobrikov was assassinated. This could have led to repression, but the Russo-Japanese war was not successful and in 1905 the revolution broke out. Temporarily the Finns got the old constitution back (through the November Manifesto).

The worst blows fell upon the Empire's long-suffering Jewish population. Alexander III's regime combined the "official" religious anti-Semitism of the Orthodox Church with crude popular hostility. The official propaganda reasons were that the Jews participated in the Polish rebellion and with the assassination of Alexander II (Hessia Helfmann - one of the assassins was

Jewish). Pobedonostsev pronounced that a third of the Jews in Russia must die, a third emigrate and a third assimilate. The government permitted and even encouraged pogroms. Robbery, violence and murder became common. Between 1881 and 1905 over 215 incidents took place. On top of this the government took legal measurements; No new Jewish settlers were allowed in rural areas, Jews were forbidden to trade on Christian holy days which, as they already closed on Jewish holy days, made it hard for them to compete with non-Jewish rivals. Strict quotas for Jews were set in schools and universities. In 1886 in Kiev and in 1891 in Moscow all "illegal" Jews were expelled. "Legal" settlers were also harassed. Several Jews emigrated under these conditions. Other became members of the Zionist movement (militant nationalists) or revolutionaries. In 1897 the Jewish socialist **Bund** was formed. This organization came to play an important role in the development of revolutionary socialism in Russia. ***In the long run, the policy of russification obviously became more dangerous than the nationalism that it set out to combat:*** _____

Economic development: The reigns of Alexander II and Alexander III formed a period of overall industrial development. During the 1870s the Russian economy benefited from the increase in railroad building and from the policy of low tariffs. The development of Russia's railroad was huge in quantitative terms and it showed new economic logic; The Russians linked major areas of industrial production to important markets and they linked their areas of agricultural production with the ports of the Black Sea. In 1883 the Batum-Baku railroad linked the Caspian with the Black Sea which increased the oil production greatly (two of the financiers of the oil production in Baku were the Swedish Nobel brothers!). In 1891 the construction of the Trans-Siberian railroad started (finished - except a short part - in 1904). Tariffs began to rise in the late 1870s. This protective policy culminated in 1891 with the "great protective tariffs". It especially had a beneficial effect on the domestic coal and pig-iron production. In 1892 Sergei Witte became minister of finance. Protective tariffs, foreign capital and placing the Russian currency on the Gold Standard was Witte's measures which proved to be successful. The result though resulted in large parts of Russian industry being owned abroad (especially in Paris). The economic historian W.O. Henderson wrote "*Of the Russian economy was still backward in some respects, it was also true that vigorous state action, foreign capital and foreign machinery had given Russia a powerful impetus on the road to industrialization*". Lenin was less impressed. He wrote 1899 "*If we compare the present rapidity of development with that which could be achieved with the modern level of technique and culture, the present rate of development of capitalism in Russia really must be considered slow*": _____

Foreign policy of Tsar Alexander III.

France again - the French "entente": In 1887 Alexander III refused to renew the **Three Emperor's Alliance** (in 1881 The Dreikaiserbund changed name). This threatened Bismarck's diplomatic policies. He managed to receive a bilateral, completely secret agreement with Russia, known as the **Reinsurance Treaty 1887**. The refusal of the new German Kaiser Wilhelm II to renew the treaty in 1890 renewed Russia's international isolation. An agreement to curtail the activities of Russian nihilists in France was followed by the more important step of opening the French money market to Russian borrowing. Slowly, between 1891 and 1894, the military understanding all important to France began to take shape. Meetings between the respective chiefs of staff resulted in an agreement on joint military action. The Tsar finally consented to regard this as the basis of an official **Franco-Russian alliance (January 1894)**. Russia undertook to attack Germany if that country attacked France, or aided Italy in an attack on France. France was similarly committed if Germany attacked Russia, or aided Austria-Hungary in such an attack: _____

Alexander III dies: In 1893 Alexander III fell unexpectedly ill when influenza led to kidney trouble. On 1 November 1894, Alexander died. His son Nicholas was only 26 years old (he was born 1868). Nicholas had lived an easy life as a young army officer, in the company of a ballet dancer. A week after Alexander died Nicholas married Princess Alix of Hesse-Darmstadt, his own choice and originally opposed by his family because she was German. When Nicholas heard his father was dead he said *"What am I to do? I am not prepared to be Tsar. I know nothing of the business of ruling"*: _____
