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due to the limitations of sources. Few local documents have survived, and Sharp is forced to rely primarily on the records of judicial authorities based in London such as the Courts of the Exchequer and Star Chamber. Nevertheless, Sharp fails to discuss how these limitations affect the reliability of his conclusions regarding the social and cultural precipitants of the riots, and his research in the local records outside the clothmaking areas is not comprehensive. Yet his basic findings regarding the social composition of the riots and their economic and political context are solid. They are an important contribution to our knowledge of the Crown's attempts to exploit the resources of the royal forests as a source of non-Parliamentary income, the role of industrial employment in rural England, and the English tradition of artisan radicalism.

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The Politics of Rural Russia 1905-1914. Edited by LEOPOLD H. HAIMSON. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979. Pp. x + 309. Notes, tables, index. \$19.50.

The Politics of Rural Russia 1905-1914 is a collection of individual papers which examine gentry politics during the period of Russia's so-called "constitutional experiment" between the Revolution of 1905 and World War I. The book grew out of a 1968 graduate seminar at Columbia University. Two issues common to most of the original projects unite the papers in this anthology: the influence of the provincial nobility over Russian society and politics during the constitutional period, and the growing isolation of rural politics from the emerging political culture of commercial, industrial Russia.

The 1905 Revolution resulted not only from worker and peasant dissatisfaction and the loss of the Russo-Japanese War, but also from the development of middle class and gentry liberalism during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Russia's gentry faced great difficulties after the abolition of serfdom and the loss of a large part of their lands in 1861. Many were not able to adapt to the growing commercialization of agriculture and the long-term decline in grain prices on the world market. This, combined with the gradual but steady replacement of nobles in the state machinery by professional bureaucrats, led to economic malaise and political estrangement, contributing heavily to the gentry's adoption of western liberal and constitutionalist ideas. When revolution forced Nicholas II to establish representative institutions, to allow the formation of political parties, and to grant civil rights, many of the politically articulate members of the gentry were already conscious liberals. They supported either the new Constitutional Democrats, who favored a liberal parliamentary monarchy along the lines of England's, or the more conservative Octobrists (named after Nicholas's October Manifesto), favoring a parliamentary system more like Germany's, i.e., with a stronger monarchy than the Constitutional Democrats desired.

With the outbreak of the most widespread peasant disorders since the Pugachev rebellion of the eighteenth century, however, a new Great Fear swept the nobility and resulted in a remarkable political backlash. This reaction led the nobility to reject overwhelmingly its earlier liberalism and to seek new ways to protect

its position in society and politics. It is this reaction and the new political forms to which it gave rise that form the main focus of *The Politics of Rural Russia*.

More specifically, the contributions are concerned with the "third of June system," a reference to the government's abolition of the second Duma (parliament) in 1907 and the alteration of electoral laws calculated to reduce the influence of the peasantry and the urban sector in Russia's new "constitutional" politics. This coup shifted the official political spectrum several degrees to the right, all but eliminating the peasant and worker voice in the Duma, and leaving the moderate Constitutional Democrats--already weakened as a party by the gentry reaction--as the new far-left faction. To their right were the Octobrists (now the center-left), the Nationalist Bloc (later, Party) of traditionalist-aristocratic conservatives, and finally, the radical right, including the proto-fascist Union of Russian People, members of the Orthodox clergy, and an assortment of individuals.

With the new instruments available to the nobility--political parties, the Duma, an active conservative press--it was able not only to crush revolutionary attacks on its power from below, but also to ward off what it perceived as attacks on its privileged position from above by an increasingly professionalized, reforming, state bureaucracy. An example of the latter is the defeat of Prime Minister Stolypin's political reforms intended to give the peasants a greater voice in local government, complementing his abolition of the peasant commune to encourage economic differentiation and the emergence of a class of rising smallholders. Ironically, the nobility became increasingly dependent on the state structure to protect its weakening social position, while at the same time utilizing the new constitutional forms to block government-sponsored reforms which might in the long run have prevented the next revolution.

The most substantial contribution to *The Politics of Rural Russia* is by Roberta Thomas Manning, who wrote or co-authored several of the book's essays. In "Zemstvo and Revolution" (the Zemstvos were elective organs of local self-government), Manning analyzes the strengthening of right-wing sentiment among the rank and file provincial gentry immediately following the 1905 Revolution and leading up to the "third of June" system. In "Political Trends in the Zemstvos 1907-1914," Manning and Ruth D. MacNaughton show how the conservative gentry blocked attempts at securing an effective voice in Russian government for the bourgeoisie, the workers, and the peasants, and thus contributed to the later downfall of the imperial order in 1917. Eugene D. Vinogradoff contributed the only selection on peasant politics during the 1905-1914 period, focusing on how peasants were excluded from power in the Dumas and how they tried to maintain some voice even after June 3, 1907. Other articles focus on specific political parties and associations. The introduction and conclusion by Leopold Haimson provide a theoretical overview which relates the individual articles to the main themes of the collection and to the broader history of Russia in this period.

This anthology is a significant contribution to the history of Russia's constitutional experiment. The articles are minutely detailed and based largely on extensive research in Soviet archives. Each contribution is an exhaustive treatment of a well-defined issue, and as such, difficult to criticize. Perhaps the book's very strength is its one minor flaw: its microscopic detail makes for tedious reading. Specialist in nature, the articles address a limited audience. While individual papers may prove useful to the non-specialist reader, anyone seeking an overview of the subject

would be better advised to consult Geoffrey Hosking's 1973 study, *The Russian Constitutional Experiment: Government and Duma, 1907-1914*.

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Indian Police and Judges: Experiments in Acculturation and Control. By WILLIAM T. HAGAN. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966; reprint ed., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980. Pp. viii + 194. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$4.95 (paper).

Seeking a solution to the Indian "problem," post-Civil War philanthropists assumed the duty of lifting the aborigine to a level of civilization comparable to that of white men. Convinced of the righteousness of the cause, few of these citizens considered taking Indian aspirations into account before launching their reform crusade. Despite this oversight, native Americans became active participants in their own acculturation process. American Indians, by adapting the methods and institutions of the white man, devised strategies to defend their cultural integrity. A sophisticated use of America's communication, religious, educational, and legal systems helped Indian cultures endure and eventually prosper.

William Hagan attempts to tell one part of this story in an unrevised reprint of his 1966 book, *Indian Police and Judges*. During the 1870s, Indian agents decided that their wards could assume responsibility for reservation law and order. Despite low pay, scant provisions, and taunts from fellow tribesmen, "progressive" Indians joined agency police forces. Lawmen like the daring Cherokee Sam Sixkiller evicted reservation trespassers, arrested bootleggers, broke up fights, and forced children to attend school. Informal courts, presided over by native judges, tried lawbreakers. Early experiments proved so successful that Congress agreed to fund the reservation legal systems. Not until after 1900, when state laws began to prevail on reservations, did the need for Indian police diminish.

Throughout this work, Hagan is sympathetic but patronizing toward Indians, often falling into the trap of ethnocentrism. He refers, for example, to native lawmen as "vanguards of a more highly developed civilization" who helped tame a people "among whom the fighting tradition was still strong" (p. 162). While it is true that native Americans had technologically less complex cultures than whites, Hagan deems Indian society inferior. He speaks of superstitious natives as if to imply that Christian whites held no superstitions, and he laments the fact that Indian police often would not overstep the bounds of tribal belief by questioning the authority of a medicine man.

Indian Police and Judges contains several undue simplifications of complex subjects. The author concludes, for example, that native American difficulty with alcohol resulted from an inability to mass produce intoxicants. As inexperienced drinkers, Indians were prone to crime and a constant source of trouble on the reservations. By explaining away the multi-faceted subject of Indian alcoholism in a few sentences, Hagan ignores factors such as stress produced by white efforts to destroy Indian cultural integrity. Similarly, the author oversimplifies when he aligns native civili-