

A-LEVEL HISTORY

AT NEWCASTLE SIXTH FORM COLLEGE



ALEXANDER III 1881-1894



NICHOLAS II 1894 - 1917

UNIT 3: RUSSIA AND ITS RULERS 1855-1964

Topic Area	Homework Reading Complete	Homework Notes Made	Class Notes and Activities	Prefect Paragraph Complete
Alexander III				
Tsar Repressor				
Russification and the Empire				
Economy: Vyshnegradsky				
Economy: Witte				
Living and Working Conditions				
Thematic Overview				
Nicholas II				
Opposition				
Russo-Japanese War				
Bloody Sunday				
1905 Revolution				
Revolutionaries				
Repression and Reform				
Political Reforms				
Empire under Nicholas II				
Thematic Overview				

How will you use this course guide?

Each week you will be given summary notes. These will include:

- A response to each of the **KEY QUESTIONS**
- A description of each of the **KEY INDIVIDUALS**
- A definition for each of the **KEY TERMS**
- A response to each of the **STRETCH ACTIVITIES**
- A response to each of the **TEN QUESTIONS**

The exam questions provided are for revision purposes. Once we have completed the depth study area/course (for thematic essays), you will be able to produce practice responses for the questions provided.

TOPIC AREA: ALEXANDER II REFORMS

WHY REFORM?

Alexander II's Own Views

Alexander was no "liberal" in the broad sense of the term. He was fully committed to maintaining the tsarist autocracy and upholding his "given" duties. However, after enhancing the power and prestige of Russia and restoring the country's dignity as a leading power of Europe, He accepted that Russia needed to change and believed that by granting limited freedoms and reforms, he would begin to stimulate a more dynamic economy, while preserving the basic political framework of his rule. Alexander was mindful of the dangers of extreme change, and believed that some practical steps could and should be taken to lead Russia along the road towards economic modernisation.

As a result, he was supported by other leading members of his family, his brother, the grand duke **Constantine** and his aunt the grand duchess **Pavlovna**. He was also surrounded by a number of "enlightened bureaucrats" who were keen to change the system along western lines. **Nicholas Alexander Milyutin**, the minister for military affairs 1859-61 (and brother to Dmitry, for example) was anxious to carry out military reform and had a good deal of influence in imperial circles.

Alexander set the tone for his reign when he addressed the Moscow nobility in 1855. He is reported to have said the following:

There are rumours abroad that I wish to grant the peasants their freedom; this is false, and you may say so to everyone to right and left; but I am weary of hostility between the peasants and landlords who unfortunately exist, and this has already resulted in several instances of insubordination to the landlords. I am convinced that sooner or later we must come to it. I believe that you too, are of the same opinion as I; consequently, I think better that this should come about from above, rather than from below.

Alexander's first actions on coming to power seemed to confirm his desire to rule in a more enlightened manner. He released political prisoners, pardoned those who had been involved in a plot to assassinate his father, relaxed controls on censorship, lessened restrictions on foreign travel and university entrance, cancelled the debts of those in arrears with their taxes and restored some of the liberties of Poland and the Catholic Church.

Political Considerations

The incidence of peasant unrest, had steadily increased in the decade up to the Crimean War as landowners had tried to drive their peasants to produce more, and **peasants** protesting the military conscription escalated. There had been more than **300 separate peasant risings** plus murders of landowners and bailiffs had grown more common, so threatening the social stability of the countryside.

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

KEY QUESTIONS

What do you think is the most important reason for reform?

How had Alexander II been influenced by individuals around him?

Why might peasant unrest cause concern for the state?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Alexander II
Duchess Pavlovna
Duke Constantine
Nicholas Milyutin

KEY DEFINITIONS

Autocracy
Modernisation
Enlightened
Obrok
Agriculture
Liberal

TSAR REPRESSOR

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

Following the **assassination** of his father Alexander II was clear that none of the opposition above was acceptable. The first casualties in the campaign of repression were Alexander II's liberal ministers like **Loris-Melikov** who left office. In their place came **Konstantin Pobedonostsev**, Chief Procurator of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church. As the Tsar's chief minister and leading official of the State Church, Pobedonostsev wielded immense power and influence. He was the person who masterminded **Alexander III's Manifesto**, which was issued at the end of April 1881 – just five weeks after the Tsar Liberator's assassination. The Manifesto declared that absolute political power resided in the Tsar. An unbending conservative, Pobedonostsev believed the basis of political and social stability lay in support for autocracy, the Russian Orthodox Church and Russian nationalism.



However, the immediate task of Alexander III's new government was to **destroy the terror organisation, the People's Will**. In the wake of the assassination, the government introduced **the Statute of State Security**, which set up government-controlled courts to try government opponents. The government could now arrest and put on trial political opponents, without the need for a jury. Those convicted faced possible execution, and thousands were exiled to Siberia. Although these courts, which helped maintain political stability, were only meant as a temporary measure, they stayed in existence until the end of the Tsarist autocracy in 1917.

The government also took action to prevent the spread of radical – and even liberal – ideas. Press freedom was severely restricted, with **fourteen major newspapers being banned between 1882 and 1889** for displaying “liberal” tendencies. Foreign books and newspapers were also rigorously censored by the Okhrana (the secret police) in order to prevent dangerous foreign ideas – such as democracy and parliamentary government – reaching the Russian people.

The universities were a particular area singled out for strict government supervision. **University fees were increased to exclude all but the very wealthy**, and in 1884 the universities lost their self-government and came under government control. **Universities across Russia were temporarily closed in 1889** because of student demonstrations against government control.

However, these repressive policies did not destroy the People's Will and other extremist groups. They continued to operate underground, and in **1887 they even made an attempt to assassinate Alexander III**. In the crackdown that followed, the Okhrana arrested, and subsequently executed, a university student called **Alexander Ulyanov** – the elder brother of the future Bolshevik leader, Vladimir Ulyanov, better known as Lenin.

Increased central control

No aspect of Russian society seemed untouched by central government control. Pobedonostsev began to undo many of the reforms brought in by Alexander II. In

KEY QUESTIONS

What problems did Tsar Alexander III face when he rose to power?

How did Alexander III's approach to rule differ from Alexander II?

What is the significance of Alexander III's Manifesto?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Tsar Alexander III

Konstantin Pobedonostsev

Alexander Ulyanov

Loris-Melikov

KEY DEFINITIONS

Okhrana

Alexander III's Manifesto

People's Will

Bolshevik

Statute of State Security

Land Captain

TSAR REPRESSOR

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

1889 the government created the post of “**Land Captain**” to enforce local laws, replacing the locally elected justices of peace. Land Captains were members of the landed classes and were directly appointed by the Minister of the Interior. Land Captains were given wide-ranging powers including the ability to over-ride zemstva elections and disregard zemstva decisions. They could even ignore the normal judicial process, overturn the judgements of local courts and impose punishments.

In the following year, 1890, Land Captains were made members of the local government bodies – the zemstva. In addition, the franchise to the zemstva was restricted, to ensure that the landed classes had the most political power. Doctors and schoolteachers, for instance, were no longer allowed to seek election. In 1892 these restrictions were extended to towns and cities. Press censorship was increased after 1882 and the government also interfered with the trial by jury system, introducing closed (secret) trials for political offences.

Your Ten Questions:

1. Why was Alexander III known as Tsar Repressor?
2. What was the significance of Alexander III's manifesto?
3. What was the Statute of State Security?
4. Which radical group did Alexander III aim to destroy?
5. How many newspapers were banned between 1882 and 1889?
6. What was the name of Alexander II's secret police?
7. What happened to university fees under Alexander III?
8. Define Land Captain.
9. In what year were Land Captains made members of the local zemstva?
10. What form of trials were introduced for political offences?

EXAM QUESTIONS

Alexander III changed the nature of government more than any other leader. How far do you agree? [25 marks]

STRETCH

To what extent did Alexander III demonstrate an effective response to opposition?

Who dealt with opposition more effectively – Alexander II or Alexander III?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

RUSSIFICATION

THEMATIC AREA: ETHNICITIES, NATIONALITIES, EMPIRE

The Policy of Russification

Alexander III ruled over a multi-racial empire, and one way for him to bring unity and cohesion to even its far-flung corners was to adopt a policy of “**Russification**” – insisting on the use of the Russian language. This policy had already been introduced late in the reign of the Tsar Liberator, but it reached new heights of implementation under Alexander III.

In **1885 Russian was made the official language** for the whole of the Russian Empire. All official documents had to be in Russian, and all other languages were forbidden in schools – even where other races were in the majority. Areas which were badly affected by these developments were Poland and the Baltic lands of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. But the area where this policy caused most resentment was Central Asia, where many people were not only non-Russian but also Muslim in religion.



KEY QUESTIONS

Why was the policy of Russification followed under Alexander III?

How effective was Alexander III in dealing with nationalist opposition?

To what extent were the freedoms of nationalities restricted under Alexander III?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

The Jewish Population

It was the Jews, however, who suffered most under Alexander III as he fully embraced anti-Semitism. A famous comment on a law restricting Jewish entry to university reveals his attitude, “Let us never forget that it was the Jews who crucified Jesus”. Alexander III sought to diminish Jewish communities' economic, political, and social rights. **The May Laws of 1882** encouraged anti-Semitism, banned Jews from specific areas, and stopped them from getting certain jobs.

Organised attacks on Jews greatly increased during the reign of Alexander III. These attacks – known as pogroms – would involve a mob going into Jewish parts of town to beat, rob, rape and even kill Jews. Under Alexander III, many of these attacks were organised or approved by the government. Such was the intensity of persecution in the early 1890s that thousands of Jews fled Russia for new lives in North America and western Europe.

KEY DEFINITIONS

Steppe Statute

Russification

May Laws

Pogroms

RUSSIFICATION

THEMATIC AREA: ETHNICITIES, NATIONALITIES, EMPIRE

Central Asia

Alexander III followed the long-standing tradition of gradually increasing Russia's influence in **Central Asia**. He managed to increase Russian power in the region without prompting conflict with Great Britain. Much of the Central Asian territory had been taken into Russia control by the 1880s through the use of force. The main motives for expansion and control were uniform throughout the period:

1. Central Asia was to provide living and working space for large numbers of peasants from European Russia.
2. The region was developed for cotton cultivation to serve the raw material needs of the textile factories in European Russia
3. The Central Asian territories bordered Afghanistan, India and China, creating the prospect of further expansion and influence in these areas.

Central Asia largely avoided Russification – the tsars seemed to think that, given the complexity of societies there and the difficulties with communication and transport, Russification was no achievable or desirable. However other methods had to be carried out if Russian leaders were to achieve their goals. In 1891 **Alexander III passed the Steppe Statute** which granted **40 acres of land to peasant settlers** in the Kazak region – enough to establish a successful farm unit (although it was of no use to the native nomadic peoples). This made the land the property of the state.

Your Ten Questions:

1. What policy was followed under Alexander III in regards to the Empire?
2. When was the policy introduced?
3. When was Russian made the official language of the Empire?
4. Give an example of two areas affected by Russification
5. What were the May Laws of 1882?
6. Where did members of the Jewish population flee to to avoid persecution?
7. Why did Alexander III pursue a policy of expansion in Central Asia?
8. What was the Steppe Statute?
9. When was the Steppe Statute passed?
10. Why was Russification not enforced in Central Asia?

EXAM QUESTIONS

To what extent did Russian leaders treat national minorities in the same way in the period from 1855-1964? [25 marks]

Of all of the national minority groups in Russia, it was the Polish that posed the greatest threat to the stability of central government in the period from 1855-1964. How far do you agree

STRETCH

How did the policy of Russification change and develop under Alexander III?

How did the policy differ across various areas within the Empire?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

ECONOMY: IVAN VYSHNEGRADSKY

THEMATIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

Ivan Vyshnegradsky was appointed **finance minister in 1887** and strove to improve Russia's finances and build up the country's gold reserves. To achieve this, he increased indirect taxes and mounted a drive to swell grain exports. He also reduced imports by increasing tariffs, and in the **Tariff Act of 1891** duties were increased so that Russian iron, industrial machinery and raw cotton were heavily protected against outside competition. By 1891 import duties had reached 33%. He also negotiated some **valuable loans** to kick-start growth, for example, from the French in 1888. On the surface, the policy appeared very successful. Between 1881 and 1891, grain exports increased by 18%, as a percentage of total Russian exports, and by 1892, the Russian budget was in a surplus



However, this remarkable export drive was achieved at the expense of the peasants. They bore the brunt of heavy indirect taxation which reduced their limited purchasing power. At the same time, the price of goods rose because of the import taxes and their grain was being requisitioned by the government to sell abroad. Many peasants were left with no reserve stores and were often left hungry. It was put about that Vyshnegradsky said, "**We ourselves shall not eat, but we shall export**", and one of the results of this policy was witnessed in 1891 when a bad harvest brought widespread famine.

The **1891-2 famine** affected **17 of Russia's 39 provinces**. There had been an early winter and long hot dry summer which ruined the crops. A population weakened by hunger became susceptible to disease, so that when food began growing again, cholera and typhoid still continued to kill more. This was a double tragedy as the able-bodied workers who succumbed to disease left families destitute with no bread winner to provide for them. Over **350,000 died from starvation** or disease. The government failed to organise adequate relief and it was left to volunteer groups to help the stricken peasants.

Vyshnegradsky was dismissed in 1892, largely because of this national disaster which had been exacerbated by his own policy.

Development of the railways

In the 1880s, the state began to buy up private railway companies and the construction of new long-distance state railways began. **By 1905, Russia had 59,616 kilometres of railways**, which, although still small in comparison with the size of the country, nevertheless indicates that a major engineering feat had been accomplished. This had many implications:

KEY QUESTIONS

What was the impact of Vyshnegradsky's policies on:

- a) Living and working conditions
- b) Agriculture
- c) Industry
- d) Infrastructure

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Ivan Vyshnegradsky

KEY DEFINITIONS

Tariff Act

Famine

Trans-Siberian
Railway

ECONOMY: IVAN VYSHNEGRADSKY

THEMATIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

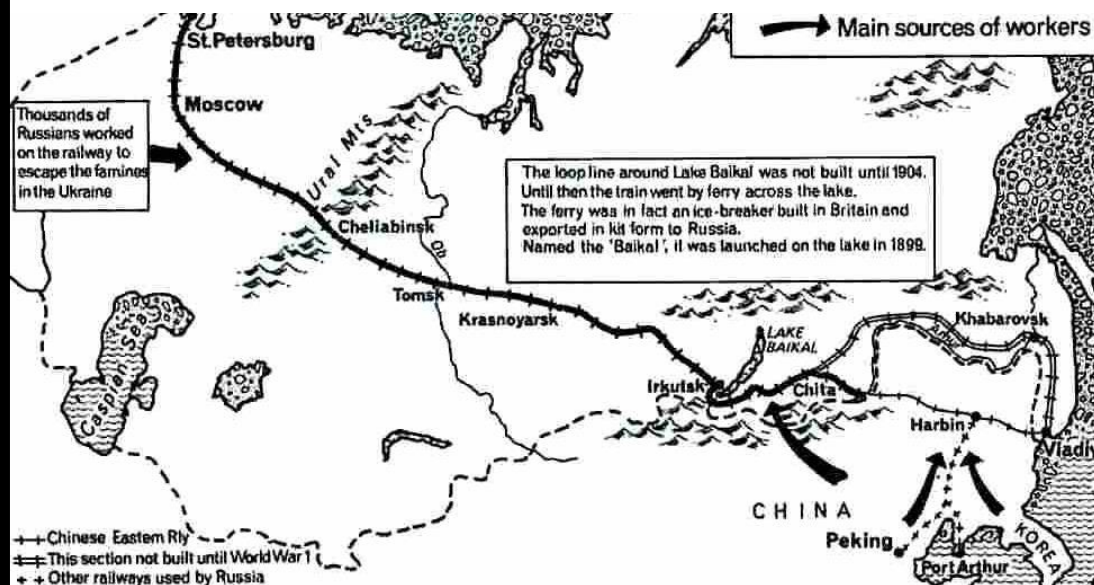
The railways helped open up the Russian interior and allowed greater exploitation of Russia's raw materials. For example:

→ The rail link between the Donbas coalfields and iron ore deposits in the Ukraine was hugely successful.

→ **The Batum-Baku railway line of 1883** linking the Baku oilfields to the Black and Caspian Seas greatly increased the opportunities for exportation.

The most acclaimed development was the impressive construction of the Trans-Siberian railway line, which crossed Russia from west to east. Its building provided a huge industrial stimulus whilst the psychological boost it provided, both at home and abroad, was perhaps even greater.

The **Trans-Siberian Railway began in 1891**, and was completed in 1902, although sections were still incomplete in 1914. It linked central European Russia with the Pacific Ocean at Vladivostok via the Chinese Eastern railway in Manchuria, and ran for **7,000 kilometres**. It brought massive economic benefits, in part through its construction, with massive government orders for coal and metals. There were also economic and strategic advantages to the development of western Siberia. The eastern regions became like America's Wild West as peasants were encouraged to emigrate there, away from the overpopulated areas of western Russia. Siberia had no tradition of serfdom, and the distance from the capital meant that there were fewer restrictions on life. In this respect it was an attractive option for peasants who were happy to take the challenge. Farming in the region increased, supplying the towns and cities of the West, and also foreign countries. Strategically, the railway could be used to transport troops and other military supplies to the more lawless or vulnerable outlying parts of the empire. But it promised more than it delivered.



Your Ten Questions:

1. What was Vyshnegradsky's role within Russia?
2. When was the Tariff Act introduced?
3. By what % did grain exports increase by 1891?
4. How many provinces were affected by famine in 1891?
5. How many died from starvation or disease due to famine?
6. How many kilometres of railway did Russia have by 1905?
7. What was the significance of the Batum-Baku railway line?
8. When did the construction of the Trans-Siberian railway line begin?
9. Where the line begin and end?
10. How many kilometres did the Trans-Siberian railway consist of?

EXAM QUESTIONS

The economic policies of Vyshnegradsky had the greatest impact on the lives of ordinary Russian people in the years 1855-1964. How far do you agree?

STRETCH

How far did Vyshnegradsky's policies address Russian backwardness?

How far did Vyshnegradsky's policies CHANGE the lives of Russian people?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

ECONOMY: SERGEI WITTE

THEMATIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

Coal, oil and iron production all rose, and by 1903 much of the Trans-Siberian railway had been completed, helping the development of Russian influence in the Far East. Witte had put Russia on the **Gold Standard in 1897** and created a new rouble in order to increase confidence in the Russia economy. Foreign capitalists saw an opportunity to make money in Russia and foreign investment increased considerably. Much of this investment went into the mining and metal trades, while a substantial amount supported the oil industry, for example with the growth of the Baku Oil-fields, and banking. France, proved the biggest investor supplying a third of all the foreign capital, but Britain provided 23%, Germany 20%, Belgium 14% and the USA 5% too.



The development of heavy industry

In the early stages of industrial growth to the 1880s, the lighter industries, particularly textiles, had led the way. By the time that Witte came to power, the total industrial output of the textiles trade was one and a half times greater than that of coal mining, oil, minerals, and the metal trades put together. Witte believed that, by concentrating production in key areas and by developing large factory units of over 1,000 or so workers, big increases in heavy goods production could be achieved. Although textiles still dominated, **accounting for 40% of the total industrial output** in 1910, there was still some impressive growth in heavy industry.

Year	No. of Factories	No. of Factory Workers
1887	30,888	1.3 mill
1908	39,856	2.6 mill

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Coal	3.2	5.9	16.1	25.4
Pig-iron	0.42	0.89	2.66	3.0
Crude Oil	0.5	3.9	10.2	12.1
Production units (millions of metric tonnes)				

National Income

Russia’s rate of annual growth, **at more than 8% per annum 1894-1904**, was the highest of any industrial country in the last decade of the nineteenth century, although it had begun from a very low base compared with other countries. Russia moved up the league table of industrialised nations from 1887-97, to become the world’s fourth largest industrial economy.

KEY QUESTIONS

What was the impact of Witte’s policies on:

- a) Living and working conditions
- b) Agriculture
- c) Industry
- d) Infrastructure

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Sergei Witte

KEY DEFINITIONS

Baku Oil Fields

Industrial Output

Pig-Iron

Annual Growth

This growth helped bolster an increase in Russian exports and foreign trade. Both imports and exports grew in quantity and value. Russia traded mainly with Germany, closely followed by Britain, and also with the Netherlands, China and the USA, but the bulk of the export trade was in grain rather than industrial goods and even here, the increase in grain export fell short of Witte’s predictions.

However, all this relentless drive for industrial expansion came at an economic as well as a social cost. The building of the Trans-Siberian railway, for example, proved a huge drain on finances. Indeed, under Witte, the state budget more than doubled, eating into the profits of the country’s economic growth. Other economic downsides included the country’s dependence on foreign loans, which had to be paid back with interest, the neglect of domestic and lighter industry in the drive for heavy goods and the neglect of agricultural modernisation, driven by the assumption that peasants could simply be forced into producing more.

Country	Increase in National Income %, 1894-1913
Austria-Hungary	79%
Britain	70%
Germany	58%
France	52%
European Russia	50%

Your Ten Questions:

1. When did Witte become Minister of Finance?
2. When did Witte place Russia on the Gold Standard?
3. What % of total industrial output did textiles account for?
4. What was Russia’s rate of annual growth between 1894 and 1904?
5. What were the limitations of the Trans-Siberian railway?
6. What happened to the state budget under Witte?
7. What was the Russian economy increasingly dependent upon?
8. What was Russia’s increase in National Income between 1894 and 1913?
9. What did the number of factory workers increase to by 1908?
10. What position did Russia hold on the league table of industrialised nations?

EXAM QUESTIONS

“There was little change to the living and working conditions of urban and rural people in Russia in the period 1855 to 1964”. How far do you agree?

STRETCH

How far did Witte’s policies address Russian backwardness?

How far did Witte’s policies CHANGE the lives of Russian people?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

LIVING AND WORKING CONDITIONS

THEMATIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY



The problems of the rural economy

Whilst much attention was given by Vyshnegradsky and Witte to the development of an industrial economy, the same was not true of agriculture. Although the **rural economy provided a livelihood for 80-90 per cent** of the Russian population, it was largely ignored or sacrificed in the interests of industrialisation until 1906. Most farming was small scale and in the hands of former serfs and state peasants, tied to their local mir by

the redemption dues they were re-paying. In the years of good harvest, the peasants' income remained low because bread prices were kept down – whilst in the bad years, they faced starvation, as occurred in **1891-92 and again in 1898 and 1901**.

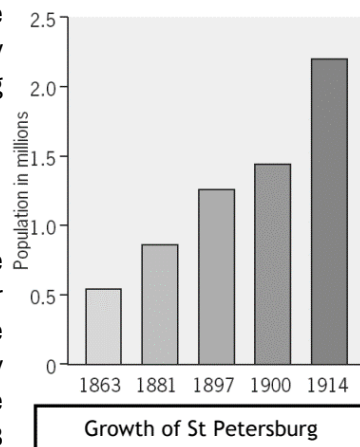
Quite apart from the ignorance and the suspicion in which some western farming practices were held, **until 1905 agricultural output was hampered by the system of the mir**, in which farmers were bound to work together. The wooden plough was still widely used and medieval rotation systems, which wastefully left land fallow each year, were practised.

The gap between richest and poorest sections of the peasantry became wider as the wealthier peasant entrepreneurs or kulaks took advantage of the position of the less favoured. The government introduced a new scheme – **the Peasant Land Bank** to allow the kulaks to purchase and develop larger farms. However, they often exploited poorer peasants by buying their land for low amounts. The kulaks had become a small “capitalist peasant” class – employing labour and perhaps acting as “pawn brokers”.

In contrast to the upward mobility of the kulaks, the poorer peasants found life getting harsher. Increasing numbers were forced to leave their farms and join the bands of migrant labourers looking either for seasonal farming work or industrial employment. A minority migrated to Siberia, encouraged by government schemes from 1896 to sponsor emigration to the new agricultural settlements opened up by the Trans-Siberian railway. However, only three quarters of a million, from a peasant population of nearly **97 million**, were able to take advantage of this and the scheme was clearly inadequate to alleviate the pressure of a growing population on resources.

Impact of Industrialisation: Working Class

In Russia's major cities, the arrival of new large factories, in addition to the growing number of smaller workshops, swelled the urban population. There were probably around **2 million factory workers** in Russia by 1900; **6 million by 1913**. Between 1867 and 1917, the Empire's urban population quadrupled from 7 to 28



KEY QUESTIONS

How can we characterise the living and working conditions of the urban and rural populations under Alexander III?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Vyshnegradsky

Witte

KEY DEFINITIONS

Peasant Land Bank

Mir

LIVING AND WORKING CONDITIONS

THEMATIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

million and this meant that the lives of many former peasant families underwent a major transformation. They left behind the fields of their fathers and grandfathers and exchanged old masters for new ones.

In the 1880s and 1890s, it was still relatively common for some workers to move to the towns temporarily, retaining their land and returning to their villages to help out with the harvest. **By 1914, three out of every four people living in St Petersburg were peasants by birth.** What is more, half the city's population had arrived in the previous 20 years.

The facilities needed to provide for this growing urban class were grossly inadequate. Peasants, often found themselves living in barrack-like buildings, rapidly built, or bought by the factory owners, and dangerously overcrowded and lacking in adequate sanitation. For the owner, the barracks was an effective means of retaining and monitoring his workers, but for the "inmates" with little privacy save a rough curtain around their plank bed, they must have seemed like a prison. Workers housed this way had to eat in canteens and wash in communal bath-houses. Even those who managed to find "private" city accommodation fared little better.

In St Petersburg at the turn of the century, for example, about 40% of houses had no running water or sewerage system. Excrement was simply set in piles in the backyards and collected by workers with wooden carts at night. It is hardly surprising **that 30,000 of the capital's inhabitants died of cholera in 1908-09.**

Yet the demand for work and accommodation was such that rents remained high, often taking half a worker's wages. A survey of printers in Saratov in 1900 revealed that food and rent represented three-quarters of the household budget, while clothes, laundry and baths accounted for the rest. A similar survey of St Petersburg in 1904 showed **16 people in the average apartment, six in each room** – and even more in the workers' districts. Still, a bed was something. At the bottom of the pile were those who simply lay down in the factory alongside their machines, or lived rough on the streets. Workers wages varied tremendously, of course, according to whether they were skilled or unskilled, the occupation followed and the amount of overtime put in, or conversely, the amount deducted in fines. **Women, who compromised a fifth of the industrial workforce in 1885,** but a third by 1914, were amongst the lowest paid, earning less than half the average industrial wage

Your Ten Questions:

1. What % of Russia did the rural economy provide a livelihood for?
2. When did the population face starvation?
3. Define the Peasant Land Bank.
4. What was the total peasant population?
5. How many peasants were able to take advantage of migration schemes?
6. How many factory workers were there by 1913?
7. What did the Empire's urban population increase to?
8. What fraction of people living in St Petersburg were peasants by birth?
9. How many of St. Petersburg's inhabitants died of cholera between 1908-09?
10. How many people on average shared an apartment?

EXAM QUESTIONS

The living and working conditions of the urban and rural populations experienced the least change under the Tsars as opposed to the Communists. How far do you agree?

STRETCH

To what extent had the economic policies of Alexander III **CHANGED** the lives of Russian people?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

FOR EACH KEY THEME NOTE DOWN ANY RELEVANT EVIDENCE

NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

WAR AND REVOLUTION

ETHNIC MINORITIES, ETHNICITIES, NATIONALITIES, EMPIRE AND SATELLITE STATES

OPPOSITION

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

Following the sudden death of his father, Nicholas, at the age of 20, found himself ruler of Russia. At the start of his tenure, Nicholas II had to immediately deal with the growing opposition that had developed throughout his father’s reign. Due to an increase in industrialisation and urbanisation, the traditional Marxist opposition had developed, leading to the creation of a new group called the Social Democratic Party, which subsequently spilt into two parts; the Bolsheviks, and the Mensheviks.



The Split of the Social Democrats

Viewpoints	Bolsheviks	Mensheviks
Revolution	Adapt Marxist theory – merge bourgeois and proletarian revolutions together	Follow Marxist theory – bourgeois revolution before proletarian revolution
Role of Party	Educate workers and lead them to revolution	Wait until the workers expressed desire for revolution
Decision Making in Party	Central Committee	Democratic Practices
Membership of the Party	Restricted – small party of professional revolutionaries	Mass membership, open to all via trade unions

A new opposition group - the Social Revolutionaries, formed in 1901. This group followed the Populist tradition of focusing on the peasantry as a potential revolutionary class. They encouraged the peasants to rebel against controlling influences in the countryside. Throughout 1903-4 peasants across Russia began to set fires to the property and land of many of their former landowners. These fires became known as the “Red Cockerel”.

KEY QUESTIONS

What were the similarities and differences between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks?

Why did the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks pose a threat to the Tsarist regime?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Karl Marx

KEY DEFINITIONS

Bolsheviks

Mensheviks

Social Democrats

Red Cockerel

Proletarian

RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

THEMATIC AREA: WAR AND REVOLUTION

Whereas previously the Russian government had been concerned about the future of the weak Ottoman Empire, by the late 19th century, its attention had shifted eastwards to China. Japan had defeated China in the war of 1894-5 and in victory took the important port of Port Arthur in Manchuria. The Russians wanted this port. It was a warm water port and offered the potential of all year round trading links, unlike Russia's northern ports which froze in the winter. Russia and the other Great Powers were worried that Japan might expand further and threaten their own economic interests in the east. Using skilful diplomacy, the Great Powers were able to persuade Japan to return **Port Arthur** to China.

However, the Russian's cleverly used the fact that they had helped China pay off its war debts to force the Chinese to agree to the building of the Chinese Eastern Railway across Manchuria (thus extending Russian influence in the region). They also were able to negotiate a 25 year lease of Port Arthur from China, and turned it into a naval base. Japan began to feel threatened by what was perceived as the Russian's attempts to gain influence in the Japanese sphere of influence. Negotiations between the Russians and Japanese failed to ease the on-going conflict and Japan launched a strike on Port Arthur in January 1904 without warning or an official declaration of war.

The Tsar, encouraged by his ministers, was determined to fight back. **Von Plehve**, his Minister of the Interior even claimed, "a short, shift, victorious war will stem the tide of revolution". However, there was one voice who spoke out against the conflict – **Sergei Witte**. He was ignored as Nicholas regarded himself as an expert on the area, since in 1890 his father had sent him on a grand tour to broaden his political education. This tour had included both Japan and Indo-China and it is said that an incident in Japan, when a mentally deranged terrorist had tried to assassinate him, had left him with a long-lasting hatred and inferior racist belief against the Japanese.

Russian tactics were largely defensive and the Russian forces endured a long siege at Port Arthur. Attempts to break the siege failed and Port Arthur fell on 2nd January 1905. Many defeats followed and the Russians really had very little idea of their enemy, of the inadequacies of their own forces. **Running a war 6,000 miles** from the capital was far from easy. Troops had to be sent on a six-day journey across Russia from the west, and the Trans-Siberian railway was only single-track. Obviously this placed the Russians at an immediate disadvantage compared with the Japanese short lines of supply. The organisation was chaotic. Ammunition was in short supply and one officer, having waited for some weeks for reserves of ammunition was disheartened to find the expected train had arrived filled not with munitions but with icons (religious symbols) for the soldiers. A long siege of Port Arthur, plus a series of defeats, turned the initial surge of patriotism into an attitude of hostility and opposition to the government. For Russia the disastrous course of the war had seriously aggravated unrest inside the country, and the surrender of Port Arthur led

Nicholas to turn to negotiations. In the resulting **Treaty of Portsmouth**, Japan gained control of the Liaodong Peninsula (and Port Arthur). The Treaty of Portsmouth effectively ended Russia's expansionist East Asian policy. Furthermore, the humiliating defeat at the hands of an Asian power that had until so recently been preindustrial and isolationist added to the national anger and disgust.



KEY QUESTIONS

What were the causes of the Russo-Japanese War?

What were the key events of the Russo-Japanese War?

What was the outcome of the Russo-Japanese War?

What were the economic, political and social consequences of the Russo-Japanese War?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Von Plehve

Sergei Witte

KEY DEFINITIONS

Port Arthur

Trans-Siberian Railway

Treaty of Portsmouth

BLOODY SUNDAY

THEMATIC AREA: WAR AND REVOLUTION



“**Bloody Sunday**” is an epithet given to several violent incidents and confrontations in history. In Russia, it refers to the shooting of unarmed civilians by tsarist soldiers in St Petersburg in January 1905. This caused the deaths of many people and triggered the outbreak of the 1905 Revolution.

The January 1905 incident began as a relatively peaceful protest by **disgruntled steel workers in St Petersburg**. Angered by poor working conditions, an economic slump and the ongoing war with Japan, thousands marched on the Winter Palace to plead with Tsar Nicholas II for reform. The tsar was not present, however, and the workers were instead gunned down on the streets by panicky soldiers.

At another time in Russian history, the mass killing of dissident civilians might have frightened the rest of the population into silent obedience – but the authority of the tsarist regime had been diminishing for months. Popular respect and affection for the tsar, already in decline beforehand, took a sudden turn for the worse. ‘Bloody Sunday’ triggered a wave of general strikes, peasant unrest, organised terrorism and political mobilisation that **became known as the 1905 Revolution**.

Treatment of industrial workers

By the start of the 20th century, Russia’s three million industrial workers were one of the lowest paid workforces in Europe. Low wage costs in Russia were one of the lures that attracted significant investment from countries like Britain and France. Russia’s industrial workers also laboured under appalling conditions. The average working day **was 10.5 hours, six days a week, but 15-hour days** were not unknown. There were no annual holidays, sick leave or superannuation. Workplace hygiene and safety were poor. Illness, accidents and injuries were common-place and with no leave or compensation available, sick or injured workers were summarily dismissed.

When not in factories or mines, most Russian industrial workers endured poor living conditions. Thousands of workers lived in crowded tenements or ramshackle barracks sheds owned by their employers. This accommodation was poorly constructed, overcrowded and lacked adequate heating, water or sewage facilities. This raft of grievances, along with the concentration of tens of thousands of workers in the cities, made them susceptible to revolutionary ideas. Marxist groups, who identified the industrial proletariat as the logical source of revolution.

Several of these sections were led by **Georgy Gapon**, a Ukrainian-born priest who had previously received support from the Okhrana (tsarist secret police). Gapon was an articulate and convincing public speaker and a skilled activist – but he was no obedient tool of the government. Working closely with impoverished and suffering workers, his loyalties eventually shifted to them. At the beginning of January 1905, Gapon drafted a petition to the tsar, seeking an improvement to working conditions – but it also called for several political reforms. More than **150,000 workers signed the petition**.

KEY QUESTIONS

What were the causes of the 1905 revolution?

What was the significance of Bloody Sunday?

Why did the revolution threaten the Tsarist regime?

To what extent did Nicholas II deal with opposition effectively?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Gregory Gapon

Peter Struve

KEY DEFINITIONS

Bloody Sunday

Okhrana

BLOODY SUNDAY

THEMATIC AREA: WAR AND REVOLUTION

EXAM QUESTIONS

"Sire – We, working men and inhabitants of St Petersburg, our wives and our children and our helpless old parents, come to You, Sire, to seek for truth, justice and protection. We have been made beggars, we are oppressed; we are near to death.....The moment has come for us when death would be better than the prolongation of our intolerable sufferings...We ask but little: to reduce the working day to eight hours, to provide a minimum wage of a rouble a day... Officials have brought the country to complete ruin and involved it in a shameful war. We working men have no voice in the way the enormous amounts raised from us in taxes are spent..... We are seeking here our last salvation. Do not refuse to help Your people. Destroy the wall between Yourself and Your people."

On Sunday January 9th, thousands of workers marched towards **the Winter Palace** in six columns, intending to present their petition to the tsar. Unbeknownst to the workers, Nicholas II was at his palace in Tsarskoye Selo, some 25 miles south of the capital. As several thousand workers approached the Winter Palace, officers called out the palace's security garrison to guard its entry points. As the workers approached, the soldiers opened fire on the crowd. It is not known whether an order was given, whether soldiers fired spontaneously or if they were reacting to aggression.

The number of victims is also unclear. Government sources declared that **96 were killed, eyewitnesses suggested in excess of 200**, while reports and propaganda from revolutionary groups claimed even higher figures. The events of 'Bloody Sunday' reverberated around the world. In the newspapers of London, Paris and New York, Nicholas II was condemned as a murderous tyrant. Within Russia, the response was also strong. Once the empire's 'Holy Father', the tsar was given the epithet 'Bloody Nicholas'. Marxist leader **Peter Struve** dubbed him the 'People's Executioner'. An infuriated Gapon, who escaped the violence of January 9th, declared that "There is no God any longer. There is no tsar!" The day after the Bloody Sunday killings, **around 150,000 in the capital showed their disgust** by refusing to work. Over the coming days, the strikes expanded around St Petersburg and other cities in the empire, including Moscow, Odessa, Warsaw and the Baltic states. Later, these actions became more coordinated and were accompanied by demands for political reform. **Over the course of 1905, tsarism would face the most dire challenge in its 300-year-old history.**

Your Ten Questions:

1. When was Bloody Sunday?
2. What type of opposition was demonstrated during Bloody Sunday?
3. How many were killed during Bloody Sunday?
4. What was the significance of Gregory Gapon's actions?
5. How many workers signed Gapon's petition?
6. What did the petition state?
7. How did the people respond to Bloody Sunday?
8. What was the perception of Nicholas II following Bloody Sunday?
9. Where was Nicholas II during Bloody Sunday?
10. What did Bloody Sunday lead to?

The 1905 revolution posed the greatest threat to Russian leaders more than any other event. How far do you agree?

STRETCH

What was the significance of Bloody Sunday?

Why did 'tsarism face the most dire challenge in its 300 year old history?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

1905 REVOLUTION

THEMATIC AREA: WAR AND REVOLUTION

Social Causes

In 1895 Nicholas II met a delegation of representatives of the zemstva. They had hopes that the new Tsar would be prepared to extend their power further and allow them to develop a national zemstva organisation. Nicholas responded by shattering their hopes, claiming they were “senseless dreams”. Russia was to remain an autocracy.

Living conditions in Urban Areas

After a decade of strong economic growth, Russian industry was hit with a slump in 1902. A drop in trade led to the collapse of many businesses and a rise in unemployment. Demonstrations and strikes broke out in many cities. The government responded with force. However, the protests continued throughout 1903 and 1904.

A new opposition group - **the Social Revolutionaries**, formed in 1901. This group followed the Populist tradition of focusing on the peasantry as a potential revolutionary class. They encouraged the peasants to rebel against controlling influences in the countryside. Throughout 1903-4 peasants across Russia began to set fires to the property and land of many of their former landowners. **These fires became known as the “Red Cockerel”.**

Timeline of Revolutionary Course

By the end of January, there were more **than 400,000 workers** out on strike in St Petersburg – where workers such as those of the Putilov Engineering Works came out. The 1905 Revolution was under way. For the rest of the year, the government had little control of events as strikes, demonstrations, petitions, peasant uprisings, student riots and assassinations became commonplace. The Tsar was “at war” with his own people.

In February, the strikes spread to other cities. Workers demanded an eight-hour day, higher wages and better conditions. **On 4 February, the Tsar’s uncle, the Grand Duke Sergei, was assassinated in Moscow.**

In March and May, shameful defeats of the Russia army and navy in the war with Japan led to demands for a change of government. **In June sailors of the battleship Potemkin mutinied.** This was very worrying for the government as other sections of the armed forces might also mutiny.

By May and June, different groups were demanding changes. Middle-class liberals demanded an elected parliament, freedom of speech and the right to form political parties. National groups like the Poles and Finns, demanded their independence. The Jews wanted equal civil rights.



KEY QUESTIONS

What were the causes of the 1905 revolution?

What was the most important cause of the 1905 revolution?

What was the outcome of the 1905 revolution?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Grand Duke Sergei

KEY DEFINITIONS

Social Revolutionaries

Red Cockerel

October Manifesto

Potemkin

SOCIAL CAUSES

THEMATIC AREA: WAR AND REVOLUTION

In the countryside in June and July, peasant riots became widespread. Land was seized and landowners' houses were looted and burned.

In **September**, a **peace treaty** was signed between the **Russians** and the **Japanese**. Thousands of troops were now free to help put down the unrest in European Russia. The government paid them all their back pay and promised better conditions of service so that they would remain loyal to the Tsar. Pro-Tsarist group the "**Black Hundreds**" are used to hunt out radicals.

In October, a general strike spread from Moscow to other cities. All opposition groups – workers, students, teachers, doctors, revolutionaries – were united in demanding changes. Barricades were set up in the streets. On 26 October, the St Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies was formed. Representatives from factories met to co-ordinate strike action. Soviets were formed in other cities. This was a great threat to the Tsar's government.

The Tsar had the choice of giving in or using force, with the likelihood of massive bloodshed. He gave in and issued the **October Manifesto on 30 October**. This promised:

- a parliament or Duma elected by the people
- civil rights – e.g. freedom of speech and conscience
- uncensored newspapers and the right to form political parties.

The liberals and middle classes believed they had won democratic government. They stopped their protests and supported the government. By December, with all the troops back in Russia, the Tsar felt strong enough to take back control. He used force to close down the St Petersburg Soviet and crush an armed uprising in Moscow. He sent out troops to take revenge on workers and peasants who had rioted and bring them under control.

Your Ten Questions:

1. When did the Social Revolutionaries form?
2. Define Red Cockerel.
3. Give one social cause of the 1905 revolution.
4. How many workers went on strike by the end of January?
5. Which individual was assassinated?
6. Which battleship sailors mutinied?
7. How did the revolutionary sentiment spread across the empire?
8. When was a peace treaty agreed between the Russian and Japanese?
9. What were the promises within the October Manifesto?
10. Define Black Hundreds

EXAM QUESTIONS

War was the most important event in changing Russian government between 1855-1964. How far do you agree? [25 marks]

STRETCH

To what extent was Nicholas II effective in dealing with opposition?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

REVOLUTIONARIES

THEMATIC AREA: WAR AND REVOLUTION

The outbreak in revolution in 1905 was largely a spontaneous event – i.e. it was not engineered by the leaders of the revolutionary groups. The revolution took many of the revolutionaries by surprise and they quickly had to act in order to manipulate events to their overall aims.

Liberal Opposition

The liberals grew increasingly anxious as the events of 1905 unfolded. Whilst they were in favour of constitutional change, they were concerned that the initiative was slipping from their hands. Their initial response to the events of January was to pressurise the government once more for a National Assembly as a solution to Russia's problems. A meeting of zemstva liberals in Moscow on March 19th urged Nicholas to act swiftly to bring an end to the escalating revolutionary disturbances and a series of congresses followed throughout the year repeating a similar plea. Liberal plans for reform were also discussed in innumerable meetings in the universities which became centres for moderate reformist thinking. Groups of moderate liberal professionals, including teachers, engineers, doctors, lawyers and others also formed "unions" of their own which were rather more extreme in their demands than the zemstva liberals. These came together in the creation of a "Union of Unions" (May 8th/9th) led by the liberal politician Pavel Milyukov. They wanted full civil and political rights, universal suffrage and nationwide elections to an assembly with full legislative powers.

Social Democrats

The Social Democrats were taken even more by surprise. Both Lenin and Trotsky were abroad at the beginning of 1905 and although Trotsky secretly returned in February, Lenin missed all the action, only returning in November. The party split had made it harder to co-ordinate activities and although both Bolsheviks and Mensheviks were active in encouraging strike activity and the formation of workers' councils, they lacked direction from the top. Trotsky found his way back as quickly as possible and he tried to push both the Bolshevik Central Committee and

KEY QUESTIONS

Which posed the greatest threat to Nicholas II?

- a) Radical opposition
- b) Liberal Opposition
- c) Nationalist Opposition
- d) Peasant Opposition
- e) Worker Opposition

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Pavel Milyukov

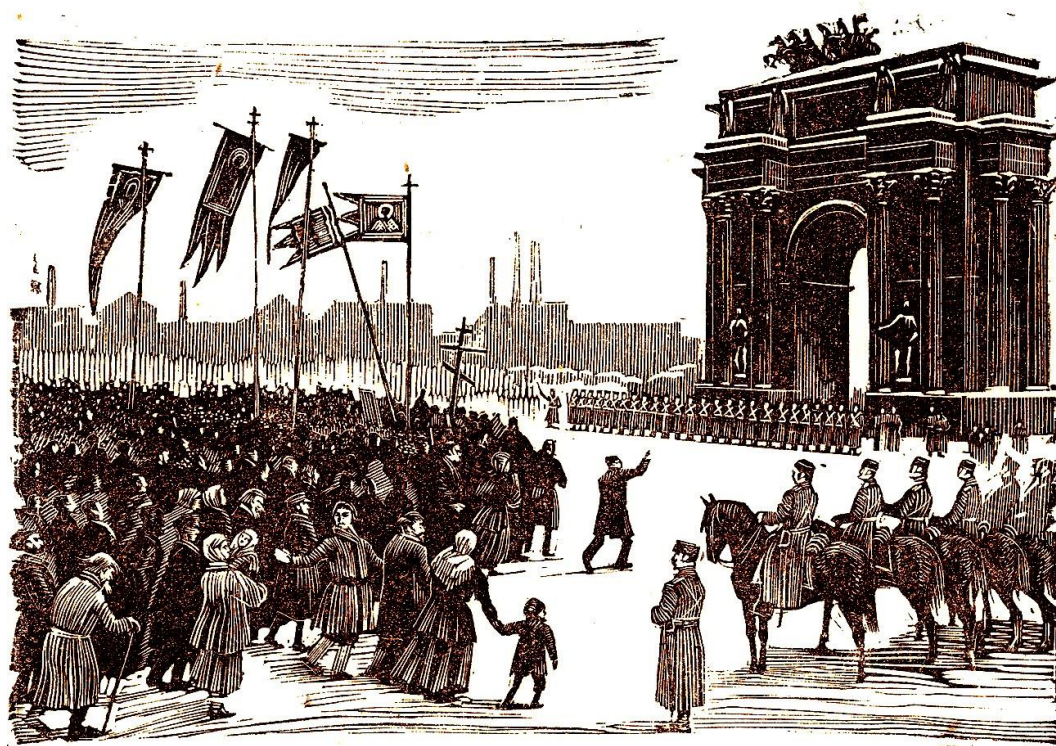
Lenin

KEY DEFINITIONS

Bolshevik

Social Democrats

Union of Unions



REVOLUTIONARIES

THEMATIC AREA: WAR AND REVOLUTION

Menshevik organisations in a more radical direction. He was forced to flee again, to Finland, in May but returned in October to work on the revolutionary newspaper, the Russian Gazette, increasing its circulation to 500,000 and to chair the St Petersburg Soviet, an elected non-party revolutionary organisation representing the capital's workers, dominated by the Mensheviks. The St.Petersburg Soviet played a key role in supporting the striking workers in their general strike in September-October. It was made up of 400-500 members, elected by around 200,000 workers, representing five trade unions and 96 factories around the city.

Social Revolutionaries

As might have been expected, the Social Revolutionaries seized the opportunity afforded by the disturbances of 1905 to perpetrate a further political assassination. On February 4th, the Grand Duke Sergei, the Tsar's uncle and commander of the Moscow military region, was blown up by a Socialist Revolutionary bomb and then on July 11th it was the turn of Shuvalov, the military governor of Moscow. They also encouraged the activities of the peasantry and were behind the attempt to create a council to organise and co-ordinate peasant action, leading the formation of the All-Russian Peasant Union in May.

Nationalists

The revolutionary activities of 1905 were especially pronounced in the non-Russian areas of the Empire as nationalist groups with both economic and political grievances seized the opportunity to advance their own position. Such nationalist protest often attracted people of all classes and professions in demonstrations against the demands of the tsarist state. For example, a general strike in Odessa in the Ukraine in June brought people from a wide social background onto the streets. Nationalist feelings often ran high. There were demands for independence from the Poles, Finns, Latvians and other nationalist minority groups to which the tsarist government responded with force and repression. In June, troops were used against strikers in Lodz in Finland, in the Baltic states and in the Caucasus where inter-ethnic confrontations led to the Armenian-Tartar massacres, causing damage and disruption to the cities and Baku oilfields. In Russia Poland over 400,000 workers became involved in strikes, to the severe disruption of the economy.

EXAM QUESTIONS

Of all the Russian leaders, Nicholas II failed to deal with opposition effectively. How far do you agree?

STRETCH

How does Alexander II's approach to liberal/radical opposition compare to Nicholas II?

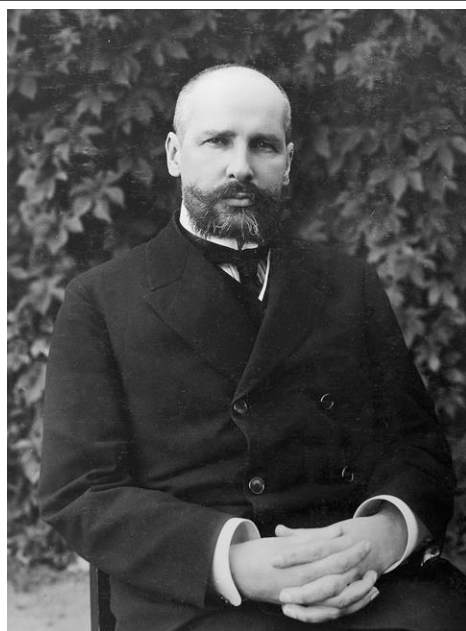
SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

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REPRESSION AND REFORM

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

**Repression**

In the aftermath of the 1905 Revolution, repression became associated with one man, Pyotr Stolypin. He had joined the Council of Ministers as Minister of the Interior in 1906 and quickly became its chairman – the equivalent to prime minister. Stolypin had the perfect background for the job of re-establishing political authority. Although the 1905 Revolution had been crushed, peasant unrest continued sporadically throughout 1906 and 1907.

In 1907, around 1200 government officials were murdered in terrorist attacks by revolutionaries. The attacks were launched by members of extremist groups such as the SRs.

But Stolypin met terror with terror. Using field court martials, 1144 death sentences were handed out in the period between October 1906 and May 1907. In fact, so great was the use of executions that the nooses used in hangings became known as “Stolypin’s neckties”.

Stolypin also attacked the bases of revolutionary activity. Between 1906 and 1912 a thousands newspapers ceased publication and six hundred trade unions were forced to close. During 1908 and 1909 Stolypin’s courts convicted 16,500 people of political crimes, of which 3600 were sentenced to death and 4500 to hard labour in prison camps. The impact of government action was impressive – in 1908 political assassinations by revolutionaries had fallen to 365. The restoration of law and order was one of Stolypin’s great achievements. But he was not simply a reactionary – he also embarked on a series of very important reforms.

Reform

Stolypin, like other members of the government, was aware that social and economic reform was necessary in order to prevent another revolution (and preserve Tsarism). In particular he wanted to modernise Russian agriculture, not just to produce higher yields, but also to create a more prosperous class of peasant who he believed would be more loyal to the tsarist regime.

From 1906 until his assassination in 1911, Stolypin embarked on a reform programme which transformed the Russian countryside. In September 1906, the amount of state and Crown land available for peasants to buy was increased and in October, peasants were granted equal rights in the local administration. In November 1906 peasants were given the right to leave the commune and the collective ownership of land by a family was abolished. This made the land the personal property of an individual (usually the eldest male) who was given the right to withdraw it from the commune and consolidate the scattered strips into one compact farm. Land organisation commissions were set up, containing representatives elected by the peasants, to supervise this procedure and a new Peasant Land Bank was also established to help peasants fund their land ownership. However these reforms did not actually become fully operational until approved by the Third Duma in 1910.

KEY QUESTIONS

What was the impact of Stolypin’s repressive and reforming policies?

Now that you have considered all of the Tsars – did the nature of government (repression) change at all between them?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Pyotr Stolypin

KEY DEFINITIONS

Duma

Peasant Land Bank

Stolypin’s neckties

REPRESSION AND REFORM

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

Redemption payments were officially abolished – as promised in 1905 – as from January 1st 1907, but in reality they had long since ceased to be paid in full. In June 1910 all communes which had not redistributed land since 1861 were dissolved. There was also an increase in government subsidies to encourage migration and settlement in Siberia. Between 1905 and 1915 Stolypin's encouragement of emigration also took 3.5 million peasants from over-populated rural districts of the south and west away to Siberia. This move turned the region into one of the Empire's major agricultural regions, particularly for dairy farming, eggs, butter and cereal production. In addition, agricultural production across Russia rose from 45.9 million tonnes in 1906 to 61.7 million tonnes in 1913.

Limitations

Perhaps the most important limitation of all was that Stolypin's reforms produced a growing class of alienated, poor and landless peasants. Whilst some peasants rose in rank and joined the Kulaks, once again, for every family that improved its status, there was another which descended into deeper hardship and either had to rent land, to be paid for in money or by their own labour, or was forced to join the wandering ranks of the landless, drifting to the cities to work in the factories.

It is impossible to know what the full outcome of Stolypin's programme would have been as it was cut short by the coming of war on 1914. As Russia entered the war, rural poverty was still widespread and considerable tensions remained.

EXAM QUESTIONS

The nature of government experienced little change under the rule of the Tsars compared to the rule of the Communists. How far do you agree?

STRETCH

How successful was repression/reform under Stolypin?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

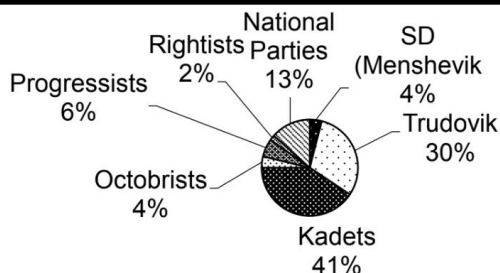
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THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

KEY QUESTIONS

Which of the four dumas was the most significant and why?

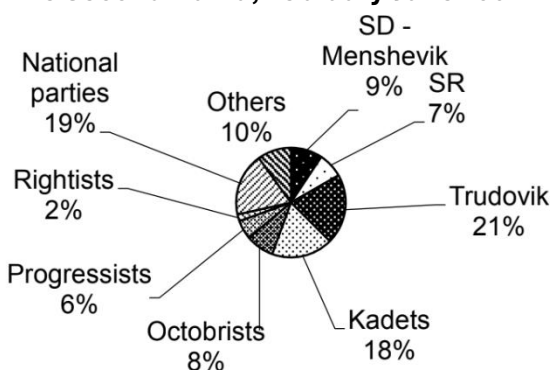
A national election campaign took place through the winter of 1905-06. The Bolsheviks and Social Revolutionaries refused to participate. This meant that the first state duma, optimistically referred to as the Duma of National Hopes was overwhelmingly liberal in composition. The won the largest number of seats of any group. The deputies were peasants. The deputies formed the Tsar and his ministers. They met at the 1st 1906.



However no sooner had the elections taken place than Sergei Witte, the architect of the October Manifesto and Russia's first ever Prime Minister resigned, under pressure from reactionary influences at Court. This was a blow to the hopes of the liberals who no doubt hoped that, under his guidance, a form of government would evolve whereby Ministers would take note of the Duma's views and work together with it in the formation of policies. Witte was replaced by Ivan Goremykin, an old-fashioned conservative.

From the outset, Nicholas found the first Duma too radical. Almost their first act was to pass an “Address to the throne” in which they requested many more reforms such as universal male suffrage, the abolition of the death penalty and a reform of the civil service. Nicholas ordered Goremykin to inform the Duma that their demands were “totally inadmissible”, whereupon the Duma passed a vote of no confidence in the government. However the resolution was simply ignored until, 10 weeks later, the Duma was dissolved.

Party	Percentage
Trudovik	21%
Kadets	18%
National parties	19%
Others	10%
SD - Menshevik	9%
SR	7%
Progressists	6%
Octobrists	8%
Rightists	2%



New Prime Minister, Pytor Stolypin tried to influence the elections to the next Duma, supporting the Octobrists, who more than doubled their representation. However, the more extreme left-wing representation in the Duma increased enormously because the Bolsheviks, Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries decided to participate. The Duma soon received the nickname, the “Duma of National Anger” because it was even

more oppositional than its predecessor. Neither the left nor the right wanted the Duma experiment to succeed and they succeeded in crippling it as a political force. Stolypin struggled to find any support for the agricultural reform programme he had drawn up and resorted to passing legislation under the emergency powers granted by Article 87, while the Duma was not in session. When the Duma refused to ratify this, he spread a story about a Social Democrat (SD) plot to assassinate the tsar and Stolypin dissolved the Duma. The SD delegates were immediately arrested and exiled and an emergency law brought in to alter the franchise. The weight of the peasants, workers and national minorities was drastically reduced and the representation of the gentry increased.

THEMATIC AREA: NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

2

Party	Percentage
Rightists	33%
Progressists	6%
National parties	6%
SD - Bolshevik	4%
Trudovik	3%
Kadets	12%
Octobrists	35%

KEY QUESTIONS

Which of the four dumas was the least significant and why?

Party	Percentage
Rightists	37%
Progressists	9%
Octobrists	22%
Kadets	12%
SD - Bolshevik	3%
Trudovik	2%
National parties	5%
Others	10%

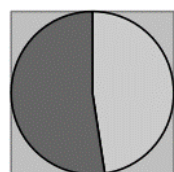
parliament". He simply ignored the Duma and its influence declined. It was too divided to fight back, and in any case, the workers again seized the initiative with a revival of direct action and strike activity in these years down to the outbreak of war. After the outbreak of war in 1914 the Duma became redundant although Kokovtsov was replaced by Goremykin as Prime Minister.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

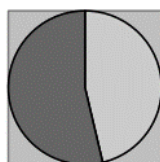
THEMATIC AREA: ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

KEY QUESTIONS

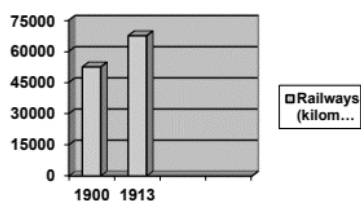
Create a table and identify the similarities/differences in living and working conditions under Alexander II, Alexander III and Nicholas II.



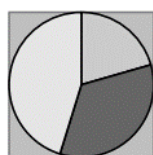
Number of factories



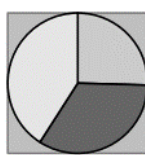
Number of workers



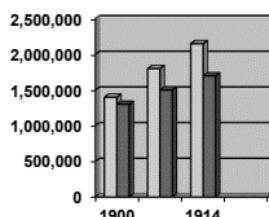
Railways (kilom...)



Coal production – millions of tonnes



Grain production – millions of tonnes



Population - millions

St Petersburg Moscow

A full assessment of the strength of the Russian economy in 1914 also needs to take its social costs into account. Stolypin promised that compulsory universal education would be established within 10 years from 1908, and, although this had not been achieved by 1914, spending on elementary schools rose from 1.8 per cent of the budget to 4.2 per cent between 1907 and 1912. Overall, there was a 77 per cent growth in the number of pupils and 85 per cent in the number of schools in 1905-1914 and the literacy rate rose from under 30 per cent in 1900 to over 40 per cent by 1914.

However, it would be wrong to suggest that workers gained a great deal from the industrial expansion. Since they lacked effective trade unions and legal protection they remained at the mercy of their employers. The industrial wage rose only from 245 to 264 roubles per month, whilst inflation raised prices by 4 per cent in the same period. Of course, some workers did better than others and wages in St Petersburg were a third higher than those in Moscow, but the general picture was not encouraging. Conditions in factories remained grim and despite the educational improvements, levels of education were low and prospects for self-improvement limited. Furthermore, around four-fifths of the population were still peasantry, which discredits any claim that there had been significant industrial development.

Date	Law
1885	Prohibited night-time employment of women and children
1886	Decreed that workers had to be employed according to contracts overseen by factory boards
1892	Employment of children under 12 forbidden and female labour banned in mines
1897	Hours of work reduced to 11 and a half per day
1903	Expansion of provision for factory inspection
1912	Health insurance for workers

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Sergei Witte

Pyotr Stolypin

KEY DEFINITIONS

WWI

THEMATIC AREA: WAR AND REVOLUTION

The war began well for Russia. The country was filled with a strong sense of patriotism, with the majority of the population rallying behind the Tsar. Even students in St Petersburg, who had been recently protesting against the Tsar, found a new enemy and took to protesting outside the Germany embassy. However, these successes were short-lived.

Although the Russian government managed to mobilise around **15 million men between 1914 and 1917**, mainly peasant conscripts, it proved unable to provide for them. The problems of the early years grew steadily worse so that soldiers were sent to fight not only without suitable weaponry, but also lacking basic warm clothing and properly fitting, waterproof footwear. In 1914, the infantry had only two rifles for every three soldiers and in 1915 it was not unusual for Russian artillery to be limited to two or three shells per day. In these early years, the soldiers had to rely on the weapons of fallen comrades in order to fight at all. It is not surprising therefore that under these circumstances, that even in victory, Russian casualties were huge.

In August **1914**, **Russian armies entered East Prussia**, the easternmost province of Germany. They also over-ran much of the Austro-Hungarian province of Galicia. The Russian advance forced the Germans to amend their war plan, the Schlieffen Plan. Army units destined for France were diverted to the Eastern Front, and at the end of August and the beginning of September the Russian advance was stopped at the Battle of Tannenburg, in which the German generals Hindenburg and Ludendorff won a crushing victory over the Russians. By the time the battle ended, **30,000 Russian troops were killed or wounded – and 95,000 casualties and captured over 500 guns**. However, at the end of September the Russians surrounded the Austro-Hungarian fortress town of Przemyśl. After a siege lasting more than four months, the Russians eventually captured the town **and 110,000 prisoners**. These military developments had a mixed effect on the popularity of the war at home.

1915 proved to be the turning point in the fighting on the Eastern Front. After the victory at the **Battle of Tannenburg**, the Germans defeated the Russians in the Battle of Lodz in December 1914. This was followed by the Austro-German forces' launch of **the Gorlice-Tarnow Offensive in July 1915**. By the end of 1915, Russian forces had been completely driven out of Russian Poland. These military reversals led Tsar Nicholas II to make one of his most disastrous decisions. In September 1915, after the loss of Poland, he dismissed his Uncle Nikolai as commander-in-chief of the Russian army and took command himself. Nicholas II was plainly unqualified to command a military unit, let alone a vast army of several millions. But from September 1915 Tsar Nicholas II took personal responsibility for Russia's military fortunes on the Eastern Front. In addition, while he was away at the Front, Nicholas II left the running of the government and the administration to his wife, the **Tsarina Alexandria**.

By 1916, some of the most glaring deficiencies in equipment had gone. The winter months of 1915-16 had been relatively quiet for the Russians so the time had been spent ensuring that soldiers were better trained and rifles were being produced at a rate of **10,000 a month**. By the time the Brusilov Offensive was launched in June 1916, most front-line units had a reasonable complement of machine guns and artillery shells. However, the army had a serious lack of experienced officers since most had been killed in the early stages of the war.

From June to August 1916 the Russian forces launched their last major offensive of the war, the Brusilov Offensive. Initially it met with success and even prompted

KEY QUESTIONS

What were the causes of WWI?

What were the key events of WWI?

What was the outcome of WWI?

What were the economic, political and social consequences of WWI?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

Tsarina Alexandria.

KEY DEFINITIONS

Battle of Tannenburg

Brusilov Offensive

WWI

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Romania to enter the war on Russia's side. But by August the Brusilov Offensive had run out of momentum, and Russian forces had to retreat from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea. This retreat was associated with desertions, and by Christmas 1916 the Russian army was facing major shortages of war material and a fall in morale.

A variety of reasons contributed to the failure of the Brusilov Offensive. Nicholas II proved to be a very poor commander-in-chief, and poor internal communications – the railways, in particular – led to a shortage of military equipment getting to the front. But the problem for Russia was transportation, because it failed to get enough supplies to the battle areas.

From October 1916, the effectiveness of the Russian army started to decline, partly because of the deteriorating economic and political situation within Russia itself, and partly because of the heavy casualties it suffered. By Christmas 1916, 1.6million Russian soldiers were dead, **3.9 million were wounded and 2.4 million** had been taken prisoner. That year many thousands of soldiers deserted the army and many more did so in 1917.

Political Impact

Even before the end of 1914, there were disputes over the organisation of the war effort. In July 1914, the tsarist government had set up “military zones” within which all civilian authority was suspended and the military assumed command. This was opposed by the liberal zemstva who regarded the government as insensitive to the needs of the people and believed that civilians had a major part to play in the running of the war. For example, the government's decision to prohibit the sale of alcohol at the end of 1914 was both resented and evaded. Vodka was regarded as a near essential, especially in hard times, so peasants and workers simply distilled their own, whilst the government lost some valuable tax revenue from legal sales.

Russia's government bodies – both local and national began to assert themselves despite opposition from the Tsar. The zemstva established a “Union of Zemstva” to provide the medical facilities which the state seemed to neglect and in August 1915, some of the deputies (Kadets, Octobrists and Progressives) from the Fourth Duma, organised themselves into a group known as the “Progressive Bloc”, and demanded that the tsar change his ministers and establish a “government of public confidence”. They were effectively asking for a constitutional monarchy, in which they would have a dominant voice. Had Nicholas II been a more astute man, he might well have seized this chance to institute political reform and transfer responsibility for the war effort to a civilian government. However, Nicholas was not prepared to contemplate such a move. Instead, in September, he suspended the sittings of the Duma and it remained officially closed until January 1917, although unauthorised meetings continued.

In September, further defeats led Nicholas II to make the disastrous decision to take on the role of Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Army and Navy and to travel to the front line. This move did nothing to help the cause. Although it had overtones of bravery and heroism, Nicholas had already lost the confidence and support of the Russian General Staff and did not possess the military experience to turn the war effort around. Instead, his new position simply made him appear yet more responsible for the varying disasters which befell his troops and state, whilst distancing him even more from developments in Petrograd.

EXAM QUESTIONS

WWI more than any other event impact the living and working conditions of the Russian population. How far do you agree?

STRETCH

How far did WWI change the lives of Russian people?

How does WWI compare to the Crimean War?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

EXAM QUESTIONS

Which war had the greatest impact on the Russian economy?

The Crimean War
The Russo-Turkish
War
The Russo-
Japanese War
WWI

Social Impact

In urban centres, particularly in Petrograd and Moscow, unemployment soared as non-military factories, deprived of vital supplies, were forced to close. Lock-outs and strikes financially crippled what little industry survived. A 300% rise in the cost of living, rising death rates because of the workers' insanitary lodgings and the inadequacies of their diets left thousands living on the brink of starvation. In such circumstances, in January 1917, 30,000 workers went on strike in Moscow and 145,000 in Petrograd.

FEBRUARY REVOLUTION

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KEY QUESTIONS



The Petrograd demonstrations

In the 1920s an American historian, W.H. Chamberlain, claimed that the February Revolution was “one of the most leaderless, spontaneous, anonymous revolutions of all time”. It began as a series of uncoordinated demonstrations in the capital, Petrograd. On 9 January, 140,000 workers went on strike and demonstrated in the streets to commemorate the anniversary of Bloody Sunday, which had begun the 1905 Revolution. On the last day of January strikes about food shortages occurred sporadically across Russia. On 14 February, 100,000 workers again went on strike in Petrograd, protesting against food shortages and poor working conditions. On the same day, the State Duma was reconvened and, instead of supporting the government, it attacked it over food shortages. The government only made matters worse, however, by announcing on 19 February that bread rationing would start on 1 March. This news led to panic buying of various foodstuffs.

A key event was the demonstrations in Petrograd on 23 February to commemorate International Women’s Day, when tens of thousands of women took to the streets. This coincided with a major strike at the Putilov Engineering Works and together, the demonstrators and the strikers numbered over 100,000.

The following day, 24 February, the strikes and demonstrations continued – mainly about food shortages and the threat of rationing. Soviets (committees) of workers were formed to formulate demands against the government. By 25 February the number of demonstrators had swelled to 200,000. It was at this stage that the government tried to take control of the capital’s streets. The police arrested members of the Workers’ Group, a leading body set up by workers in Petrograd to organise strikes and demonstrations. All newspapers were shut down and public transport ceased to operate.

The defection of the armed forces

The turning point in the Revolution came on 25 February, when Cossack troops refused to fire on the demonstrators. The next day, troops did fire on the demonstrators, killing 40 of them, but the elite Pavlovsky Life Guards refused to carry out orders. This was the first significant sign that government authority had begun to break down. In the 1905 Revolution the Tsar’s regime had survived because

What was the significance of the February Revolution?

What were the causes of the February Revolution?

KEY INDIVIDUALS

KEY DEFINITIONS

Order Number 1

Abdicate

FEBRUARY REVOLUTION

THEMATIC AREA: WAR AND REVOLUTION

of the support of the armed forces. But now, at a critical time in the February Revolution, the army was beginning to desert the government. In an attempt to reassert its authority, the government dissolved the State Duma. Instead of disbanding, however, the State Duma formed a twelve-man committee to take over the running of the country, and this became the Provisional Government. What had begun as spontaneous demonstrations and strikes, mainly about food shortages, had become a political revolution. The Tsar began to lose his nerve, and on 28 February he telegraphed the State Duma, offering to share power. However, the State Duma refused the Tsar's offer.

On 1 March the workers' soviets which had begun forming on 24 February joined forces to make the Petrograd Soviet. This was a repeat of the events in the 1905 Revolution which saw the creation of the St Petersburg Soviet. It issued "Order Number 1" which demanded that all officers in the army be elected by their men. This began the rapid deterioration of authority and command over the army.

The Tsar's decision to abdicate

On 1 March, the Tsar made a last bid to retake control. He boarded a train at his army HQ in Mogilev in an attempt to get back to Petrograd. However, on 2 March his train was stopped at Pskov, 250 km short of Petrograd, because anti-government soldiers had gained control of the railway line. In a siding at Pskov, Tsar Nicholas II was visited by members of the State Duma and was asked to abdicate. The Tsar agreed, and also abdicated the throne on behalf of the Tsarevich, his haemophiliac son Alexi, whom he feared would be too ill to serve as Tsar. Although Nicholas II was not technically allowed to abdicate for his son, he passed his throne to his own brother, Grand Duke Michael. On 3 March, however, Grand Duke Michael refused the offer to the throne – and by this act Russia ceased to be a monarchy. The Romanov dynasty, which had ruled since 1613, had come to an abrupt end. On the same day, Prince Lvov was announced Prime Minister in charge of the Provisional Government. In the space of just two weeks the unplanned demonstrations had resulted in political revolution.

9 th Jan	Strike to commemorate Bloody Sunday in Petrograd, strikes in other cities
14 th Feb	100,000 workers strike in Petrograd. State Duma is reconvened
19 th Feb	Petrograd authorities announce that bread will be rationed from 1 st March
23 rd Feb	Demonstrations in Petrograd for International Women's Day
25 th Feb	Over 200,000 people are now on strike in Petrograd. Cossack troops fight police to protect protestors
26 th Feb	The Tsar orders the use of military force to break the strike. Troops of the Volynski Guard Regiment fire on protestors causing tens of casualties, but other troops of the Petrograd garrison begin to mutiny later in the day. The State Duma is suspended.
27 th Feb	The Petrograd garrison mutinies, joins the protestors and starts to arm itself. The State Duma refuses to disband.
28 th Feb	The Tsar tries to return to Petrograd but becomes stuck in Pskov
1 st Mar	The Petrograd Soviet issues Order Number 1
2 nd Mar	The Tsar abdicates on behalf of himself and his son (which was technically illegal) in order to help both the war and peace
3 rd Mar	Michael Romanov, brother of the Tsar and now heir, rejects the throne

EXAM QUESTIONS

War was the most important event in changing Russian government between 1855-1964. How far do you agree? [25 marks]

STRETCH

What were the social, political and economic impacts of the February Revolution?

SUMMARY NOTES

Notes Due:

Notes Completed:

FOR EACH KEY THEME NOTE DOWN ANY RELEVANT EVIDENCE

NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

WAR AND REVOLUTION

ETHNIC MINORITIES, ETHNICITIES, NATIONALITIES, EMPIRE AND SATELLITE STATES