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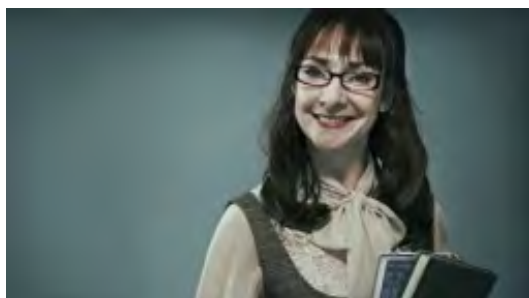
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## THE MCCLAUGHRY'S BLOG

THIS IS THE PLACE

# Cecil John Rhodes – 'Confession of Faith' 1877

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# “Confession of Faith”

– Cecil John Rhodes, written in 1877 originally

I have been looking for this document for quite a while and for some reason, last night (January 10, 2015), it finally showed up!

A professor at the University of Oregon [has it](#) underneath a segment of his own pages at the U of O website. Although, it's quite strange that when I backed up the “link” tree to his main page, I could not find any working links that actually listed this document, so that's a bit of a *WTF?* mystery but no matter. The important thing is the document is found.

The professor's name is:

(Robert) **Alan Kimball**

History Department

University of Oregon

Eugene, Oregon 97403 USA

He attributes his source as being another [history teacher](#) –

**Wallace Mills**



Wallace was appointed to the History department of St. Mary's University (located in Canada, Halifax, Nova Scotia) from 1968 to 2005, when he retired.

He archived Cecil Rhodes 'Confession of Faith' at his website, as far back as 2002. Even though his site is no longer available on the 'main' internet, I found it in the Internet Archive, and [here is the earliest version of his page](#) documenting 'Confession of Faith'.

Professor Kimball of U of Oregon, appears to have taken Kimball's page and re-archived it at his own site – which is how I found it.

Here is a PDF of the page at Kimball's site, as viewed on January 10, 2015 –

### [Rhodes-Confession of Faith](#)

Here is the full plain text exactly as it is on Kimball's page – ***bolding*** is as done by Professor Kimball/SAC editor.

**1877:**

## Cecil Rhodes, “Confession of Faith”

[SAC editor has added bold face and hypertext links]

[[WEB source](#)]

*Rhodes originally wrote this on June 2, 1877, in Oxford. Later, that year in Kimberley, he made some additions and changes. What follows is that amended statement. The spelling and grammar errors were in the original.*

It often strikes a man to inquire what is the chief good in life; to one the thought comes that it is a happy marriage, to another great wealth, and as each seizes on his idea, for that he more or less works for the rest of his existence. To myself thinking over the same question the wish came to render myself useful to my country. I then asked myself how could I and after reviewing the various methods I have felt that at the present day we are actually limiting our children and perhaps bringing into the world half the human beings we might owing to the lack of country for them to inhabit that if we had retained America there would at this moment be millions more of English living. **I contend that we are the finest race in the world and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race. Just fancy those parts that are at present inhabited by the most despicable specimens of human beings what an alteration there would be if they were brought under Anglo-Saxon influence, look again at the extra employment a new country added to our dominions gives.** I contend that every acre added to our territory means in the future birth to some more of the English race who otherwise would not be brought into existence. Added to this the absorption of the greater portion of the world under our rule simply means the end of all wars, at this moment had we not lost America I believe we could have

stopped the Russian-Turkish war by merely refusing money and supplies. Having these ideas what scheme could we think of to forward this object. **I look into history and I read the story of the Jesuits I see what they were able to do in a bad cause and I might say under bad leaders.**

At the present day I become a member of the Masonic order I see the wealth and power they possess the influence they hold and I think over their ceremonies and I wonder that a large body of men can devote themselves to what at times appear the most ridiculous and absurd rites without an object and without an end.

The idea gleaming and dancing before ones eyes like a will-of-the-wisp at last frames itself into a plan. **Why should we not form a secret society with but one object the furtherance of the British Empire and the bringing of the whole uncivilised world under British rule for the recovery of the United States for the making the Anglo-Saxon race but one Empire.** What a dream, but yet it is probable, it is possible. I once heard it argued by a fellow in my own college, I am sorry to own it by an Englishman, that it was good thing for us that we have lost the United States. There are some subjects on which there can be no arguments, and to an Englishman this is one of them, but [even from an American's point of view just picture what they have lost](#), look at their government, are not the frauds that yearly come before the public view a disgrace to any country and especially their's which is the finest in the world. Would they have occurred had they remained under English rule great as they have become how infinitely greater they would have been with the softening and elevating influences of English rule, think of those countless 000's of Englishmen that during the last 100 years would have crossed the Atlantic and settled and populated the United States. Would

they have not made without any prejudice a finer country of it than the low class Irish and German emigrants? All this we have lost and that country loses owing to whom? Owing to two or three ignorant pig-headed statesmen of the last century, at their door lies the blame. Do you ever feel mad? do you ever feel murderous. I think I do with those men. I bring facts to prove my assertion. Does an English father when his sons wish to emigrate ever think of suggesting emigration to a country under another flag, never—it would seem a disgrace to suggest such a thing I think that we all think that poverty is better under our own flag than wealth under a foreign one.

Put your mind into another train of thought. Fancy Australia discovered and colonised under the French flag, what would it mean merely several millions of English unborn that at present exist we learn from the past and to form our future. We learn from having lost to cling to what we possess. We know the size of the world we know the total extent. **Africa is still lying ready for us it is our duty to take it. It is our duty to seize every opportunity of acquiring more territory and we should keep this one idea steadily before our eyes that more territory simply means more of the Anglo-Saxon race more of the best the most human, most honourable race the world possesses.**

**To forward such a scheme what a splendid help a secret society would be a society not openly acknowledged but who would work in secret for such an object.**

I contend that there are at the present moment numbers of the ablest men in the world who would devote their whole lives to it. I often think what a loss to the English nation in some respects the abolition of the Rotten Borough System has been. What thought strikes a man entering the house of commons, the assembly that rule the whole world? I think it

is the mediocrity of the men but what is the cause. It is simply—an assembly of wealth of men whose lives have been spent in the accumulation of money and whose time has been too much engaged to be able to spare any for the study of past history. And yet in hands of such men rest our destinies. Do men like the great Pitt, and Burke and Sheridan not now to exist. I contend they do. There are men now living with I know no other term the [Greek term] of Aristotle but there are not ways for enabling them to serve their Country. They live and die unused unemployed. What has the main cause of the success of the Romish Church? The fact that every enthusiast, call it if you like every madman finds employment in it. **Let us form the same kind of society a Church for the extension of the British Empire. A society which should have members in every part of the British Empire working with one object and one idea we should have its members placed at our universities and our schools and should watch the English youth passing through their hands just one perhaps in every thousand would have the mind and feelings for such an object, he should be tried in every way, he should be tested whether he is endurant, possessed of eloquence, disregardful of the petty details of life, and if found to be such, then elected and bound by oath to serve for the rest of his life in his County.** He should then be supported if without means by the Society and sent to that part of the Empire where it was felt he was needed.

Take another case, let us fancy a man who finds himself his own master with ample means of attaining his majority whether he puts the question directly to himself or not, still like the old story of virtue and vice in the Memorabilia a fight goes on in him as to what he should do. Take if he plunges into dissipation there is nothing too reckless he does not

attempt but after a time his life palls on him, he mentally says this is not good enough, he changes his life, he reforms, he travels, he thinks now I have found the chief good in life, the novelty wears off, and he tires, to change again, he goes into the far interior after the wild game he thinks at last I've found that in life of which I cannot tire, again he is disappointed. He returns he thinks is there nothing I can do in life? Here I am with means, with a good house, with everything that is to be envied and yet I am not happy I am tired of life he possesses within him a portion of the [Greek term] of Aristotle but he knows it not, to such a man the Society should go, should test, and should finally show him the greatness of the scheme and list him as a member.

Take one more case of the younger son with high thoughts, high aspirations, endowed by nature with all the faculties to make a great man, and with the sole wish in life to serve his Country but he lacks two things the means and the opportunity, ever troubled by a sort of inward deity urging him on to high and noble deeds, he is compelled to pass his time in some occupation which furnishes him with mere existence, he lives unhappily and dies miserably. Such men as these the Society should search out and use for the furtherance of their object.

**(In every Colonial legislature the Society should attempt to have its members prepared at all times to vote or speak and advocate the closer union of England and the colonies, to crush all disloyalty and every movement for the severance of our Empire.** The Society should inspire and even own portions of the press for the press rules the mind of the people. The Society should always be searching for members who might by their position in the world by their energies or character forward



the object but the ballot and test for admittance should be severe)

Once make it common and it fails. Take a man of great wealth who is bereft of his children perhaps having his mind soured by some bitter disappointment who shuts himself up separate from his neighbours and makes up his mind to a miserable existence. To such men as these the society should go gradually disclose the greatness of their scheme and entreat him to throw in his life and property with them for this object. I think that there are thousands now existing who would eagerly grasp at the opportunity. Such are the heads of my scheme.

For fear that death might cut me off before the time for attempting its development I leave all my worldly goods in trust to S. G. Shippard and the Secretary for the Colonies at the time of my death to try to form such a Society with such an object.

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*On September 19, 1877, Rhodes drafted his first will; at that time, he had an estate of only about £10,000. (Although he changed his will quite a number of times in years following, the objective remained the same. After his death, the directors of the Rhodes Trust set up the Rhodes Scholarships as the best way to achieve his objectives.) The first clause of the 1877 will bequeathed his wealth as follows:*

To and for the establishment, promotion and development of a Secret Society, the true aim and object whereof shall be for the extension of British rule throughout the world, the perfecting of a system of emigration from the United Kingdom, and of colonisation by British subjects of all lands where the means of livelihood are attainable by energy, labour and enterprise, and especially the occupation by British settlers of the entire Continent of Africa, the Holy

Land, the Valley of the Euphrates, the Islands of Cyprus and Candia, the whole of South America, the Islands of the Pacific not heretofore possessed by Great Britain, the whole of the Malay Archipelago, the seaboard of China and Japan, the ultimate recovery of the United States of America as an integral part of the British Empire, the inauguration of a system of Colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament which may tend to weld together the disjointed members of the Empire and, finally, the foundation of so great a Power as to render wars impossible and promote the best interests of humanity.



## Document history.

A word first –

The original source, that catapulted 'Confession of Faith' into the public eye, was a book published by his friend and mentor William Thomas Stead. It was entitled: *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes* and was published in 1902. You can [read it for free](#) at the Internet Archive.

Much has been made of Cecil Rhodes' world-conquering ambitions, especially by what I call conspiracy-trap websites, and to be frank, I myself have somewhat tangled in their web of over-promotion of his role in world affairs. Upon further study, going much deeper into research of Cecil and the men with which he surrounded himself, I find myself having to re-evaluate his relative importance in the scheme of things.

Not that he was not guilty of many crimes against humanity,

he was. Not that he wasn't a virulent woman-hater (mysogynist), he was, and not that he didn't perfectly forward the world domination and enslavement plan of the British/Catholic Nesilim factions. He most certainly did.

But, over-focus on *him* has led to taking attention off the real nutcases, those who molded, supported, and *tolerated* his blood-soaked and heinous activities in Africa. It probably still serves their interests to have fingers pointing at him rather than at *them*. In fact, this is probably *why* so much is made of him, rather than the real problematic "secret society" – is a hand-fast alliance of ever-changing membership; a "secret society" that has no name, no location, and **no accountability**.

It is a *society*, – *socius* (Latin) companion – a voluntary *associating* on the part of individuals for common ends; an enduring and cooperating set of companions who have somewhat organized patterns of relationships through interaction with one another.

It is *secret* – something kept from the knowledge of others or shared only confidentially with a few; decisions, plans, and actions, decided upon and enacted without the knowledge or permission of others who should know about it.

It is *hierarchal* – the truly "deciding" votes ever only residing in the hands of a few men in each successive generation.

It is *vampiric* – in the sense that these people are "dead" in more than one metaphoric way, and must "feed" off the passion-for-life of others; must "feed" off their living essence, in a manner of speaking.

And so –

To me, after digging deeper into his life, I am confident in the

recognition of Cecil Rhodes in the role that he really was – merely an *Igor* to the Draculas of humanity, and not nearly as important as he wished himself to be, or as conspiracy misdirectors have portrayed him to be.

— — —

Stead’s book provides much light on what actually happened in regards this ‘Confession of Faith’ and the subsequent wills that were built around it.

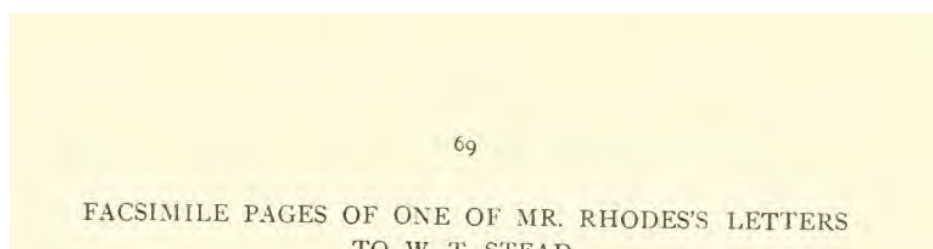
Stead’s book is actually **the source** of both Professor Kimball and Mills text reproduction, it begins on p. 58 of his 1902 book.

Professor Carrol Quigley also documented the existence of Rhodes’ *Confession of Faith* and its Jesuit model at in his book [Anglo American Establishment](#) – this book was written in 1949 but published posthumously in 1981.

“ The reference to the Jesuits as the model for his secret society is found in a “Confession of Faith” [...] which he enclosed in his will.

Stead called the first will of Cecil’s, part of his *political* Will and Testament. Rhodes expanded on the ‘Confession of Faith’ in letters to Stead of 1891, showing an unchanged continuity of his ideas/goals expressed in 1877.

### Letters to Stead





they are calling the new  
 county Rhoderia that  
 is from the Transvaal  
 to the South end of  
 Tazania the other name  
 is Zambesia. I find  
 I am human and should  
 like to be living after  
 my death still perhaps  
 if that name is  
 coupled with the

70

object of England  
 everywhere and united  
 the name may convey  
 the discovery of an idea  
 which ultimately helps



to the cessation of  
all wars and one  
language throughout  
the world the patent  
being the gradual  
absorption of wealth  
and human minds  
of the higher order

71

to the object.  
What an awful thought  
it is that if we had  
not lost America  
or if even now we  
could arrange with the  
present members of the  
United States Assembly  
and our House of

Commons the peace  
of the world is  
secured for all  
eternity We

72

would hold your  
Federal Parliament  
5 years at Westminster  
and 5 at London.

\* \* \* \* \*

Good bye  
Y. J. Rhodes

Rhodes – plain text, letter to Stead of Autumn 1891.

“ I find I am human and should like to be living after my death; still, perhaps, if that name is coupled with the object of England everywhere, and united, the name may convey the discovery of an idea which ultimately led to the cessation of all wars and one language throughout the world [...] What an awful thought it is that if we had not lost America, or if even now we could arrange with the present members of the United States Assembly and our House of Commons, the peace of the world is secured for all eternity!

We could hold your federal parliament five years at Washington and five at London.

The only thing feasible to carry this idea out is a secret one (society) **gradually absorbing the wealth of the world** to be devoted to such an object. There is Hirsch with twenty millions, very soon to cross the unknown border, and struggling in the dark to know what to do with his money; and so one might go on ad infinitum.

Fancy the charm to young America, just coming on and dissatisfied for they have filled up their own country and do not know what to tackle next to **share in a scheme to take the government of the whole world!**



What a scope and what a horizon of work, at any rate, for the next two centuries, the best energies of the best people in the world; perfectly feasible, but needing an organisation, for it is impossible for one human atom to complete anything, much less such an idea as this requiring the devotion of the best souls of the next 200 years. There are three essentials:

(1) The plan duly weighed and agreed to.

(2) The first organisation.

(3) The seizure of the wealth necessary.

[...]

This first Will, with it's "Confession of Faith" 1877 issue date that we covered earlier, was entrusted to **William Thomas Stead**., along with the above *later* statements as his "Political Will" .





“ It was later in the same year of 1877 that he drew up his first will. This document he deposited with me at the same time that he gave me his “political will and testament.”

It was in a sealed envelope, and on the cover was written a direction that it should not be opened until after his death.

[Cecil died on March 26, 1902.]

That will remained in my possession, unopened, until March 27th, 1902, when I opened it in the presence of Mr. Hawksley. It was dated Kimberley, September 19th, 1877. It was written throughout in his own handwriting.

– *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes* published in 1902

Stead, although himself a proponent of increasing the “english-speaking” races, found that even he could not stomach the outright brutality and horrors inflicted on the ‘inferior races’ during the Boer Wars, atrocities organized and committed to by Cecil Rhodes and his English accomplices.

William Stead spoke out vocally and vehemently against these behaviors (he was one of the first investigative journalists), and not long after that he was removed as an executor from Rhodes’ estate.

About the Cecil Rhodes Wills —

ABOUT THE CECIL RHODES WILLS –

Steads book, as does Quigley's, documents the multiple wills of Cecil Rhodes. Based on comparing the two, Steads is the superior resource, based on my research..

**Will #1 – 1877**

- Lord Carnarvon
- Sidney Shippard.

Stead: "This first will was, however, speedily revoked. Mr. Rhodes seems to have soon discovered that the Colonial Secretary for the time being was of all persons the last to whom such a trust should be committed."

**Will #2 – 1882**

- N. E. Pickering

Stead: "He then executed his second will, which was a very informal document indeed. It was written on a single sheet of notepaper, and dated 1882. It left all his property to Mr. N. E. Pickering, a young man employed by the De Beers Company at Kimberley. Mr. Rhodes was much attached to him, and nursed him through his last illness."

There are numerous allegations of Cecil Rhodes' odd sexual behavior, but the one thing that stands out clearly evident is that he never had a single relationship with a woman. However, he had a tendency to surround himself with young, handsome men, he seemed to really "need" to have a sort of homosexual love or extremely close relationship with another man, but again, *never* with a woman.

Pickering was one of a number of young men to whom Rhodes became attached during his lifetime. Several of

Rhodes became attached during his lifetime, several of whom were given jobs as his secretary. Nicknamed "Rhodes' lambs", later additions included Harry Currey, Jack Grimmer, and Philip Jourdan (who confessed his love for Rhodes in his autobiography).

None of these later relationships affected Rhodes so deeply as his intimacy with Pickering, except for maybe his last secretary, who was buried next to Rhodes when he died.

### **Will #3 – 1888**

- Lord Rothschild.

Stead: "After the death of Mr. Pickering Mr. Rhodes executed a third will in 1888, in which, after making provision for his brothers and sisters, he left the whole of the residue of his fortune to a financial friend, whom I will call "X.," in like manner expressing to him informally his desires and aspirations. This will was in existence when I first made the acquaintance of Mr. Rhodes."

**X** – as Stead so euphemistically named him – was Lord Rothschild. Rothschild had just financed Rhodes's De Beers company in 1887, launching *De Beers Consolidated Mining* in March of 1888, so this will change was a somewhat logical outcropping of that relationship.

### **Will #4– March 1891**

- Lord Rothschild
- W. T. Stead was added

Stead: "Mr. Rhodes superseded the will, which he had made in 1888, on a sheet of notepaper, which left his fortune to "X.," by a formal will, in which the whole of his real and personal estate was left to "X." and to "W. Stead, of the

REVIEW OF REVIEWS.” This will, the fourth in order, was signed in March, 1891.

Stead: “On bidding me good-bye, after having announced the completion of this arrangement, Mr. Rhodes stated that when he got to Africa he would write out his ideas, and send them to me. It was in fulfilment of this promise that he sent me the letter dated August 19th and September 3rd, 1891. It was written by him at his own suggestion in order that I might publish it in literary dress in his name as an expression of his views. I carried out his instructions, and published the substance of this letter, with very slight modifications necessary to give it the clothing that he desired, as a manifesto to the electors at the General Election of 1895.”

Stead: “[...]from the year 1891 till the year 1899 I was designated by Mr. Rhodes in the wills which preceded that of 1899 as the person who was charged with the distribution of the whole of his fortune. From 1891-3 I was one of two, from 1893 to 1899 one of three, to whom his money was left; but I was specifically appointed by him to direct the application of his property for the promotion of the ideas which we shared in common.”

#### **Will #5– 1892**

- Lord Rothschild
- W. T. Stead
- Rhodes’s solicitor, B. F. Hawksley, was added

#### **Will #6**

#### **Will #7 – 1899\***

\*Final Will, July 1st, 1899, can be viewed [here](#).

Initially, Stead was part of this Will too.

Stead: "It was in July, 1899, before the outbreak of the war, that Mr. Rhodes revoked his will of 1891, and substituted for it what is now known as his last will and testament. Anyhow, the whole scheme was recast."

Stead: "Trustees were appointed for carrying out various trusts, all of which, however, did not absorb more than half of the income of his estate. The idea which found expression in all his earlier wills reappeared solely in the final clause appointing his trustees and executors joint-heirs of the residue of the estate."

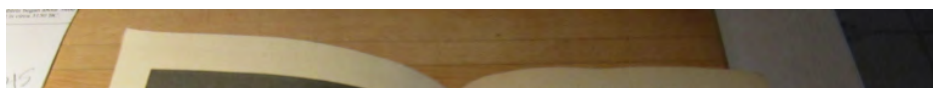
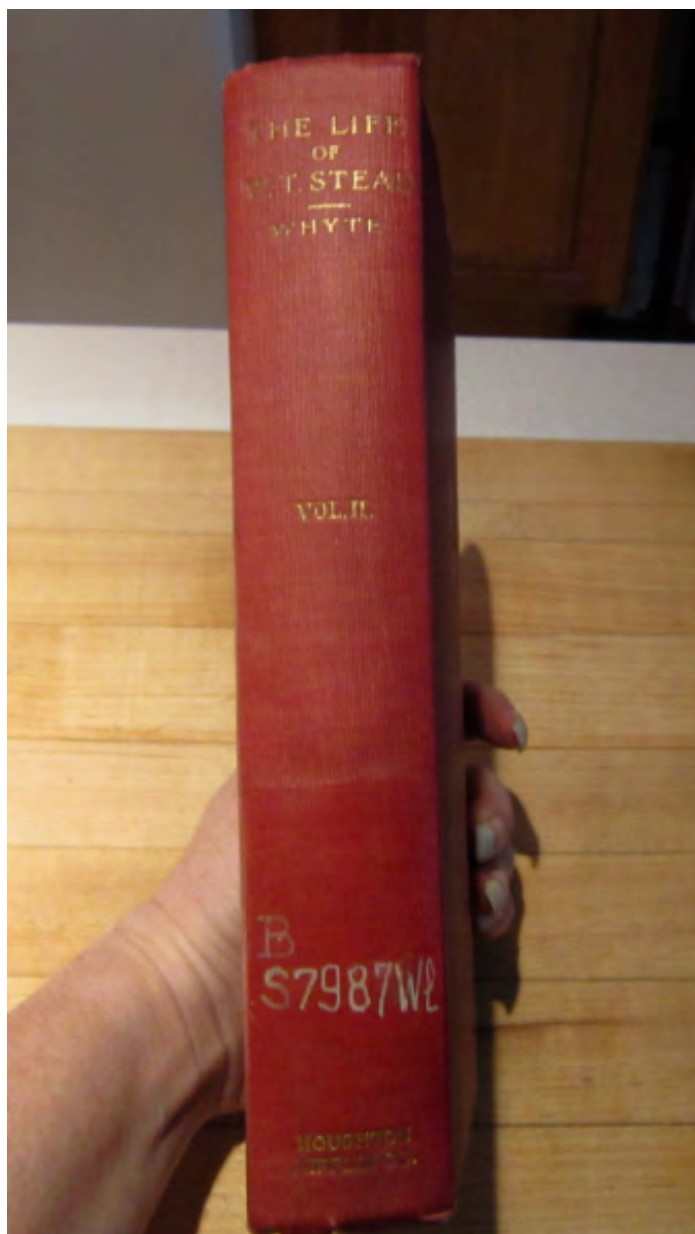
Stead: "In selecting the executors, trustees and joint-heirs Mr. Rhodes substituted the name of Lord Grey for that of "X.," [Lord Rothschild] re-appointed Mr. Hawksley and myself, strengthened the financial element by adding the names of Mr. Beit and Mr. Michell, of the Standard Bank of South Africa, and then crowned the edifice by adding the name of Lord Rosebery. As the will stood at the beginning of the war, there were six executors, trustees, and joint-heirs to wit, Mr. Hawksley and myself, representing the original legatees, Lord Rosebery, Lord Grey, Mr. Beit, and Mr. Michell. [...] To be merely one of half a dozen executors and trustees was a very different matter from being charged with the chief responsibility of using the whole of Mr. Rhodes's wealth for the purposes of political propaganda [...]"

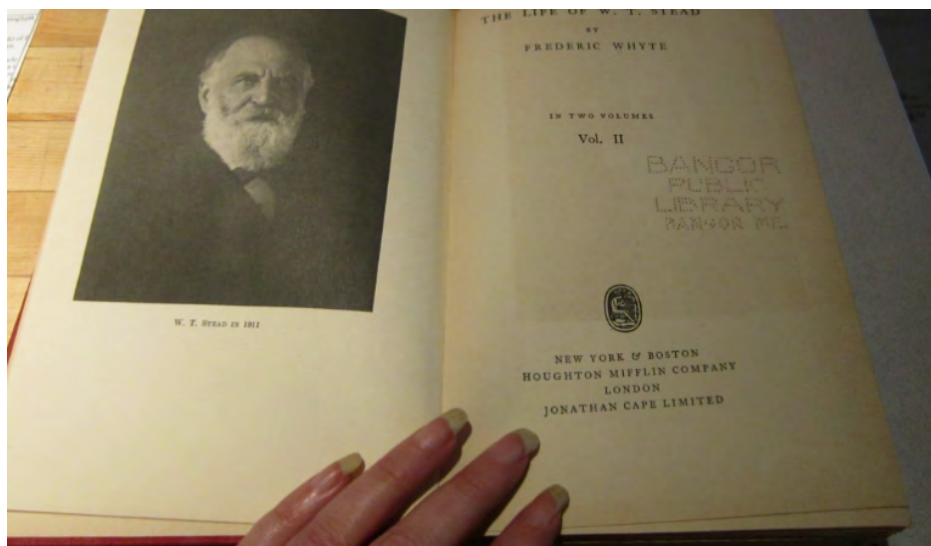
Stead, together with Lord Rothschild (see article later here) are who convinced Cecil to extend his scholarships to include America, but could not convince him to extend them to women. This is another clear example of Rhodes' misogyny.

Stead: "I was more fortunate, however, in inducing him to extend the scope of his scholarships so as to include in the scheme the States and Territories of the American Union, but he refused to open his scholarships to women."

This is also when the Rhodes Scholarships were created, exactly as per the original intent of the Society of the Elect back in 1891.

I obtained Whyte's books recently, and I scanned the relevant pages of [Sir Frederick Whyte, \*Life of W. T. Stead\* Volume II, Chapter 25, pp. 196-213](#) and uploaded the PDF to the *Just Dox – British Intelligence* section of our Reading Library – This provides documentation concerning the fact that Cecil Rhodes did form his Secret Society, and who with.





Whyte's book, p. 211 –

“ The Rhodes Scholarships idea, conceived at about the same time, [February 1891] shows every sign of immortality.

Rhodes and Stead had often discussed it in the 'nineties, but it was not until **April 10, 1900**, that the provisions to be incorporated in the trust deed were finally decided on. Rhodes invited Stead to dinner – again at the Burlington – to discuss the matter with himself and his solicitor, Mr. Hawkesley.

**Note:** It would not be until December 1976, that British Education Secretary Shirley Williams removed the word “manly” from the will, allowing women to apply for and participate in the Rhodes Scholarship. It was also only at this time that Oxford's colleges began to admit women to their colleges, ending over five hundred years of misogynistic behavior. The first class of female Rhodes Scholars entered Oxford in 1977. Source: Rhodes Project, History of the Scholarship [part two](#).

By 2013 [3 324 Americans](#) had been awarded Rhodes



By 1900, 3,000 Americans had been awarded Rhodes Scholarships, only 487 of which were American women.

During that same talk on April 10th of 1900, after the siege of Kimberley, and Rhodes was unable to convince Stead to change his position regarding Cecil's atrocious activities in Africa.

The following passage is also of particular interest because it reveals that Stead had acted as somewhat of a mentor to Cecil Rhodes and Alfred Milner, in political ideas.

**When, after the raising of the siege of Kimberley, Mr. Rhodes returned to London, I had a long talk with him at the Burlington Hotel in April, 1900. Mr. Rhodes, although more affectionate than he had ever been before in manner, did not in the least disguise his disappointment that I should have thrown myself so vehemently into the agitation against the war. It seemed to him extraordinary; but he charitably concluded it was due to my absorption in the Peace Conference at the Hague. His chief objection, which obviously was present to his mind when, nearly twelve months later, he removed me from being executor, was not so much the fact that I differed from him in judgment about the war, as that I was not willing to subordinate my judgment to that of the majority of our associates who were on the spot.**

**He said: "That is the curse which will be fatal to our ideas insubordination. Do not you think it is very disobedient of you? How can our**

**Society be worked if each one sets himself up as the sole judge of what ought to be done? Just look at the position here. We three are in South Africa, all of us your boys” (for that was the familiar way in which he always spoke) “I myself, Milner and Garrett, all of whom learned their politics from you.**

**This is Garrett.**



Rhodes went back to Africa and Stead did not see him again till his return in 1900, at which point he added a codicil

in January, removing Stead's name.

Stead: "In January, 1901, he had added a codicil to his will, removing my name from the list of executors, fearing that the others might find it difficult to work with me. He wrote me at the same time saying I was "too masterful" to work with the other executors."

### **Codicil #1 – January, 1901**

- Mr. Rhodes directed that the name of W. T. Stead should be removed from the list of his executors.

### **Codicil #2 – October, 1901**

- Mr. Rhodes added the name of Lord Milner to the list of joint tenants, executors and trustees.

### **Codicil #3 – March, 1902**

- Mr. Rhodes, on his death bed, appointed Dr. Jameson as one of his trustees, with all the rights of other trustees.

At the time of Cecil Rhodes's death in March of 1902, the re-arranging had resulted in a board of seven trustees:

- Lord Milner – Alfred Milner
- Lord Rosebery – Archibald Philip Primrose, the Rothschild rep. He had married Rothschild's daughter Hannah.\*
- Lord Grey
- Alfred Beit
- L. L. Michell
- B. F. Hawksley
- Dr. Starr Jameson.

\*To better understand the sometimes complex inter-relationships of this Rothschild element, I offer the following simplified genealogy related to Hannah

...forming simplified genealogy, related to Nathan,

Rosebery, and the first British Baron – Lord Nathan Mayer Rothschild. The founder of the British banking branch was Nathan Mayer Rothschild, son of Mayer Amschel. Lionel and Mayer de Rothschild are the two sons that we are interested in. Mayer was Hannah's father and when he died in 1874 she became the richest woman in Britain. Her father's wealth then passed directly into the hands of the Cecil bloc, through her marriage to Archibald Philip Primrose the 5th Earl of Rosebery in 1878 – she died in 1890. Her "introduction" to Rosebery had been arranged by none other than Benjamin Disraeli. Her father's brother, Lionel, had a son named Nathan Mayer Rothschild, nicknamed "Natty". It was he that was "elevated" to being a British Baron in 1885 by Queen Victoria, and became the first Jewish member of the House of Lords. **This** Nathan Rothschild was Hannah's cousin, and is the man who was directed to finance Cecil Rhodes blood-soaked "investments" in Africa, and direct what he was to do with that money in his will.

Note: Lionel was *refused* the Baron title, when Prime Minister Gladstone proposed to Queen Victoria that he be made a peer. She said no, saying that titling a Jew would raise antagonism and furthermore it would be unseemly to reward a man whose vast wealth was based on what she called "a species of gambling" rather than "legitimate trade." One can only cringe at the utter hypocrisy of that statement, considering that the bulk of Britain's "legitimate trade" had always been **drugs and slaves** in one form at another.

So –

*This* is the board to which the world looked to set up the Rhodes Scholarship

Rhodes Scholarships.

Here are pictures of all of these trustees, from Stead's book.

### Lord Alfred Milner



**Archibald Philip Primrose – Earl of Rosebery**  
(Lord Rosebery)

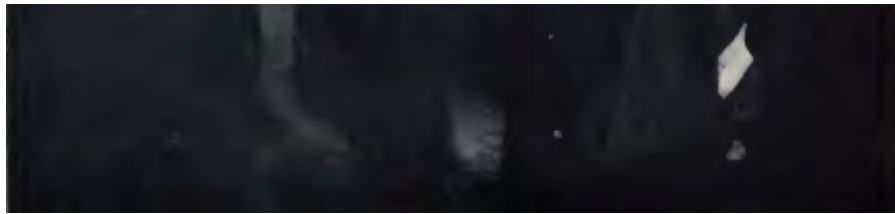




**Lord Earl Gray**







**Mr. Alfred Beit**



**Mr. L.L. Michell**





**B.F. Hawksley**







**Dr. Starr Jameson**



**Rhodes' boyfriend/secretary – buried next to Rhodes.**

“ After his death, the directors of the Rhodes Trust set up the Rhodes Scholarships as the best way to achieve his objectives.

– Professor Wallace Mills, 2002

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The above men were this board.

---

“ As a result of complex and secret negotiations in which Lord Rosebery was the chief figure, Britain kept Uganda, Rhodes was made a privy councilor, Rosebery replaced his father-in-law, Lord Rothschild, in Rhodes's secret group and was made a Trustee under Rhodes's next (and last) will.

– Quigley, *Tragedy and Hope: A History of the World in Our Time*, Volumes 1-8, New York: The Macmillan Company 1966; p. 124 of [PDF from the Internet Archive](#).

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Stead: “After various private dispositions Mr. Rhodes in his original will left the residue of his real and personal estate to the Earl of Rosebery, Earl Grey, Alfred Beit, William Thomas Stead, Lewis Lloyd Michell and Bouchier Francis Hawksley absolutely as joint tenants. The same persons were also appointed executors and trustees.”

---

“ In a Codicil dated January, 1901, Mr. Rhodes directed that the name of W. T. Stead should be removed from the list of his executors.

In a second Codicil dated October, 1901, Mr. Rhodes added the name of Lord Milner to the

**list of joint tenants, executors and trustees.**

**In a third Codicil, dated March, 1902, Mr. Rhodes appointed Dr. Jameson as one of his trustees, with all the rights of other trustees.**

**– [The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes](#)**

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Just three months after Rhodes' death, William Stead revealed the whole sordid story about the Cecil wills, the Rhodes Scholarship, and the real purposes of each, in his book [The Last Will and Testament of Cecil J. Rhodes](#). He revealed that there had also been newspaper articles about it *prior* to his book. (editor note dated June 4th, 1902)

The final Will (July 1st, 1899) was contained in his book, but you can also view it [here](#). A few excerpts from that Will, go a long way in illustrating just what the Rhodes Trust scholarships were really about.

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### **(5.) The Scholarships at Oxford.**

**“Whereas I consider that the education of Objects of young Colonists at one of the Universities in the . United Kingdom is of great advantage to them for giving breadth to their views for their instruction in life and manners (/) and for instilling into their minds the advantage to the Colonies as well as to the United Kingdom of the retention of the unity of the Empire.**

**And whereas I also desire to encourage and foster an appreciation of the advantages**

which I implicitly believe will result from the union of the English-speaking peoples throughout the world and to encourage in the students from the United States of North America who will benefit from the American Scholarships to be established for the reason above given at the University of Oxford under this my Will an attachment to the country from which they have sprung but without I hope withdrawing them or their sympathies from the land of their adoption or birth.

I appropriate two of the American Scholarships to each of the present States and Territories of the United States of North America [...]

---

If you look at the overall lists of scholarships globally, in the will itself, you'll see that two for every state and territory of the U.S. makes it the dominant share of the funding, completely dwarfing any other realm, or even the rest *combined*.

---

Now therefore I direct my Trustees as soon as may be after my death and either

“ simultaneously or gradually as they shall find convenient and if, gradually then in such order as they shall think fit to establish for male students the Scholarships...

...I direct that in the election of a student to a Scholarship regard shall be ...

(i.) his literary and scholastic attainments

(ii.) his fondness of and success in manly

outdoor sports such as cricket football and the like

(iii.) his qualities of manhood truth courage devotion to duty sympathy for the protection of the weak kindliness unselfishness and fellowship and

(iv.) his exhibition during- school days of moral force of character and of instincts to lead and to take an interest in his school-mates for those latter attributes will be likely in after-life to guide him to esteem the performance of public duty as his highest aim.

Stead continues:

“...laughing, as he wrote down the points. “First, there are the three qualities. You know I am all against letting the scholarships merely to people who swot over books, who have spent all their time over Latin and Greek. But you must allow for that element which I call ‘smug,’ and which means scholarship. That is to stand for four-tenths. Then there is ‘brutality,’ which stands for two-tenths. Then there is tact and leadership, again two-tenths, and then there is ‘unctuous rectitude,’ two-tenths. That makes up the whole. You see how it works.” [...]

*Smugness  
and  
Brutality –  
that’s the  
ticket...*

It’s interesting that the top quality that Cecil wants to see in these “chosen” is **smugness**! Followed closely by **brutality**! That about says it all, doesn’t it. You might wonder what the heck “unctuous rectitude” is. It means basically slimy, oily, and most importantly **false** outward moral actions and

“righteousness”.

Stead, who as we know ran a periodical called Review of Reviews, uses the genocidal King Leopold in a 1903 issue, to describe *exactly* what it is, this quality Cecil wants his scholarship recipients to have.

### Unctuous Rectitude

– [The Review of Reviews: Volume 27](#), edited by William Thomas Stead, June 1903 issue.

## REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

No. 162, Vol. XXVII.



JUNE, 1903.

## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

**AN EXPERT IN UNCTUOUS RECTITUDE.**

“Emperor Leopold is a wily bird. No one knows better than he how to exploit either public sentiment in Europe or the india-rubber fields in Central Africa.

- Himself a cynic, he is ever posing as a philanthropist.

No one is more expert in the distinctively English quality of unctuous rectitude.

- He never does wrong without making

protestations of pharisaic perfection.

**If he establishes the new slavery with one hand, with the other he subscribes to anti-slavery societies.**

He receives eulogistic addresses from Baptist missionaries in Brussels at the very moment that his agents are despatching cannibal hordes throughout the Congo regions in order to compel the unhappy natives to bring in rubber—on penalty of death.

The Emperor of the Congo may have levies whose officers exact due tale of smoked hands, and whose commiss'ariat department **replenishes its larder with the bodies' of the slaughtered victims of his cannibal soldiers,** but he is scrupulous to use a proportion of his wealth in the service of art, philanthropy, and religion.

This acts both as a salve to his conscience and as a blind to the public.

---

### King Leopold

– one of J.P. Morgan's favorite clandestine clients, second only to the Pope.

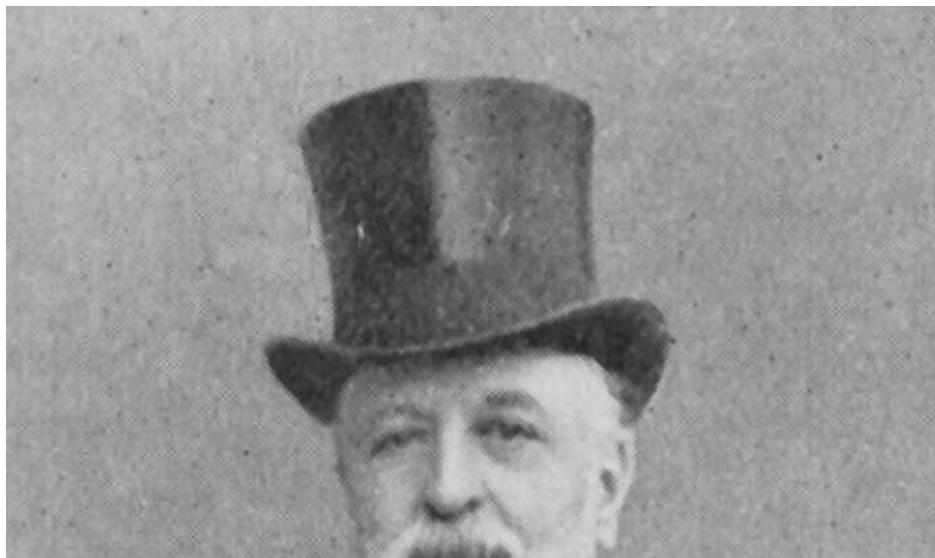






In the same issue, we see exactly *who* pushed on Cecil Rhodes the addition of the U.S. to the British domination plans.

Lord Nathan Rothschild, the favored pet *Igor* of the British slavemasters.







**“ The idea of using the Preferential Tariff- as a means of uniting the Empire was, at one time, a very favourite idea, of Mr. Rhodes, but, his enthusiasm was dashed by the criticism of Lord Rothschild. One day, when Mr. Rhodes had been descanting upon the virtues of an Imperial Zollverein, Lord Rothschild remarked that the idea was only practicable if the United**

that the idea was only practicable if the United States came in too. If the British Empire and the United States were a fiscal unit they would be a world in themselves, and could erect a tariff wall against other nations, but the British Empire without the United States was not self-sufficient. When Mr. Rhodes repeated that conversation to me, **he made no secret of the deep impression which Lord Rothschild's observation made upon him**; and it was one of the considerations which led him to favour the idea of the absorption of the Empire in the Republic as the only method of obtaining the ideal upon which he had set his heart.

– [The Review of Reviews: Volume 27](#), edited by William Thomas Stead, June 1903 issue.

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It was in 1895, that Cecil Rhodes first had the idea to form scholarships, you can date that this was before he had his conversation with Rothschild, because he **does not include America** in this initial codicil.

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“ It was at an interview in January, 1895, that Mr. Rhodes first announced to me his intention to found scholarships.

[...] He explained that there would be three for French Canadians and three for British. Each of the Australasian Colonies, including Western Australia and Tasmania, was to have three that is to say, one each year; but the Cape, because it was his own Colony, was to have twice as many scholarships as any other Colony.

## – William Stead

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Besides the heavy focus of the scholarships on America – two per state/territory, the other thing that should be stood out is what Cecil went out of his way to *exclude*.

P. 33 pf Stead's book, list –

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**The following is a list of Colonies to which no Scholarships have been appropriated:**



### **Canada**

- Nova Scotia
- New Brunswick
- Prince Edward Island
- Manitoba
- North-West Territories
- British Columbia

### **West Indies**

- Bahamas
- Leeward Islands
- Windward Islands
- Barbados
- Trinidad and Tobago

### **Mediterranean**

- Gibraltar
- Malta
- Cypress

### **Indian Ocean**

- Mauritius
- Ceylon

## Far East

- Borneo
- New Guinea
- Hong Kong

## Indian Empire

## Egypt

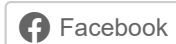
## Sudan

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That's about the gist of things with the scholarships, details of dollars and cents notwithstanding.

~ End ~

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**THE FALL OF CECIL RHODES AND THE RISE OF  
BLACK POWER IN AFRICA » COUNTERPUNCH:  
TELLS THE FACTS, NAMES THE NAMES**

APRIL 3, 2015 AT 8:50 AM

[...] 2. Rhodes. C, (1887) Confession of Faith. Accessed 10/03/2015. Retrieved from <https://mikemcclaughry.wordpress.com/the-reading-library/the-basement-just-dox/just-dox-british-inte...> 3. Godwin, P. (1998) Rhodes To Hell: Was The Father of Rhodesia Really The Epitome of Pure Evil? [...]

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The Wayback Machine - <http://web.archive.org/web/20130120204220/http://husky1.stmarys.ca/~wmills/rhod...>

## Cecil Rhodes' "Confession of Faith" of 1877

*Rhodes originally wrote this on June 2, 1877, in Oxford. Later, that year in Kimberley, he made some additions and changes. What follows is that amended statement. The spelling and grammar errors were in the original.*

It often strikes a man to inquire what is the chief good in life; to one the thought comes that it is a happy marriage, to another great wealth, and as each seizes on his idea, for that he more or less works for the rest of his existence. To myself thinking over the same question the wish came to render myself useful to my country. I then asked myself how could I and after reviewing the various methods I have felt that at the present day we are actually limiting our children and perhaps bringing into the world half the human beings we might owing to the lack of country for them to inhabit that if we had retained America there would at this moment be millions more of English living. I contend that we are the finest race in the world and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race. Just fancy those parts that are at present inhabited by the most despicable specimens of human beings what an alteration there would be if they were brought under Anglo-Saxon influence, look again at the extra employment a new country added to our dominions gives. I contend that every acre added to our territory means in the future birth to some more of the English race who otherwise would not be brought into existence. Added to this the absorption of the greater portion of the world under our rule simply means the end of all wars, at this moment had we not lost America I believe we could have stopped the Russian-Turkish war by merely refusing money and supplies. Having these ideas what scheme could we think of to forward this object. I look into history and I read the story of the Jesuits I see what they were able to do in a bad cause and I might say under bad leaders.

At the present day I become a member of the Masonic order I see the wealth and power they possess the influence they hold and I think over their ceremonies and I wonder that a large body of men can devote themselves to what at times appear the most ridiculous and absurd rites without an object and without an end.

The idea gleaming and dancing before ones eyes like a will-of-the-wisp at last frames itself into a plan. Why should we not form a secret society with but one object the furtherance of the British Empire and the bringing of the whole uncivilised world under British rule for the recovery of the United States for the making the Anglo-Saxon race but one Empire. What a dream, but yet it is probable, it is possible. I once heard it argued by a fellow in my own college, I am sorry to own it by an Englishman, that it was good thing for us that we have lost the United States. There are some subjects on which there can be no arguments, and to an Englishman this is one of them, but even from an American's point of view just picture what they have lost, look at their government, are not the frauds that yearly come before the public view a disgrace to any country and especially their's which is the finest in the world. Would they have occurred had they remained under English rule great as they have become how infinitely greater they would have been with the softening and elevating influences of English rule, think of those countless 000's of Englishmen that during the last 100 years would have crossed the Atlantic and settled and populated the United States. Would they have not made without any prejudice a finer country of it than the low class Irish and German emigrants? All this we have lost and that country loses owing to whom? Owing to two or three ignorant pig-headed statesmen of the last century, at their door lies the blame. Do you ever feel mad? do you ever feel murderous. I think I do with those men. I bring facts to prove my assertion. Does an English father when his sons wish to emigrate ever think of suggesting emigration to a country under another flag, never—it would seem a disgrace to suggest such a thing I think that we all think that poverty is better under our own flag than wealth under a foreign one.

Put your mind into another train of thought. Fancy Australia discovered and colonised under the French flag, what would it mean merely several millions of English unborn that at present exist we learn from the past and to form our future. We learn from having lost to cling to what we possess. We know the size of the world we know the total extent. Africa is still lying ready for us it is our duty to take it. It is our duty to seize every opportunity of acquiring more territory and we should keep this one idea steadily before our eyes that more territory simply means more of the Anglo-Saxon race more of the best the most human, most honourable race the world

possesses.

To forward such a scheme what a splendid help a secret society would be a society not openly acknowledged but who would work in secret for such an object.

I contend that there are at the present moment numbers of the ablest men in the world who would devote their whole lives to it. I often think what a loss to the English nation in some respects the abolition of the Rotten Borough System has been. What thought strikes a man entering the house of commons, the assembly that rule the whole world? I think it is the mediocrity of the men but what is the cause. It is simply—an assembly of wealth of men whose lives have been spent in the accumulation of money and whose time has been too much engaged to be able to spare any for the study of past history. And yet in hands of such men rest our destinies. Do men like the great Pitt, and Burke and Sheridan not now to exist. I contend they do. There are men now living with I know no other term the [Greek term] of Aristotle but there are not ways for enabling them to serve their Country. They live and die unused unemployed. What has the main cause of the success of the Romish Church? The fact that every enthusiast, call it if you like every madman finds employment in it. Let us form the same kind of society a Church for the extension of the British Empire. A society which should have members in every part of the British Empire working with one object and one idea we should have its members placed at our universities and our schools and should watch the English youth passing through their hands just one perhaps in every thousand would have the mind and feelings for such an object, he should be tried in every way, he should be tested whether he is endurant, possessed of eloquence, disregarding of the petty details of life, and if found to be such, then elected and bound by oath to serve for the rest of his life in his County. He should then be supported if without means by the Society and sent to that part of the Empire where it was felt he was needed.

Take another case, let us fancy a man who finds himself his own master with ample means of attaining his majority whether he puts the question directly to himself or not, still like the old story of virtue and vice in the Memorabilia a fight goes on in him as to what he should do. Take if he plunges into dissipation there is nothing too reckless he does not attempt but after a time his life palls on him, he mentally says this is not good enough, he changes his life, he reforms, he travels, he thinks now I have found the chief good in life, the novelty wears off, and he tires, to change again, he goes into the far interior after the wild game he thinks at last I've found that in life of which I cannot tire, again he is disappointed. He returns he thinks is there nothing I can do in life? Here I am with means, with a good house, with everything that is to be envied and yet I am not happy I am tired of life he possesses within him a portion of the [Greek term] of Aristotle but he knows it not, to such a man the Society should go, should test, and should finally show him the greatness of the scheme and list him as a member.

Take one more case of the younger son with high thoughts, high aspirations, endowed by nature with all the faculties to make a great man, and with the sole wish in life to serve his Country but he lacks two things the means and the opportunity, ever troubled by a sort of inward deity urging him on to high and noble deeds, he is compelled to pass his time in some occupation which furnishes him with mere existence, he lives unhappily and dies miserably. Such men as these the Society should search out and use for the furtherance of their object.

(In every Colonial legislature the Society should attempt to have its members prepared at all times to vote or speak and advocate the closer union of England and the colonies, to crush all disloyalty and every movement for the severance of our Empire. The Society should inspire and even own portions of the press for the press rules the mind of the people. The Society should always be searching for members who might by their position in the world by their energies or character forward the object but the ballot and test for admittance should be severe)

Once make it common and it fails. Take a man of great wealth who is bereft of his children perhaps having his mind soured by some bitter disappointment who shuts himself up separate from his neighbours and makes up his mind to a miserable existence. To such men as these the society should go gradually disclose the greatness of their scheme and entreat him to throw in his life and property with them for this object. I think that there are thousands now existing who would eagerly grasp at the opportunity. Such are the heads of my scheme.



For fear that death might cut me off before the time for attempting its development I leave all my worldly goods in trust to S. G. Shippard and the Secretary for the Colonies at the time of my death to try to form such a Society with such an object.

---

*On September 19, 1877, Rhodes drafted his first will; at that time, he had an estate of only about £10,000. (Although he changed his will quite a number of times in years following, the objective remained the same. After his death, the directors of the Rhodes Trust set up the Rhodes Scholarships as the best way to achieve his objectives.) The first clause of the 1877 will bequeathed his wealth as follows:*

To and for the establishment, promotion and development of a Secret Society, the true aim and object whereof shall be for the extension of British rule throughout the world, the perfecting of a system of emigration from the United Kingdom, and of colonisation by British subjects of all lands where the means of livelihood are attainable by energy, labour and enterprise, and especially the occupation by British settlers of the entire Continent of Africa, the Holy Land, the Valley of the Euphrates, the Islands of Cyprus and Candia, the whole of South America, the Islands of the Pacific not heretofore possessed by Great Britain, the whole of the Malay Archipelago, the seaboard of China and Japan, the ultimate recovery of the United States of America as an integral part of the British Empire, the inauguration of a system of Colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament which may tend to weld together the disjointed members of the Empire and, finally, the foundation of so great a Power as to render wars impossible and promote the best interests of humanity.

## 1877: Cecil Rhodes, "Confession of Faith"

[SAC editor has added bold face and hypertext links]

[[WEB source](#)]

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For fear that death might cut me off before the time for attempting its development I leave all my worldly goods in trust to S. G. Shippard and the Secretary for the Colonies at the time of my death to try to form such a Society with such an object.

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*On September 19, 1877, Rhodes drafted his first will; at that time, he had an estate of only about £10,000. (Although he changed his will quite a number of times in years following, the objective remained the same. After his death, the directors of the Rhodes Trust set up the Rhodes Scholarships as the best way to achieve his objectives.) The first clause of the 1877 will bequeathed his wealth as follows:*

To and for the establishment, promotion and development of a Secret Society, the true aim and object whereof shall be for the extension of British rule throughout the world, the perfecting of a system of emigration from the United Kingdom, and of colonisation by British subjects of all lands where the means of livelihood are attainable by energy, labour and enterprise, and especially the occupation by British settlers of the entire Continent of Africa, the Holy Land, the Valley of the Euphrates, the Islands of Cyprus and Candia, the whole of South America, the

Islands of the Pacific not heretofore possessed by Great Britain, the whole of the Malay Archipelago, the seaboard of China and Japan, the ultimate recovery of the United States of America as an integral part of the British Empire, the inauguration of a system of Colonial representation in the Imperial Parliament which may tend to weld together the disjointed members of the Empire and, finally, the foundation of so great a Power as to render wars impossible and promote the best interests of humanity.

# SAC 1855-1903

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- [1889jy14:Second International workingmen's association founded](#)
- [1893:1934; Russian cultural "Silver Age"](#)
- [1893my01:Frederick Jackson Turner announced end of USA frontier](#)
- [1896my22:Russian/Chinese relations improved](#)
- [1898fe15:Cuba, Havana Harbor | USA Battleship Maine exploded and sank](#)
- [1899fa:1902my31; South Africa| English/Dutch imperialist/colonial Boer War](#)
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◇1855fe18:1881mr01; **Russian Emperor Alexander II** reigned for 26 years, characterized by the following two main features =

1. [THE ERA OF GREAT REFORMS \[LOOP\]](#) and
2. **RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARY SITUATIONS** ([The first](#) and [the second](#))

- Alexander II, Emperor of Russia. *The Politics of Autocracy: Letters of Alexander II to Prince A. I. Bariatinskii, 1857-1864*
- Aleksandr Nikitenko, *The Diary of a Russian Censor* (1975). Nikitenko thought of [censorship](#) as a very positive profession
- *British documents on foreign affairs--reports and papers from the Foreign Office confidential print. Part I, from the mid-nineteenth century to the First World War. Series A, Russia, 1859-1914*, v1:1859-1880 (1983)
- Nikolai K. Giers, *The Education of a Russian Statesman: The Memoirs of Nich. Karl. Giers* (1962)

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\*--Larissa Zakharova, "THE GOVERNMENT AND THE GREAT REFORMS OF THE 1860s" [E-~~TEXT~~]

\*2016au18: Мария Баронова: «Лучшими правителями России были Брежнев [ID] и Александр II» | The Insider [E-~~TEXT~~]

\*--W. Bruce Lincoln, *In the Vanguard of Reform: Russia's Enlightened Bureaucrats, 1825-1861*

\*-----, *Nikolai Miliutin: An Enlightened Russian Bureaucrat*

\*--Daniel T. Orlovsky, *The Limits of Reform: The Ministry of Internal Affairs in Imperial Russia, 1802-1881* (1981)

\*--S. Frederick Starr, *Decentralization and Self-Government in Russia, 1830-1870* (1972)

\*--N. G. O. Pereira, *Tsar-Liberator: Alexander II of Russia, 1818-1881* (1984)

\*--E. M. von Almedingen, *The Emperor Alexander II* (1962)

\*--James Malloy, *P. A. Valuev and his career in Nineteenth century Russian state service*

\*--Werner Eugen Mosse, *Alexander II and the Modernization of Russia*. London:1958

\*--[Website of Walter Moss, "Alexander II and His Times"](#)

◇1855sp:Russian conservative Konstantin Aksakov (son of [Sergei Aksakov](#) and brother of Ivan Aksakov) wrote a memo to Emperor Alexander II, "On the Internal State of Russia" [[TEXT](#) | [Raeff3](#):231-51]

- This loyal and strong defense of freedom of speech could not be published until 1881
- Collection of writings = [Tribune of the Slavophiles: Konstantin Aksakov](#)
- 1853:Poetic defense of freedom of Expression [[DIR3](#):284-5]

◇1855:USA | [Walt Whitman](#), *Leaves of Grass* [TXT]

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\*--[Wagar](#) on Whitman [TXT]

◇1855ja:Shimoda | After losing all but the ship *Diana* (1806:1812:GO) to needs of the Crimean War, and after great earthquake and tidal wave leveled Shimoda and shipwrecked *Diana* [Beasley, MHJ:61], in 1855fe07 Putiatin arranged Treaty of Amity (Nichiro Washin Joyaku). Modelled on Kanagawa treaty, recently signed by USA Commander Matthew Perry [KEJ,4:179. PHandG:782]. Lensen thinks Shimoda "provisions" are "more extensive" than Kanagawa [KEJ,6:270]. "Went beyond" by opening 3 ports [KEJ,6:341]. Opened Shimoda, Hakodate, and Nagasaki to Russia, but only for ship repairs and provisioning. BUT did allow posting of consuls at Hakodate or Shimoda Russia chose Hakodate and established reciprocal extra-territoriality. Kurils divided so that Japan held those islands south of Iturup (Etorofu); Russia, those north of Urup (Uruppu) [KEJ,6:270 Lensen. I think he means "S FROM" and "N FROM". NB!:Kurils divided N of Etorofu (KEJ,2:238 Stephan)]. Sakhalin a "common possession" (Lensen) or "jointly occupied" (Stephan) [Harrison, Japan's N.Frontier]. Lensen feels that "relations between Russian residents, mostly personnel of naval vessels wintering in Japan, and local inhabitants were on the whole amicable. As military men, Japanese officials could identify more readily with monarchist naval officers than with merchants or with missionaries [KEJ,6:341]. Lensen goes too far to put Russia in good light. Says 1st lessons in European shipbuilding from Putiatin's stranded crew, but cf.PH&G:766 re.Adams "Anjin"

◇1855my08:Heda, NW coast of Izu Peninsula | Putiatin and 40 men were moved to Heda, built European-style schooner in partnership with Japanese craftsmen, and departed for Russia from [Japan](#) (took 2 wks) [KEJ,6:270]

- That year novelist Ivan Aleksandrovich Goncharov began serial publication of his *Fregat Pallada* (1858:book publication) about his experience with [Putiatin](#) in Japan
- Goncharov mocked and ridiculed Japanese in a most unfortunate manner. "It was difficult to look without laughter at these skirt-clad figures with their little topnots and their bare little knees". Lensen says that G's portrait of Japan as "ludicrous and effeminate" was very damaging

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\*--[KEJ](#),3:46

\*--Lensen"Historicity

◇1855je16:*San Francisco Journal* carried article by the German traveler Julius Frobel which stressed parallel rise of USA and Russia

- Frobel's prognosis = three-way suzerainty over globe, USA, Europe and Russia
- Frobel later wrote memoirs of his travels to the New World, Frobel, Julius, 1805-1893 *Seven years' travel in Central America, northern Mexico, and the far West of the United States* (London:1859) F1409.F92

◇1855oc13:1857my21; French intellectuals Edmund and Jules Goncourt kept diary of [everyday life](#) in Paris in which they reflected on the inferiority of [women](#) [P20:14]

◇1856:1870; Italian unification under the leadership of Camillo di Cavour and Giuseppe Garibaldi

- Italian unification was a complex 14-year process of gathering widely different jurisdictions under single governmental administration
- Unification was not complete until Rome and the Vatican City were brought under the authority of the new Italian [liberal](#) monarchy [MAP]
- "[Italy](#)", the nation-state, made its late appearance on the historical stage [DPH:187-91]

◇1856:Sergei Aksakov published *Chronicles of a Russian Family*, a remarkable tale of gentry family life in the time of [serfdom](#) on the Orenburg, trans-Volga frontier or [Bashkir steppes](#) [excerpts= [KRR](#):352-4]

- 1914:Mikhail Nesterov landscape portrait of area around Aksakov homestead in [Olga's Gallery](#)
- [Sergei Aksakov's UO bibliography](#)
- For Sergei's famous sons, GO [Konstantin](#) and [Ivan](#)

◇1856mr18 (mr30 NS): Treaty of Paris ended [Crimean War](#) [VSB,3:606-7 | [DPH](#):197-9 | [DIR2](#):209-20 | ORW:118 | [HDE](#),1:153-6]

- The several signatories to the treaty -- France, England, Turkey, Sardinia, Russia, [Austria](#), and [Prussia](#) -- agreed to neutralization of Black Sea, open to all commercial fleets but closed to all military navies
  - Russia, as the "defeated party", was forced to agree to this strategically disarming clause
  - No navy off the coast of its Crimean Black Sea ports meant an entirely different thing for Russia than it meant for distant France, England, Austria and Prussia
- Moldavia and Wallachia became semi-independent states under Ottoman Turkish suzerainty
- Russia was furthermore forced to cede the mouth of the Danube River and Bessarabia [later known as Moldova] to Romania
  - All the lower Danube placed under the authority of an international commission
- Russian imperial advance in Ottoman Turkish Central-Asia was hereby pushed back, and its influence over the largely [Romanian-speaking territories](#) of Moldavia, Wallachia and Bessarabia was neutralized
- This had the effect of hindering simple bilateral Russian/Ottoman accommodation with one another. Instead =
  - Ottoman Turkey was now declared to be part of what was called the "European concert" and its integrity protected as such
    - NB! the implication that Russia could not now be considered a part of Europe
    - [Ottoman Turkey](#) became a part of the "Concert of Europe" in the effort to keep its imperial domains from becoming a part of Russia



- In truth, the Crimean War and the intensification of "the great game" marked the end of the 1814-1854 "Concert of Europe"
- We see here an early adumbration of the notion that the ambitions of "The West" promised salvation from the ambitions of Russian "Oriental Despotism"
  - 1853: As an early example of this macro-historical view on world politics, Karl Marx published a series of 26 articles on the international crisis surrounding the Crimean War in the New York *Tribune* [[E-TXT](#) | [The Eastern Question: ... Letters Written 1853-1856 Dealing with the Events of the Crimean War](#)]
  - 1857: Marx followed this up with punditry on the same subject [[E-TXT](#) | [Secret Diplomatic History of the Eighteenth Century and the Story of the Life of Lord Palmerston](#)]
  - The mature [Karl Marx of global significance](#) was about to make his historical appearance
- International settlement of the Crimean War conspicuously advanced the imperialist ambitions of "The West" while Russian imperialist ambitions were conspicuously damaged
  - On the long duration of the concept "The West" (and derivative expressions, EG="Westernization") hop **back to the early beginnings** of ["The West" LOOP](#)
  - Increasingly this loose concept and its derivative expressions were used to reference powerful and rapidly modernizing (IE=Industrializing) northwestern European nation-states in their domineering or imperialist relationship to the rest of the world, its "metropol" relationship to the global "periphery"
    - With a smile, we might note that
      - neither Iceland nor Ireland (the European territories furthest "West")
      - nor Portugal (continental European state furthest "West" and an early big player in the era of European colonial imperialism, but now sidelined)
      - none of these were at the center of the emerging concept "The West"
    - The rest of Europe & the world was labeled over time with a series of progressively less slanderous adjectives implying comparison with "The West" =
      - "savage"
      - "primitive"
      - "backward"
      - "undeveloped"
      - "underdeveloped"
      - and (by the late 20th century) "developing" and "Westernizing"
  - Continue hops forward on the ["The West" LOOP](#)
- The Crimean War taught one main lesson to Russia = The Russian Empire was in a downward spiral from "metropol" toward "periphery"
- After the humiliating Crimean settlement, Russia took twenty years to regain its global status, to bolster its military strength and prepare to reassert itself in the Black Sea and the Balkans [[ID](#)]
  - Some think the Russian goal to reestablish itself in global imperialist politics was the fundamental motive of the 20-year domestic reform that came to be called "The Era of Great Reforms"
  - This possibility provides an excellent opportunity to explore the wide historical issue of relationship between foreign and domestic politics [[GO 1856mr30](#)]
- 1856de: Caucasus Mountains, northern slopes| Chechen people shifted from imam leadership to Russian administration
  - Russian General Evdokimov introduced program of receiving into Russian territory immigrants from Shamil' s Chechen and Daghestan territories [[ID](#)]
- In an area that would 50 years later be called "Middle East", England appeared to be winning the ["Great Game"](#)
- But Russia waited its turn
- [LOOP on "AfroAsia"](#)

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\*--John H. Gleason, *The Genesis of Russophobia in Great Britain* (1950)

\*--Richard Elrod, "The Concert of Europe..." [[E-TXT](#)]

◇1856mr30: Only 12 days after the signing of the Treaty of Paris [above], Russian Emperor Alexander II advised Moscow aristocrats gathered in their provincial noble assembly, "It is better to abolish serfdom from above than to await the time when it will begin to abolish itself from below" [[VSB,3:589](#) | [DPH:282](#)]

- Noble assemblies were institutions created in the time of Catherine II [[ID](#)]
  - These aristocratic "corporate" or soslovie-based institutions responded in hope and fear to Alexander's dramatic announcement
  - Russian landowning elites now entered into a brilliant, yet futile -- perhaps we could say final -- period of corporate or "class-conscious" political action
  - Newspaper reports on this Moscow [Noble Assembly](#) alerted reading public to the immediate possibility of significant reform
  - 1858su: Nizhnii-Novgorod and Moscow nobles heard addresses by Alexander II on same theme [[VSB,3:591](#)]
- Internal Ministry official Aleksei Levshin and Senator Yakov Solov'ev described the background to reforms [[VSB,3:589-91](#)]

- At the autocratic center, in Petersburg, the Main Committee and Editorial Commission laid the groundwork for abolition of [serfdom](#) [VSB,3:591-3]
- A wide range of root and branch reform initiatives got under way in tsarist ministries
- Landowning nobles ([rural gentry political activists](#)) distrusted the reformist state and were thus not at all certain that this "[great reform](#)" would be all that great
- What might this suggest about the status of the landowning aristocracy as a "ruling class" in Imperial Russia?
- What might this suggest about the motivations of tsarist authorities as they launched the reform epoch?

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\*--[Mironov](#),2:366-81 says that tsarist officials and other Russians were motivated by comparison of Russia with its west European neighbors. Mironov places the opening of the half-century reform era prior to WW1 (up to 1914) in its broad comparative European context

◇1856de01:USA WDC | Jefferson Davis, USA Secretary of War (1853-57) and future president of the rebellious Confederacy, addressed new challenge faced by a dispirited and idle US military, scattered across the Great Plains in small, vulnerable forts without a specific mission appropriate to its size and ambition as generated in the Mexican-American War [ID]

- Davis understood the close parallel of frontier and imperialist expansion. He said =

The occupation of [Algeria](#) by the French presents a case having much parallelism to that of our western frontier, and affords an opportunity of profiting by their experience. Their practice, as far as understood by me, is to leave the desert region to the possession of the nomadic tribes; their outposts, having strong garrisons, are established near the limits of the cultivated region, and their services performed by large detachments making expeditions into the desert regions as required [Webb, [Great Plains](#):194-5 & ff.]

- 1855mr03:Davis had gotten \$30,000 from Congress to experiment with camels in TX
- 1858:Davis was the first to propose construction of a railroad to the Pacific Ocean
  - He considered it a military necessity and thus a government project, that is, it required government subvention (monetary support) of private enterprise
  - Davis arranged for government survey of 4 possible routes
- Davis understood the military-industrial closeness of frontier (imperialist?) expansion and the development of railroads
- As USA was poised to open its own industrial era of railroad construction and to launch a campaign into the Great Plains against the [Native Americans](#) who lived there, it was temporarily diverted by the disasters of the great [Civil War](#)

◇1857ja26:Russian Emperor Alexander II decree laid out plan for vigorous development of railroads [VSB,3:607]

◇1857my10:1858au02; [India](#) | Sepoy Rebellion ushered in brutal year of imperialist war which pitted England against an Indian independence movement

- Prominent English cultural figure, John Ruskin [ID], delivered a speech characteristic of British imperialist attitudes toward those who resisted their power =

Since the race of man began its course of sin on this earth, nothing has ever been done by it so significant of all bestial, and lower than bestial degradation, as the act [of] the Indian race in the year that has just passed by" [2011au19:TLS:3]

- The rebellion forced abolition of [250-year-old English East India Co.](#) and caused imposition in India of direct administration by imperialist English crown
- Termination of the great English [mercantilist](#) corporation, together with the demise of the Russian-America Company [ID], indicated that [one 300-year phase of European overseas-corporate economic life was over](#)
- And all this just as a new breed of industrial company moved to the center of European economic life, as epitomized by the new [railroad](#) companies [ID] and transnational [grain](#) and [petroleum](#) corporations

◇1857oc11:Nagasaki | Putiatin was back from China where he was working to create a new generation of treaties more favorable to Russia than the old [Nerchinsk Treaty](#). He found no word from Edo

- 1857oc16:Nagasaki officials decided to move ahead in their dealings with Putiatin, using the Dutch proposal as prototype
- Week later Putiatin signed similar treaty, w/promise that another port than Shimoda would be opened
- USA diplomatic representative Townsend Harris wouldn't accept this plan and proposed to force a greater opening of [Japan](#)
- [Putiatin](#) soon had some imperialist success in [China](#), and Russian imperialist ambitions in Asia mounted as the 19th century wound down

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\*--Beasley,MHJ:65

◇1857:1870; In London political exile, the pundit Alexander Herzen was beyond the grip of Russian [censorship](#) and free to publish and circulate back in Russia his influential journal of opinion and political news, *Kolokol* [The Bell] for 13 years, until his death

[Excerpts: [KMM](#):165-90 | [RRC2](#),2:321-31 | [Edie](#),1:328-78 | [VSB](#),2:582-4]

- 1849:1855; Various Herzen writings [[DIR3](#):271-84]
- 1851:Paris | Six years before the appearance of *Kolokol*, Herzen explained to Europeans that Russia had a long and progressive revolutionary tradition, "Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie" [KMM:158-64]
- 1851se22:Herzen letter to Michelet [Excerpts = [TXT](#) | [DIR2](#):233-54]
  - Herzen defended Russia from standard west European clichés repeated in Michelet's writing
  - Herzen insisted, "The time has come to show Europe that they cannot speak about Russia as of something mute, absent, and defenseless"
- Herzen's critical and radical patriotism, his insistence that Russia was as able as Europe to reach for the better future, and especially his inclination to idealize Russian village political tradition, inspired the "**populist**" movement [[ID](#)] |
- 1852:London| Herzen, with his close associate [Nikolai Ogarev](#), founded "Free Russian Press"
  - The press issued a stream of information and opinion back into Russia where censorship constrained free expression
  - These publications were suppressed by Russian officials, but they were read in secret and with enthusiasm both by political opponents of autocracy and by the autocrat himself
- 1856:London| *Voices from Russia* [Golosa iz Rossii] began to appear. The more famous journal, *Kolokol*, expanded out of *Voices*
  - This serial publication contained examples of a growing body of thoughtful essays sent to Herzen from Russia, where official [censorship](#) prevented free deliberation on significant national issues
  - The lead article of volume one was critical of political extremism and was signed "A Russian Liberal"
    - This anonymous piece was written jointly by Konstantin Kavelin and Boris Chicherin)
    - Chicherin also published a piece on the weaknesses of the Russian aristocracy, "Ob aristokratii, v osobennosti russkoi" [[GRV](#):189-93]
    - That very year, back in Russia, Kavelin's MS critique of serfdom circulated = "Gosudarstvennoe krepostnoe pravo v Rossii" [[GRV](#):194-7]
  - Russian [liberalism](#), leftist, rightist and centrist, stood forth here at mid-century, promoted in this Herzen and Ogarev serial publication
- 1852:1868; Herzen published, first in serial form, one of the great political/intellectual autobiographies of all times, [My Past and Thoughts](#)
  - These memoirs shed light on the early history of European [socialism](#) and the rise of the Russian intelligentsia [[ID](#)]
  - Brilliantly composed, these memoirs entered into the Russian literary canon
- Herzen and Ogarev are always thought to be more nearly "socialists" than "liberals", though neither were doctrinaire on this point
  - This simplistic distinction between "socialist" and "liberal" must be reconsidered when we find them in thoroughgoing statist environments = each is radical, dissident and opposition-minded there
  - Furthermore, as the third phase of the European and world revolution (so designated in SAC [[ID](#)]) began to show its outlines in late-19th-century European public activism two political creeds, socialism and liberalism, were increasingly blended
  - Also, as the 20th-century approached, traditional "conservatism" began to assume some part of the oppositional stance of socialism and liberalism
- 1857fe03:Herzen letter to the novelist [Turgenev](#) compared Russia, America and Europe [[VSB](#),3:634-5]
- 1858:Herzen wrote of Russia and America: "Both -- from different direction -- reached across awesome expanses, building towns, settlements, and colonies, to the shores of the Pacific Ocean, the 'Mediterranean of the future'"
- 1859:"Russian Germans and German Russians" offered more critique of "The West" [[VSB](#),3:635-6]
- 1867:[Herzen](#) portrait painted by Nikolai Gay may be viewed in [Olga's Gallery](#)

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\*--Martin Malia, [Alexander Herzen and the Birth of Russian Socialism](#)

\*--[YRR](#), ch.1 & ch.3 on Herzen & *Kolokol*

\*--Alexander Kucherov, "Alexander Herzen's Parallel between the United States and Russia", in Curtiss, ed., *Essays*....:34-47

\*--English playwright Tom Stoppard on Herzen [[TXT](#)] Review of Stoppard's dramatic trilogy, "The Coast of Utopia" [[TXT](#)]

◇1858:London exile, as a result of unsuccessful radical republican political activism in [Italy](#), provided [Guiseppe Mazzini](#) the opportunity to publish a theoretical and political journal, *Pensiero ed Azione* [Thought and Action]

◇1858:Leipzig | Russian priest and advocate of greater independence of the Russian Orthodox Church from state control and for general church reforms, I. S. Belliustin, published [Description of the Clergy in Rural Russia: The Memoir of a Nineteenth-Century Parish Priest](#) [Excerpt= [KRR](#):336-9]

- The Church, as institution, was largely put outside the range of tsarist reform planning
- The Petrine subordination of church to state [[ID](#)] was given little official attention
- However, the newly aroused public and energized seminary teachers and students, as well as certain activist clergy (such as Belliustin), subjected the [Russian Orthodox Church](#) to critical scrutiny

◇1858my:Russian pundit Nikolai Dobroliubov (-1861), "The Organic Development of Man...." [[Raef3](#):263-87 | CF=[Selected Philosophical Essays](#)] | 1859:Review of Nikolai Goncharov's novel about aristocratic indolence, *Oblomov* | [RRC2](#),2#28 | [DIR3](#):321-5]

- In the late 1850s and early 1860s, the increasingly influential Russian monthly journal ***Sovremennik*** [Contemporary] appeared
    - Nikolai Dobroliubov and **Nikolai Chernyshevskii** played leading roles
    - Both Dobroliubov and Chernyshevskii were sons of Orthodox priests, but they made their careers and gained great popularity because of their broad-ranging "muckraking" journalism and advocacy of a "modern" secular, science-based world view
    - Because of censorship, philosophical (especially secular), political-economic and social issues had to be disguised as literary criticism
    - EG= [Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Dobroliubov: Selected Criticism](#)
      - Mid-century pundits or journalists put themselves in cunning competition with censors
      - Official censorship, whether state or Church censorship, was the traditional institution of control and maintenance of prevailing establishmentarian world views [ID]
      - But now there was a growing university-trained reading public, fed by a growing popular press
      - [Compare these trends with early 17th-century English developments](#)
      - [LOOP on Censorship](#)
  - Chernyshevskii was no literary critic. He wrote on leading issues in the life of the struggling Russian agrarian order =
    - 1857: "On the Ownership of Landed Property"
    - 1858: "A Critique of the Philosophical Prejudices against Communal Possession" [SLM | Q.PSS#05:357-92]
  - He also developed a deep interest in contemporary European political-economic thought and its efforts to understand the geographically expanding industrial transformation of traditional agrarian civilization and the rise of the historically unprecedented social formation [wage-labor](#)
    - He wrote "Capital and Labor" (1860) [VSB,3:637]
    - He translated into Russian and extensively annotated John Stuart Mills' principles of political-economy [ID]
  - He also wrote engagingly on philosophical issues, as in "The Anthropological Principle in Philosophy" [Edie,2:29-60 | VSB,3:638]
  - Chernyshevskii, [Selected Philosophical Essays](#)
  - [Chernyshevskii](#) was an outstanding example of the new "public intellectual" in European life, filled with confidence in [science](#) and progress and the need to propagate their virtues among the educated public, and this in order to solidify or promote the growth of a modern [secularized](#) civil society
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- \*--[Wagar](#) on world view of the Russian 1860s [TXT]
- \*--Vladimir Nabokov, [The Gift](#) [short novel lampooned Chernyshevskii and the epoch of Russian positivism]
- \*--William Woehrlin, [Chernyshevsky: The Man and the Journalist](#)
- \*--N. G. O. Pereira, *The Thought and Teachings of N. G. Chernyshevskii*
- \*--[VRR](#), ch.5 & ch.6
- \*--[LOOP on "Political-Economy"](#)

◇1858my28:China and Russia signed Aigun treaty; 1858je13:Tientsin treaty [DIR2:257-70 | DIR3:296-304]

◇1858au19:Japan, Edo | Putiatin signed 1st Russian/Japanese treaty of Friendship and Commerce w/Nagai Naomune (1816:1891) Inoue Kiyonao etc

- The two hitherto remote territorial-states exchanged ministers and began trade
- Putiatin later signed [1860no14:Peking treaty with China](#)
- Putiatin's slow starting, [fifteen-year diplomatic mission to China and Japan](#) ended in success
- Russian-Japanese friendship seemed solid as Japan positioned itself for its great internal transformation which would later have immense impact on its foreign policy = [Japanese Meiji Restoration](#)

◇1859:1862; [Prussian](#) [north German] Ambassador to the St. Petersburg court was future architect of German unity, [Otto von Bismarck](#)

◇1859:1863; Russian revolutionary situation (the first, lasting 4 years) arose early in the [Era of Great Reforms](#) [KRR:430ff | FFS:101-96 (1860:1864 | various petitions etc)]

- The 1860s have been called "The First Russian Revolutionary Situation" which was provoked when Alexander II and his administration decided they could no longer allow themselves to govern as they had in the past
  - Failure in the Crimean War [ID] exposed glaring Russian weaknesses
  - Serfdom over the long run and the legacy of Nicholas I more recently [ID] made the status quo unacceptable even to highest authorities
  - Promotion of Imperial interests required extensive change
- The state came to see the need for extensive change, and the people of Russia, the subjects of the tsar, agreed
- The situation in which old regime authorities and their subjects agreed on the need for significant change was revolutionary
  - First because authorities and subjects did not agree about what changes needed to be made nor did they agree on the extent or pace of reform

- Second, two forces -- state bureaucrats and various social groups -- were ready to mobilize themselves to promote their own various and clashing ideas about change
  - Different ideas were rooted in different interests
  - Social formations, individuals and institutions all act according to perceived interests [ID]
  - These various interests clashed with one another, and Russia had no capacity for factional politics
- A new and recognizably modern political opposition arose =
  - Radical-left pro-reform and radical-right anti-reform factions arose in the ranks of civilian and military state servitors and attenuated official reform energies
  - [Peasants](#) wanted more land under better conditions
  - Gentry thought they were invited to help design the reform when the tsar asked [noble assemblies](#) to form gentry committees to deliberate on serfdom
    - Some gentry political activists decided to resist reform
    - Some [gentry political activists](#) decided to push reform to the limit
  - An [emerging "civil society"](#) sought political and social reforms well beyond anything the state could accept, simply because the causes that inspired civil society were not the causes that inspired official reform
  - A lively new print medium weighed in, [from abroad](#) and [on the domestic scene](#)
  - [Poland](#) rose up in rebellion against Russian rule
- Reformist authorities (who promoted reform) and reactionary authorities (who opposed reform) could agree on this =
- Political activism (self-generated public mobilization) on the part of either peasants, gentry, "intelligentsia" [ID], or national minorities was unacceptable
- But reactionary authorities proved wrong on their one essential do-nothing position because **tsarist government could not rule as in the past, and significant changes had to be made**
- An emerging Russian "public" agreed, but an increasingly mobilized public, for a brief and intense period of crisis, rejected changes proposed by reigning authorities
- That was the essence of the mid-century revolutionary situation, but no revolution followed
  - The state temporarily restrained its own radical reformers and reactionary resistance and pushed through compromised but authentic reforms
  - The state prevailed over peasants with its army
  - The state prevailed over the gentry and the fledgling civil society with harsh police measures and subtle policies of cooptation
- A [second revolutionary situation](#) nonetheless arose 15 years later at the end of the reign of Alexander II

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\*--Alan Kimball, "Tsarist State &amp; Origins of Revolutionary Opposition in the 1860s [TXT]"

\*--VRR, ch.4-13 (90-315)

\*--Jonathan Daly, [Autocracy Under Siege: Security Police and Opposition in Russia, 1855-1905](#) (1998)

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◇1859:England | **A remarkable publication year in London** [[Map of London](#)]**Four characteristic works appeared =**

1. [John Stuart Mill](#), *On Liberty* [TXT] [CCC2,2:865-93]
    - \\
    - [W]
    - \*1971:USA| John Rawls renewed the search for an understanding of the liberal tradition [ID]
    - \*--Anthony Appiah, [The Ethics of Identity](#)
    - \*--John Skorupski, *John Stuart Mill* and [The Cambridge Companion to Mill](#)
    - \*--Richard Reeves, [John Stuart Mill: Victorian Firebrand](#)
  2. **Samuel Smiles**, *Self Help; With Illustrations of Conduct and Perseverance* [TXT] The second chapter described the personal traits that promoted remarkable success of capitalist/manufacturing/engineering leaders, heroes appropriate to this new industrial age, up-to-date [secular](#) variation on older Christian tradition, "lives of saints" [EG]
  3. [Karl Marx](#), "Preface to *Contribution to a Critique of Political Economy*" [Zur Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie (Vorwort)] (the heart of Zur Kritik = indicated [TXT])
    - \\
    - \*--Alan Kimball, Marx and Russia: The Changing Meaning of a Semi-Asiatic Empire, 1852-1883 [TXT]
    - \*--[Marx-Engels website](#)
    - \*2015su: The Amsterdam International Institute for Social History announced that it has now placed its [Marx/Engels collection fully online](#)
  4. [Charles Darwin](#), *Origin of Species* [TXT] [CCC2,2:625-46 CCC3,2:813-33]
    - \\
    - \*--Daniel P. Todes, *Darwin without Malthus: The Struggle for Existence in Russian Evolutionary Thought* (O:UP,1989)
    - \*--Alexander S. Vucinich, *Darwin in Russian Thought* (1988)
    - \*-----, [Science in Russian Culture](#)
- Five "isms" seemed to be in the process of mastering formal European thought =



1. [Liberalism](#)
  2. Positivism [\[ID\]](#)
  3. Progressivism
  4. [Socialism](#) and
  5. Science -- or at least "[scientism](#)"
- In this great year 1859, two specific "isms" consolidated their hold on the European then the world imagination =
    1. "[Marxism](#)", a powerful expression of radical socialism
    2. "[Darwinism](#)", a powerful expression of scientism
  - Some even thought that old-regime conservatism and traditional spiritualisms had been eclipsed
  - **The formal modern contemporary mind-set of "The West" was now becoming fully apparent**
  - 1856 (only three years earlier), the Connecticut-born (USA) writer and publisher Samuel Griswold Goodrich compiled his [Recollections of a lifetime, or men and things I have seen in a series of familiar letters to a friend: historical, biographical, anecdotal, and descriptive](#)
    - In an early chapter, "Letter VI" [v1:63], he extolled the virtues of good old-fashioned agricultural ways of life and lamented how the new era ushered all that out
      - In his town everyone, even preachers and judges, used also to be farmers
      - Goodrich's father, a Congregationalist minister, farmed and so did the writer-publisher Goodrich himself
    - In Goodrich's view, rural life made for a better and more wholesome person
    - But the old agrarian ways were transformed by economic modernization
    - Goodrich made a direct connection between three large trends of his day =
      1. Macro-economic trends [\[Taxonomy point IV\]](#)
      2. Political trends [\[Taxonomy point II\]](#)
      3. Intellectual [\[Taxonomy point I\]](#)
    - Since the time of Jefferson (by "Jefferson" here Goodrich implies democratic politics), an era of "Talk", demagoguery, etc., opened. The result? =
    - A swarm of "isms" was set loose on the world
- //
- \*--[LOOP on "Political-Economy"](#)

◇1859:1869; Egypt, between Mediterranean Sea and Red Sea | French engineer Ferdinand de Lesseps oversaw the ten-year construction of the 100-mile-long **Suez Canal**

- 1856ja05: Egypt agreed with the de Lesseps company on a "definitive concession" to build the canal [\[HDE,1:146-9\]](#)
- Essentially an imperialist adventure, de Lesseps' industrial company was a hybrid of the old [mercantilist](#) and modern capitalist corporation [\[ID\]](#)
- The canal required no locks and was navigable by even the largest ships (minimum of 196 feet wide and 42 feet deep)
- By 1875, the canal was under English imperialist control
- 1876: A short-story-style narrative of de Lesseps' efforts to build the canal [\[E-TXT\]](#)
- On the average, traffic level through the first century of the canal was 6000 ships per year
- Around half of all sea-borne trade between western Europe and Asia passes through this [AfroAsian](#) canal in [Egypt](#)

◇1859: Russian folklorist Aleksandr Afanas' ev published *Russian Folk Legends* [\[KRR:391-4\]](#). He searched for essential "Russianness" in the rural folk

◇1859fe19: Russia-France treaty of neutrality and cooperation [\[DIR2:225-6 | DIR3:294-6\]](#)

◇1859ap: Caucasus Mountains | Russia rallied in Chechnya and Daghestan after Crimean War [\[ID\]](#)

- Russian military finally captured Shamil and exiled him to estates near Kaluga in Russia
  - As a show of deep respect, Russian authorities granted him a Russian noble title [\[pix#1 | pix#2\]](#)
  - In 1870, Shamil was near death and was permitted to travel to Mecca where 1871mr:Shamil died, ending an epic that began in [1830fe04](#)
- Caucasus Viceroy and commander of the Russian army there, Field Marshal Prince Aleksandr Bariatskii, outlined his vision of Russian imperialism in the Caucasus [\[VSB,3:607-10\]](#)
  - 1859jy10: He urged restoration of the indigenous aristocracy and strengthening the role of Russian Orthodoxy among the population as a counter-measure against the popular, almost democratic, influence of the Islamic clergy
  - 1862de: He now urged Russian authorities "to administer each nationality with affection and complete respect for its cherished customs and traditions". He emphasized that "the education of native women is, of course, of prime importance". In addition, he proposed careful diplomatic consultations with the Turks to facilitate easy migration into [Ottoman](#) lands for Islamic malcontents on Russian held lands
- The [Great Game](#) heated up, but small shafts of hopeful light appeared now and again in the tense Russian/Turkish interface

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\*--[LOOP on "Imperialism and Revolution"](#)

◇1859my01:Saint Petersburg | Anton Rubinshtein founded the Russian Musical Society

- Russian cultural figures mobilized to promote the interests of the creative arts and of the professionals who created art
- In this same year several important, nation-wide voluntary societies were organized with purposes that ran parallel with the Muscial Society.EG =
  1. The Literary Fund
  2. The **Political-Economic Committees of the Free Economic Society and of the Russian Imperial Geography Society**, and hundreds of individual Sunday Schools, soon coordinated by a Literacy Committee of the Free Economic Society which extended its activities nation-wide
- These expanding societies had as their objective to wrest control over national mentalities exercised until now by an autocratic, bureaucratic and Church authority, to abolish censorship in high culture, to engage as an active public with the huge professional and political-economic issues arising with modernization, to liberate the written and published word, along with higher education, from insider-elite dominance, and to bring literacy and other appropriate forms of primary education for the first time to the millions of "common folk"
- [LOOP on Censorship](#)
- Here at mid-19th-century, Russia gave every appearance of joining in what SAC defines as the first phase of the European and world revolution [\[ID\]](#)
- A table illustrates growth of voluntary societies into this period = [\[pix\]](#)
- A second table illustrates ups and downs in the turbulent 1860s = [\[pix\]](#)
- These tables are graphic illustration of a phenomenal growth of a fledgling Russian "[civil society](#)."

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\*--Yuri Olkhovsky, [Vladimir Stasov and Russian National Culture](#)\*--[LOOP on "Political-Economy"](#)◇1859fa:1862; Russian [noble assemblies became mobilization centers of rural gentry politics](#)

- Noble assemblies often clashed with official reformers
- Provincial gentry committees complained, but the state did not waiver [\[VSB,3:593-8\]](#)

◇1859oc16:oc17; VA Harpers Ferry attacked by a guerilla army with anti-slavery zealot John Brown (1800:1859de) at its head

- This decisive event had a 5-year background =
  - 1854:Kansas-Nebraska Act assured that these new territories would not be slave states
  - 1855:KS Osawatimie | John Brown joined six of his sons and one son-in-law on their claim in the "free-state" KS
  - He soon was captain of a "para-military" [as we would now say] organization of local "free-soil" Kansans on the border of the slave-state Missouri
  - 1856my:USA | Missouri "border ruffians" crossed into KS again to harass free-staters
    - William Quantrill [\[ID\]](#) raided Lawrence KS before the vigilante force, made up of Brown and his sons, could bring relief
  - Brown's fundamentalist Calvinism, heavily influenced by the images of Old-Testament prophet-warriors, inspired Brown to wage holy war against slavery
  - Those who followed him were soon involved in their own border raids
    - They rode into the claims along Pottawatomie Creek, seizing and killing four pro-slavery settlers (who had no direct role in the border raids, such as Quantrill's)
    - Brown subsequently also became involved in the planning of an [African](#)-American Republic, but grew tired of political debate = "Talk! talk! talk! That will never free the slaves. What is needed is action -- action."
- And that action took place at Harper's Ferry. John Brown expected wide-spread slave rebellion to follow
- Or did he seek martyrdom in an ill-planned and poorly executed military assault?
- Reinforcements eventually defeated Brown's forces
- 1859de02:VA Charlestown | John Brown was hanged, but not before he handed a prison guard the following prophetic note =

I John Brown am now quite *certain* that the crimes of this *guilty land*: will never be purged *away*; but with Blood. I had *as I now think*: vainly flattered myself that without *very much* bloodshed; it might be done.  
[2005my12:NYR:14-17]

1942:John Steuart Curry: The Tragic Prelude [to the US Civil War]  
[Original on the Kansas State House wall, Topeka KS]

[Image](#)



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\*--David S. Reynolds, *John Brown, Abolitionist: The Man Who Killed Slavery, Sparked the Civil War, and Seeded Civil Rights*\*--Merrill D. Peterson, *John Brown: The Legend Revisited*\*--Peggy A. Russo and Paul Finkelman, *Terrible Swift Sword: The Legacy of John Brown*

◇1860:Japan | After brief eclipse, Kawaji became Interior Minister (commissioner gaikoku bugyo). In 1867, he committed suicide after Edo Castle, seat of Tokugawa regime, fell to Meiji Restoration forces [noPHandG]

◇1860:Siberia | Vladivostok founded

\*1860:Asia ([Map of Eurasia](#) showing its Political Divisions and also the various Routes of Travel between London and India, China and Japan), S. A. Mitchell, *New General Atlas* [UO has 1880 edition]\*--This decorative map represents an early use of the the term "[Eurasia](#)". It includes the Russian Empire, south to India and east to the Philippine and Japanese Islands

◇1860my31:Russian Imperial State Bank was established

\*--It became the greatest commercial bank in the Empire, but it was slow to come alive in the Russian national economy which was itself slow to come alive since it was not given the sort of close attention other areas of "great reforms" got =

The activities of the State Bank of the Russian Empire may be divided into two periods. During the first period (from 1860 to 1894) the State Bank was largely an auxiliary institution of the Finance Ministry. Most of the State Bank resources were absorbed by direct and indirect financing of the Treasury. It was vested with the functions pertaining to the Finance Ministry apparatus: conducting the [emancipation-related] buy-out transactions and handling all paperwork related to them, propping up the state mortgage banks, and so on. Until 1887 the State Bank settled the accounts of pre-reform banks. All settlement operations were conducted at the State Treasury's expense, which was debtor to these banks, but since the budget deficit made it impossible for the Treasury to provide the necessary funds, until 1872 the State [Bank](#) annually used a large part of its commercial profits for these purposes. [[SOURCE](#)]

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\*--[LOOP on "finance"](#)◇1860no14:Russia and [China](#) signed Peking [Beijing] treaty [[DIR2](#):257-70]◇1860:Russian Slavophile [Aleksei Khomiakov](#) died

- Khomiakov was a leading example of influential religious or spiritual vitality in the ranks of [secular](#) intellectuals rather than in the ranks of Russian Orthodox theologians
- He was a representative of the hostility these religious or spiritual figures felt toward the state-administered Russian Church
- Komiakov left a rich and influential philosophical/publicistic legacy =
  - "On Recent Developments in Philosophy" [[Edie](#),1:221-269]
  - "On Humboldt" [[Raef3](#):209-29 | [KMM](#):108-112]
  - 1854mr:"To Russia" [[Barker](#)]
  - *Russia and the English Church...* (LND:1895) [noUO]
  - "On the Western Confessions of Faith" [[SUQ](#):31-70]
  - Excerpts [[LDH](#):89-94]

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[Books about Aleksei Khomiakov](#)◇1861:Japan, Hakodate | [Russian Orthodox Church](#) founded. The second priest there, Nikolai (1836:1912), was remembered as the founder of Orthodoxy in Japan

◇1861:Ottoman Turkey | Abdul Aziz became Sultan in a time of steep decline of his empire

- In the late 19th century, certain "Capitulations" [[ID](#)] virtually surrendered the Turkish economy to European imperialist powers, particularly to England
  - England sought internal financial influence and control over the Turks [[EG](#)]
  - The [capitulation system](#) lasted until WW1
- [The Great Game](#) became very complex, involving national financial security and attention to other very modern technical matters
  - This was the eve of the "[petroleum revolution](#)" in European industrialization and the appearance of transnational corporate enterprise to develop that source of energy
  - The Near-Eastern possessions of the Ottoman Turkish Empire were to become a central bone of contention
  - But when opportunities arose the Russian imperialist authorities too often just reached for their swords
- Distracted by extensive internal "Great Reforms" [[ID](#)], Russia drifted toward further war with [Ottoman](#) Turkey [[EG](#)]

◇1861ja28:Alexander II addressed State Council urging firm action to bring serf reform to conclusion [[VSB](#),3:599]

- 1861fe19:Russian social/institutional reform of most profound significance, **EMANCIPATION of privately owned (gentry owned) serfs**

- English-language Proclamation [TXT] etc. [VSB,3:600-02 | DIR2:271-5 | DPH:282-5 | Page]
- Russian Proclamation [TXT]. Obshchee polozhenie... [TXT] [These and others in Russian: RA2:38f, 82f, and 124f]
- Brief history of serfdom, from its formal establishment to final dismantlement ["serf" LOOP]
- A year and a half later, USA began at the national level to emancipate slaves ["slave" LOOP]
- Russian peasant songs described village attitudes toward the institution serfdom [Reeder:105-08]
- **Gentry landlord and peasant** -- the two bookends that held Imperial social/service hierarchies upright -- both had **reason to be discontented with the terms of emancipation, this greatest of the great reforms** =
  - Serf reform expropriated half the lands in gentry hands, with compensation
  - The compensation was insufficient to bring the Russian landed aristocracy, as a class, out of bankruptcy
  - Noble assemblies fumed, but rural gentry politics proved powerless
  - Expropriated gentry lands and village lands were granted to peasants through their village societies, rather than to peasant households
  - Peasants were saddled with redemption payments which were too high (greater than the productive value of the often inferior lands distributed) and charged 6% interest on unpaid principle. Immediately, peasants fell into arrears
  - The newly created Imperial State Bank was preoccupied with the ineffective fiscal dimensions of gentry compensation and peasant redemption payments. It was distracted from larger national financial needs in its earliest operations
  - [TXT on Russian agricultural land over the half century after emancipation]
  - Nothing galled Russian villagers more than the immediate fact that freedom did not mean freedom at all for three years of "temporary obligation" to the old landlord master
- 1861mr22:Interior Minister Sergei Lanskoi circular on creation of Peace Arbitrators to facilitate negotiations between gentry and their ex-serfs [VSB,3:602-3]
- These arbitrators were thought to represent a "civil society" under state sponsorship
- 1861ap:Bezdn, a village south of Kazan | Peasant rebellion, caused by uncertainties about emancipation, was crushed by decisive military action [Daniel Field, ed. *Rebels in the Name of the Tsar*]. More from Rebels
- More on peasant disturbances among recently "emancipated" serfs, and other forms of mass response to the greatest of the Great Reforms [VSB,3:603-5]
- Emancipation did not solve the ages-old problem of serfdom, nor did USA emancipation solve the problems caused by slavery, but both great legislative moves brought an end to bound labor in both Russia and USA. [SWH:300-15 contains comparative primary documents, especially petitions from freed serfs and slaves]
- One of the most important **long-term historical consequences of Russian serf emancipation in 1861** was the transformation of an unfree rural *soslovie* [formally defined social class (ID)] into free village laborers
  - The imperial state continued to enforce and defend traditional divisions of the imperial Russian population into these five "medieval" *sosloviia*
  - And the state pressured peasants to continue to live within traditional village institutions and practices
  - But in truth, the state wholly remodeled those village institutions and practices along statist lines
  - The state's own reforms were tearing apart rotten social/service hierarchies, but at the same time officials made strenuous effort to preserve ancient social divisions
  - Emancipated village laborers in Russia are best not called "workers" or "proletariat" so long as they stayed "down on the farm" and worked the fields
  - Villagers were not allowed to travel away from their villages without receiving an "internal visa" or passport
  - It seems best to call these post-emancipation villagers "peasants" [peasant LOOP]
- Some post-emancipation Russian peasants did manage to drift away from village community ways
  - Those who drifted away contributed to the rise of a new social class, a "laboring class" or "wage-labor"
  - These either hired out their labor in agricultural pursuits or became hirelings in newly appearing industrial enterprises
- In the 1860s, Russia and USA both were beginning to experience a general European (and soon universal) social/economic novelty, the proletariat
  - England had been wrestling with this novel challenge for nearly a century
  - As other nations entered the industrialization process, they too had to confront a challenge that intensified in the second half of the 19th century = [labor LOOP]
- Unlike west Europe and USA, Russia did not experience a powerful new liberal "middle class", the "bourgeoisie"
  - The "bourgeoisie" and the "proletariat" were the two novel 19th-century social classes
  - They both arose out of the smashed structures of medieval "commoner" class and under conditions of modern industrial economic life
  - The bourgeoisie was the class that benefited most obviously from industrialization and pushed to abolish all vestiges of the medieval past
  - The weak appearance of something like a bourgeoisie in Russia is an important social component of Russian politics in the "era of great reforms" and the "revolutionary situations"
- But Russia was significantly very much like west Europe in its rush to extract advantages from expanding imperialist exploitation of peoples and regions at the periphery of imperialist power
  - For Imperial Russia as for England, France and the other widely expansive European states, the vaunted "progressive" features of "Western" bourgeois capitalist industrialization (EG="free labor" or wage labor, representative government, liberal civil rights, etc.) played essentially no role in those peripheral regions subjected to projected European power
- Serf emancipation was the first of the "great reforms", but.....

- Peasant emancipation in the 1860s was incomplete
- And no serious or thorough measures were to follow the initial legislation until the [1906no09:Stolypin land reforms targeted the village foundations of Russian agriculture and, we might say, sought to convert Russian "peasants" into "farmers"](#)
- [Try this [farm LOOP](#)]
- **From this point forward, Russian Imperial [social/service hierarchies](#) entered into their death agonies.**
  - This is certain, but need the social/service death agonies have brought down old Russia in the revolutions of 1917?
  - Another vital question = Did the USSR inherit Imperial social/service traditions?

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\*--[Kolchin](#) to p47 (p49 = chronology of world-wide emancipation of unfree labor), ch.3:157-191, & Conclusion:359-75

\*--[Saul](#),1:312-21

\*--[Mironov](#),2:107-142 (social sources of the demise of social/economic bondage)

\*--[Blum](#):345-66 describes the serf-owning gentry on the eve of emancipation

\*--[Blum](#):575-620 describes emancipation, and concludes his general account of serfdom in Russia

\*--[Robinson](#), ch3 (peasants in the last decades of serfdom) & ch4 (gentry landlords on the eve of emancipation)

\*--UO website map of [Slave crops in the American South](#)

\*--Petr Zaionchkovskii, [The Abolition of Serfdom in Russia](#) (1978)

\*--Roxanne Easley, [The Emancipation of the Serfs in Russia: Peace arbitrators and the development of civil society](#) (2009:Routledge)

\*--Terence Emmons, [The Russian Landed Gentry and Peasant Emancipation](#) (1968)

\*--Terence Emmons, ed. [Emancipation of the Russian Serfs](#). Series: European Problem Studies. NYC:1970

\*--Daniel Field, [The End of Serfdom: Nobility and Bureaucracy in Russia, 1855-1861](#) (1976)

\*--David Christian, [Living Water: Vodka and Russian Society on the Eve of Emancipation](#) (1990)

\*--Ben Eklof and Stephen Grant, eds. [World of the Russian Peasant: Post-Emancipation Culture and Society](#) (1990)

\*--Wayne Vucinich, ed. [The Peasant in Nineteenth Century Russia](#) (1968)

\*--Reginald Zelnik, [Labor and Society in Tsarist Russia: The Factory Workers of St. Petersburg, 1855-1870](#) (1971)

#### ◇1861ap01(NS 13):1865; USA Civil War lasted four years

- Newspaper accounts of two Virginia communities [\[W\]](#) on the eve, during and after the Civil War
  - Newspaper accounts of the militant rebel against [slavery](#), John Brown [\[TXT~\]](#)
- Russia sided with the North, England with the South
- 1865sp:North Pacific waters, Bering and Okhotsk seas, Siberian coastal waters were the cruising grounds of Confederate naval commander James Waddell aboard his cruiser *Shenandoah*
  - His mission = Harass Union whalers
  - This was months after the Civil War formally terminated, but the commander had not been informed of that fact
- More on whaling
  - 1872:Arctic Sea | A large part of USA whaling fleet caught in ice and destroyed
  - Civil War had already damaged whaling industry
  - The Union purchased many whaling vessels with the purpose of weighting them down with stone and sinking them in Confederate harbors
  - 1846:1875; Gray Whales nearly exterminated; 11,000 killed in these thirty years
  - [The third and most glorious phase of USA whaling](#) was at its end
  - Whale oil as a vital component of global trade was also at an end of its [noteworthy 300-year history](#).
    - Sanderson,*Follow*:248-9 argues that whaling had little influence on the course of history. When petroleum came to replace it, "the whole business just petered out without leaving any outstanding imprint on the world" (249)
    - Surely he exaggerates
- A new [age of petroleum](#) was dawning, and with it a new age of energy politics
- Value of whale oil fell, though the value of baleen remained high
- Thus, the herds were slaughtered and left to rot with only baleen extracted
- Several whale species were nearly extinguished as the 19<sup>th</sup> century wound down

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\*2014:|>Doyle,Don H| [The\\_Cause of All Nations: An International History of the American Civil War](#)

\*2017fe07:RT News| "Russian sailor killed in US Civil War commemorated in Maryland" [\[E-TXT\]](#)

\*--[\[W\]](#)

\*--[Saul](#),1:322-85

#### ◇1861jy04:Russian [great reforms](#) included a new vodka tax-farm system (Polozhenie o piteinom sbore and other financial reforms [RA2:144f and 191f])

#### ◇1861jy14(NS):Baden-Baden| German student terrorist with pistol wounded Prussian King Wilhelm (future Emperor Wilhelm the First [1871-1888] )

#### ◇1861se:Saint Petersburg | Circulation of revolutionary proclamation "To the Young Generation" [\[VSB,3:639\]](#)

- The swift arrest and exile of one author, Mikhail Mikhailov, could not be mentioned in the legal press. All efforts to do so were [censored](#) = [\[pix\]](#)

- 1861jy01:London| [Ogarev](#) composed the revolutionary proclamation "What Do the People Need?" ["Chto nuzhno narodu? ([GRV:198-201](#))] which circulated widely in Russia, beginning at this time
- Soon student disturbances forced officials to close most universities. [Herzen](#) advised "Go to the people!" [[VSB,3:636](#)]
- "[Civil society](#)" was getting impatient, increasingly ready for bold action just months after the great serf emancipation [[ID](#)]. Over the next half century, Russians came to view expressions of discontent within [universities](#) and other institutions of higher learning as a sensitive barometer of wider, progressive and educated public opinion

◊1861de05:1862fe; Russian [gentry in their noble assemblies](#) deliberated on the problem of serf emancipation [[FFS:103-113](#)]

- 1862fe:Tver gentry assembly issued a most visionary (radical) address to Emperor Alexander [[FFS:104-5](#)]
  - Especially noteworthy is its concentrated assault on the evils of the enforced [social/service hierarchies](#) (i.e., *soslovie* and *chin*, the superannuated medieval social estates and absolutist bureaucratic structures created by the Table of Ranks)
  - Elite resistance failed, but continued to inspire social-political activists for decades to come [[EG](#)]
- The futile and grand initiative in Tver harmonized with the views of many Russian gentry landowners and with the [emerging urban civil society](#)

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\*--[Mironov](#),1:397-424 describes the evolution of gentry corporations from the 18th to the 20th centuries

◊1862ja25:1863my; Russian [peasants](#) submitted petitions [[FFS:170-179](#)]

◊1862fe:Russian novelist Ivan Turgenev published his controversial *Otsy i deti* [*Fathers and Children (or Sons)* Translated [TXT1](#) | [TXT2](#) | [TXT3](#)]

- Turgenev offered his famous definition of "nihilist" in chapter five [cf. [DIR2:298-302](#)]
  - A distorted version of the term "nihilist" evolved in the public imagination
  - This very distortion quickly worked its way as such into the vocabulary of Russian and then world political culture
    - Reactionaries sought not only to demonize and constrain a vigorous public mobilization which supported and urged more state reform
    - They also sought to choke off the modern inclination toward scientific or experimental/rational ways of thinking about the world
- The scene in chapter five portrays two older brothers, Nikolai and Pavel, who live on Nikolai's gentry estate in modest, old-fashioned, aristocratic comfort. Peasant servants cater to their daily needs
- Nikolai's son, Arkady, and his friend, Bazarov, were visiting the estate on break from university studies
- Uncle Pavel spoke at breakfast. Arkady described Bazarov as a "nihilist" in the conversation that followed
- The old gentlemen-gentry, Nikolai and Pavel, were confounded, and a serious distortion of meaning arose
  - Arkady corrected Nikolai and Pavel's distortions
  - But many contemporary Russian readers -- especially anti-reform officials -- found Nikolai and Pavel's distortions useful
- SAC Editor has entered in brackets a couple of interpretive elaborations =

"Where have I heard that name before, Bazarov? Nikolai, don't you remember, there was a surgeon called Bazarov in our father's division."

"I believe there was."

"Exactly. So that surgeon is his father. Hm!" [Pavel sought to establish Bazarov's lineage, his *bona fides* in familiar old-regime terms of social/service eminence and rank] Pavel Petrovich pulled his mustache. "Well, and *Monsieur* Bazarov, what is he?" he asked in a leisurely tone.

"What is Bazarov?" Arkady smiled. "Would you like me to tell you, uncle, what he really is?" ["really is" rather than "seems to be" as defined in old-regime terms]

"Please do, nephew."

"He is a nihilist!"

"What?" asked Nikolai Petrovich, while Pavel Petrovich lifted his knife in the air with a small piece of butter on the tip and remained motionless.

"He is a nihilist", repeated Arkady.

"A nihilist", said Nikolai Petrovich. "That comes from the Latin *nihil*, nothing, as far as I can judge; the word must mean a man who . . . who believes in nothing?"

"Better to say 'who respects nothing' ", interposed Pavel Petrovich and lowered his knife with the butter on it.

"Who regards everything from the critical point of view", said Arkady.

"Isn't that exactly the same thing?" asked Pavel Petrovich.

"No, it's not the same thing. A nihilist is a person who does not bow down to any authority, who does not accept any principle on faith, however much that principle may be revered."

"Well, and is that good?" asked Pavel Petrovich.

"That depends, uncle dear. For some it is good, for others very bad."

"Indeed. Well, I see that's not in our line. **We old-fashioned people think that without principles, taken as you say on faith, one can't take a step or even breathe.** *Vous avez change tout cela*; may God grant you health and a general's rank, and we shall be content to look on and admire your . . . what was the name?"

"Nihilists", said Arkady, pronouncing the word very distinctly.

"Yes, there used to be Hegelists [\[ID\]](#) and now there are nihilists."

[Here Pavel used an awkward term for "Hegelians", *Gegelisty* (rather than the more proper *Gegel'ianty*). This allowed a sonorous mocking of *Gegelisty* among the fathers (his own cohort) and *nigilisty* among the children (Bazarov and Arkady). Pavel wrapped up his interrogation =]

"We shall see how you will manage to exist in the empty airless void; and now ring up the servant girl, please, brother Nikolai, it's time for me to drink my cocoa."

- The settled ways of these old landed noble elites faced great uncertainty as modernizing reform picked up steam
  - This was the first summer after serf emancipation, and the countryside was unsettled all around [\[ID\]](#)
  - Unrest was also evident in big cities. In the coming fall, student rebellion was going to force closure of Russian universities [\[EG\]](#)
  - Turgenev's text is permeated with the emotions of a prevalent "identity crisis" caused by modernizing change
  - For the Russian reading public, the rustic ways of Nikolai's gentry estate seemed a becalmed island encircled by inevitable but perilous change
    - In this setting, Pavel's cocoa habit might seem a symbol of hide-bound and callous indifference
    - Bazarov's scientific interest in frog dissection might seem an ominous foreshadowing of vast calamity
  - **By the mid-1860s, grandee elites, police officials and others who dreaded impending reform had fashioned the meaning of the term "nihilist" in public discourse in such a way that it served as a scare-label for all progressive action and opinion, especially that of the young**
  - That's how Uncle Pavel saw it, even after Nephew Arkady tried to correct him
  - 1867: USA diplomat and traveler [Eugene Schuyler](#) [\[ID\]](#) translated *Fathers and Sons*
    - This marked the beginning of more than a decade of mutual Russian-USA cultural fascination
    - Some of the same "generational conflict" arose in USA as it too entered vigorously into the world of vast change associated with "modernization" [\[EG\]](#)
  - **Other works by Turgenev of particular cultural/historical significance =**
    - 1852: *Zapiski okhotnika* [*Sportsman's Sketches* [Translated TXT](#)] [or Hunter's Notebook, etc.]
    - 1855: *Rudin* [[Translated TXT](#)] (1855) a portrait of a "superfluous gentleman" or rootless intelligent, probably modeled largely on Mikhail Bakunin [\[ID\]](#)
    - 1867: *Dym* [*Smoke* = [Translated TXT](#)] | 1919: USA radical John Reed Introduction [[TXT](#)] The book hinted at east European revolutionary movements
    - 1876: *Nov'* [*Virgin Soil* = [Translated TXT](#)], a story based on the populist revolutionary movement of the day [\[ID\]](#)
  - [Turgenev](#) was probably the most widely read and publicly influential of the Golden-Age novelists, even if he was not perhaps the greatest of these [\[EG#1\]](#) | [\[EG#2\]](#)
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- \*--[Julicher](#): chapter 9
- \*--Saul, 2:167-213, 225-31
- \*--Victor Ripp, *Turgenev's Russia, from Notes of a Hunter to Fathers and Sons* (1980)

◇1862fe05:fe16; Nikolai Chernyshevskii wrote one of his most important political/theoretical pieces, "Unaddressed Letters" [\[SLM\]](#) | Q.PSS#10:90-116] [\[MER 44 246 256 272 277\]](#)

◇1862sp: Mysterious fires burned large sections of Petersburg, causing wide-spread panic and providing a pretext for harsh state action against social activists

\*--Officials encouraged public outrage by leaking suggestions that the fires were set by "nihilistic" university-student arsonists



\*--Whether moderate or radical, whether connected with the fires or not, hundreds were detained, warranted for arrest, and sent into political exile

◇1862my:Revolutionary proclamation "Young Russia" written by the headlong student radical of gentry background, Petr Zaichnevskii [[VSB,3:639-41](#) | [Rooney](#)]

\*--Another proclamation appeared in these days which was very different from Zaichnevskii's = [Chernyshevskii](#) composed "Salute to the Gentry-owned Peasants from their Well-wishers..." [[Kimball resumé of contents](#) | Russian [TXT](#)]

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\*--[VRR](#)

◇1862my20:USA **Homestead Act** [[TXT](#)] [[TXT with commentary](#)] opened vast public lands to emigrants willing to put down roots and make a life for themselves [farming](#)

- Industrial mechanization of farming was making remarkable progress [[pix](#)]
- 1862jy02:**Morrill Act** [[TXT](#)] eventually created 69 state colleges. These 'land acts' were components of an emerging plan for national economic modernization in which the railroad was the first giant organizational expression =
- 1862jy01:USA Pres. Lincoln signed **Pacific Railway Act**, approving an act of Congress which was anticipated by the Homestead Act and proposed "to aid in the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean."
  - Section 3 of said act provided "that there be, and is hereby granted to the said company \* \* \* every alternate section of public land, designated by odd numbers, to the amount of five alternate sections per mile on each side of said railroad, on the line thereof, and within the limits of ten miles of each side of said road, not sold, reserved, or otherwise disposed of by the United State, and to which a pre-emption or homestead claim may not have attached, at the time the line of said road is definitely fixed." Mineral lands were exempted, and all lands not sold or disposed of by said company within three years after the completion of the entire road were to be subject to settlement and pre-emption, like other lands at a price not exceeding \$1,25 per acre, to be paid to said company.
  - Section 4 provided that whenever said company completed forty consecutive miles of any portion of said railroad, the President of the United States should appoint three commissioners to examine the same, and report to him in relation thereto; and upon satisfactory information to him of the completion of forty miles, patents should be issued conveying the right and title to said lands to said company, on each side of the road, as far as the same was completed, to the amount aforementioned; and patents were in like manner to be issued on the completion of each forty mil
  - Section 5 provided that in addition to the issuance of patents to lands to the company upon the completion of each forty miles, the Secretary of the Treasury was also to issue to said company, bonds of the United States of \$1,000 each, payable in thirty years after date, bearing six per cent per annum interest, to the amount of sixteen of said bonds per mile for such section of forty miles; and to secure the repayment to the United States of the amount of said bonds, together with all interest thereon which may have been paid by the United States, the issue of said bonds and delivery to the company were to constitute a first mortgage on the whole line of the railroad, together with the rolling stock, fixtures and property of every kind and description
- The act specified the official charge to newly formed industrial companies, The Union Pacific Railroad and all of its subsidiaries
- 1864:[A second railroad act followed](#)

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\*--[\[W\]](#)

\*--20th century revival of homestead concept [\[W\]](#)

◇1862je06:China suffered further refinement of open ports and open cities policies imposed by imperialist forces -- England, Russia, France, and the Netherlands

\*--Two decades later, a new imperialist power, [Japan](#), upset the balance among those imperialist nations that fed on [China](#)

\*--Old European imperialist powers were in any event themselves growing restless with the status quo in the far east

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Beasley,MHJ:80

◇1862su:Russian activist members of fledgling "educated public" were arrested by the hundreds, usually on trumped up charges (EG= [Chernyshevskii](#) and Nikolai Serno-Solov'evich). Leading print-media publications were suppressed (EG= *Sovremennik* [[ID](#)])

- The [Reform spirit was dampened and a fledgling civil society blighted](#)
- State reaction inflicted wounds to the fledgling Russian public from which it would not recover for a quarter of a century
- Consequently, a Russian revolutionary movement was spawned within a newly named stratum of the Russian population, the "intelligentsia" [[ID](#)]
- That summer witnessed first one then, a few days later, a second assassination attempt on two different tsarist Viceroyes in Poland
- The second of these targeted Grand Prince Konstantin Nikolaevich, the tsar's "liberal" brother and proponent of serious reform
- Revolutionary terrorism entered the political mix, closely connected at first with the motive of revenge, "eye for an eye"
  - EG= [Polish](#) viceroyes had approved execution of activist junior officers in Warsaw. [[TXT w/provisional definition of "terrorism"](#)]
  - Terrorism began to appear in political pamphlets and actual terrorist acts increased in number over the next twenty years

- This first epoch of [revolutionary terror in Russia](#) was provoked by official governmental "white terror" and culminated two decades later in the assassination of the tsar liberator himself

◇1862se17:1890mr18(NS); German Chancellor [Otto von Bismarck](#) guided Prussia and then [German Reich](#) in the 27 years after he served in the Russian capital St.Petersburg [[DPH](#):140-55 | [DIR2](#):289-97]

- Sometimes called "the Iron Chancellor", Bismarck created a nation-state out of political patchwork of Protestant, German speaking peoples in north central Europe, under Prussian dominance and with capital in Berlin [[MAP](#)]
- A few days after he assumed his new post, he delivered a speech with the famous line, "The great questions of the day will not be settled by speeches and majority decisions, but by blood and iron"
- He lifted himself above the political concepts of the post-Napoleon world -- the radical, liberal, conservative, or reactionary ideologies -- in favor of *Realpolitik* [practical politics, actual POLITICAL policies]
- 1863:1890; For a quarter century, Bismarck managed the [Prussian](#)-Russian (and later German-Russian) diplomatic relationship with superb adroitness [[DIR3](#):336-45]

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\*--Dietrich Geyer, *Russian Imperialism: The interaction of Domestic and Foreign Policy, 1860-1914*

\*--[\[W\]](#)

◇1862se22(NS):USA President Lincoln issued his "Emancipation Proclamation" [[TXT#1](#) | [TXT#2](#)] which set a timetable for freeing slaves in specified locales

- [Eighteen months earlier, Russia emancipated its serfs](#)
- Problems of slavery were far from settled by this act, but the long history of bound labor in USA was formally at an end [["slave" LOOP](#)]
- For Russia, as for USA, the liberation of unfree labor did not solve "the peasant question" nor did it solve USA racial issues
- These acts of Russian and USA "liberation" did, however, mark the beginning of [modern industrial labor movements](#)

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\*2016de07:TLS| Ari Kelman, "Black lives mattered", a review of Ira Berlin, *THE LONG EMANCIPATION: The demise of slavery in the United States* and Manisha Sinha, *THE SLAVE'S CAUSE: A history of abolition* [[E-TXT](#)]

◇1863:1864; USA National Banking Act [[ID](#)]

\*--The half century prior to WW1 saw massive expansion in size and scope of ["globalized"](#) international [banking](#)

◇1863:1873; French author of [pop-art](#) fiction, **Jules Verne** (1828-1905) glorified the [scientific](#) and engineering potential of the industrial era

\*1863:Cinq semaines en Ballon

\*1864:Voyage au centre de la terre

\*1870:Vingt mille lieues sous les mers

\*1873:Le Tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours

◇1863:French artists rebelled against the cultural establishment when they opened an exhibit, "Salon des refusés", comprising works refused for official display

\*--This marked the beginning of the profoundly influential **"impressionist" era** in European graphic arts, lasting a quarter of a century [[W](#)]

\*--Some call the epoch that followed [the "post-impressionist" era](#)

◇1863ja23:**Polish rebellion** reached stage of open armed insurrection against Russian imperialism

- Polish National Committee proclamation [[VSB](#),3:611-]
- Polish "freedom fighters" tried to enlist the Russian political opposition into their struggle in a effort to create an uprising in the middle Volga basin
  - The "Kazan Conspiracy" was designed to create a diversion, perhaps a "second front", forcing Russian authorities to commit resources to suppress both a Polish and a Russian uprising
  - The Conspiracy was a flop, in part because nearly all Russian activists refused to be a part of it
- The central question was this = Were Polish activists after the same things as Russian activists?

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\*--R.F. Leslie, *Reform and Insurrection in Russian Poland, 1856-1865*

\*--Joseph Wiczerzak, *A Polish chapter in Civil War America; the effects of the January insurrection on American opinion and diplomacy*

\*--[VRR](#), ch.12 about the Kazan Conspiracy

\*--[LOOP on "Imperialism and Revolution"](#)

◇1863ja:Russian statist journalist and newspaperman Mikhail Katkov wrote patriotic editorials against Revolution in Poland [[DIR2](#):276-83 | [DIR3](#):312-21]



- Earlier, at the end of the Nicholas-era, Katkov was replaced as editor of the major Moscow daily newspaper, *Moskovskie vedomosti* [Moscow News]
  - Over the seven years since then the newspaper in the hands of progressive journalists became a strong voice of an emerging "public"
- Now authorities returned Katkov to control over the powerful newspaper. With state subventions and support, Katkov launched a crusade against progressive public opinion and self-organization
- He gained control also over the monthly journal *Russkii vestnik* [Russian messenger] and turned it to the same establishmentarian cause
  - In collusion with officials in the censorship bureaus and with Interior Minister Valuev, Katkov was one of the first allowed to discuss openly the radical émigré Alexander Herzen and his popular publications
  - Katkov was allowed to do what censorship allowed no other Russian writer or publication to do because he attacked Herzen relentlessly
  - Thus "positive" censorship served the interests of the state when it gave direct support to messages it approved
- Katkov made great effort to link [Herzen](#) with Polish rebellion -- to link critical-minded political dissent with sedition in general -- and to link every expression of social/political independence among the Russian public with sedition
- Liberals and progressives were traitors to holy Russia
- Katkov fed xenophobic trends with knee-jerk [anti-Polish](#) themes
- Isn't [Katkov](#) something of a Russian innovation in the realm of "positive censorship"?
- The influence and authority of Russian mass media -- both official and independent publishing outlets -- continued to grow [\[ID\]](#)

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\*--Karel Durman, *The Time of the Thunderer: Mikhail Katkov, Russian Nationalist Extremism, and the Failure of the Bismarckian System, 1871-1887* (1988)\*--Michael R. Katz, *Mikhail N. Katkov: A Political Biography, 1818-1887* (1966) [noUO]\*--Louise McReynolds, *News Under Russia's Old Regime: The Development of a Mass-Circulation Press* (1991)\*--[LOOP on Censorship](#)

◇1863ap13:Russian Interior Minister Petr Valuev submitted memo on the relationship of state and society, a statist version of "civil society" [\[Raeff2:122-131\]](#)

- Valuev was a master of political "co-optation", that is, the harnessing of independently mobilized social energy to officially authorized tasks
- Valuev also led the official assault on the spontaneous public movement to create a nation-wide system of elementary education
- 1880s:Ivan Kramskoi portrait of older Valuev in [Olga's Gallery](#).

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\*--[Alan Kimball, TXT on Valuev and public mobilization in the 1860s](#)

◇1863je18:Russian [university](#) reform and other educational reforms [\[VSB,3:610-11\]](#)

\*--Russian texts, Obshchii ustav... etc. [RA2:382f, 411f, and 417f]

\*--The "[great reforms](#)" continued, but notice later [official reactionary measures](#)

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\*--P. Alston, *Education and the State in Tsarist Russia*\*--Daniel R. Brower, *Training the Nihilists: Education and Radicalism in Tsarist Russia*\*--Abbott Gleason, *Young Russia: The Genesis of Russian Radicalism in the 1860s* (1980)

\*--Alan Kimball, "Student Interests and Student Politics: Kazan University"

◇1863fa:Russian pundit [Chernyshevskii](#) while imprisoned by tsarist authorities published a novel, *What Is to Be Done?* [1989 translation is better than 1986 | [E-TXT#1](#) | [E-TXT#2](#) | [E-TXT#3](#)]

- It has been described as an awful novel but the greatest awful novel ever written
- Its greatness derived mainly from the immense popularity and influence it had on an emerging reading public and, subsequently, on Russian political culture [\[EG | CF:KMM:141-54\]](#)
- One of the novel's characters was modeled on the physiologist and psychologist Ivan Sechenov
  - See Sechenov's *Autobiographical Notes* and *Selected Physiological and Psychological Works* (MVA)

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\*2016de11:*Politico* | "The Most Politically Dangerous Book You've Never Heard Of" [\[E-TXT\]](#)

◇1864:1866; USA | Second railroad act followed [first](#)

- Western-Union effort to link USA and Europe via [Alaska](#) and Siberia failed when Atlantic cable [\[pix\]](#) eliminated need, but great Atlantic-to-Pacific project moved ahead
- 1864fe09:USA government grant to the State of Kansas was accepted and handed directly to the newly formed private industrial company, Achison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad Company [AT&SF]
  - AT&SF was driving a line from Kansas, through Indian Territory, to the Gulf of Mexico at Galveston, Texas
- Railroads found their way directly into US folk culture, for example the popular song "Wabash Cannonball" [\[TXT\]](#) with great variations sung by = [Hank Snow](#) | [Boxcar Willie](#) | [Ernest Tubb](#) | [Roy Acuff](#) | [James Coffee \(dandified by orchestral](#)

[accompaniment](#)) | [Randy Latshaw](#) | [Tomy \(homemade w/toy trains\)](#) | [Johnny Cash](#) | [Carter Family](#) | [Flatt and Scruggs](#) | [Minnesota Ranch Hands](#) | [Tumble Weeds](#) | [Kansas State University pep band \(at 1min 10sec mark\)](#) | [Ronny \(auf Deutsch\)](#)] | Off the Wabash theme, but beautiful, look at this more recent footage of [diesel engine clearing snow from the tracks](#)

- As suggested in that last performance of "Wabash Cannonball" just above, railroads found their way into [pop-art](#) cultures the world around
- So we give full rein to our iron horse as we gallop over a wide global terrain on the [railroad LOOP](#)
- **The end of the Civil War can be taken as the beginning of the era of industrial transformation of USA economy**

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[Saul.1:360-70](#)

◇1864:1876; London was the HQ of [The International Workingmen's Association](#) [later known as "The First International"]

- 1871:General Rules of the International Workingmen's Association [[DPH:205-7](#)]
- "[Socialism](#)" was beginning to take on organized existence in Europe, sometimes in close association with wage-labor, sometimes less close
- A epoch of international organization was dawning in "The West", a step up from temporary conferences and congresses [[EG](#)] towards creation of permanent institutions of international arbitration
- EG=See 1864:1949au12; just below

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\*--[Wki](#)

◇1864:1949au12; Geneva Convention signed as an international treaty, then augmented and perfected over the next nine decades

- The Geneva Convention would be augmented by 3 further conventions over the next 84 years [[TXT~](#)]
  - 1906:Second Geneva Convention signed
  - 1929:Second augmented
  - [1949au12](#):Third and fourth Geneva Conventions signed, with signing of renewed and augmented First and Second conventions

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\*--[Wki](#)

\*--LOOP on "international organization"

◇1864wi:Russian novelist [Fedor Dostoevsky](#) criticized [Chernyshevskii-style materialist philosophy](#) in 1st half of *Notes from the Underground* [[TXT](#) | CF= [Edie.2:240-9](#)]

\*--Dostoevsky presented one of the first powerful critiques of emerging European "[scientific](#)" trends

◇1864ja01:Russian state made significant concessions to provincial and local public and their need for self administration = The "[Zemstvo](#) Reform" [[VSB.3:613-4](#) | [DPH:285-7](#)]

- Russian text, Polozhenie o gubernskikh i uezdnykh zemskikh uchrezhdeniakh [RA2:212f]
- This was arguably the second most important "[great reform](#)"
- For one thing, zemstvos became the institutional home of a [significant liberal oppositional movement](#)

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\*--Terence Emmons and Wayne S. Vucinich, eds. *The Zemstvo in Russia: An Experiment in Local Self-Government*

\*--Abbott Gleason, *Local Opposition to Autocracy, 1864-1905*

\*--*Emerging Democracy in Late Imperial Russia*

◇1864fe19:Polish rebellion allowed Russian officials to pass "progressive" reforms that weakened indigenous Polish resistance to Russian power

- The most important expression of national independence in the years of [the first revolutionary situation](#) was for the time being silenced
- Russian state put through [peasant](#) reforms designed to weaken noble elite of [Poland](#) [[VSB.3:612-13](#)]

◇1864oc29:Russian Foreign Minister Aleksandr Gorchakov distributed to other European powers a memo on [Central-Asia](#) [[VSB.3:610](#) | [BNE:168-70](#)]

- Gorchakov compared Russian imperialism with general European imperialism, that of "all civilized states that come into contact with half-savage nomadic tribes without firm social organization". Here's what he said =
  - Like USA, France, Holland [Netherlands] and England, Russia felt compelled to cross its borders and its frontiers to establish "a certain authority over its neighbors, whose wild and unruly customs render them very troublesome"
  - Expansion into new territory created another even more remote frontier where yet other "wild and unruly" peoples begin to cause trouble
  - Preventive movement outward forced yet further movement, and then further
    - The choice was to give up or "advance farther and farther into the heart of savage lands"

- Russia advanced "not so much from ambition as from dire necessity, where **the greatest difficulty lies in being able to stop**" [SAC emphasis]
  - Compare this argument with the English argument [\[ID\]](#) and with an early US argument [\[ID\]](#) and a later US argument [\[ID\]](#)
- [Map of Russian Empire and its "sphere of influence"](#)
  - Note the long southern sphere of influence toward the English dominated Near Eastern territories
    - The future WW1 "Southern Front" located itself within this long southern sphere of influence [\[ID\]](#)
  - Don't miss Alaska there on the far left of the map, and notice the North American "sphere of influence" further south down the Pacific Coast
- Gorchakov's memo was in part defending and justifying Russian imperialism
- But at the same time he sought to cool growing competitive heat in the relations between European powers as they careened outward toward one another's jealously guarded imperialist peripheries =
  - He hoped to keep Europeans from interfering in what he took to be Russian affairs in that NE half of the "Middle East" the Russians called "Central-Asia" [Continue [LOOP on "AfroAsia"](#)]
  - He also sought to prevent Europeans attacking Europeans as they all responded to the imperatives of [the Great Game](#)
- 1867: "South-Asia", in the Indian city Deoband, near Dehli, local Muslims took action to bring an end to that very condition described by Gorchakov as "tribes without firm social organization"
  - In Deoband, Muslim's organized themselves against English rule
  - They were beginning to take up defensive self-organization against European imperialism
  - They sought to define Islamic civilization as a force such as Gorchakov called "a firm social organization"
  - They centered their activities on the village *madrassa*, the fundamentalist Islamic school
  - The madrasa emphasized training the young, especially the poor, in fundamentals of the Koran and the *sharia* (Islamic law)
  - Over the next century and a half, Deoband issued about 250,000 *fatwa* (instructions on proper Muslim behavior)
  - [By the late 20th century, the Taliban, with US help, had in much the same way become a serious force among Islamic peoples of that region](#)

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\*--Robert D. Crews, *For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia*\*--E. Allworth, ed., *Central Asia*\*-----, *Nationality Question in Soviet Central Asia*\*-----, *Tatars of the Crimea: Their Struggle for Survival...*\*--S. Becker, *Russia's Protectorates in Central Asia: Bukhara and Khiva, 1865-1924*\*--Richard A. Pierce, *Russian Central Asia, 1867-1917: A Study in Colonial Rule*\*--Serge A. Zenkovsky, ed., *Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia*

◇1864no:USA CO Ft.Lyon area | In good faith, CO Volunteers Colonel Edward Wynkoop convinced Native American Cheyenne tribe to place selves under protection of the US military [Hutton:56]

- Shortly, Colorado Governor John Evans and the Colorado Volunteers, under the command of John Chivington, attacked the peaceful village and declared a war of extermination against the Cheyenne
  - The event came to be known as the Sand Creek Massacre and marks the symbolic beginning of several years of warfare on the Great Plains
  - The ambush unsettled the whole territory from the Platte.R south to Red.R
- Military commander/administrator Philip Sheridan, a well-known Civil War commander, was now assigned to duties in the war against Native Americans on the Great Plains
  - He later put stress on the importance of this period in his and his nation's life
  - He referred to it vaguely as the beginning of Indian harassment of settlers and disruption of stage and [railroad](#) routes [ShePH.vsp,2:282. (03):this number in parentheses records the order in which Sheridan's memoirs accounted these events]
  - Sheridan made no mention of the Sand Creek massacre
- 1864:1870; KS the scene of "Indian troubles" as military shifted its attention from Civil War and occupation of the defeated South in the era of Reconstruction
- 1883:Early Kansas historian William Cutler described the era [\[W\]](#)
- 1864:1868; KS Ft.Larned | Significant construction of bridges, stone & lumber buildings
- Military projects were designed for "protection" of the Santa Fe Trail
- 1866:USA Great Plains divided into military administrative units, "divisions", "with a view to controlling the Indians"
- Division of Missouri was created and put under the command of General Sherman
- "Former temporizing" had made Native Americans "confident" & "defiant" [(15) ShePH.vsp,2:297]
- 1866:Major General William Hazen, a veteran of the Indian wars even before the Civil War, described his policy outlook: "allot to each tribe, arbitrarily, its territory or reservation, and make vigorous, unceasing war on all that do not obey and remain upon their grounds" [Hutton:43]
- 1866su:KS | "military operations" against "hostile tribes" of [Native Americans](#) commenced

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\*2016ap15(3:30-5pm): UO campus, 375 McKenzie | Ari Kelman, the McCabe Greer Professor of History at Penn State University, will present a talk based on his *A Misplaced Massacre: Struggling Over the Memory of Sand Creek*. The Sand Creek

Massacre is one of the most infamous cases of state-sponsored violence in US history. Kelman' lecture and book examine the ways in which generations of Americans have struggled to come to terms with the meaning of both the attack and its aftermath, most publicly at the 2007 opening of the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site

◇1864no20:Russian legal reform [[VSB](#),3:614-16] Russian text Uchrezh. sudeb. ustanovlenii [RA2:278f]

- Legal reforms created independent judiciary, trial by jury, the right to legal representation, and a large promise of "rule by law" in civil cases
- They extended to recently freed peasant the right to bring suit at court
- They also caused large numbers of professionally oriented Russians to take up careers as lawyers
- This was an important moment of "modernization" in the long history of Russian "rule of law" [[LOOP on history of Russian "law codes"](#)]
- More than a dozen years later, the [trial of Vera Zasulich](#) confirmed the worse fears of those who opposed this "[great reform](#)"
  - \*--[Mironov](#),2:223-365 puts late Imperial law in the broadest Russian historical and social context, [reaching back to medieval times](#)
  - \*--Richard Wortman, *The Development of a Russian Legal Consciousness*
  - \*1981ap:[JGO](#):161-84 | T. Taranovski, "The Aborted Counter-Reform: The Muravev Commission and the Judicial Statutes of 1864"
  - \*--S. Kuchеров, *Courts, Lawyers and Trials under the Last Three Tsars* (NYC:1953)

◇1864de08(NS):Vatican issued Pope Pius IX's "Syllabus of Errors" [[DPH](#):233-41], including "Errors about civil society, considered both in itself and in its relation to the Church" [237-9]

\*--Other Catholic Church/state documents [241-5]

◇1865:1869; Russian novelist at the dawn of world fame, [Leo Tolstoy](#) (1828:1910) produced his first great novel *War and Peace*

- Just for fun, try this brief comic-book version of the massive novel = [[TXT,part.1](#) | [TXT,part.2](#)]
- Tolstoy was a central figure of the Russian "golden age" in its late novelistic phase, from the 1850s to the 1880s
- His most important writings in this "golden age" =
  - 1851:1857; *Childhood, Boyhood, Youth* (written while serving in the military in the Caucasus)
  - 1854:*Sebastopol* or *Tales of Sebastopol*, Crimean War battle reportage in the journal *Sovremennik*
  - 1861:1862; *Tolstoy on Education* and very similar translation (as if a close copy) *Tolstoy on Education: Tolstoy's Educational Writings*
  - 1875:1877; *Anna Karenina*
  - 1884:"Death of Ivan Ilyich"
- He outlived the Golden Age, and was possibly even more widely influential in the Russian "[Silver Age](#)" a quarter of a century later
  - \*--[Wagar](#) on the Golden Age of Russian culture [[TXT](#)]

◇1865ja11:Moscow [noble \(gentry\) assembly](#), following the lead of the great landowner V.P. Orlov-Davydov, addressed Alexander II with a request that he complete the zemstvo reforms "by calling together a general assembly of elected representatives from the Russian land" [[VSB](#),3:616 | "Vsepoddaneishii adres moskovskogo dvorianstva" ([GRV](#):201-2)]

- The Moscow noble assembly presumed that only nobles would elect and be elected
  - However "establishmentarian" the Moscow assembly was, the nobles gathered there suggested something quite radical = A national representative political body to complete the local, district and provincial [Zemstvo](#) institutions
  - Moscow nobles sought to "crown the edifice" of national representative government, expanding from the grass-roots upward
- Officials were shocked to read the following words addressed to Emperor Alexander =

The nobility has always been the firm mainstay of the Russian throne. Not being officials of the government and not enjoying the rewards that such service brings, doing their duty without remuneration for the benefit of the fatherland and the public order, these men, by virtue of their very position within the state [as elected representatives], will have the mission of preserving those moral and political principles that are so valuable for the people and so necessary for their true well-being, and upon which rests the structure of the state

◇1865mr:China| English firm, the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, Ltd, [HSBC] founded. Continuous existence into 21st c.

\*--HSBC became a major expression of British global financial projection of metropol power in Asia and the rest of the globe

\*--Internet home page, [official bank history](#)

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\*--[Wki](#) for a full summary of the bank's globe-striding history

\*2013je:TED|>Gooch,Charmian, "Meet Global Corruption's Hidden Players" [[E-TXT](#)]

Well, it's not going to come as any surprise for me to tell you that banks accept dirty money, but they prioritize their profits in other destructive ways too. For example, in Sarawak, Malaysia. Now this region, it has just five percent of its forests left intact. Five percent. So how did that happen? Well, because an elite and its facilitators have been making millions of dollars from supporting logging on an industrial scale for many years. So we sent an undercover investigator in to secretly film meetings with members of the ruling elite, and the resulting footage, well, it made some people very angry, and you can see that on YouTube, but it proved what we had long suspected, because it showed how the state's chief minister, despite his later denials, used his control over land and forest licenses to enrich himself and his family. And HSBC, well, we know that HSBC bankrolled the region's largest logging companies that were responsible for some of that destruction in Sarawak and elsewhere. The bank violated its own sustainability policies in the process, but it earned around 130 million dollars. Now shortly after our exposé, very shortly after our exposé earlier this year, the bank announced a policy review on this. And is this progress? Maybe, but we're going to be keeping a very close eye on that case.

\*--[LOOP on "finance"](#)

◇1865ap06:Russian [censorship](#) granted writers, publishers and readers "some degree of relief" in a two-minded reform [[VSB](#),3:616-17]

\*--Russian text O darovanii nekotorykh oblegchenii... etc. [RA2:438f and 440f]

\*--"[Great reforms](#)" continued

◇1865je28:Russian State Council and Interior Ministry reformed laws on [Jewish](#) pale, allowing mechanics, distillers, brewers, master craftsmen and artisans in general to live anywhere in the Empire [[VSB](#),3:617-18]

◇1866ja03:Russian financial reform (Vrem. polozh. o kontrol [RA2:204f])

\*--The deep need for fiscal and military reform was addressed only late in the process

\*--Then it had to proceed under the influence of an official reactionary mood that arose following an attempt on the life of the tsar =

◇1866ap04:Russian terrorist Dmitrii Karakozov tried to shoot Alexander II

- This was the second blow to civic activism and reform [[ID the first](#)]
  - In "society", revolutionary activities now intensified and went underground
  - A larger body of political activists were "burnt away" by tsarist suppression and fear of serious commitment to conspiracy and revolution
  - A small body of largely youthful activists, with "nothing to lose", continued the struggle
- Among government figures, reactionary officials felt vindicated in their opposition to progressive change
  - They could now assert that there was a causal link between reform and [terrorism](#)
  - The pace of "[great reforms](#)" slackened

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\*--Claudia Verhoeven, *The Odd Man Karakozov: Imperial Russia, Modernity, and the Birth of Terrorism*

\*--Alan Kimball review of Verhoeven [[TXT](#)]

\*--[VRR](#), ch.14

◇1866:Russian novelist [Fedor Dostoevsky](#) published *Crime and Punishment* [[E-TXT](#)]

◇1866su:USA Assistant Secretary of the Navy Gustavus Fox in Russia [[VSB](#),3:618-20]

◇1866no24:Russian state peasant reform

\*--State [peasants](#) represented about half the village population of the Empire

\*--This reform preserved their advantages over ex-serfs recently emancipated from private gentry ownership [[VSB](#),3:620-1]

◇1867:London | [Karl Marx](#), *Das Kapital*, volume one, published

\*--This first volume and the volumes that followed achieved a status equal to that of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* [[ID](#)], the original globally influential study of political-economy

\*--Here are two examples of influential concepts set afloat in world consciousness = "Primitive accumulation" and "surplus value" [[ID](#)]

◇1867:Paris Universal Exhibition (world's fair)

\*--French engineers Léon Droux and Léon Rueff described technological and industrial advancements [[BNE](#):145-6]

◇1867:1876; USA Federal Government imposed [Reconstruction Act](#) to administer defeated South for nearly ten years

◇1867mr30:Russia and USA signed treaty selling Alaska to USA [[DIR2](#):284-7]

- For decades, Russian Alaska had been filling with a spontaneous stream of USA immigrants from the "lower 48"
- This human influx helped convince the Russians that Alaska would someday soon be dominated by American pioneers and should be sold while the selling was good
- [A 120-year Alaska adventure was over for Russia](#)



- And, [after 70 years of existence, the trans-oceanic mercantilist corporation, "Russian-America Company", was also at its end](#)
    - [In the century after Adam Smith, mercantilism revived itself time and again](#), and influenced national economic policies into the contemporary era
  - But the Russian phase of Alaska history did not fade away altogether = A grave with Russian inscription next to the Kodiak Russian Orthodox Cathedral [\[pix\]](#)
  - Earlier Russian ambitions through Siberia to the New World gave way now to ambitions directed south and east from Siberia toward an emerging global hot-spot, [Manchuria and Korea](#)
  - In these years Secretary of State Seward also sought to gain possession of the Virgin Islands, Canadian British Columbia, and Greenland
  - Canada also got many long looks from ambitious USA officials in the time of U.S. Grant's presidency
  - A half century after purchase of Alaska, in a time of domestic US economic crisis, followed soon by international crisis, the [fate of Alaska Territory took another turn](#)
- \\
- \*--[Saul](#), 1:185-93, 267-311, 385-96
- \*--Howard Kushner, *Conflict on the Northwest Coast: American-Russian Rivalry in the Pacific Northwest, 1790-1867* (see ch.6: "The Oregon Question and Russian-America")
- \*2008sp:PNQ#99,2:73-91 | Roxanne Easley, "Demographic Borderlands: People of Mixed Heritage in the Russian American Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870"
- \*--Stuart Ramsey Tompkins, *Alaska: Promyshlennik and Sourdough* (1945)

◇1867ap:Vienna | Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph declared the Empire divided into a "Dual Monarchy", the [Austro-Hungarian Empire](#)

\*--The newly created dual monarchy went under several names = [Wki](#)

\*--Franz Joseph maneuvered his complex empire into position for its final half-century flare, an adventure that ended in the catastrophe of WWI

◇1867ap01:[India](#) became Crown Colony as rule of the transnational imperialist corporation, The East India Company, was brought to an end

◇1867my:Moscow | Second Slav Congress a critical moment in the shift of [Panslavism](#) from cultural doctrine toward Russian imperialist ideology

- National liberation of the "little Slavs" from [Ottoman Turkish](#) (and perhaps [Austro-Hungarian](#)) imperialist dominion was a useful idea as Russia continued to play its role in the [Great Game](#)
- \\
- \*--Hans Kohn, *Pan-Slavism: Its History and Ideology*
- \*--Donald Fanger, "On the Russianness of the Russian Nineteenth-Century Novel". In [Stavrou.ART](#):40-56
- \*--Charles Katsanos, *The Theory and Practice of Russian Panslavism in the Light of Russia's Expansion in the Balkans until 1912*

◇1867jy20:USA WDC | In anticipation of the 67oc21:Great Council treaty gathering in KS Medicine Lodge, Congress created the Indian Peace Commission

- What followed was a growing and one-sided contest between civilian and military government officials =
- 1867se05:MO St.Louis | General Philip Sheridan was reassigned from military administration of "Reconstruction" in the defeated South and now transferred to Ft.Leavenworth KS,
- 1867oc21:KS Medicine Lodge | Great Council led to the Medicine Lodge Treaty [\[W\]](#)
- 1868ja07:WDC | "Report to the President by the Indian Peace Commission" [\[TXT\]](#)
- However, the government had already dispatched Sheridan and almost immediately got underway with preparations for a massive attack on Native Americans in the plains states
- 1868fe29:KS Ft.Leavenworth | General William Tecumseh Sherman was now commander of the Division of the Missouri, consisting of 6000 soldiers in 27 forts
  - Sheridan took up command of Sherman's department #3 (of 4)
  - Sheridan distinguished himself in the War Between the States
  - He was ready now to distinguish himself in the war between USA and Native Americans, even as apparent efforts at peace-making were under way
- 1868jy:WDC | Congress finally appropriated \$500,000, not to the civilian Indian Agency but to Sheridan and the military
- USA relations with the native nations were now securely in the hands of military and railroad managers
- In preparation for the war against Native Americans, Sheridan moved his HQ to KS Ft.Hays, now Union Pacific Railroad terminus; good depot for supplies, a strategic storage point for the US cavalry's "commissaries"
- "Protection of the railroad was Sheridan's primary concern" [Hutton:39] [\[MAP\]](#)
- 1868jy:WY | The army forced Union Pacific Railroad President Thomas Durant to accept Chief Engineer Grenville Dodge's route for building the [railroad](#) further westward
  - Dodge was an old comrade of the Civil War military
  - All were West Point graduates

- US President Grant and General Sherman played a role here too [Hutton:40 lxt]
- Many motives swarmed around this tragic tale
- NB! also military effort to preserve and protect its budgets from demobilization after the Civil War and "Reconstruction"
  - For example = 1868:Fifth Cavalry was not demobilized when no longer needed for "Reconstruction" of the South
  - It was dispatched to KS [Hutton:50]
- Sheridan prepared 6-mo winter campaign (like the cavalries of Chinggis-khan [ID], Sheridan's cavalries preferred to strike their targets in winter). Sheridan took these steps =
  - "Asked for additional cavalry"
  - "Applied for regiment of Kansas volunteers"
- Sheridan's application was approved, and the organization of regiment was well begun in KS Topeka =
  - Supplies were amassed
  - Guides were hired
- 1868au:se;KS & CO frontier settlers suffered 79 killed in Indian raids
  - Now Sheridan began to attack villages in order to scatter Native Americans
  - Only policy was that Indians "be soundly whipped, and the ringleaders in the present trouble hung [i.e., hanged], their ponies killed, and such destruction of their property as will make them very poor" [Hutton:38]
- Sheridan addressed a joint session of TX House and Senate =

These men, the buffalo hunters, have done in the last two years, and will do more in the next year, to settle the vexed Indian question, than the entire regular army has done in the last thirty years. They are destroying the Indians' commissary; and it is a well-known fact that an army losing its base of supplies is placed at a great disadvantage. Send them powder and lead, if you will; but for the sake of lasting peace, let them kill, skin, and sell until the buffalo are exterminated. Then your prairies can be covered with speckled cattle, and the festive cowboy, who follows the hunter as a second forerunner of an advanced civilization. [Rister,*No Man's Land*:29]

- Here Sheridan's military vision foreshadowed the famous but non-military vision of the [Turner Thesis](#)
  - Sheridan put the matter in the context of expanding USA power rather than expanding USA civilization
  - Sheridan helps us see that the Turner thesis is able to frame both frontier and imperialist expansion
- 1868au:se; MO St.Louis |General Sherman turned against the Medicine Lodge Treaty which had not in any event been ratified, nor had any of the promised gifts and assistance been given to the [Native Americans](#)
- Military and civilian authorities were at loggerheads

◊1867au21(NS):North German Confederation's new Reichstag had delegates August Bebel (1840-1913) and Wilhelm Liebknecht (1826-1900), the first [socialists](#) so elected

◊1868:1912; [Japan](#) entered into industrial modernization in the 44-year era called "Meiji Restoration"

\*1914:| *Japanese government documents*, Walter Wallace McLaren, ed. [UO]

\*--Japanese public figures Fukuzawa Yukichi [ID] and Shibuzawa Eiichi [ID] gave expression to a new entrepreneurial, industrializing and modernizing ethos [SWH:358-63]

\*--In another reflection of late 19th-century global trends, Yamagata Arimoto [ID] gave expression to a Japanese variation on militant Chauvinism [ID] [SWH:340-5]

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\*--"The Rise and Fall of the Japanese Empire 日本帝國の興衰" [YouTube]

\*1975:NYC,Free Press|>Black,Cyril E., et al| *The Modernization of Japan and Russia: A Comparative Study* ((UO))

◊1868:1869; Vologda Guberniia, in far NE Russia | Politically exiled philosopher and social theorist **Petr Lavrov** (1823-1900) wrote *Historical Letters* [cf. [Edie](#),2:123-69 | [VSB](#),3:650-1]

- *Historical Letters* explored the choice which the 19th century seemed to present mankind, a choice between history and science, between "humanities" (the record of human experience) and the more universalistic laboratory and math-based ways of knowing
  - Before arrest, Lavrov was a professor of mathematics and an almost pedantic historian of thought
  - But now he came down on the side of history
  - Lavrov sought to counter the hyper-scientism or positivism of Dmitrii Pisarev [ID]
  - He encouraged youth and the older generation as well to the activist life in the public realm as "critical-minded individuals"
- 1856:1866; In the "pre-revolutionary" decade that preceded arrest, imprisonment, exile, and then commitment to revolutionary struggle, Lavrov inspired a whole generation of thinking and reading youth [EG]
  - He described his philosophy as "anthropologism"
  - By anthropologism, Lavrov did not mean the emerging empirical social science "anthropology" but a philosophy that put *anthropos* [ID] at the heart of all questions about what was real, actual and right
  - Lavrov emphasized the subjective (the experiential, even very individual) human foundations of all knowledge
  - But he also had his way of understanding and respecting the materialist view of the world and the dominant "positivist" trends of his century
  - For that he was sometimes accused of being "eclectic" ["cherry picking" among powerful intellectual trends]



- But he once wrote that the phrase "I WANT to know" was the matrix of advanced human consciousness. He emphasized "want" or willful intellectual desire
- In his approach to that insight, he had in his time and place little by way of pre-planted intellectual cherry orchards to pick among
- In this way he predicted ways of thinking more common to the century that followed him, a post-[scientific](#) century, than to any that had come before
- 1870: In NE Russian exile in Vologda, Lavrov gave up on receiving a pardon from tsarist officials for the largely trumped up charges brought against him in 1866 [\[ID\]](#)
- He fled from exile and went into west European political emigration in Paris for the final thirty years of his life
- [As an émigré, Lavrov quickly \(and somewhat surprisingly\) assumed a position of high moral esteem and editorial responsibility within burgeoning revolutionary movements in Russia](#)
- 1869: **Nikolai Mikhailovskii** (1842-1904), published "What is Progress" [\[Edie,2:170-98, esp. 177-87\]](#)
  - Mikhailovskii was at the very beginning of a long career in journalism and was much influenced by Lavrov's "subjective sociology"
  - Mikhailovskii was now launched on a career as "public intellectual"
  - He was one of the first to come to maturity in the years in which Russians actually used the word "intelligentsia" [\[ID\]](#)
  - Like many of his generation, he took inspiration from Lavrov's realistic subjectivism
  - However, also like many contemporaries, he had only a slight inclination toward Lavrov's eventual full commitment to the cause of revolution
- Mikhailovskii remained a moderate supporter -- never "underground" or émigré -- of a progressive political trend that came to be called "legal populism" (in contrast with "revolutionary populism")
- \\
- \*--[LOOP on "populism"](#)

◊ 1868: CUBA rebelled unsuccessfully against Spanish version of European imperialism

\*--After the independence revolutions of the 1820s [\[ID\]](#), Cuba and Puerto Rico were now all that remained of the [Spanish empire](#) in the New World, and a pitiful remainder they were

◊ 1868: England, London | Herbert Spencer's *Social Statics* described a new "social Darwinism" with emphasis on "natural selection" and the beneficial results that came from "the survival of the fittest", not just out there in the animal and vegetable world but also in the social world of humans [\[CCC2,2:727 | CCC3,2:834\]](#)

- Social Darwinism influenced anti-[welfare](#) and anti-egalitarian politics around the globe and gave an intellectual justification for some of the suffering that resulted from "laissez-faire" policies at home and imperialism abroad. It gave scientific plausibility to various flourishing forms of militarism as well
- 1869: Robert Galton published *Hereditary Genius*, a pioneer study inspired by Darwinian biological ideas
  - Galton's work over the next few years resulted in the creation of a "science" of human reproduction called "[eugenics](#)"
  - Eugenics is a word based on Greek morphemes and implying "well-born"
  - Galton's was a somewhat surprising refurbishment of an "aristocratic" concept that had fallen into disrepute
  - The post-French-Revolutionary European world that had moved far from medieval social concepts of superiorities by birth
  - Eugenics provided a modernized "scientific" version of that medieval hierarchical social concept
- Science now applied itself, via eugenics, to the problems and prospects of managing the most intimate feature of the most local of all local human institutions, the breeding nuclear family
- The application of biology to society was not the central intention of [Darwin](#), but his [science](#) was becoming an "ism" = DarwinISM
- Nor was it Spencer's explicit intention, but popularizations of his teachings also fed into a flourishing [racism](#) in the late 19th century
- \\
- \*--[Rimlinger \[TXT\]](#) offers a paragraph on [social Darwinism](#)
- \*--[\[W devoted to definition of "eugenics", with useful bibliography\]](#)
- \*--[\[W devoted to the history and current status of "eugenics"\]](#)

◊ 1868: Russian pundit Dmitrii Pisarev drowned

\*--Pisarev wrote "Nineteenth-Century Scholasticism" (1861), "Bazarov" [a powerful review of [Turgenev's](#) novel "Fathers and Children"] (1862), "Flowers of Innocent Humor" (1864), "The Realists" (1864) [\[ VSB,3:641-3 \]](#)

\*--More Pisarev essays, see [Edie,2:66-108](#), and Pisarev, *Selected Philosophical, Social and Political Essays*

\*--Described USA [\[Plotkin,Pisarev:35f\]](#)

◊ 1868se01: Switzerland | Russian political émigré, the [anarchist](#) activist Mikhail Bakunin wrote "Our Program" for the revolutionary journal *Narodnoe delo* [People's Cause] [\[ VSB,3:644\]](#)

- The movement that gathered around this publication and the volatile and now revived old activist Bakunin was a clear sign that the poet Nikolai Nekrasov was right when he predicted that the policies of the tsarist state bred revolutionists, not citizens

- In 1868, with [Sergei Nechaev](#), Bakunin wrote "Catechism of a revolutionary" [Full English [TXT](#) | full Russian [TXT](#) | excerpts = [DIR2](#):301-8 | [VSB](#),3:649 | CF= [Edie](#),1:385-423]
- [A website on Bakunin features many of his writings](#)
- [More Bakunin bibliography](#)
- Years earlier, Bakunin caught European attention during the Revolution of 1848 [[ID](#)], spent time in Siberian exile, escaped, and more recently rose to prominence in the [First International](#)
- Now in the final eight years of his life [Bakunin](#) began for the first time to have some influence on social movements in Russia in the era of revolutionary [populism](#) here on the eve of the great "[going to the people](#)"

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\*--[VRR](#), ch.2 on Bakunin and ch.15 on Nechaev

◊1868no26:USA Oklahoma Territories, Washita River | General George Custer launched surprise winter-season attack on large Native American village [[W](#)] [[MAP](#)]

- [The four-year Great Plains wars were drawing to an end](#)
- Superior logistical strength and a firm resolve to wage aggressive war against all aspects of [Native American](#) life were paying off for Euro-American invaders

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\*--Hutton:56-76, 99-100 summarizes the Washita winter war with special emphasis on lessons applied there from the Civil War, for example, from the bombardment of civilian targets in Vicksburg

◊1869:1895; [Central-Asia](#) | **Over these thirty years**, Turkmen territories were absorbed into the Russian Empire

\*--West of the Black Sea, Balkan tensions mounted as relations deteriorated between [Russians and Turks](#) and nationalism waxed among the Slavic peoples under [Ottoman imperialist](#) dominion

\*--The focus of [the Great Game](#) shifted to south-eastern Europe and began to concentrate on vast transnational economic issues involved in the coming of the "petroleum era" of global industrialization [[ID](#)] throughout [AfroAsia](#)

◊1869:French democrat Leon Gambetta ran for election and asked electors to draw up a program for him to follow if elected

\*--Gambetta's Belleville Program became a model for French democratic politics for years [[DPH](#):309-10]

◊1869:Russian chemist [Dmitrii Mendeleev](#) (1834-1907) stated his "periodic law" of the elements

- Mendeleev thus laid the foundation for much of the rapid progress that followed in the study of chemistry around the world
- In that same year, pundit Nikolai Danilevskii, published his *Russia and Europe* [Excerpts=[KMM](#):195-211 | [DIR2](#):328-37 | [DIR3](#):372-82 | [RRC2](#),2#33]
  - Danilevskii compared USA and Russia [[KMM](#):207-8]
  - 1888:[Vladimir Solov'ev](#) critique of Danilevskii [[KMM](#):214f | also [VSB](#),3:731]

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\*--R. E. MacMaster, *Danilevsky: A Russian Totalitarian Philosopher*

◊1869su:Russian émigré revolutionist Sergei Nechaev wrote program for his revolutionary journal *Narodnaia rasprava* [People's Vengeance] [[VSB](#),3:647]

- The extraordinarily rebellious 22-year-old Nechaev was, in a sense, adopted by the 55-year-old Bakunin
- Bakunin had an international reputation, but his contact with actual Russian politics had until these years been very theoretical and tangential
- He now welcomed even this darkly sinister Nechaev
- Together, Bakunin and Nechaev conspired to gain control over the resources that had financed [Herzen's](#) highly esteemed *Kolokol* [[ID](#)]
- Together, [Bakunin](#) and [Nechaev](#) introduced the element of extreme revolutionary conspiracy and life-dedication, "revolutionary professionalism", into [Russian populism](#)

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\*--[Julicher](#): chapter 9

◊1869:English political-economist John Stuart Mill, "The Subjection of [Women](#)" [[TXT](#)]

\*--He carried that [liberal](#) tradition a great distance toward emerging European social-democratic views

\*--John Stuart Mill was the last representative of the century-long "classical economist" tradition, but macro-political-economic analysis continued its heavy influence =

◊1869au:German Marxists rejected Lassalle's radical reformist approach to labor organization, especially its close association with the [Bismarckian state](#)

- German Marxists formed an independent Social-Democratic Workers Party [*Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei*] and ratified its Eisenach Program [[DPH](#):155-6]

- In these years, national workers movements were strengthened by association with an international labor organization, the [First International](#)
- Now, in Germany, a [political party](#) for the first time based itself on the new social formation, wage-labor
- In Russia this year, Nikolai Flerovskii [Bervi-Flerovskii] published his *Condition of the Working Class in Russia* [[LDH](#):253-8]
  - Bervi-Flerovskii captured the imagination of the Russian reading public with his reportorial precision and his moral indignation as he described rural, suburban and urban labor conditions
- Karl Marx was learning to read Russian so that he might make himself directly familiar with a new generation of Russian social critics, including Flerovskii
  - Marx was beginning to see that he had so far neglected or misunderstood the global meaning of rural [wage-labor](#) in un-industrialized or agrarian "modes of production" such as Russia
  - Marx and Engels made a bold but pseudo-appeal to "workers of the world" in 1848 [ID] without having much of an idea at all about working people the world around
  - Marx was in his final years making some effort to overcome this blind spot, to actualize that 1848 appeal to "workers of the world"
  - He was just beginning to search for better ways to relate his political-economic views to the non-European industrializing world
- Marx's late-life effort was taken up by others
- The search for a way to connect the objectives of revolutionary social-democracy to the non-European world would become a central feature of the global spread of "Marxism"
- \\
- \*--Alan Kimball, Marx and Russia: The Changing Meaning of a Semi-Asiatic Empire, 1852-1883 [[TXT](#)]
- \*--[LOOP on "Political-Economy"](#)

◊1870:Saint Petersburg Association of Russian Playwrights formed with Aleksandr Ostrovskii as president

- *A Century of Russian ballet : documents and accounts 1810-1910*
- Aleksandra A. Orlova, *Musorgsky's days and works: A biography in documents* CF= 1859my01
- Also, the Peredvizhniki or "Itinerants" or "Company of Itinerant Art Exhibits" formed [[Wki](#)]
- EG= see Arkhip Kuindzhi's landscape ["After the Storm" \[Posle grozy\] 1879](#)
- \\
- \*--Alain Besançon, "The Dissidence of Russian Painting" in [CSH](#):381-411
- \*--Richard Taruskin, *Opera and Drama in Russia: As Preached and Practiced in the 1860s*
- \*--Elizabeth Valkenier, *Russian Realist Art: The State and Society; the Peredvizhniki and Their Tradition*

◊1870:Japan, Tokyo Kyoto Nagasaki and Hakodate. ??ROchx missions estab in JPN. Archbishop Nikolai(861:GO) est. TOK smnandscl. 1st JPN blt svt and ikon specialists

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\*--Togawa"Russian and Slavic:6

\*--[KEJ](#)6:3-4

◊1870:USA | About 32 nation-wide labor unions were in existence

- \*--Workers were organizing themselves in the face of forceful resistance of industrialists and financiers, and their political allies
- \*--Self-organized [wage-laborers](#) represented a check and balance on self-organized "capitalists"
- \\
- \*--[LOOP on "finance"](#)

◊1870:1899; Mature international grain trade fully operational

\*--Economic "Globalization" was not new [Beginning of [LOOP on "globalize"](#)], but [now globalization expanded exponentially](#) in the emerging era of what SAC calls "The Second Industrial Revolution" [[ID](#)]

- In addition to earlier corporations -- [Bunge, Louis Dreyfus](#) [[family name with dash, company without](#)], and [Pillsbury](#) -- several more great global grain-trading family corporations formed in these 30 years =

**Cargill**

**General Mills**

**Continental**

1877:Switzerland | Georges **André**

- 1870:USA | William Cargill began to buy grain elevators
- 1871:USA railroad connected Minneapolis with eastern markets
- 1871:An air-puff purification process made flour whiter
- 1874:Russia ceased to be the main source of grain for England
- 1878my02:Minneapolis | Washburn Mill exploded. Built new mill with stolen Hungarian mill technique, able to mill hard grains
- 1880:Global grain-trade routes thickened and extended themselves vigorously in the late 19th and 20th centuries [[maps](#)]
- 1883:Liverpool grain market allowed trading in "futures"
  - Very quickly grain exchange "clubs" or "rings" became active in the London "Baltic Mercantile and Shipping Exchange"

- The Baltic Exchange was founded over a hundred years earlier (1746), but now economic modernization, especially the growth of industrial urban centers, with huge non-agricultural populations, "democratized" bread production and created a need to feed swelling factory-labor populations
- The astonishing growth of the urban population in England created a novel situation in which England was no longer able to produce sufficient agricultural product on the island to feed its exploding population
- The grain-trade was becoming a transnational corporate enterprise
- 1880s: world grain trade concentrated in USA, Russia, Canada, Argentina, Australia, and India
  - 1875:Minneapolis produced 850,000 barrels of flour; profit = \$0.50/barrel
  - 1885:Minneapolis produced 5,000,000 barrels of flour; profit = \$4.00/barrel
- But power was shifting to big grain dealers who were able to handle world-striding storage and transportation
- 1886:Minneapolis | **Frank Peavey** built world's largest grain terminal [\[W\]](#)
- 1890s:Russian branch of Louis Dreyfus grain trade managed by the founder's son, Charles, in the Black Sea ports
- **1895:OR Portland** | **Frank Peavey** built a one million bushel grain elevator and shipped wheat down the Pacific coast, then overland at the [Isthmus of Panama](#) into the Caribbean Sea and across the Atlantic Ocean to Liverpool, England
- 1899:MN Minneapolis | Peavey constructed 80-foot high concrete grain elevator
  - 1870:USA grain export = \$60,000,000
  - 1898:USA grain export = \$200,000,000
- 1900s:Russian tsar invited Peavey's son-in-law to visit
- The modernized world increasingly depended on huge, transnational industrial companies for its food, its "daily bread"
- International grain trade, plus [railroad](#) construction and [the appearance of international energy competition](#) are the three signs that the epoch of ["the second industrial revolution"](#) was opening
- [GO 1972su:USA-USSR](#)
- \\
- \*2011:SPB,Bulanin|>Kitanina,T | *Khlebnaia torgovlia Rossii v kontse XIX--nachale XX veka : Strategiia vyzhivaniia, modernizatsionnye protsessy, pravitel'svennaia politika*
- \*2008:ETC Group publication, ["Who Owns Nature?"](#) brings the topic into the 21st century

◊1870je16:Russian urban reform promoted [municipal self administration](#) [\[VSB,3:621-2\]](#)

- Urban reform belatedly expanding upon the Charter for the Towns of Catherine II [\[ID\]](#)
- Russian text *Gorodovoe polozhenie...* [\[RA2:232f\]](#)
- Just as self-administration was apparently promoted now in the countryside ([Zemstvo](#) institutions of self-administration), so also in the cities, in [growing modern urban centers](#)
- Only one ["great reform"](#) remained to be instituted
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- \*--[Mironov](#),1:371-96 deals with the transition from traditional Russian urban communes and corporations towards something like the modern idea of "community"
- \*--[Hausmann,G](#)

◊1870jy18(NS):Rome, Vatican City | The Papal See of the Catholic Church handed down a pronouncement on the infallibility of the Pope [\[DPH:243\]](#)

◊1870jy16:1871fe; Franco-[Prussian](#) war broke out when France declared war on Prussia. France was quickly humiliated [\[DPH:200-205\]](#)

- 1870se04:Emperor Napoleon III was defeated, was captured on the field of battle, and fell in disgrace
  - His "empire" collapsed
  - The Third French Republic was declared to replace it [\[DPH:310-11\]](#)
  - [Two dark decades in French political life](#) came to an end; but what followed was not all light =
- 1871fe26(NS):In the great French national monument, the Versailles Palace near Paris, a treaty was signed ending the Franco-Prussian war
  - NB! this is in France, the great palace of the Sun King, Louis XIV
  - The Prussians intended this location to be an insult to the humiliated France of Napoleon III
  - Kaiser Wilhelm was soon crowned and a Second German Empire [*Reich*] declared, all in France at Versailles
    - German "Kaiser" means "Caesar", just as does "tsar" in Russian
    - Kaiser Wilhelm I (King of Prussia) offered views on the new united German imperial throne [\[DPH:262-3\]](#)
  - A united German imperial state was now created [\[MAP\]](#) [compare with [MAP of Germany before union](#)]
    - [Over the previous century, The Prussian kingdom](#) grew to great power
    - Prussian kingdom had survived a stormy [half century since the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire](#) (the First Reich)
  - In the decade leading up to 1871, [Otto von Bismarck](#) was the man behind the Prussian throne
- **1871fe:1918no**; For the next 47 years, the Prussian kingdom provided the backbone for a new north-central European **German Empire** (called **"the Second Reich"**, though it was in truth more nearly a new-born "nation-state", aggressively expansive at its borders but not yet much like the other European empires of the day)

- But the immediate European future would be shaped by the two great German-speaking central European states = **Germany** and **Austria**
    - 1888: Upon Kaiser Wilhelm I's death, Wilhelm II assumed the throne
    - 1918no09: At the end of World War One, the [Hohenzollern monarchy collapsed](#) and the "Second Reich" evaporated
    - Fifteen years later came the "[Third Reich](#)"
  - 1871mr18:my28; Meanwhile, back in Paris just after defeat and collapse of the Second French Empire in the Franco-Prussian War, and after the declaration of the Third French Republic, a revolutionary **Paris Commune** was declared [\[W\]](#) [\[DPH:311-17\]](#)
    - The Paris Commune claimed independence from the infant Third French Republic
    - The great metropol Paris declared itself independent of its immediate periphery, the nation France
    - 1871ap19: Declaration [\[BNE:140-3\]](#)
  - The Paris Commune lasted about 9 weeks before the Republican French army crushed it resolutely
  - [International Workingmen's Association](#) fell into an uproar
  - 1871: Karl Marx, member of the General Council of the International, published *The Civil War in France* [\[E-TXT\]](#)
  - 1876: Paris | Prosper Lissagaray, a participant in these events, published *History of the Paris Commune of 1871* [\[E-TXT\]](#)
  - 1891: Friedrich Engels wrote a "postscript" to a new edition of Marx's *Civil War...* (abv) [\[E-TXT\]](#)
    - F/prefacing/ in that Engels E-TXT just abv, near the very top, and read three paragraphs for a summary of Engels' and Marx's premonition of rising militarism and political command and control in the late 19th- and early 20th-century| [\[CF=EREV3\]](#)
    - F/America/ and read to the end for more of that. CF=[Ostrogorskii](#)
    - F/Blanqui/ and read four paragraphs about the most influential ideologies among the Communards
    - F/From the outset/ following just after the abv, and read one paragraph about the great failure of Communards to take command of the French national bank
  - 1917jy26(OS): In the midst of Russian Revolutionary turmoil, [Vladimir Lenin issued "State and Revolution"](#), his unfinished study of the political and tactical lessons taught by the Paris Commune
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- \*--[Wawro, Geoffrey](#) (2003)
- \*1981:C.ENG,CUP>Tombs,Robert| *The War against Paris, 1871* | Review by John G. Gallaher [\[E-TXT\]](#)
- \*:|>Johnson,Martin Phillip| *The Paradise of Association: Political Culture and Popular Organization in the Paris Commune of 1871....* |
- \*--[Wki](#) on the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War
- \*--[Crozier.VICTORY](#):3-4| What do you make of Crozier's characterization of the Paris Commune as "the first Communist attempt to seize power"?

◊1871: English biologist Charles Darwin published [Descent of Man](#) [excerpts = [PWT2:227+](#)]

- Darwin stated boldly, "The main conclusion here arrived at, and now held by many naturalists who are well competent to form a sound judgment, is that man is descended from some less highly organized form"
- All biological observations, he wrote, "point in the plainest manner to the conclusion that man is the co-descendant with other mammals of a common progenitor"
- He also stated bluntly that the educated person "cannot any longer believe that man is the work of a separate act of creation"
- [Over more than a decade, Darwin published](#) his thoughtful and extraordinarily systematic observations
  - Whatever else he was, he was one of the world's most acute "naturalists"
  - He looked widely, he saw much, he recorded and systematized his observations
  - Then he generated powerful rational explanatory narratives that shocked the world
- The reading public found it easy to carry this science into realms of emotional social/political debate [\[ID\]](#)
  - Darwin did not always resist the temptation to do this himself
  - It is possible that English social theories influenced Darwin as much as Darwin influenced English social theories
- Even ideological opponents of conventional English modernist social theories could find inspiration in Darwin's [science](#)

◊1871:1872; [Fedor Dostoevsky](#) caricatured Russian revolutionists and their soft-headed allies in his novel *The Possessed* [cf. [Edie,2:240-66](#)]

◊1871sp: Russian Mennonites (German speaking Protestant [farming peoples](#) who had lived in Russia [for a century](#)) initiated plans to [migrate to USA](#)

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\*--[Saul,2:75-85](#)

\*--Saul essay [\[TXT\]](#)

\*2008:Journal of Global History#3(2):203-225 | Moon, David, "In the Russians' footsteps: the introduction of Russian wheat on the Great Plains of the United States of America" [UO [E-TXT](#)]

◊1871je: Russian Education Minister [Dmitrii Tolstoi](#) introduced counter-reform measures only seven years after progressive reform of higher education [\[ID\]](#)



- His goal was to block entrance into [universities](#) for all but privileged social formations whose children went through the elite gymnasias
- Tolstoi's "classical" education emphasized Orthodox theology, Greek and Latin
  - These three topics took up about half of all instruction time [[VSB](#),3:622-4]
  - Compare the new elitist Russian elementary and secondary requirements with the knowledge emphasized in a contemporary but more democratic educational system, the Kansas public-school eighth grade graduation exam [in 1895](#)
  - This Kansas 8th-grade exam might possibly also provide a comparison of democratic public education in 19th-century USA [[ID](#)] with what it had become by the early 21st century

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\*--Samuel D. Kassow, [Students, Professors, and the State in Tsarist Russia](#) (1989)

\*--James C. McClelland, [Autocrats and Academics: Education, Culture, and Society in Tsarist Russia](#) (1979)

\*--Allen Sinel, [The Classroom and the Chancellery: State Educational Reform in Russia under Count Dmitry Tolstoi](#) (1973)

\*1968my:[The Historian](#)#30:412-38|>Zacek,JC| "Champion of the Past: D. A. Tolstoi as Minister of the Interior, 1882-1889"

◇1871oc08:oc10; [Chicago](#) burned [[W](#)]

◇1871fa:1872wi; Russian Grand Duke Aleksei (son of Alexander II) visited USA and, among other things, hunted Buffalo with General George Custer in Kansas

\*--Civil War General William Tecumseh Sherman, more recently commander of prairie Indian Territory, returned the visit

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[Saul](#),2:54-75

\*1872:Brooklyn-born painter John Gast portrayed US movement west, titled "American Progress" [[W](#)]



The action sweeps from right to left, as the bright eastern sky drives dark clouds ever westward =  
 Far right, we see crowded east-coast ports (the Brooklyn Bridge is discernible) busy with [globalized](#) trade  
 Railroads, stage coaches, and Conestoga wagons course westward, laden with goods and folks from the bustling east  
 Telegraph lines run into the arms of a provocative angel, also flying westward. And she carries a book in her arms  
 Is it a Bible? No, it's *Common School* [[ID](#)]



Farmers follow miners who follow a trapper, as if to predict and thus confirm the "Turner Thesis" [\[ID\]](#)  
 In front of this onslaught, buffalo and bear (wildlife) and native savages flee from encroaching brightness of the good future  
 No obvious presence of preachers or the US military can be seen  
 What we see is simply the natural force of [secular](#) "American progress" pressuring alarmed [Native Americans](#) and their dogs out of the way  
 Read Tocqueville's account of Native-Americans forced to cross the Mississippi westward, leaving their dogs on the eastern embankment [\[TXT\]](#)  
 Is this not a portrait of the "Westernization" of the "West"?

◇1872:1874; German state in struggle with Catholic Church, the [Kulturkampf](#) [\[DPH:245-50\]](#)

◇1872:1883; German composer Richard Wagner created theatre (*Festspielhaus*) in Bayreuth, Bavaria, where annual music festivals allowed for the first time proper staging of his massive and revolutionary operas

◇1872:USA Senate rejected USA Presidential plan to build a military base in Samoa Islands

◇1872:Japan, Hakodate | First Russian language schools established

\*--Russian psalmist Vissarion L'vovich Sartov and Japanese assistant taught languages, math, geography and history in Russian

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\*--Togawa"Russian and Slavic:5

◇1872:International Workingmen's Association [First International] collapsed

- The First International was wrecked in the titanic struggles between German-born political-economist [Karl Marx](#) and Russian revolutionary anarchist [Mikhail Bakunin](#)
- European (largely French) followers of peasant-born [Pierre Proudhon](#), also added their [anarchist](#) contentiousness to the mix
- Administrative HQ of the international organization transferred to USA NYC
- The First International, [after eight years of active existence](#), limped on four more years and was finally disbanded in 1876
- Twelve years later in Paris, [Second International](#) founded

◇1872de:Zurich | If the venerable rebel Bakunin was revived in this new era of revolutionary opposition [\[ID\]](#), 47-year-old Petr Lavrov, ex-artillery Colonel, ex-professor of mathematics, and an aspiring philosopher of notable promise, was now "reborn" as revolutionary ideologist

- Lavrov accepted a new personal mission, émigré revolutionary publicist
- He wrote "Our Program" for his Russian revolutionary journal *L'pered!* [Foreward] [\[VSB,3:651\]](#)
- [The era of Herzen](#) was over, and now [Lavrov and Bakunin became ideological rivals within Russian revolutionary populist circles in the era of the "Going to the People"](#)
- 1873:Bakunin published "Gosudarstvennost' i anarkhiia: Pribavlenie A" [\[GRV:202-12\]](#)

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\*--[VRR](#), ch.17 on Bakunin and Lavrov

◇1873:Tokyo | School of Foreign Languages included Russian. ??NB! TOK.unv excluded Russian, showing stt comparative indifference to Russia. Prior to Meiji, 6 samurai svt gt.Russia to std; 868:rtr.JPN and fade away, while std frm zpd and USA bcm sig Meiji srv. BUT this scl hired Mechnikov, Lev (ppl and Ntx1) and one of Russian samurai Ichikawa Bunkichi

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Togawa"Russian and Slavic:6-7

◇1873:USA PA Pittsburgh | Scottish-born immigrant **Andrew Carnegie** (1835-1919) was now eight years into a brilliant career as industrialist, concentrated on building a colossal steel manufacturing enterprise

- During the US Civil War, Carnegie served as a War Department railway division bureaucrat
  - He instantly saw an industrial future opening before him
  - Inspired by his war-time procurement experiences, in 1865 he entered the steel business
- Victory of the North in the American Civil War and an associated industrial productivity boom, especially in railroad construction, launched the careers of several of the most famous entrepreneurs of modern history, and [Andrew Carnegie](#) was among the first in line
- Pittsburgh PA was the base of operations for another future internationally connected billionaire financier **Andrew Mellon** (1855-1937)
  - Mellon inherited his father's fortune. The father wrote an autobiography = [Thomas Mellon and His Times](#)
  - In the boom years after the Civil War, Andrew Mellon built mightily on his father's fortune, concentrating on banking, coal, oil, railroads, public utilities, steel, aluminum, and eventually in the aviation industry
  - Mellon the younger showed a masterly control of diverse but vertically integrated economic enterprises
  - And he understood **the central role of finance capital**. He subordinated the manufacturing process itself, and certainly labor, in favor of financial profit considerations
  - But he also understood the role of governmental power and the sometimes shady political manipulation of the "free market"

- The markets and industrial companies he worked in cannot be described as altogether "free", or laissez-faire, or simply entrepreneurial, nor can they be called simply "criminal"
- [Mellon](#) was an active supporter of the pro-business and bribe-prone Republican-Party political machine in Pennsylvania and served in high governmental posts up to the era of the Great Depression in the late 1920s
- 1874:1914; Russian industrial combination formed = Association of Southern Coal and Steel Producers [\[ID\]](#)
- [Coal](#), oil, [railroads](#) and [banking](#), a harmonious quartet of industrial/financial enterprises that came alive in the late 19th century, in USA, Russia and elsewhere
- [Photos of Pittsburgh history](#)

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\*--David Cannadine, [Mellon: An American Life](#)\*--[LOOP on "finance"](#)

◇1874:1875; **Russian "Going to the People" movement** [\[RRC2,2:344-57\]](#) Russian **revolutionary populist movement** intensified

- The "Going to the People" was one of the most spontaneous and dramatic confrontations in all of Russian history between the state, urban elites and the laboring folk in villages and factories
  - By the hundreds, Russians -- mainly college-age youths -- fanned out into the countryside to learn about peasant life but also to educate peasants about their best interests, to encourage peasant mobilization for causes presumed to be popular
  - These causes were, for certain, dear to radical youth, but were they dear to villagers?
  - Some of these crusaders settled into village routine for a period, but others were repelled by the hostility or indifference of villagers
  - Nonetheless, the center of attention within democratic circles remained still peasants
- Officials were deeply alarmed. Authorities had always controlled and restrained spontaneous "inter-soslovie" intercourse
  - Official policy prevented anything like a "public sphere" to evolve within the tightly restricted social/service hierarchies [\[ID\]](#)
  - Now thousands of city folk broke with conventional practices and spilled out into wage-labor work environments and into the countryside to mix with and open conversations with the *narod* [the Russian people; laboring folk]
  - 1873oc:Young urbanite spoke with construction workers about their plight (as remembered during interrogation after he was arrested) [\[TXT\]](#)
- 1875:Justice Minister Konstantin Pahlen reported that his investigation of the "Going to the People" had so far turned up 770 activists from all "strata" of imperial society, active in 37 provinces. And these were just the ones snared in official investigations
  - In Pahlen's view, the failure of students and others to adhere to assigned roles defined by their "stratum" was a symptom of wide moral decay
    - Pahlen was shocked to report that students shed themselves of their [university](#) uniform, the outward sign of their stratum, and that they took on the garb of villagers as they attempted to mix freely with them
    - One *soslovie* imitating another and unauthorized socializing by any group were illegal in Russia
  - Pahlen emphasized the broad sympathy for this movement among all strata of Russian society
  - He expressed amazement that "many persons no longer young, fathers and mothers of families, who enjoy material security and a more or less honored social position, not only failed to oppose the young people but, on the contrary, often gave them open encouragement, help, and support"
  - In Pahlen's view, these folks seemed not to understand that this movement to the people threatened the very foundations of Russian life
  - These folks were breaking free of those foundations, namely, the social/service hierarchies
- Activists among the folk distributed illegal books and other publications by Russian émigrés abroad [\[VSB,3:654-6\]](#)
- The most characteristic Russian "ideological" trends in the 1870s were associated with Petr Lavrov, Mikhail Bakunin (with Sergei Nechaev [\[ID\]](#)), and Petr Tkachev
  - In the early years, populists received much intellectual guidance from the émigré publications of **Alexander Herzen** [\[ID\]](#). But Herzen was now dead
  - **Mikhail Bakunin** [\[ID\]](#) and **Petr Lavrov** sought to replace him as inspirational theorists and publicists
    - Bakunin died in 1876, bringing and end to a spotty but unforgettable [three decades of revolutionary activity](#). His influence continued in Russia and abroad
    - Lavrov occupied a place of esteem in the minds of thinking and fighting Russians (and these were not always the same people) for another quarter of a century
      - As an émigré in London and Paris, he lived in poverty and misery, until his death in 1900, ending [more than four decades of widely various public advocacy](#)
      - Lavrov's influence [continued into the 20th century](#)
    - Bakunin and Lavrov did not quite reach Herzen's level of polemical brilliance, but they were important émigré revolutionary leaders with Europe-wide reputations
  - [Petr Tkachev's](#) influence on events back in Russia was different from that of Lavrov, Bakunin and Herzen, but like these others, Tkachev exerted his influence from a distance
- These pundits, ideologues and theorists have been lumped together under the term "populism" [*narodnichestvo*]
  - The term is fine so long as we remember that the central concept was **radical rural egalitarianism with a good dash of late-nineteenth-century socialism**

- Populism [*narodnichestvo*] was an "ism" based on "the people" [*narod*, with its wide implications of "nation", "the people", "peasants" | [TXT on the word "narod"](#)]
- Populists were democrats in so far as they put their faith in the possibility that the Russian "people" (90% of whom were villagers) were in a position to shape their own better future, much like all other European common folk, whether rural or urban
  - Not all populists saw things that way. Some populists veered from democracy when they pondered the possibility that a "backward" people might need the guidance of an advanced "minority" -- an "intelligentsia" [\[ID\]](#)
  - Even when it was not always democratic, even when it veered toward managerial elitism, Russian populism remained at heart radical rural egalitarianism and in stark opposition to Russian social/service hierarchies
- Populists put a lot of faith in the progressive implications of a pre-modern, pre-industrialized, largely rural population
  - In their view, villagers represented a promise every bit as bright as -- maybe brighter than -- that of any other European people
  - Why should one presume that labor ghettos in the big industrialized cities were better able than the Russian village to produce citizens of a wholly transformed future egalitarian and socialist world?
  - A bit dreamy, a bit idealistic, but no more so than all other European progressive radical-liberal or socialist visions of future egalitarianism
  - Democracy just might be universally implausible or at least unlikely
- Populists put a lot of faith in the *narod*
  - Emerging new and broad public interactions were essential for a democratic future
  - The political system called democracy could not exist without the social structures of broad public interaction among the whole people, the whole nation, the *narod*
  - Russian contemporaries described this interaction as *obshchenie* [\(ID\)](#)
- Populists put a lot of faith in the *narod*, but they also put a lot -- maybe a lot more -- faith in themselves
  - They were sure that they were the active ingredient in an emerging new social mixture, a new free socialization among all the people, so unlike historical and exclusive social structures
  - In just this era, the Russianized Latinate word "intelligentsia" came into wide usage [\[ID\]](#)
    - The spreading use of the words "narod" and "intelligentsia" can very properly be thought of as a serious subversion of customary Russian imperial social/services hierarchies
    - But the various deliberations on the relationship of "narod" to "intelligentsia" also contained fertile seeds of 20th-century Soviet [managerial](#) elitism, a future radical version of traditional [social/service hierarchies](#)
  - Intelligentsia are often accused of "idealizing" the Russian peasant, but they were far more often guilty of idealizing themselves
- Justice Minister Pahlen had enough sense to know that much of the energy of the epoch flowed from cultural sources far broader and indigenous than the ideological publications of a few pundits in west European emigration, broader even than the small and harassed home-bred oppositional movement
  - An intense nationalistic Russian self-consciousness had long ago attached itself to the notion of "the folk" [*narod*], and it flourished in a generalized atmosphere of dissent against the established and seemingly foreign or "un-Russian" autocratic order
  - For the second time in Russian history, in the 1860s and 1870s, a wide debate arose on the virtues and shortcomings, but mainly the virtues, of the peasant village assembly [*mirskoi skhod*], the communitarian practices associated with "mutual assurance" [*krugovaia poruka* -- almost always and misleadingly translated as "collective responsibility" [\(ID\)](#)]
  - The first epoch of such debate was in the 1830s and 1840s [\[ID\]](#)
    - Russian peasant villagers lived in an unusually ancient and traditional institutional environment
    - Very old European community practices survived as nowhere else in Europe
    - These timeless Russian peasant practices seemed capable of serving as a foundation for the construction of that bright egalitarian future that so many 19th-century Europeans -- and not only Russians -- expected just around the corner
    - As an artifact of Russian political culture, idealization of the village assembly was not unlike that ubiquitous English political-cultural artifact = The idealization of the Magna Carta and the early parliaments [\[ID\]](#)
    - It is odd and noteworthy that Russian idealization of the ancient urban *veche* [\[LOOP\]](#) was slower to arise, and idealization of the early-modern *Zemskii Sobor* [\[LOOP\]](#) was weak
- Traditional agrarian ways in Russia, however, also included a whole set of primitive agricultural practices -- strip farming, three-field system, periodic redistribution of land-holding responsibilities among village households
- Redistribution seemed a bit like "socialism", but it also functioned as a sort of "temporary private property", in which households held land as if their own. [\[TXT on these village land practices\]](#)
- Hop to this [page of portraits and other contemporary visual representations of peasant/village life](#)
- [BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SOURCES ON THE POPULIST ERA](#)
- The great "[going to the people](#)" originated six years earlier but was now being transformed, in part by state action, into resolute revolutionary conspiracy
  - The tsarist state arrested hundreds of these youths and eventually [brought the most vulnerable to trial](#)
  - As the political struggle of the Russian state with radical political opposition intensified, the [populist movement](#) back in Russia took a turn toward terrorism
  - Efforts at close contact with [peasants](#) and other working folk slackened

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\*--[Mironov](#), 1:286-370 analyses the history of Russian rural social institutions\*--[VRR](#), ch.18 on the group conventionally called "Chaikovtsy" and the movement "to the people"

◇1874:1896; German historian and "chauvinist" [\[ID\]](#) ideologist Heinrich von Treitschke dealt with the contradictions between individual freedoms and national unity [\[ID\]](#) by shifting increasingly in the direction of militaristic and nationalistic "chauvinism"

- Treitschke inspired a war-fever even in the final years of the great and peaceful inter-European 19th century with his influential "Politics" [\[BNE:143-5 | CCC3,2:989-1004 | PWT2:258-60\]](#)
- 1882mr11: French intellectual Ernest Renan, who had been a serious Germanophile prior to the Franco-Prussian War, now turned against Germany, but stopped short of affirming French nationalism in ethnic or racist terms
  - In a famous article, "What is a Nation?" [\[E-TXT\]](#), he emphasized group action together, the vast community of national accomplishment
  - He also cautioned that a nation can remember its glories, but it also has to learn how to think about (perhaps forget) its atrocities
  - Here are some of his words =

Man does not belong to his language or to his race, he belongs to himself alone, for he is a free being, a moral being. We no longer condone the persecution of people in order to change their religion; persecuting them to make them change their language or homeland appears just as evil to us.

What makes a nation is not speaking the same language or belonging to the same ethnographic group, it is having done great things together in the past and wanting to do more great things in the future. [...] Language invites unity, without, however, compelling it. The United States and England, Latin America and Spain share the same languages, but do not form single nations. Conversely, Switzerland, so solid because it is based on the consent of its various parties, has three or four languages. There is in humanity something superior to language; it is will. The will of Switzerland to be united, despite the variety of its tongues, is much more important than the similarities often obtained by means of persecution. [\[TXT | RWP2:281-91\]](#)

◇1874:China accepted Japanese control of Ryukyu Isl

◇1874:Russian philosopher Vladimir Solov'ev published *The Crisis of Western Philosophy*

\*--Solov'ev's remaining 26 years of life were devoted to a most creative critique of standard forms of contemporary European "Positism" [\[W.ID\]](#)

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\*2014au01: "Vladimir Solovyov on Sexual Love and Evolution" [\[E-TXT\]](#)

\*--[Wagar](#) on Solov'ev [\[TXT\]](#)

\*--[LOOP on Vladimir Solov'ev](#)

◇1874:USA, Kansas, Howard Co., Cedar Vale | Wm. Frey (Geims) headed up a Progressive community, a [populist](#) commune = Russkaia obshchina [\[Hasty:54-82\]](#)

\*--KS prairie described by Grigorii Machtet [\[Hasty:16-53\]](#)

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\*--[Saul](#), 2:213-25

◇1874:USA | John Fiske, *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*, influenced American religious thinkers on the question of the harmony of the Christian faith with the Darwinian concept of biological evolution and with its social corollary, "[Social Darwinism](#)"

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\*--[Wagar](#) on Fiske [\[TXT\]](#)

◇1874ja01:Russian military reforms instituted universal military service [\[VSB,3:625 | RA2:338f = Russian text \*Ustav o voinskoi povinnosti\*\]](#)

- This was [the last of the "great reforms" actually implemented](#)
- In the waning years of reform, [War Minister Dmitrii Miliutin](#) reflected on rise of reactionary attitudes among high officials =

What an amazing and lamentable comparison with the situation as it was when I entered the top echelons of the government thirteen years ago [1860]. Then everything surged forward; now everything drags back. Then the sovereign was sympathetic to progress, he moved things forward himself; now he has lost confidence in everything he himself created, in everything that surrounds him, even himself [\[VSB,3:624-5\]](#)

- 1874:1881; Seven years passed without further reforms. [The tsarist state](#) was turning toward reaction
- **Then one crucial but belated and still-born [reform gesture](#) was made on the very eve of Alexander II's assassination**

◇1875:1876; [Central-Asian](#) Uzbek territories conquered by Russia

\*1876:Kyrgyz people also conquered

\*--AfroAsia imperialist competition intensified

◇1875:Japan and Imperial Russia in tense negotiations

\*--[Japan](#) took northern Kuril Islands in exchange for dropping claims on Sakhalin Island

\*--Russia was forced to put the "Far-East" on a back burner in order to concentrate attentions on a looming crisis in [AfroAsia](#)

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\*1962:[JGO](#)#10:337-48| G. A. Lensen, "Japan and Tsarist Russia: Changing Relationships, 1875-1917"

\*1942:LND| B. H. Sumner, *Tsardom and Imperialism in the Far East and Middle East, 1880-1914*

◇1875:Russian revolutionist in exile, Petr Tkachev published his revolutionary journal [Nabat](#) [Tocsin; the alarm bell] [[VSB](#),3:656 | [LDH](#):286-93 | "Nabat (Programma zhurnala)"| [GRV](#):212-19]

- Tkachev was the first "populist" [\[ID\]](#) to express a strong critique of rural native tradition. Russian backwardness demanded a greater leadership role from a dedicated "intelligentsia" [\[ID\]](#)
- Tkachev was less interested in egalitarian or democratic *obshchenie* [\[ID\]](#) than he was in effective command and control at the head of a national assault on the Russian old order
- [Tkachev](#) urged tighter organization and more decisive action than either Bakunin or Lavrov [\[IDs\]](#)
- Tkachev was inclined toward "internal war" rather than politics
- He argued that [terror](#) was the only way to cure Russian ills [Russian [TXT](#)]
- The active political career of Tkachev was not very long, but his legacy lived on. Some have seen a premonition of [Lenin](#) in the politics of [Tkachev](#)

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\*--[VRR](#), ch.16

◇1875:Russian [censorship](#) officials planned restrictions against [Ukrainian](#) publications [[DIR3](#):268-70]

◇1875my:German [wage-laborers](#) and [socialists](#) united to form the Social Democratic Party [SDP] of Germany and to sign their "Gotha Program" [[DPH](#):263-5]

◇1876:Japan forced a trade treaty on Korea which opened two Korean ports

- Japan sought to "Westernize" itself fully
- 1880s:Meiji Restoration economic development in its second decade, the beginning of the "Zaibatsu" [statist corporation] era [CF=Chaebol (S.KOR)]
- As Japanese industrial modernization progressed, so did [Japanese imperialist ambitions](#)

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\*--[W#1](#) | [W#2](#) | [Wki](#)

\*--Shibagaki Kazuo, "The Early History of the Zaibatsu" [[E-TXT](#)]

\*--Kaoru Sugihara, *Japan, China, and the Growth of the Asian International Economy, 1850-1949* ((UO))

\*--[LOOP on "finance"](#)

◇1876:USA | Last Federal Troops of occupation left the South as "[Reconstruction](#)" came to an end

\*--Philadelphia World's Fair (Centennial Exposition) on the occasion of the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the American Revolution

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[Saul.2](#):138-43

◇1876:1885; USA and Russia | First decade in which **great transnational petroleum corporations consolidated their grip on that industry** =

- 1859:USA PA Titusville discovery [[pix](#)]
- 1863:USA Cleveland, Excelsior Works of John Davison Rockefeller began kerosene production
- 1869:1874; USA economic depression, 2<sup>nd</sup> worse in USA history
- **Standard Oil** adjusted by gaining control of full process, "upstream" and "downstream", and introduced rebates, kickbacks, secret rates, etc
- 1876:Baku *Tovarishchestvo brat'ev Nobel* [**Nobel Brothers Company**] soon had Russia involved in the emerging world petroleum market
- Three Nobel brothers, Liudvig (1831-1888), Alfred (1833-1896) and Robert, were sons of a Russian military contractor of Swedish origin who lived in Saint-Petersburg
  - The family fortune rested on their profitable industrial enterprise, bolstered by government contracts to produce explosives and gunpowder for the military
  - 1867:Brother Alfred developed nitroglycerine into an effective explosive, but accepted a French government contract to build a modern gunpowder plant there



- When Alfred died in 1896, he left a portion of his immense fortune to Stockholm University to support a peace prize
- Oldest brother Liudvig inherited the father's Russian business and took over management of Russian factories
  - Liudvig was given a procurement contract to supply field artillery to Russian forces in the [Russo-Turkish War](#)
  - With his brothers' participation, Liudvig now branched out of "military-industrial" enterprise into petroleum production
  - He founded great works in the Baku (Azerbaijan) fields [[pix](#)]
  - At first they shipped kerosene in barrels by sail to the mouth of the Volga
    - Barrels were reloaded on river boats and transshipped upstream to the great *yarmarka* [faire] in Nizhnii Novgorod, to be marketed throughout Russia and to the east
    - This was expensive, and the Nobels could not compete with cheaper USA kerosene on the Asian market
  - Protective tariffs helped, but Liudvig innovated on his own to lower the price of his product
    - He introduced [railroad](#) tankers
    - He invented pipeline delivery methods which made his kerosene competitive even on the USA market
    - He transported crude oil to the Black Sea port of Batumi, and he pioneered transportation by sea-going oil tankers
    - He introduced effective petroleum reservoirs near all major cities [[BrE](#),41:216]
    - Nobel Brothers Company value =
      - 1879 = 3,000,000r
      - 1916 = 45,000,000r
- Should we think of the Nobels as "Swedish" or "Russian"?
- What of "European" émigrés at heart of US economic development in these years?
  - Was Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours [[ID](#)] French or "American"?
  - Was Andrew Carnegie [[ID](#)] British or, more exactly, a Scot, or was he an "American"?
- 1877-1881:USA| Standard Oil "gobbled up" domestic business rivals and began to build network of trunk and side pipelines
- 1882:USA oil refining capacity 95% under the control of the giant energy company Standard Oil, a "trust company"
- One great novelty was that Standard became a business well beyond Cleveland, well beyond the borders of Ohio
  - Standard was a pioneer "transnational corporation"
  - There were no USA nationally chartered corporations, only state chartered
  - Of course, there were no "international" charters in this ultra-nationalistic 19th century
  - Standard expanded beyond the reach of geographically limited city legal and governmental authorities
- By the 1880s, kerosene = main product (over 1/2 of all USA oil output; 4th largest USA export)
- The European office of Standard Oil boasted that oil "forced its way into more nooks and corners of civilized and uncivilized countries than any other product in business history emanating from a single source [i.e., emanating from this vast new transnational corporation]"
- Another novelty = "The concept of hands-on management by owners had evolved to the policy of financial management by an active insider board of directors [Standard Oil Executive Committee]
  - The Standard Oil Executive Committee met daily to determine which policies and decisions were in "the general interest" [[Gnrg](#)]
    - In this way, Standard represented the first huge example of the fiduciary problem caused when "ownership" and "management" are dissociated from one another, a problem explored in 20th-century. USA pop-arts = OTHER PEOPLE'S MONEY [[ID](#)]
      - This problem was later famously [described by Adolph Berle](#)
      - This great weakness of corporate free market capitalism made its first appearance on the world economic scene and survived into the 21st century
  - [Standard Oil](#) was a pioneer "trust company" [[W ID](#)]
- 1886:**Rothschild banking company**, a transnational financial institution, formed Caspian and Black Sea Petroleum Co. [[Bnito](#)]
  - The Russian Nobel Brothers Company worked in close financial association with the Paris-based Rothschild banking company
  - These enterprises were from their beginning "transnational" corporations
- The [oil or petroleum epoch](#) with its great transnational industrial companies and financial and banking institutions, was upon all who would play [the Great Game](#)
- Petroleum was the energy basis and the organizational paradigm in ["the second industrial revolution"](#)
- Look at 1991 publication on international banking below
  - \\
- [SAC Narrative Extension on "Energy and Politics"](#)
- [Saul](#),2:143-8 deals with the petroleum industry
- Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: Epic Quest for Oil, Money and Power*
- R. W. Tolf, *The Russian Rockefellers: The Saga of the Nobel Family and the Russian Oil Industry*
- LUKoil magazine article about the virtues of kerosene [[E-TXT](#)]
- 1991:[International Banking, 1870-1914](#)| A joint USA/USSR scholarly project. Especially note the following chapters =
  - V.I. Bovykin and B.V. Anan'ich, "The role of international factors in the formation of the banking system in Russia"
  - Mira Wilkins, "Foreign banks and foreign investment in the United States"
  - B.V. Anan'ich and V.I. Bovykin, "Foreign banks and foreign investment in Russia"
  - Ruth AmEnde Roosa, "Banking and financial relations between Russia and the United States"
  - A.A. Fursenko, "The oil industry"



- **2003su:Russian publication with wide circulation offered its views on how the great Rockefeller and J. P. Morgan industrial/financial empires were built in USA, with explanations of why they eventually failed [TXT]**  
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 \*--[Rothschild family home page](#)  
 \*--[LOOP on "finance"](#)  
 \*--[LOOP on "banks"](#)

◇1877:1879; Russian author Gleb Uspenskii, *Village Diary* [[RRC2](#),2#30]

◇1877:English pundit [Donald Mackenzie Wallace](#), *Russia* [excerpts: [VSB](#),3:626-9 | [WRH3](#):291-375]

◇1877:Russian Samara-Orenburg [railroad](#) complete, linking [Bashkir steppes](#) east of the middle course of the Volga River to the main lines of Russian transport to the west

◇1877ja28:USA poet [Walt Whitman](#) delivered speech "In Memory of [Thomas Paine](#)" [[E-TXT#1](#) | [E-TXT#2](#)]

◇1877ap12:1878jy13; Ottoman and Russian empires engaged in a 15-month-long but vastly significant **Russo-Turkish War** [[MAP](#)]  
 \*--Photo-panoramic view of 1876:Istanbul [[lxt](#)]

- 1876:[Eugene Schuyler's](#) investigations of Ottoman atrocities in Slavic lands [[ID](#)] helped stoke anti-Ottoman sentiments among Russians and a wider reading public
- In addition, a three-year-old **Bulgarian** independence movement, led by Stefan Stambulov, inspired a Russian desire to help a Slavic "brother"
  - Bulgarians under Ottoman authority had ceased [centuries before](#) to live in a sovereign nation-state of their own
  - Now there was much sympathy among Slavic peoples for the creation of an independent Bulgaria in eastern Macedonia
- [Panslavism](#) and Russian imperialist ambition seemed to some to be in harmony
  - Panslavism was based on a growing sense of ethnic "brotherhood" among Slavic peoples =

East Slavic (EG=Russian, [Ukrainian](#), Belarusian)

South Slavic (EG=Serbian, Montenegrin, Bosnian, Herzegovinian, Bulgarian), or

West Slavic (EG=[Polish](#), Czech, Slovak)

- The sense of ethnic sodality was strongest among Orthodox Slavs, especially among East Slavic and South Slavic peoples
- That sympathy was not shared by the great European powers, especially England and Austria, who were jealous of growing Russian influence in that part of the world and had their own ambitions there
- In fact not all Russians shared that sympathy =
- **Serbia** and its close neighbor **Montenegro** were earlier declared independent from Turkey
  - An 1876 Serbian war against Turkey, occasioned by Serbian support of **Bosnia-Herzegovina** independence, prompted much public support in Russia
  - But the war turned ugly for Serbia, helping convince Russia to intervene
  - At that time, poet and prominent tsarist establishment official, Prince P.A. Viazemskii, criticized the intensity of Russian enthusiasm for the cause of Serbia and Montenegro =

Let the Serbs tend to their own affairs, and us Russians to ours. This is indeed our chief error, our chief misunderstanding, that we consider ourselves more Slav than Russian. [...] Any time now Europe will catch fire, and a general war will spread. Do [the Slavophiles] really think that Russia will be strengthened by the resurgence of Slavic nations? Nothing of the sort; rather the contrary. We shall only ensure and confirm the ill will and ingratitude of a neighbor whom we have revived and put on his feet. [...] It is better for us to have as a neighbor a feeble Turkey, old and decrepit, than a young, strong, democratic Slavic land that will be wary of us but will never love us [... All] their sympathies are for the West [[VSB](#),3:629]

- Serbs were now to be vindicated =
- Russian declaration of war [[VSB](#),3:629-30]
- **Turkey and Russia fought and negotiated on their own, without any concern for Austrian or English interests and, at first, without overt interference from European states to the west. It seemed at first that Russia and the Ottomans might resuscitate and consolidate the on-off but very real cooperative trends of the previous half-century**
- **1878mr17:The Russian and Ottoman empires negotiated and signed the bilateral San Stefano treaty [TXT]** [Excerpts [DIR2](#):317-28]
  - The dominant provision of the San Stefano treaty was creation of an enlarged **Bulgaria** [now including a sizable portion of Macedonia, a vaguely defined territory running roughly from the eastern border of Albania to the Aegean Sea and populated by Bulgarian, Albanian, Greek and many other Illyrian and Balkan peoples]
    - The new Bulgaria would be semi-independent and with an elected princely monarch
    - NB! no Russian authority over Bulgaria was implied
    - In fact, the new Bulgaria was to pay "tribute" to the Turks

- Russia did gain significant territory around the southeast shores of the Black Sea
- **Bosnia-Herzegovina** [*Bosna i Hercegovina*] were promised reforms from Turkish overlords
  - NB! B-H was not made independent of the Turks nor given over to Serbia
  - This area had since medieval times been a rich potpourri of religious confessions
  - Catholics, Orthodox and Bogomils vied with one another
  - From 1463 and for the next four hundred years, B-H was ruled by Ottoman Turks
  - Elites accepted Islam, and thus added another ingredient to the complex B-H stew
- As the 19th century wore down and the storm clouds of WWI gathered, the fate of Bosnia-Herzegovina and other [Yugoslav](#) peoples was not shaped by hatreds among the population so much as by the maneuvers of the great imperialist powers that competed for influence or gain in and around these territories
  - As of 1878, B-H was a fruit on the Ottoman tree that Austria sought to pick
    - The Russians still thought of it as unripe and made no overt effort in the San Stefano Treaty to gain advantage there
    - They simply demanded that the Turks reform their administration
    - The Austro-Hungarian Empire played the most unsettling role in this region =
- **Watching from the sidelines, Austria and other western and central European powers were alarmed at the extensive provisions of the bilaterally negotiated San Stefano Treaty**
  - Some western European capitals feared a possible re-establishment of the earlier trend toward rapprochement between traditional rivals, Russia and Ottoman Turkey, a trend that Western allies had once before disrupted in the time of the Crimean War [\[ID\]](#)
  - They feared that Russo-Turkish rapprochement might isolate western and central European powers and preempt the benefits just for them, benefits "The West" expected to follow from their own careful long-term dismantlement of Turkey
- Austrian imperial power had designs on B-H, grander than the modest San Stefano concessions, yet it was happy to pretend, along with the other "Western empires" (EG=England and Germany), that it was the Russians who sought unnatural expansion of imperial authority
- [Austro-Hungary](#) roosted quietly nearby, like a superannuated dual-monarchical vulture and its hungry adolescent chick
- **In view of this portentous bilateral Russian/Turkish diplomatic success, "The West" decided to intervene**
  - They claimed that Russia had overturned the Treaty of Paris [\[ID\]](#) without sufficient international consultation
  - Making bald threat of war, a small group of European great powers, with England in the lead, forced a new treaty on Russia and [Ottoman Turkey](#)
  - Ambitious "Western" powers took this opportunity to alter San Stefano in such a way as to enhance their own positions in the eastern Mediterranean and to weaken the positions of Russia and Bulgaria and, for that matter, Turkey itself
  - They pretended to enhance the position of [Ottoman Turkey](#), but time was to show that was but a diplomatic ruse
- The Berlin Congress followed, a sorrowful inning in the "[Great Game](#)" and a fundamental cause of some of the most tragic 20th- & 21st-century "AfroAsia" crises

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\*--[Yavuz.WAR](#)

\*--[Kennan.DECLINE](#), chapters 5-7:103-54 emphasizes the central role of the Bulgarian question, 1878-1886 | A vague and personality-centered narrative

\*--Barbara Jelavich, [The Ottoman Empire, the Great Powers, and the Straits Questions, 1870-1887](#)

\*--David MacKenzie, [The Serbs and Russian Pan-Slavism, 1875-1878](#)

\*--B. H. Sumner, [Russia and the Balkans, 1870-1880](#)

\*--[LOOP on AfroAsia](#)

◇1877su:USA experienced 45 days of intense and wide-spread labor unrest when thousands of railroad workers went on strike [\[ID\]](#)

- Some of the nation's biggest cities -- Baltimore [\[pix\]](#), Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Chicago, St.Louis -- were gripped in violent clashes between wage-laborers and authorities
- B
- These confrontations ending frequently in military intervention and use of live ammunition against strikers
- John Hay [\[Wki\]](#) was inspired by this shocking, modern industrial strike action to publish in 1883 an anti-labor novel, *The Breadwinners: A Social Study* [\[E-TXT\]](#)
  - Earlier, through the Civil War, Hay served as secretary to USA President Abraham Lincoln but was now married into a millionaire railroad family in Cleveland OH, and was involved in the family business
  - Hay's novel is "anti- [wage-labor](#)", and maybe more than a touch anti-modern, but not narrowly so
  - The novel is filled with fascinating every-day detail related to life in a growing and "progressive" late-19th-century city, "Buffland" [fictional amalgamation of Buffalo NY and Cleveland OH]
  - The novel's treatment of man-woman courtship is of particular historical interest
- [John Hay](#) later became Secretary of State in a particularly critical period of US history

◇1877:1881; Russian second "revolutionary situation" (4 years) intensified in the months of [Russo-Turkish War](#) and expanded into a crisis of Russian revolutionary populism and the beginnings of modern [political parties](#) in Russia

- More dark thoughts in diary of [War Minister Miliutin](#) [\[VSB,3:632-4\]](#)

- He observed a contest within the highest circles of [tsarist state](#) authority
- In his view the contest was between authentic reformers and those who now sought to reverse reform trends, those who dreamt of return to a past never really experienced (perhaps a good definition of political reaction [\[ID\]](#), in this case "official reactionary politics")
- Two big historical questions =
  1. Did the terroristic revolutionary movement cause the crisis within the autocratic state and provoke the shift toward reactionary measures?
  2. Or did reactionary measures precede terrorism (and perhaps cause it to appear on the scene)?
- Political ferment was very much alive among émigré Russians
- But back in Russia, it is harder to say because unlicensed self organization or voluntary associations of any sort were illegal, especially political groups
- After the unorganized, largely spontaneous "Going to the People" [\[ID\]](#), all populist oppositional movements were of necessity at first underground and conspiratorial, revolutionary parties
- 1876fa:Underground political party "Land and Liberty" [*Zemlia i volia*] issued its first program ["Programma "Zemli i voli": Pervonachal'naia redaktsiia" ([GRV](#):219)]
- Activists in the second revolutionary situation concentrated on
  1. [Peasants](#). But another and soon dominant feature of this phase came to the fore =
  2. [Revolutionary terror](#)
  3. A small number of activists moved from the village, rejected terrorism, and shifted attention to [the industrial workplace](#)
- Field, [Rebels](#):112-207, contains documents on village rebelliousness fomented by "revolutionary populists" [CF=[1861ap](#)]
- [Sergei Kravchinskii](#) [Stepniak], [The Russian Peasantry: Their Agrarian Condition, Social Life, and Religion](#) (1888) [[Excerpted TXT](#)] [Print excerpts: [VSB](#),3:754-6]
- Kravchinskii's first-hand account of revolutionary conspiracy, [Underground Russia](#) (1883), was written five years after his own traumatizing act of political terror [\[ID\]](#)
- [Women](#) played an unexpected and active role as political opposition in Russia became violent
- The optimistic era of [revolutionary populism](#), with its faith in the possibility of imminent success of a rural socialist transformation of Russia, was nearing its end as "[Land and Liberty](#)" broke up
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- \*--Petr A. Zaionchkovskii, [The Russian Autocracy in Crisis, 1878-1882](#) (1979)
- \*2009jy:[Russian Social Science Review](#)#50,4:36 - 48| Boris N. Mironov| "The Myth of a Systemic Crisis in Russia After the Great Reforms of the 1860s-1870s"
- \*--[VRR](#), ch.20 on *Zemlia i volia*, ch.21 on *Narodnaia volia*
- \*--[Julicher](#): chapter 9
- \*--Amy Knight, "Female Terrorists in the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party" [\[TXT\]](#)
- \*--Vera Brodov, [Apostles into Terrorists: Women and the Revolutionary Movement in the Russia of Alexander II](#) (1977), esp. ch.10 "Apostles into Terrorists", ch.11 "Towards Terrorism", & ch.13 "Regicide"
- \*--Has the early 21st century witnessed yet more "revolutionary situations" in Russia? [\[EG\]](#)

◊1877se27:London| Karl Marx to F. A. Sorge on the Russian revolutionary movement =

This [Russian] crisis is a *new turning point* in European history. Russia--and I have studied conditions there from the original *Russian* sources, unofficial and official (the latter accessible to but few persons, but obtained for me through friends in Petersburg)--has long been standing on the threshold of an upheaval; all the elements of it are prepared. The gallant Turks have hastened the explosion by years with the thrashing they have inflicted [\[ID\]](#) not merely to the Russian army and Russian finances, but to the very persons of the *dynasty commanding* the army (the Tsar, the heir to the throne, and six other Romanovs). The upheaval will begin *secundum artem* [according to the rules of the game], with some playing at constitutionalism, *et puis il y aura un beau tapage* [and then follows the brawl]. If Mother Nature is not particularly unfavorable towards us, we shall yet live to see the fun!

The stupid nonsense the Russian students are perpetrating is merely a symptom, worthless in itself. [Kazan demonstration, involving future Russian Marxist leader [George Plekhanov](#) among others] But it is a symptom. All sections of Russian society are in full decomposition economically, morally, and intellectually.

This time the revolution begins in the East, hitherto the unbroken bulwark and reserve army of counter-revolution [M&E, *Selected Corr*:374 | Itenberg,RS2:4 selective citation]

- 1878fa:A year after his letter to Sorge (above), Marx composed a letter to the editor of the Russian journal *Otechestvennye zapiski* [Notes of the Fatherland]
- In the letter [Marx](#) suggested that Russia need not traverse the same historical path that Germany or England have followed as revolutionary workers advanced toward the better future [\[SLM\]](#)

◊1878:Russian religious philosopher [Vladimir Solov'ev](#), "Lectures on Godmanhood" [[Ede](#),3:62-84 | [KMM](#):214ff]

◊1878ja24:Saint Petersburg | Vera Zasulich with a pistol wounded Petersburg Governor-General Fedor Trepov

- Zasulich's act was eye-for-eye in her view
  - Prison authorities had apparently tortured a fellow political activist in their charge
  - Zasulich held Trepov personally responsible
- She dropped the gun and awaited arrest

◁1878mr31:A jury trial [*sud prisiazhnyi*] found Zasulich not guilty

- Zasulich confessed to the attack, but the jury would not find her guilty
  - The jury, the defense lawyers, and the wider public seemed ready to accept a higher moral law justifying this violent act of generic self-defense or righteous revenge
  - It was understood that the police state would now try to use its absolute administrative power to get her back into prison
  - Society just didn't want her or any of its members abused by state power
  - So, a huge crowd greeted her outside the courtroom, shielded her from officers who sought to arrest her, and helped spirit her away to safe haven in west-European emigration
- Once there, she became an important figure, contributing to [the rise of Marxism within Russian oppositional movements](#)
- In the Zasulich trial, as in the Nechaev trial earlier, Russians could follow proceedings in newspapers
- Thousands of readers thus learned how the new reform-era legal system [[ID](#)] might work against arbitrary administrative justice, might even seem to favor terrorists over police officials

1878my11(NS):German tin worker made unsuccessful attempt on the life of Emperor Wilhelm the First

\*1878je02(NS): Less than one month later, a second would-be [terrorist](#) assassin lightly wounded the German Emperor

\*--CF=[1861jy01](#)

◁1878jy13(NS):Berlin Treaty reversed the San Stefano Treaty [[ID](#)] [[VSB](#),3:630-1 | [DPH](#):207-09]

- Russia agreed to congress only after "The West" threatened war
  - Such bellicosity in connection with AfroAsian ambitions was not new to European powers [[EG](#)]
- [Otto von Bismarck](#) agreed to mediate
- Berlin Treaty nullified Russian, Bulgarian and Serbian gains from war with Turkey
- With the internationally enforced nullification of the Russian/Turkish bilateral San Stefano Treaty, England and Austria won great concessions. Russia was stripped of nearly all advantages, and Turkey was locking into its sick decline
  - Bulgarian independence was nullified and the nation divided
    - The northern half fell under indirect Ottoman authority
    - The southern half completely under Ottoman rule
  - Macedonia was taken from Bulgaria and placed under complete Ottoman suzerainty
- The main push for this reversal came from England and Austria
- In addition to their own fish to fry, these two powers were concerned about expansion of Russian power and the "dangerous" rise of authentic independence in the Balkans Here are some of the details =
  - England took this occasion to acquire the strategically located island of Cyprus with its large population of Orthodox Greeks and Moslem Turks
  - Austro-Hungarian imperial interests were connected with an ancient authority they exercised over restless Slovenes and Croats
    - These were Catholic Slavs whose native language was basically the same as the Eastern Orthodox Serbs
    - Slovenes and Croats write with the Latin rather than the Cyrillic alphabet since literacy came to them in its Roman Catholic form
  - Austria did not want events to inspire national independence movements among these people, but Vienna's interests were more directly touched by developments in Bosnia-Hercegovina =
- Serbia was declared independent, but suffered two serious insults
  - First, Bosnia-Hercegovina was taken from Turks and Serbs, and placed under Austrian administration and military occupation
    - This represented a slap in the face for both Turkey and newly independent Serbia
    - Austria gained great expansion of power from Russian victory, and denied any advantages to Russia
    - This move was the most aggressive and least defensible in an era and area that required wise diplomacy rather than unrestrained opportunism
    - This move at this time and place will echo down through the 20<sup>th</sup> century
  - Second, Montenegro [*Crna gora*] declared independent (but not a part of Serbia)
    - This represented an insult but also a serious threat to Serbia
    - Montenegro was over the centuries the mountain fastness, the last refuge, of Serbian independence from Turkish and German power
    - It was also the oldest of Russian allies in the Balkans
    - 1516:1851; Montenegro was ruled for more that three centuries by Orthodox bishop/princes [*vladikas*]
    - From 1715 Montenegro was in close alliance with Russia, recognizing the spiritual leadership of Russian emperors over the vladikas
- [Romania](#) became independent, but ceded southern Bessarabia to Russia in return for Dobruja



- NB! **"The West"** took strong and significant stand against national independence for Bulgarians and other South-Slavic [Yugoslavian] peoples, so long as that independence threatened -- or failed to further -- their own imperialist aims
- "The West" took an equally strong but ironic stand in support of Ottoman imperial rule, so long as that Ottoman imperialism suited their needs and could be controlled by them
- The Berlin Treaty, however, failed to meet significant needs in the area under its purview. The treaty laid the foundations for European catastrophe =
  - Unrestrained imperialist practices were now employed within the European homeland
  - "Life support" applied by "The West" to the Ottoman Empire ("the sick man of Europe") was breaking down
  - A Turkish nationalistic and militaristic movement arose [ID] in the same year that Austria seized Bosnia and Herzegovina [ID]
  - The ground was laid for the vicious [Balkan wars of 1912-1913](#)
  - As a result of English and Austrian diplomatic/military affront, national independence terrorist groups, *komitadjis*, arose there under Bulgarian sponsorship
  - One such group later assassinated the [Austrian](#) Archduke Ferdinand and triggered [the outbreak of WW1](#)
- **The dysfunctional relationships expressed in the freakish 1878:Berlin Treaty sickened European diplomacy**
  - **The near-sighted and low-content alliances that grew out of these deliberations distorted international events from this point forward into the catastrophe of WW1.** EG=
    1. Turkish/Russian accommodation was forestalled
    2. Austria and England teamed up against Russia and Turkey
    3. Bulgarian/Serbian enmity was provoked
    4. Foundations were laid for an unnatural life-death alliance of England and Russia against Germany
  - **As WW1 approached, a large symphony of even more broadly freakish diplomatic alliances arose, unrehearsed and unstable in membership, but sectioned up for the first time and sounding forth in the noisy concert that SAC editor has named "Imperialism Comes Home"**
  - **Under the constant distorting influence of global industrialized militaristic competition, the events of 1878 initiated an adjustment of the post-Napoleonic "balance of powers" over the next 36 years, up to 1914 [ID]**
- The "Near-East" half of AfroAsia was not the only arena of emerging world conflict that weighed in on 1878 Berlin Treaty deliberations =
  - 1878:Afghanistan had become a site of imperialist military clashes between Russia and England
  - Each country tried to play the Great Game in this region through subordinate emirs, native Islamic rulers, and propped-up war lords
  - [Central-Asia](#) was falling under Russian dominion
  - But England gained the upper hand in the imperialist struggle for predominance in [Afghanistan](#) and the "South-Asian" edges of AfroAsia
  - Also England's position grew stronger on the "Near-Eastern" edges of AfroAsia
    - England had already nailed-down Egypt [ID]
    - After 1885 England consolidated its position in Africa, even at the cost of alienating Ottoman Turks [ID]
- The Ottoman Turkish Empire, the original "sick man of Europe", and its "Near-Eastern" [ID] spheres of influence were becoming a main arena of action in the unfolding of the great and "sick" European tragedy
  - Kindling for that great conflagration WW1 was being laid in
  - In just over three decades, WW1 burst into flames there
  - The final open battles of WW1 would be fought there
    - **Our notions of WW1 need to be expanded to add a vital "Southern Front" to the famous Western and Eastern fronts [ID]**
- The Berlin congress was a "big inning" for England and Austria, and now Germany entered actively into AfroAsian affairs as the "Great Game" rushed towards its destructive conclusion = WW1 [ID]

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\*2005:Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies#29,2:167-186| Andrekos Varnava, "Punch and the British occupation of Cyprus in 1878" [E-TXT]

\*--Carlton J.H. Hayes, *Generation of Materialism*:33 addressed in his way the issue that SAC above describes as "freakish" [ID]

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If before 1878 the "Eastern Question" concerned one "sick man" [Ottoman Turkey], after 1878 it involved a half-dozen maniacs. For the Congress of Berlin drove the Balkan peoples mad [quoted in [Yavuz.WAR](#):17]

\*--[Yavuz.WAR](#) is an anthology of essays on the Russo-Turkish War and the subsequent Berlin Conference. It's contribution to our historical understanding has been described in the following way =

**Beginning of the end of the multiethnic Ottoman Empire were (1) The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 and (2) the Treaty of Berlin.** These permanently transformed the Balkan and Caucasus political landscape. The treaty marked the end of Ottoman hegemony in the Balkans by formally recognizing the independence or de facto sovereignty of Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro, and the autonomy of Bulgaria. By introducing the **unitary nation-state as the new organizing concept**, the treaty planted the seeds of future conflict, from the Balkan Wars of 1912-

1913 [\[ID\]](#) and WWI [\[ID\]](#) to the recent civil wars and ethnic cleansing in former Yugoslavia [\[ID\]](#). **The magnitude of the defeat of the Ottoman Empire by Russia -- and eventually by the other great powers -- and the human, material, and territorial losses that followed proved fatal to the project of Muslim liberal reform and modernization that the [Ottoman state](#) had launched in the middle of the 19th century [\[ID\]](#).**

\*--[LOOP on "Imperialism and Revolution"](#)

\*--[LOOP on AfroAsia, Great Game and WWI as these three items merged](#)

◇1878au04:Petersburg | Sergei Kravchinskii (with assistance of A. I. Barannovskii) killed Third-Section police chief N.V. Mezentsov in broad daylight as he was out walking

- This early act of successful political assassination was taken in revenge for what was considered extreme and unjust state action in the execution of I.M. Koval'skii
- These early acts of terror in the second revolutionary situation were frequently explicit acts of revenge

◇1878oc18:1879ja23; Petersburg | The great "**Trial of the 193**" followed soon and lasted three months

- The great trial was only indirectly related to recent sensational physical assaults on authority carried out by Zasulich [\[ID\]](#) and Kravchinskii [\[ID\]](#)
- This was a trial of leading figures from among the more than 4000 activists who had been arrested over the previous four years, almost all in connection with the "Going to the People" [\[ID\]](#)
  - Prisons overflowed. Nearly 100 died or went insane before the trial
  - At least 30 different actual organizations and voluntary political associations were involved
  - About one-fourth of the defendants were women
  - Defendants were represented by independent lawyers, according to the new legal reforms
- The trial showed that "The Going" was an expression of widely felt impulses that realized themselves in individual and small group actions without any central coordination
- For its own purposes, the tsarist state treated this expression of national political discontent and optimism as a single conspiracy, a single "criminal association" [*prestupnoe soobshchestvo*] with the goal of "overthrowing the government" [*s tsel'iu gosudarstvennogo perevorota*]
- Against the towering power of the state, and the obduracy of villagers, some of the increasingly isolated individual activists felt they had only one weapon -- [terror](#)

◇1878oc21(NS):German Empire outlawed political parties organized by [socialists](#) or [wage-laborers](#) [[DPH](#):265-6]

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\*--[\[W\]](#)

◇1878oc25:Russian revolutionary [political party](#) "Land and Liberty" [*Zemlia i volia*] issued its final program [[VSB](#),3:662-3 | Russian [TXT](#)]

- As "Land and Liberty" faded from the scene, "[The People's Will](#)" [*Narodnaia volia*] stepped in to fill the gap with heavy accent on terrorism

◇1878no:Tver Zemstvo presented address to the tsar =

In his concern for the welfare of the Bulgarian people after their liberation from the Turkish yoke [\[ID\]](#), the sovereign emperor has deemed it necessary to grant this people true self-government, the inviolability of the rights of the individual, an independent judiciary, and freedom of the press. The zemstvo of Tver Province dares to hope that the Russian people, who bore the entire burden of the war with such complete readiness and with such self-sacrificing love for their tsar-emancipator, will be allowed to enjoy the same blessings, which alone can lead them, in the words of the sovereign, along the path of gradual, peaceful, and legal development [[VSB](#),3:634]

- The Bulgarian constitutional initiative was a third moment in the history of Russian political culture when constitutional reforms were offered non-Russian peoples under imperial power but denied to Russians themselves
  - [First moment = Finland](#)
  - [second moment = Poland](#)
- Zemstvos became increasingly political as its technical functions began to take hold after a slow 15-year startup, and especially as Zemstvo activists gained control over increasing tax revenues
- [Zemstvos](#) were discovering links between their technical functions and their political needs, a discovery characteristic of the general European experience of political institutional modernization

◇1879:1880; Russian novelist [Fedor Dostoevsky](#) [\[pix\]](#) wrote his most widely acclaimed work *Brothers Karamazov*

\*--Petrozavodsk State University Russian-language complete works of Dostoevsky [\[W\]](#)

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\*--[Wagar](#) on Dostoevsky [\[TXT\]](#)



◇1879:Russian Workers, Northern Union of, issued program in defense of wage-laborer interests [[Harding:41f](#)]

- The rise of modern urban centers -- cities -- introduced, as always, three new elements to social/political life =
  1. Industrial labor -- the proletariat
  2. Urban industrial/professional elites -- capitalists, business people, and all others whose interests were meshed with modern enterprise in the "post-agrarian" era
  3. The institutional expression of modern urban enterprise = industrial and business "companies"
- 1879oc:Lithuanian provinces, Vilnius | Formation of General [Jewish](#) Workers Union in Lithuania, [Poland](#) and Russia [Vseobshchii evreiskii rabochii soiuz v Litve, Pol'she i Rossii], Jewish Bund for short
- As old skins of [social/service hierarchies](#) were being shed on all levels, Russia experienced a beginning of political movements among [wage-laborers](#) (#1 above)
- But what about those other European-style "liberal" [urban social/economic and political formations](#)? (#2 & #3 above)
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- \*--[VRR](#), ch.19 on the Russian working class movement
- \*--J. Frankel, [Prophecy and Politics: Socialism, Nationalism and the Russian Jews, 1861-1917](#) (1981)

◇1879:USA reformer and economic theorist Henry George published *Progress and Poverty* [UO [E-TXT excerpts](#) with brief introductory essay]

- Henry George subsequently had a startlingly successful political career, running on a reformist/progressive platform with his infamous "single tax" at the center
  - He believed that the growth rate of poverty was always greater than the growth rate of wealth
  - This sad fact was caused, in his view, by increase over time of land rents and values
  - Larger social forces caused the increase, but isolated owning individuals cashed in on that increase
  - He felt that a single tax on land would solve the problem
- Critics found much to dislike in this scheme, but the biggest force at work against George was the transformation of economic life from agriculture to industry, the shift from the countryside to the city
- Still, it is worth noting Thomas Piketty's 2013 revival of Henry George's central insight [[Wki](#)] = In capitalist economies, the growth rate of poverty was always greater than the growth rate of wealth, even into the era of advanced capitalism in Europe and North America. Therefore capitalism automatically works against the economic interests of labor and in favor of the capitalist, unless specific governmental policy intervenes to assure democratization of economic life [GOOGLE/Piketty and Henry George/ to discover the similar anxious establishmentarian refutations that arose about 130 years apart ([EG](#)) ]

◇1879ja11:zy04; South Africa| English imperialist war against powerful but non-industrialized indigenous [Zulu](#) people

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- \*--[BBC](#)
- \*--[South African History Online](#) (carries the story of Zulu destruction as "sovereign" [African](#) people up to 1896)
- \*--[Wki](#)
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- \*--[LOOP on AfroAsia, Great Game and WWIa as they merged](#)

◇1879fe:Russia| Kharkov Governor-General D. N. Kropotkin was assassinated

- 1879mr13:Petersburg | L. F. Mirskii fired a pistol at Third-Section Chief Gendarme Drentel'n and escaped
- 1879ap02:Petersburg Winter Palace Square| A. K. Solov'ev fired 3 times at Alexander II, without hitting him. He acted also without approval of the underground revolutionary party Land and Liberty, but with a revolver they supplied
- 1879ap:Congress of constitutionalists made up of representatives of Tver, Chernigov, Moscow and Tula Zemstvos, with representatives of Kharkov and Kiev Zemstvos in attendance, plus prominent public figures and Moscow University professors, EG= Maksim Kovalevskii and V.A. Gol'tsev, Ivan Petrunkevich and Fedor Rodichev played key roles in framing constitutional and civil libertarian positions, and in promoting the cause of Zemstvo independence from state control [1929ja:[SEER](#)#7,20:319-20]
- 1879ap05:Russian Emperor Alexander II, having narrowly escaped a terrorist attempt on his life, issued counter-reform decree strengthening the power of governor-generals [[VSB](#),3:665]
- [Tsarist state](#) moved from statist reform toward statist reaction
- 1879my:Within *Zemlia i volia*, a dedicated terrorist group formed, calling itself "Freedom or death" [*Svoboda ili smert'*]
- 1879jy25:au05; Odessa "Trial of the Twenty-Eight". These 28 "revolutionists", including a 14-year old girl, V. L. Gukovskaia, held *in camera* because officials no longer trusted open trial by jury, such that acquitted Vera Zasulich [[ID](#)]
- 1879fa:*Narodnaia volia* [People's Will] party program [[DIR3](#):355-9]
- 1879au25:Narodnaia volia handed down a death sentence against Alexander II
  - Here monarchical subjects "turned the tables" by handing down a sentence of capital punishment against their sovereign
  - 1879oc01: "The People and the State" [[SLM](#):219-23]
  - What could be in principle more authentically revolutionary than that, taking possession of the state's monopoly on violence?
  - The mode of execution was to be dynamite

- At first Narodnaia volia concentrated on mining [railroad](#) lines at three points [VRR:681-3]
  1. At Odessa, [Kibal'chich](#), Kviatkovskii and Vera Figner set up the attack [Figner, [Memoirs of a Revolutionist](#)]. Kolodkevich, Frolenko and Lebedeva were to carry it off. It had to be canceled
  2. 1879no18:Aleksandrovsk | Andrei Zheliabov improperly triggered the dynamite under the tsar's train. No explosion, no assassination
  3. 1879no19:Moscow | Sof'ia Perovskaia and Stepan Shiriarev blew up the wrong train. The tsar pulled into Moscow unscathed
- **Andrei Zheliabov** (1850-1881), was born into a serf family, was liberated and given the opportunity for a higher education at Odessa [University](#)
  - Before turning to terrorist plots, he was involved in the great "going to the people" [\[ID\]](#)
  - He was arrested and a defendant at the Trial of the 193 [\[ID\]](#), found innocent and turned to political organizational work, helping organize "Land and Liberty" [\[ID\]](#)
  - He was now a member of the executive committee of "People's Will" [\[ID\]](#)
  - Zheliabov was a "man of the people", he was not an "intelligent"
  - Zheliabov spanned a life in the village to a life of underground political organization and terrorist action
- Though Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin rejected nearly every feature of [Zheliabov's political creed and commitment](#), he always cited him as proof that the Russian people could produce revolutionists of world quality [\[ID\]](#)

◊1879my02:Moscow Medical Practitioners' School for [Women](#) [\[BRW:196-7\]](#)

◊1880:Russia enforced corporal punishment in military [\[Page\]](#)

◊1880ja01:Russian revolutionary [political party](#) "People's Will" [*Narodnaia volia*] issued program, written mainly by [Lev Tikhomirov](#), Nikolai Morozov, and Aleksandr Mikhailov [\[SLM:207-212 | VSB,3:664 | Kennan,Siberia,2:495-503 | WRH3:399-402 | DIR2:309-13 | DIR3:335-9 | RN7,2:170-4 | "Programma ispolnitel'nogo komiteta" \(GRV:229\]](#)

- The "People's Will" party put terrorism at the head of its agenda
  - 1880ja17:Petersburg apartment of *Narodnaia volia* party members raided by police. Gunfire resulted in several casualties and arrests [VRR:685]
  - 1880fe05:Petersburg | Stepan Khalturin, working closely with the *Narodnaia volia* Executive Committee (Aleksandr Kviatkovskii and [Zheliabov](#)), blew up the tsarist dining room in the Winter Palace, a spectacular achievement
    - Eleven were killed and 56 wounded, but the tsar was not one of them. He had not yet joined the banquet
    - Rifts opened among the terrorists who accepted the need to kill the tsar but were opposed to more generalized terrorism
    - These were unhappy with what the contemporary world calls "collateral damage"
- 1880wi:As village-centered "Land and Liberty" came apart and terror-prone "People's Will" [*Narodnaia volia*] formed up, a small group led by Georg Plekhanov moved in a third direction
  - Plekhanov and his group formed "Black Repartition" [Chernyi peredel' | Russian language TXT = [GRV:222-9\]](#)
- 1880fe12:**Count Loris-Melikov** became head of a newly created state institution, "Supreme Administrative Commission for the Protection of State Order and Public Tranquility"
  - 1880fe20: Young activist I. O. Molodetskii attacked Loris-Melikov, without success
    - Molodetskii acted alone as something of a "freelance" terrorist
    - *Narodnaia volia* disavowed Molodetskii's personal attack because it was uncoordinated with any defined political program
    - Still, *Narodnaia volia* praised his bravery
- 1880sp:People's Will tactical Program [\[SLM:223-31 | RN7,2:175-183\]](#)
- 1880sp:Odessa grocery store was the site at which **Vera Figner and Sof'ia Perovskaia** prepared a dynamite attack on the tsar
  - Another woman, A.V. Yakimova, was also involved
  - Nothing came of these preparations
- 1880su:Terrorism seemed in fact to have results
  - Terrorism succeeded in its desire to influence official behavior in the direction of political concession
  - Loris-Melikov engaged certain public figures in the [Zemstvo](#) constitutionalist movement
  - In secret, he even engaged in negotiations with some who were close to *Narodnaia volia* with the aim to bring an end to terrorist attacks and to initiate governmental reforms
  - Perhaps Loris acted deceitfully, perhaps not. In any event, talks broke down
- 1880oc25:The Executive Committee of the Revolutionary populist journal *Narodnaia Volia* [NaV] wrote a letter to [Karl Marx](#) [\[SLM:206-7 | RN7,2:228-9\]](#)
  - 1880oc25:oc30; SPB Military District court conducted the *in camera* Trial of 16, the *Narodnaia volia* Executive Committee
  - Kviatkovskii was sentenced to death
  - 1880no:*Narodnaia volia* Workers' Organization Program [\[SLM:231-7 | RN7,2:184-91\]](#)
- 1880au:Loris-Melikov's Commission was disbanded and the Count became Interior Minister
  - Melikov pursued a policy of vigorous hunt for revolutionaries

- But he also continued to give out hints at concessions to a fledgling civil society in the form of European-style [liberal](#) reforms
  - Even terrorist opponents of the tsarist state backed off for a moment
  - Certain leaders of the terrorist party "People's Will" were willing to give [Loris-Melikov](#) a chance to make something of his so-called "dictatorship of the heart"
  - Some concluded from this momentary calm and concession that political [terrorism](#) brought results

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\*--[Spartacus Educational www on Tikhomirov and terror](#) (with no mention of his 1888 publication [\[ID\]](#))

◇1880je08:Moscow | Leading cultural figures pulled together a large [Pushkin](#) Commemoration

- Organizers tried to exclude [Katkov](#) from the roster, even from the guest list
- Of the many celebratory public presentations, Fedor Dostoevsky's lecture "stole the show" [\[TXT~ with commentary\]](#)
- Dostoevsky's lecture provoked wide-ranging polemics, EG= with Aleksandr Gradovskii, Konstantin Kavelin and [Vladimir Solov'ev](#)]
- GO 1880de

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\*--Marcus C. Levitt, [Russian Literary Politics and the Pushkin Celebration of 1880](#) (1989)

◇1880de:Geok-Tepe, a semi-independent Turkmen stronghold in Central-Asia, captured by Russian army

- Dostoevsky described the meaning of this event in his journal-like publication [Diary of a Writer](#) [\[RFP2,1:18-24 | Excerpts= VSB,3:659-62\]](#)
  - In [1849 at the beginning of his public career, Dostoevsky](#) was targeted by the Russian Emperor; at the end, Dostoevsky extolled the virtues of the Russian Empire
- 1880fe: Petr Saburov, newly appointed Russian Ambassador to Germany and in close association with German Chancellor Bismarck, wrote a memo to Alexander II in which he defined the fundamental objectives of Russian foreign policy = "the security of Russia's military and political position in the Black Sea (which clashed with Britain); and the emancipation and political organization of the kindred races in the Balkan Peninsula (clashing with Austrian interests)" [\[The Saburov Memoirs:124\]](#)

◇1880de11(NS): German Imperial Military Chief of Staff, Baron Helmut von Moltke, wrote a letter to a leading German jurist in which he revealed a great deal about his militaristic ideas on the nature of war [\[E-TXT\]](#)

\*--Moltke was responding to an 1880se09 manual on "The Laws of War on Land" issued by the Institute of International Law at Oxford [\[E-TXT\]](#)

◇1881:Ottoman Turkish sultan Abdul Hamid II agreed to "Decree of Muharrem" which created joint "Council of the Public Debt", further consolidating English fiscal power over the Turks

- Russia had done well on its own in dealing with the Turks, but "The West" was not going to let that succeed
- The big financial dimension of the Great Game was too much for Russia [\[EG\]](#) even at the outer edge of [Ottoman Turkish](#) power directly on Russian imperial frontiers in Central-Asia
- And in these years, a new contestant for influence and advantage in the [Ottoman world](#) flexed its muscle = Germany

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\*--[LOOP on AfroAsia](#)

\*--[LOOP on Great Game](#)

\*--[LOOP on WW1a](#)

\*--[LOOP on "finance"](#)

◇1881:USA, Pittsburgh | Leaders of National Labor Union, Knights of Industry, and Knights of Labor formed Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada

- This represented the beginnings of organized [wage-labor](#) on the national level
- 1881:In a development not unrelated to economic struggles of labor, [Henry James](#) published his most enduring novel, *Portrait of a Lady*
  - While born into a comfortable establishment Boston family, a scion of US social/cultural elite, James had fled abroad into émigré status
  - He now depended in some measure on income from his publications
  - He lived in Europe like his good friend, the Russian novelist [Ivan Turgenev](#)
  - Not only was high culture transcending "national" limits, it was becoming a commodity
  - Creators had to sell their "product" or perish. James had to publish or perish
  - He had no professorial salary like his brother, the Harvard philosopher William James [\[ID\]](#)

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\*--Sheldon M. Novick, [Henry James: The Mature Master](#)

◇1881:Tver activist Fedor Rodichev memo on [peasantry](#) [\*1934ja:[SEER](#)#12,35:361-2]

◇1881ja28:Russian state servitor [Count Loris-Melikov](#), memo to Emperor Alexander II [[Raeff](#)2:133-40]

- Other Loris-Melikov memos suggested that constitutional reform might be under consideration [[VSB](#),3:665-7]
- Political/institutional reform of this sort had been on nearly everyone's mind since Alexander II ascended the throne [a quarter-century earlier](#)
- But by now the time of significant progressive reform was over in Russia
- Loris-Melikov's brand of [official liberalism was too little, too late](#)

◇1881wi:Nikolai Kibal'chich [[ID](#)] wrote an article on political revolution and the economic question [[SLM](#):212-8]

- [Kibal'chich](#) thus suggested something of the broader political goals or purposes beyond his party's simple terroristic violence
- This was a busy season of reconsideration all across the political spectrum =
  - 1881fe:Zasulich drafted a letter to Marx asking about the possibility that Russia rural mode of production might give some promise of a progressive future in her homeland
  - 1881fe:mr; Marx drafted a reply to Zasulich letter
  - 1881mr:[Marx](#) settled on a final text of the letter to Zasulich in which he conceded that the Russian village institutions might contribute to a Russian variety of socialism

◇1881fe15(NS):German chancellor [Bismarck](#)'s opening speech to the Reichstag [parliament] [[CCC](#)2,2:835f [CCC](#)3,2:1005-6]

- Over the preceding half decade, Bismarck worked hard to maintain best possible relationships with Russia [[DIR](#)3:337-9]
- His final decade in power was devoted to the maintenance of a balance of power in central and eastern Europe [[DPH](#):209-14 | [DIR](#)3:339-45]
- German imperialist ambitions complicated this process [[DPH](#):268-71]
- 1879:German theologian Friedrich Fabri posed the question -- Does Germany Need Colonies? -- and gave a resounding answer = YES [[P20](#):27]
- The German version of European imperialism caused special inter-European problems. European imperialism was "coming home"

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\*--[LOOP on "Imperialism and Revolution"](#)

◇1881mr01:Russian Emperor Alexander II was assassinated [[RRC](#)2,2:368-77]



- The 26-year "[era of great reforms](#)" came to an end as the culminating moment in the "[second Russian revolutionary situation](#)", the apex (or nadir) of [the previous twenty years of political terrorism](#)
  - The success of terrorists in the [political party People's Will](#) ironically destroyed the party
  - And at the same time, [terrorism abated, not to take center stage again in Russia for another twenty years](#)
  - But in other locales [terror continued to play a role](#)
- Loris-Melikov resigned under pressure as Interior Minister
  - [His intense one-year career in the spotlight of imperial politics](#) was at an end
  - He emigrated to western Europe, where he died in 1888

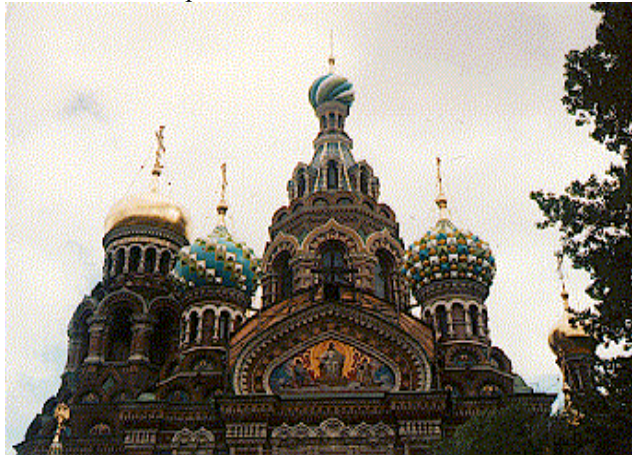


- Everywhere in Europe, but most dramatically in Russia, the [liberalism](#) that moved crowds to action over the previous century seemed no longer to fit the needs of the time

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\*--[VRR](#), ch.22

Spas na krovi [The Savior on the Blood]  
A cathedral build in Petersburg on the spot  
where Emperor Alexander II was assassinated



◇1881mr02:1894; Russian Emperor Alexander III reigned in a time of official reactionary policy [\[ID\]](#) following the second revolutionary situation and terrorist assassination of his father, Alexander II, the "tsar liberator"

- 1877se17:1882my06; Alexander III was much influenced by the political ideas of reactionary **Ober-prokurator of the Holy Synod, Konstantin Pobedonostsev**
- [Pobedonostsev](#) dispatched a steady stream of advisory memos over the critical five-year period surrounding the assassination of Alexander II [\[VSB,3:671-5\]](#)
- 1881ap25:1887mr04; **Mikhail Katkov** wrote monarchist and imperialist editorials in his daily newspaper *Moskovskie vedomosti* [Moscow News] [\[VSB,3:677-9\]](#)
  - In the last four years of his life Katkov was rewarded with high aristocratic/service rank on the Table of Ranks and put in charge of the Moscow University printing presses
  - [Katkov's quarter century of journalistic service](#) to the Russian imperialist establishment ended with an ironic mirror-image reversal of Nikolai Novikov's publishing career one century earlier [\[ID\]](#)
- 1881mr08:1882ap10; reform-minded ex-Minister of War [Dmitrii Miliutin's](#) diary described atmosphere of crisis in governmental circles [\[VSB,3:679-80\]](#)
- 1881su:1882fa; Petersburg court insiders (government ministers, generals, grand dukes and other high-ranking members of the royal family, statist elites close to the tsarist throne) formed the **Holy Retinue** [*Sviashchennaia družhina*]
  - This covert organization was designed to do combat with the revolutionary movement
  - A secret Central Committee of the Holy Retinue directed operations under the leadership of Prince P.P. Shuvalov who commanded a widely ramified network of spies and provocateurs
  - These operations were independent of regular police agencies, "off the books", and they were kept secret both from revolutionaries and the public
  - Operatives raided underground printing presses and worked to identify and entrap political suspects
  - The organization was especially active abroad. It published two newspapers in Geneva, *Vol'noe slovo* [The Free Word] and *Pravda* [The Truth] without revealing the organization behind the publications
- Security operations, political opposition and war conflated in a time of generalized [terrorism](#), not just that of revolutionists but of high insiders as well
- Yet it might be said that profound, possibly even "[progressive](#)", changes took place in these years of [reactionary policy](#), the reign of Alexander III
- Over the next quarter century, [the tsarist state](#) made its contribution both to the promotion and the suppression of impending revolution
- USA opinion of Russia, and thus USA-Russian relations, deteriorated to some degree
- A new era of macro-economic struggle, in which [world markets in grain](#) and, very soon, [petroleum](#) increased the stakes in [the Great Game](#)
- [N. Kh. Bunge](#), *The Years 1881-1894 in Russia: A Memorandum Found in the Papers of N. Kh. Bunge* [ORBIS]
- [British documents on foreign affairs--reports and papers from the Foreign Office confidential print. Part I, from the mid-nineteenth century to the First World War. Series A, Russia, 1859-1914 v2](#)

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\*--[Saul](#),2:240-310

\*1961de:[JMH](#)#33:384-97 | Hans Heilbroner, "Alexander III and the Reform Plan of Loris-Melikov"

\*--Heide W. Whelan, [Alexander III and the State Council: Bureaucracy and Counter-Reform in Late Imperial Russia](#) (1982)

\*--Petr Zaionchkovskii, [The Russian Autocracy Under Alexander III](#) (1976)

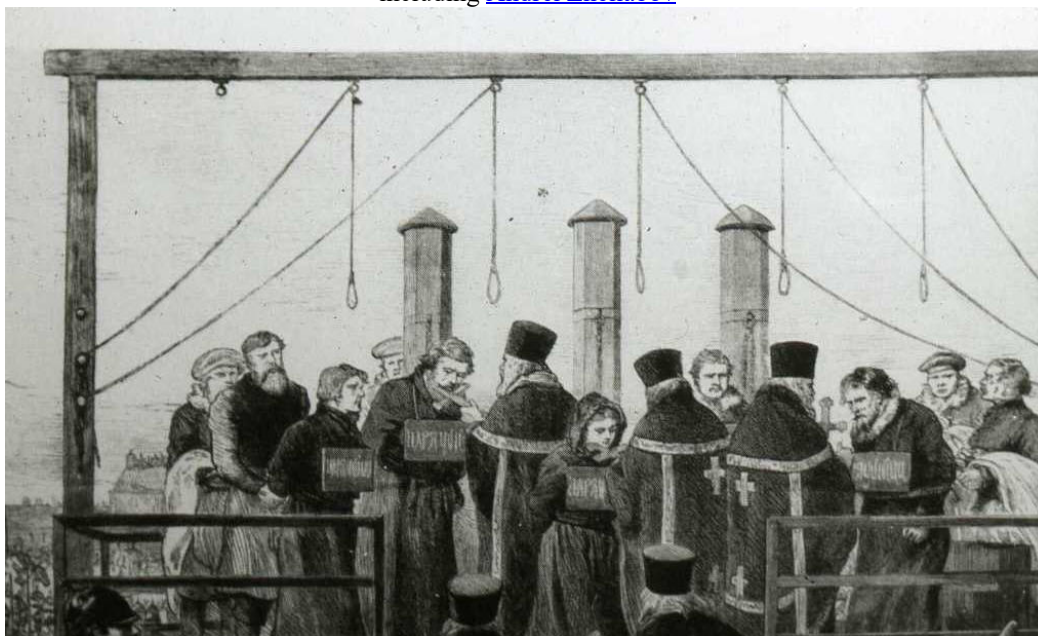
◇1881mr08(NS):German chancellor Bismarck's justification for the first accident insurance bill, a component of a wider program of social welfare [CCC3,2:1007-10 | DPH:266-8]

\*1884mr10:[Bismarck](#) speech on the need to promote the [welfare](#) of [wage-laborers](#) [PWT2:192-4]

◇1881mr10:Russian revolutionary [political party](#) *Narodnaia volia* [People's Will] wrote letter to new Emperor Alexander III [DIR2:313-16 | DIR3:359-63]

- Manifesto to Europe [DPH:288]
- 1882fe16:Last will and testaments of revolutionary populists A.Mikhailov and A.Barannikov [SLM:239-40]
- In [its short two years of existence](#), People's Will left a big mark on Russian history without furthering the cause of radical reform or revolution

Execution of terrorists involved in the assassination of Alexander II,  
including [Andrei Zheliabov](#)



◇1881sp:Ivan Aksakov repeated [Panslav](#) and [Slavophile](#) themes in his "Address to...Benevolent Slav Society" [KMM:112-15 | RRC2,2#32]

- **1861:1883**; Selections from Ivan Aksakov's long journalistic career [VSB,3:657-9] suggest distinction between Slavophilism and panslavism
- 1883:Aksakov asked what panslavism was and answered first with what it wasn't =
  - "It does not exist as a political party, nor as a political program, nor even as a definite political ideal"
  - "The unification of all the Slavs of east and west in a single political body has so far never been envisaged by anyone in any clear form, nor even as a dream"
- Then Aksakov took up what it was =
  - "Yet panslavism indubitably exists in our time as the awareness, shared by all the manifold branches of the Slavic race, of their common Slavic character and common ethnic origin"
  - [To help define "Slavic" consult this [table organized by language groups](#)]
- Aksakov said panslavism was not a "political party" but insisted that the Russian state could not renounce a panslav mission "that can bring existence, life, and freedom to the Slavic peoples and to the entire Orthodox-Slavic world"
- That would force Russia to renounce "her very self, her very essence, and her mission among mankind"
- Aksakov was disturbed that Germans regarded any Russian nationalism in literature or politics as panslavic and therefore odious =

We repeat: there exists neither a *political* panslavic program nor a *political* panslavic ideal. But as the spiritual solidarity and the gravitation of various **branches of the same race** toward each other, as the awareness of Slavic brotherhood, as an Orthodox-Slavic *world headed by Russia* [emphasis added] and asserting its claim to exist, live, and develop side by side with the Roman [Romance-language cultures = France, Italy, Spain, etc.] and Germanic [including England] worlds, panslavism exists both as an idea and as a fact.



- NB! [Aksakov's anticipation of certain powerful European trends of thought](#) about the meaning of modern civilization and its impact on popular cultural traditions
- GO TO Ivan's father [Sergei](#) and his brother [Konstantin](#)  
 \\  
 \*--[LOOP on WW1a](#)

◇1881ap29:Alexander III's manifesto reaffirmed inviolability of autocracy [[VSB](#),3:680]

◇1881au14:Russian statute sought to strengthen law and order [[VSB](#),3:680-1]

\*--[The tsarist state](#) sought to reaffirm what it took to be the fundamental truths of Russian politics

\*--These truths were increasingly embodied in [reactionary policy](#), but occasionally in certain reform measures

◇1881oc:Russian revolutionary groups *Narodnaia volia* and *Chernyi peredel'* joined forces to compose a program [[DPH](#):288-9]

\*1881fa:1882wi; Narodnaia volia Military-revolutionary organization composed a Program [[SLM](#):238 | [RN7](#),2:196-200]

◇1882:Switzerland | Friedrich Engels published *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, a summary of Marxism published in the last year of Marx's life [[CCC](#)3,2:701-24 | [CCS](#):775-801 | [CCS](#),2:265-291]

- Engels' summary was a simplification, and its claim to be "[scientific](#)" might be questionable to some
  - But it eventually achieved a popularity as wide as *The Communist Manifesto*, the publication which opened the public careers of Marx and Engels in [1847-1848](#)
  - In comparison with Marx's condensed and high-impact "[A Preface to A Contribution...](#)" (1859), Engels' summary, is an explanation of what "Marxism" was all about. It was more detailed and self-explanatory
  - 1882ja:Marx and Engels composed a preface to the 2nd Russian edition of the Communist Manifesto. The preface concluded =

**If the Russian Revolution becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that both complement each other, the present Russian common ownership of land [the peasant *obshchina*] may serve as the starting-point for a communist development**

- "[Marxism](#)", as *ism*, survived Marx and Engels
  - 1883mr14:Karl Marx died
  - The political careers of these two specific thinking and acting individuals (to distinguish them from their "ism") had by this time [spanned 35 years](#)
  - The "ism" continued for more than a century to inspire a significant variety of political movements in Germany, Russia, China and elsewhere around the world
  - The complexities and contingencies of the specific thinking and acting individuals who had created the "ism" faded from memory as they became global celebrities
- Distinct "[socialist](#)" ideologies and movements were forming in Europe, much as had happened with revolutionary [liberalism over the previous century](#)

◇1882:1890; Russian [welfare](#) legislation (child labor [[TXT](#)], working hours, factory inspection) [[VSB](#),3:752-4 | cf. [RRC2](#),2#36]

- As Russian urban life expanded, the state made efforts to incorporate the new social formation -- proletariat or wage-labor -- into traditional [social/service hierarchies](#)
- These reforms can be seen as acts of official co-optation (in the sense that they were acts designed to neutralize or win over wage-labor through assimilation into an established order of things)
- In this famously "reactionary" era of Alexander III, tsarist bureaucrats displayed as much reform initiative in these realms as did new [urban social formations](#)
  - Officials presumed that Russia might not need a progressive liberal bourgeoisie if it had a progressive state
  - Russia might curb an activist [wage-labor](#) class, might replace it with an activist state
- 1898:Mikhail Tugan-Baranovskii [[ID](#)] published [The Russian Factory in the 19th Century](#). For his independent views, officials had him fired from his post at St.Petersburg University

◇1882my02:je09; Russian state sought to give relief to its [Jewish](#) subjects [[VSB](#),3:682]

◇1882my18:Russian statute established [Peasant](#) Land Bank [[TXT](#)] | [VSB](#),3:751]

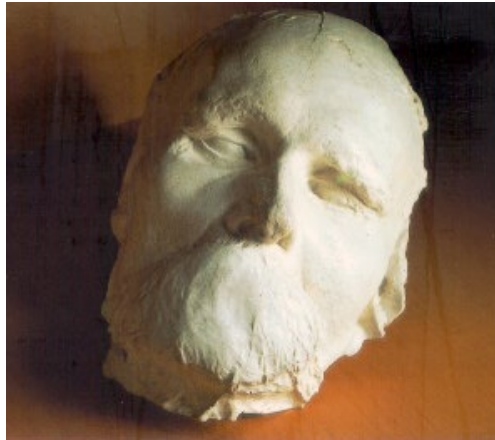
- Three years later it established the Noble's Land Bank [[ID](#)]
- Clearly [the "reactionary" autocratic state](#) was capable of notable reform initiatives and, however belatedly, was beginning to see the fundamental importance of [banks](#) in the modern world

◇1883:USA and world tours of ex-frontier scout William Frederick Cody ("Buffalo Bill") and his Wild West Show got under way

- The [Native American](#) hero of the Battle of the Little Big Horn, [Sitting Bull](#), performed in this early version of US commercial culture
- From the beginning, [pop-arts](#) mixed the authentic and the artificial without any conscious desire to do harm to either

◇1883:1891; Switzerland | German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) published his most influential work, [Also sprach Zarathustra](#) [TXT]

- Other influential works =
  - \*1871:[The Birth of Tragedy](#)
  - \*1887:[Genealogy of Morals](#)
  - \*--[The Will to Power](#), and
  - \*--[The Antichrist](#) [missing in the UO library, but excerpted in CCC2,2:964-80 | [CCC3,2:1192-1212](#)]
  - \*--Excerpts (including [Antichrist](#)) [PWT2:236-42](#)]
  - \*--Full UO holdings [\[W\]](#)
- \\
- \*--[A Study Guide to Zarathustra](#)
- \*--[Wagar](#) on Nietzsche and irrationalism [\[TXT\]](#)



### Nietzsche's Death Mask

Which calls to mind the finest-ever graffiti that I personally saw =

\*1965su:On the entrance to the NYC subway at the main gate of Columbia University, someone had written =

"God is dead -- Nietzsche"

Just below this, someone else wrote =

"Nietzsche is dead -- God"

◇1883je27:France | [Ivan Turgenev](#) letter to Leo Tolstoy (Turgenev's last letter) [GPR:627-8]

◇1884:English theorist Herbert Spencer, *The Man Versus the State* [[PWT2:179-80](#) | [P20:6](#)]

\*--Spencer continued to develop his concepts of "[Social Darwinism](#)" and acquisitive individualism

◇1884:Geneva | Russian émigré Marxist Georgii Plekhanov, "Our Differences" [[TXT](#) | Excerpts = [Edie,3:359-89](#) | [VSB,3:705-7](#) | SPW]

- A quick read would be from beginning through ch.1 pt.1 (ca. 69pp)
- Then ch.3 pt.1-3 (ca. 17pp)
- Then ch.4 pt.1-3 (ca. 48pp)
- Finally ch.5 (ca.22pp)
- Here Plekhanov laid out with some clarity the differences between his brand of Marxist socialism for Russia and the now [extinguished "populism" of the 1860s and 70s](#)
- Plekhanov [began as a populist activist](#), but in exile he now based his revolutionary socialism on industrial [wage-labor](#)
- Program of his [Marxist](#) group "Liberation of Labor" [[DIR2:353-7](#) | [DIR3:400-5](#) | [VSB,3:707-8](#) | [DPH:290-4](#)]
- Vera Zasulich, the famous one-act "terrorist" [[ID](#)], was an active member of Plekhanov's émigré group where she became again famous for a "one-act" ideological moment (letter to Karl Marx [[ID](#)])
- \\
- \*1980:JHI#40,1:89f| Henry Eaton, "Marx and the Russians" [[TXT](#)]

◇1884my:Paris | Sarah Bernhardt (1844-1923) thrilled audiences with her popular portrayal of Lady Macbeth in a stunning French translation of the Shakespeare tragedy

- "The Divine Sarah" might be thought of as the first great popular entertainment "celebrity" [TXT], the pioneer of commercial-culture [pop-arts](#)

◇1884au23:Russian University statute [VSB,3:682-4] reversed reformist gains in the 1863 University statute [ID]

\*--By placing new restrictions on [university](#) life, [the tsarist state](#) pursued a recognizable [reactionary policy](#) goal to reserve "careers open to talent" only for presumed old regime elites rather than for an increasingly dynamic Russian population at large

◇1884fa:Korean court struggles roused [Japanese and Chinese](#) appetites and caused tensions [Beasley,MHJ:161]

\*--Paul George von Molendorff, a high-ranking German administrator or "adviser" within the Korean government, tried to draw Russia into conflict [KEJ,6:341]

\*--[Manchuria](#) was also becoming a prize in this global imperialist conflict

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\*--George Alexander Lensen, *Balance of intrigue: international rivalry in Korea and Manchuria, 1884-1899* (1982)

◇1885:USA Congregationalist minister Josiah Strong wrote [Our Country](#) (purchased by 185,000 readers [Zimmerman:46])

- Americans, he preached, are a "race of unequaled energy, with all the majesty of numbers and the might of wealth behind it—the representation, let us hope, of the largest liberty, the purest Christianity, the highest civilization"
- The preacher noted with approval USA's development of "peculiarly aggressive traits calculated to impress its institutions upon mankind" [46-47]
- He predicted that USA will "spread itself across the earth". He added, "Can any one doubt that this race, unless devitalized by alcohol and tobacco, is destined to dispossess many weaker races, assimilate others, and mold the remainder, until, in a very true and important sense, it has Anglo-Saxonized mankind?"
- Later he expressed [racist](#) views on Anglo-Saxon Predominance [TXT]

◇1885:1901; Asian kerosene market the scene of a 15-year competition among emerging transnational petroleum corporations

- 1885:Russian crude oil discoveries allowed significant involvement in the early world petroleum market
  - More than one half of all Russian petroleum production was exported, 2/3 of this to Europe
  - Standard Oil had not yet extended its control of the market beyond New York City docks
- 1888:Russian kerosene dominated 22% of the world market as a result of low production costs, proximity to markets, and government support
- 1888ap24(NS):USA | [Standard Oil Company](#) founded the Anglo-American Oil Company to market its products in England
- 1890:Black Sea | Marcus Samuel, an English import/export businessman, saw the world's first oil tankers, operated by the Russian company "Nobel Brothers"
  - Samuel realized that bulk transport in Nobel-type oil tankers was superior to Standard's method of shipping kerosene in metal cases by clipper ship
  - He signed a ten-year supply contract with Rothschild banking interests in Russia
  - He ordered eight tankers for shipping Russian kerosene in bulk through the Suez Canal [ID] to Asian markets
- 1891:Marcus Samuel won contract with Paris branch of the great Rothschild banking house to sell Russian kerosene
  - He would ship this kerosene in his specially designed tankers (based on a Russian innovation) from Russian Black-Sea ports to the markets of the world east of Suez
  - 1890:Sumatra oilfield | The Royal Dutch Company for the Working of Petroleum Wells in the Dutch East Indies formed, J.B. August Kessler, manager
  - Petroleum shipper Samuel moved into business association with Royal Dutch [above]
  - A Dutch-English transnational petroleum company was forming around these partnerships [GO 1892 just below]
- 1891mr10:Netherlands & Belgium | American Petroleum Company (51% Standard owned), then two Italian companies (60% Standard owned) and a Scandinavian firm (21.45% Standard owned)
- 1892:Suez Canal plied by Samuel's tanker *Murex*, followed by the *Conch* [shell names on tankers eventually gave name to whole company]
- 1892:Sumatra, Pankalan Brandan | Royal Dutch Pipeline and refinery began operations
- 1895:1899; British merchant ships carried 70.8% of world sea trade
- 1896:Royal Dutch manager Kessler hired young banker and accountant Henri Deterding who was to launch that company on its global career
  - 1896:Samuel finagled a Dutch concession on Borneo, where he struck oil and then built refinery in Balikpapan
  - 1897:Borneo oil business so extensive that Samuel formed a separate "Shell" Trading and Transport Company
  - 1898:England knighted Marcus Samuel for services to the Empire = Shell ship freed a Navy warship that ran aground in the Suez Canal
  - 1899:Samuel first formally tried to persuade the Navy to test oil as a fuel, the fuel his own fleet used
    - Samuel pioneered the use of oil as marine fuel and tried to get the Navy to convert to oil
    - So it happened, but Samuel was not allowed by the British establishment to play the central role
  - 1900:Dutch East Indies production encouraged Samuel to renew contract with the Rothschilds to purchase Russian petroleum products for overseas transport and marketing

- Shell expanded everywhere and determined to market gasoline in Europe by purchasing a German company from the Deutsche [Bank](#)
- Shell now intended to enter into active competition with the companies that controlled the market there = Standard, Nobel and Rothschild
- 1901fa: Shell was Britain's largest oil company, second only to Standard worldwide. As it prepared to enter the European market, it was the only company with global sources of crude
- Certain industrial companies were by definition "transnational" and began to act their spheres of influence like sovereign nation-states, at first like small sovereign states and then later like largish ones
- The stage was set for a titanic struggle between Standard and Shell. Nobels of Russia fell by the wayside. The contemporary struggle for world dominance in the new and every-day more imperative [petroleum age](#) was well under way

◇ 1885fe26(NS): Berlin Conference agreed on General Act whereby European imperialist powers settled on a division of Africa among them

- [Bismarck](#) offered himself as the "honest broker", but he was a less-than-neutral host, seeking advantages for Germany as the western European states sliced the cake of Africa and took possession of their respective assigned pieces
  - Clearly the slicing was well under way before the Berlin Conference =
    - 1877: Englishman [Cecil Rhodes](#), on the eve of a great career of personal aggrandizement and imperialistic adventure in African diamond extraction, jotted down his most heartfelt views on the need to prepare an organization to consolidate and expand English imperialist control [\[TXT\]](#)
      - Rhodes dreamt of an international shadow state designed to repair historical damage to the global British Empire
      - EG= Repossess USA, earlier lost in the colonial revolution
      - Expand English control over Africa, etc., where other European states were competing with England
      - Protect English imperialist dominion everywhere
      - Rhodes envisioned a vast, world-wide secret society, a colonial/imperialist version of the Jesuit order or Free Masons [\[Wki\]](#)
      - Rhodes' company, De Beers Consolidated Mines, controlled 90% of the world's diamond production and had a huge stake in south African gold mining
    - 1882: England claimed all of Egypt, having already taken possession of the Suez Canal
    - These English moves in AfroAsia weakened the English position in Istanbul and persuaded Sultan Hamid to shift away from England and toward Germany
      - 1883jy06: Hamburg Chamber of Commerce laid out its views on German interests in West Africa [\[BNE:171-4\]](#)
      - Before long German economic advisers began to supplant the English
      - 1884:1896; Istanbul| German Field Marshall Colmar Freiherr von der Goltz [\[ID\]](#) served as Hamid's military adviser. He was soon awarded the Turkish title *pasha* and eventually was designated an [Ottoman](#) Imperial *mushir* (field-marshal)
- The Berlin Conference now moved to build on these pre-1885 beginnings and to bring them under some sort of international diplomatic management
- The 1885 Berlin Conference made multiple cuts through areas and populations of Africa, dividing large chunks of the continent among European colonial powers, usually with no serious regard for existing territorial regions of native African peoples
  - A most remarkable act of the Conference = The King of Belgium, Leopold, received as personal property the extensive lands drained by the [Congo River](#)
  - The European slicing of the African cake did not stop in 1885 [\[Animated MAP of Africa from earliest times to our times\]](#)
- 1889: English Queen Victoria's Viceroy of India, George Curzon, wrote a powerful interpretation of British/Russian imperialist competition [\[Curzon.RUS\]](#)
- 1892se16: English Foreign Secretary justified taking Uganda as an English imperialist possession on the basis of the need to protect English control over [Egypt](#) and the Suez Canal
- 1908: English Lord Cromer justified the taking of Egypt in much the same way [\[E-TXT\]](#)
  - The preceding justifications can be compared with [Gorchakov's 1864 explanation or defense](#) of Russian imperialist expansion into Central Asia
  - The "[domino theory](#)" of the 1960s might be taken to be a close relative of the preceding justifications
- This was Africa's route to European imperialist domination [\[1914:MAP of Africa\]](#)
  - The Berlin Conference made "[The West](#)" temporarily happy, if not the Africans or those Europeans (EG=Russia) excluded from the Conference =
  - While England presumed the right a few years earlier [\[ID\]](#) to become intimately involved in Russian affairs after the Russo-Turkish war, it now joined other ambitious central and west European states in the exclusion of Russia from the Berlin Conference and its fateful deliberations
- [Africa](#) was in the grips of the imperialist powers of north-west Europe
- The [Great Game](#) was not child's play, and the story of it is not a soothing lullaby

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\*--[LOOP on WW1a](#)

◇1885ap21:je03; Russian government established the Nobles' Land Bank [VSB,3:751-2]

- The autocratic state saw the need to give gentry landowners some economic relief [TXT]
- But it did not come until three years after the establishment of the Peasant Land Bank [ID]
- Finance Minister N.K. Bunge's banking reforms were essential but spongy foundations for the Witte System of industrialization that was soon to follow
- Still, this was a long quarter century after the beginning of the "era of great reforms" [ID] and well off the pace of general European banking and financial trends

◇1886:French journalist, racist (particularly anti-Jewish) and rabid conservative Édouard Drumont published *La France Juive* [Jewish France, excerpt in P20:32]

◇1886:Russian musician Vasilii Andreev began to appear in public with his popular balalaika orchestra [ID]

\*--Pop-arts were often linked with nostalgia for the pre-industrial or "folk" world

\*--Also with an awakening of a broad public interest in art that treated simple every-day life ubiquities

◇1886my04:USA Chicago, Haymarket Square the site of violent labor disorder

- Police moved to break up a large crowd of demonstrators gathered in support of the eight-hour working day
  - In the midst of the assembly, a bomb detonated, killing seven policemen and four others
  - More than 100 were injured. Riots followed
- Public hysteria forced "rush to judgment" against eight "anarchists"
  - No evidence was found or presented at trial linking these eight to the manufacture or use of the bomb that detonated at Haymarket
  - But they were all found guilty of "inciting violence"
  - Four were hanged and one committed suicide
  - In 1893 the Illinois Governor pardoned the remaining three in view of the evident injustice of the trial
- **In the "trial of public opinion" the Haymarket riot served**
  - **not only those who sought to criminalize organized labor**
  - **but also those who sought to condemn establishment legal culture**
  - In the broader political culture of the late-19th-century world, "terror" had a place in the arsenals of many different persuasions, "left" and "right" and in between
  - Another thing Haymarket did was instill a new urgency to the labor movement. Organized self protection and self assertion became imperative =
- 1886:AFL [American Federation of Labor] formed out of 1881:Federation of...Unions. Federal structure (local, city, national, and international levels)
  - The United Mine Workers and the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners came in
  - But the four big railroad unions did not
- Samuel Gompers, AFL leader until 1924, struggled =
  - Against company-sponsored pseudo-unions
  - For higher wages, lower hours, and unemployment insurance for factory labor

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\*--Gompers website

◇1886je06:Russian Finance Minister Nikolai Bunge [ID] took leading role in creation of the first Russian labor code [TXT]

- Bunge's code incorporated all the demands made earlier by striking wage-laborers at one of Savva Morozov's large cotton mills [Harding:72-3 | See "Morozov" in MERSH]
  - Bunge was a stellar representative of those who chose "butter" in the eternal economic policy conflict between "guns or butter"
  - The "guns or butter" financial conflict was especially intense in the era of mature modern imperialism
  - Since 1882, Bunge pushed through both welfare and banking reforms (creation of peasant land banks [ID] and then noble land banks [ID]) in an effort to stem the tide of official reactionary policy under Alexander III
- Within a year, the tsarist state forced Bunge to resign under pressure exerted by those who sought tax increases in order to bolster military expenditure

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\*--LOOP on WW1a

\*--LOOP on "finance"

◇1886se12:USA NYC | *The World*#27:13. Anonymous article, "Theosophy in New York: Facts about Mme. Blavatsky, Her Powers and Her Religion" [TXT]

- Russian "spiritualism" swept USA high society [W]
- Growing popularity of figures like Blavatsky [Portrait] built on the accomplishments of talented spiritualists like



- Daniel Dunglas Home [\[W#1\]](#) [\[W#2\]](#) [\[W#3\]](#) and
- Eusapia Palladino [\[W#1\]](#) [\[W#2\]](#)
- Altogether, these entertaining figures might be taken as warning against making crude generalizations about the "positivist" or "scientistic" mentality of 19th century "Western Civ" [\[ID\]](#)
- Also, for that matter, they recommend skepticism about the profound "sea-change" as European thinkers made effort to escape cliché positivistic simplicities [\[EG\]](#)
- Perhaps most important, these supernatural "psychic" figures represented a religious, mystic or spiritual side of the burgeoning [pop-arts](#)
- In the longer terms of "[Western Civ](#)", these spiritualist trends were heretical whether viewed from the position of traditional European Christianity **OR** science
- Blavatsky's pop-arts spirituality adumbrated trends that flourished into the 21st century [\[EG#1\]](#) | [\[EG#2\]](#)
- \\
- \*1995: >Johnson, K. Paul *Initiates of Theosophical Masters* [\[Excerpted E-TXT\]](#) pt3:113-61 = Ukhtomskii, Dorzhiev, Gurdjieff (Georgii Iv\*) Lubovedsky Mystery
- \*1997: | [The Occult in Russian and Soviet Culture](#)

◇1887: German theorist of [peasant](#) origins, Ferdinand Tönnies, wrote powerful and influential critique of modernizing/industrializing society, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* [Community and Society] [\[CCS:227-51\]](#) | [\[CCS,1:543-67\]](#)

- Tönnies contrasted artificial modern Society with an idealized recollection of pre-industrial everyday life in the rural Community
  - Tönnies influenced a significant growth of a public reactionary mood in Europe (the desire to return to a mythic past, a past not in fact ever experienced)
  - Where his influence did not reach we find other thinkers headed down the same path. EG=Russian pundit Ivan Aksakov's contrast between *publika* [the public] and *narod* [the people, the folk], a close parallel with Tönnies' Society and Community
  - Disenchantment with the modernizing contemporary world was shared by many who, unlike Tönnies and Aksakov, had no personal experience with life "[down on the farm](#)"
- 1887: USA author Edward Bellamy expressed a very different view when he published *Looking Backward: 2000-1887* [\[TXT\]](#)
  - This bit of "science fiction" was intended to promote progressive values by refuting the claim often made by elite establishmentarians of the time -- 1887 -- that contemporary everyday life approached perfection [\[ID\]](#)
  - So far Bellamy seemed in line with the views of Tönnies or [Aksakov](#), but he was in fact headed in the opposite direction =
  - He contrasted what he took to be the sorrowful truths of his contemporary 1887 with the good life in an imagined future year 2000
  - *Looking Backward* offered a complex variation on the "[utopian](#)" tradition
  - If Tönnies can be called "reactionary" (as he was above), Bellamy can be called "radical" in the sense that he recommended movement forward toward an idealized industrialized, [scientific](#) and technological future, hitherto not actually experienced by anyone
- English visionary [William Morris wrote his utopian novel](#), *News from Nowhere*, in part to correct Bellamy's many perceived deficiencies
- Some American social critics, reacting in part to Bellamy, expressed their version of the growing general-European unease with conditions of [everyday life](#) caused by industrial modernization [Further aspects of Russian/USA "shared history" reveal themselves = [TXT](#)]

◇1887: USA reading public was captivated by Leo Tolstoy or, more accurately, "Tolstoyanism", which exploded into a virtual "Tolstoy craze"

- In his late years, the great Russian novelist was becoming a moral force throughout the world
- Tolstoy's broad appeal and his turn toward popular preachment linked the high art of his novels with the emerging era of pop-arts [\[TXT\]](#)
- "The Kingdom of God is Within You" (1893) and 1894: "Christianity and Patriotism" [\[VSB,3:733\]](#)
- *What is Art?* (1897:1898)
- 1873: Ivan Kramskoi's portrait of Tolstoy in [Olga's Gallery](#)
- 1884: Nikolai Gay's portrait (detail) of Tolstoy in [Olga's Gallery](#)
- [1890s photo](#) of [Leo Tolstoy](#) walking in a pasture at his Tula Province country estate "Yasnaia poliana"
- [LOOP on pop-art continues](#)
- \\
- \*--[Saul,2:311-34](#)

◇1887: Russian religious thinker Konstantin Leont'ev became a monk [cf. [Eddie,2:271-80](#)]

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\*--Stephen Lukashevich, *Konstantin Leontiev (1831-1891): A Study in Russian "Heroic Vitalism"* (NYC:1967) SUMMIT

◇1887mr01: Here on the sixth anniversary of Alexander II's assassination, Aleksandr Ulianov (Lenin's older brother) was arrested with others who were planning the assassination of the dead tsar's son and heir, Alexander III



\*--[Terrorism](#) had slackened, but had not disappeared from Russian political culture

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\*--Philip Pomper, Lenin's Brother

◇1888:Russian publicist Lev Tikhomirov [\[ID\]](#), an ex-leader of revolutionary terrorist party [\[ID\]](#) now on his way toward a new loyalty to his tsar, published a revealing interpretation [Russia, Political and Social](#) [[v1 E-TXT](#) | [v2 E-TXT](#) | Bad translation of 1886:PRS| [La Russie..politique et sociale](#)

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\*--Two remarkable website entries -- [Wki](#) and "[The Mad Monarchist](#)" -- feature Tikhomirov and his holy transition from terror to religious reactionary support of the Russian Imperial throne, but they do not mention his significant big book above

◇1889:Russian philosopher Vladimir Solov'ev on Slavophilism, and "On Sins and Ailments" [[VSB,3:731-3](#)]

\*1885:Ivan Kramskoi portrait of Solov'ev in [Olga's Gallery](#)

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\*--[LOOP on Vladimir Solov'ev](#)

◇1889:1905; Russian statesman **Sergei Witte** came to St.Petersburg from Odessa as head of the railroad department of the Finance Ministry

- 1892: Witte was appointed Finance Minister and launched an amazing quarter-century transformation that can be named =

### Russian Imperial Industrial Revolution

[\[Russian language website with primary and secondary documents\]](#)

[\[TXT on general European industrialization\]](#)

- "**The Witte System**" guided the destiny of Russia over an intense period (16 years)
- His reforms continued after he was dropped from power
- These were fateful years in which industrial modernization was combined with two other transformational features of the general European experience in these years =
  1. **IMPERIALISM** [\[TXT on general European imperialism\]](#) | Also [LOOP on Japan](#)
  2. **REVOLUTION** [\[TXT on general European experience of revolution\]](#) | Also [LOOP on 1905 Revolution](#)
- The great challenge of industrialization lies at the root of these two transformations
  - In Russia, the state seemed determined to play the leading role in urban-centered industrial modernization
  - Russian [everyday life](#) would never again be the same
  - [Welfare](#) legislation, including [urban](#) and [wage-labor](#) policies, took on new meaning
  - But was an urban "middle class" evolving as well?
  - And what about the vast majority of Russian Imperial subjects = [peasants](#)?
  - Didn't the state continue its customary and largely [reactionary policies](#) under conditions of radical modernization?
- Perhaps the biggest question of all = Was Russian industrialization essentially unlike earlier processes of European economic modernization? [\[TXT\]](#)
- "**The Witte System**" in Russia was inspired by a clear sense of a global industrial future in which agrarian nations would be gobbled up if they did not modernize [\[table\]](#)
- The challenge was to solve the "riddle of economic backwardness", and finances were at the heart of the matter =
  - An impoverished consumer economy was squeezed in order to restrict imports and win export capital for investment in heavy industry [\[EG\]](#)
  - The state took the central role in this process, rather than independent entrepreneurial companies or individuals
    - The imperial state grabbed the initiative, sometimes pushing independent enterprises to the side (most notably railroads)
    - Governmental "tutelage" over the economy and society (rather than social independence and free-market decision-making) was the norm
    - Was this altogether different in USA? [\[EG\]](#)
- 1895:1898; As for reform of Russian finances, the Russian Imperial State Bank became the central bank of issue in the Empire
  - This came after Witte brought an end to the paper ruble (with negligible foreign exchange value) and introduced the gold standard (with an exchangeability equal to that of any European currency)
  - Witte gave Russia for the first time an internationally recognized monetary system
- Foreign investment was encouraged, but always with an eye to restricting "repatriation" (profits on foreign investment transferred out of Russia and back to the home country, IE= draining profits out of Russia)
  - Tariffs on certain imports were introduced to protect the young and vulnerable Russian industrial economy from other more "advanced" economies
  - In this connection Witte was opposed to open markets and pure laissez faire measures
  - Like so many world statesmen who addressed the problems of economic modernization in the face of the intrusive or imperialistic advanced economies of "[The West](#)", Witte was influenced by the economic ideas of [Friedrich List](#)
- "Big ticket" items, like [railroads](#), mining, large-scale [industrial companies](#) were given heaviest and disproportionate attention
  - The consumer market was thus further squeezed

- These measures restrained consumer expenditures and raised revenue for focused state investment in further heavy industrial development
- The Russian agrarian economy was weak on the world market
  - Now USA became increasingly powerful, and thus an effective competitor with Russia on [world grain markets](#)
  - USA competition weakened Russian export trade and, thus, capital accumulation for investment in the domestic market
  - Many Russians were committed to a Russia in which [peasant](#) traditions might be protected from the standard ruinous processes that accompanied industrialization [EG]
- Russia's sluggish role in the early evolution of a [global petroleum industry](#) showed other weaknesses in comparison with competitors
- 1947: [JEH#7:149](#), Alexander Gerschenkron measured "The Rate of Growth of Industrial Production in Russia since 1885" came up with these measures of Witte's success =

1885-1889	6.10 % per year	
1890-1899	8.00 % per year	1894:1899; nearer 9.00 %
1900-1906	1.45 % per year	
1907-1913	6.25 % per year	1910:1913; ca. 7.50 %
1885-1913	5.72 % per year	Roughly = 1928:1955 levels of growth

- Olga Crisp (in an important comparative historical survey of European [banking](#) and finance, [Banking in the Early Stages of Industrialization](#):184) created this comparison of gross national product in rubles per capita, Russia and four other major nations, 1897-1913 =

NATION	1897	1913 (AS PERCENT)
Russia	63	101.4 (62%)
Germany	184	399.4 (46%)
France	233	NA (NA)
Great Britain	273	460.6 (59%)
United States	346	682.2 (51%)

- High ranking official and public activist Vladimir Gurko evaluated Witte's accomplishments as Finance Minister [[VSB](#),3:759]. Here is a passage from his posthumously published memoirs, [Features and Figures of the Past](#):56-57,66-67 =

Witte's economic policy was but a program to meet the current need and showed that simplicity of conception which was his distinctive trait. This policy was, in brief, the accumulation of funds in the state treasury and the accumulation of private capital in the country. Realizing that the best method of increasing state resources was to develop the country's economic life, he encouraged such development; but he considered that the only means to attain this end was to develop industry, heavy industry especially, since it was the source of all great private fortunes. . . . Witte held that agriculture is but a limited field for the application of human labor, while industry, unconfined by material limitations, may develop indefinitely and thereby use an indefinite amount of labor. Agriculture to him was a necessary but purely subordinate branch of public economy; agriculture was necessary to feed the population, but could not serve as the sole source of its well-being. This explains his negative attitude toward all measures designed to improve the agricultural situation. [2EG?] As to selection of method, Witte was . . . an opportunist; he was facile also in shifting his opinion when he considered such shifts advisable. But his aim of promoting the economic development of Russia as a basis for political strength was steady and unswerving. In summary, Witte's accomplishments as Minister of Finance reveal his great merit as an organizer of our state economy. He brought order into the state budget, avoided deficits, and achieved even a pronounced increase of revenues; he strengthened Russian finances as much by the introduction of the gold standard as by his successful conversion of state loans to a lower rate of interest, to four instead of six per cent. He extended the network of our railways; he introduced and developed [university](#) and secondary technical education; he assembled a fine group of assistants and other officers in the Ministry of Finance; he organized the department of tax supervision; he most successfully introduced and organized the large-scale liquor monopoly. All these were the fruits of Witte's strenuous labor. Thanks to him our industry began to develop at an almost incredible speed and attracted a part of the population away from agricultural pursuits which could not absorb all the peasant labor as the population increased.

- Sergei Yu. Witte, [The Memoirs of Count Witte](#) [Excerpts, [CCCC2](#),2:611-14]
- More on [Sergei Witte](#)  
\*--[LOOP on "finance"](#)

**Some images of Russian industrialization =**  
Moscow Peasant women factory workers.[\[pix\]](#)

Moscow Factory dormitory [\[pix\]](#)  
 Petersburg on banks of the Neva River | Cotton Mill [\[pix\]](#)  
 Petersburg, same factory, peasant workers [\[pix\]](#)  
 Moscow Morozov Factory hiring hall [\[pix\]](#)  
 Baku Oil field [\[pix\]](#)  
 Siberian gold mine [\[pix\]](#)  
 Central-Asian petroleum pipelines [\[pix\]](#)

• **The following items (Russian industrial bureaus, companies and societies) have entries devoted to them in [MERSH](#) =**

◦ **Bureaus**

Industrial Labor Legislation in the Russian Empire [\[LOOP on "welfare"\]](#)  
 Manufacturing Council  
 Congresses of Representatives of Industry and Trade [\[GSE article TXT\]](#)  
 Councils of Congresses of Russian Industrialists  
 Factories and Plants owned by the Tsarist Russian Government  
 War-Industries Committees [\[GSE article TXT\]](#)  
 Central War Industries Committee [\[ID\]](#)  
 Nationalization of Industry and Finance after 1917

◦ **Companies**

Factories and Plants in Russian Empire  
 Manufactories in Tsarist Russia  
 Morozov [powerful manufacturing family]  
 Oil Production  
 Putilov Works [great iron-works on the southwestern edge of Petersburg]  
 Russian Commercial-Industrial Bank [\[GSE article TXT\]](#)  
 Russian Steam Navigation and Trade Company [\[Wki\]](#)  
 Russian Timber Company of the Far East [\[ID\]](#)

◦ **Societies**

All-Russian Society of Sugar Manufacturers  
 Association of Industry and Trade, 1906-1917 [\[ID\]](#)  
 Russian Industrial Society  
 Societies of Plant and Factory Owners  
 Union of Ship Building Factories [\[Wki\]](#)  
 Zhurnal Manufaktor i Torgovli [Journal of Manufacturing and Trade]

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**These first secondary sources provide significant comparison with USA =**

- \*--[White](#): Chapters 7 & 8
- \*--[Rimlinger](#):245-52 [\[TXT\]](#)
- \*--[Saul](#), 2:148-53, 409-20, 451-5
- \*--Fred V. Carstensen, "American Multinational Corporations in Imperial Russia: Chapters on Foreign Enterprise and Russian Economic Development" | 1977mr:[JEH](#)#37,1:245f
- \*--Thomas C. Owen, [Russian Corporate Capitalism](#), chapter 3: "Corporations in the Russian Empire, 1700-1914" (pp. 16-49), and the discussion of Russian capitalism in a comparative perspective [\[TXT \(pp.78-83\)\]](#)
- \*--J. P. McKay, [Pioneers for Profit: Foreign Entrepreneurship and Russian Industrialization, 1885-1913](#)
- \*--George Sherman Queen, [The United States and the Material Advance in Russia, 1881-1906](#) Tells of McCormick Harvesting Machine Co., Remington Rand, Allis-Chalmers Mfg Co., Robins Conveying Belt Co., and several banking firms
- \*--[The great German sociologist Max Weber was fascinated](#) by the modern experience of the two peripheral European peoples, Russians and Americans

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**The following secondary sources deal more directly with Russia =**

- \*--James H. Bater, [St. Petersburg: Industrialization and Change](#)
- \*--William L. Blackwell, [The Beginnings of Russian Industrialization, 1800-1860](#)
- \*----- [The Industrialization of Russia: An Historical Perspective](#)
- \*--Daniel Chirot, ed. *The Origins of Backwardness in East Europe: Economics and Politics from the Middle Ages until the Early Twentieth Century*
- \*--Jonathan Coopersmith, *The Electrification of Russia, 1880-1926*
- \*--Olga Crisp, *Studies in the Russian Economy before 1914* (LND:1976)
- \*--Malcom Falkus, *Industrialization of Russia, 1700-1914* (LND:1972)
- \*--Alexander Gerschenkron, "Agrarian Policies and Industrialization: Russia, 1861-1917". *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*. Vol. 6, pt. 2. Cambridge:1965, pp. 706-800
- \*----- "Problems and Patterns of Russian Economic Development". In his *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective*. Cambridge MA:1962; Reprint in CSH:282-308
- \*----- "The Rate of Industrial Growth in Russia since 1851" \*1947:[JEH](#)#7:144-174
- \*--R. W. Goldsmith, "The Economic Growth of Tsarist Russia, 1860-1913", *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 9 (1961):441-75
- \*--Paul R. Gregory, "Economic Growth and Structural Change in Tsarist Russia: A Case of Modern Economic Growth?" *Soviet Studies* 23 (January 1972):418-34
- \*----- "Russian Industrialization and Economic Growth: Results and Perspectives of Western Research". 1977:[JGO](#)#25:200-18
- \*----- *Russian National Income: 1885-1913*. Cambridge ENG:1982
- \*--M. S. Miller, *The Economic Development of Russia, 1905-1914*. London:1926

\*--Roger Portal, "The Industrialization of Russia". *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe* 6, pt. 2:801-872

\*--Theodore Von Laue, *Sergei Witte and the Industrialization of Russia*

\*--Post-Soviet Russian-language studies = Search UO library catalog with KEYWORD "vitte"

◇1889:English stevedores, longshoremen and other unskilled dockers organized massive and finally successful strike, marking the beginning of modern [wage-labor](#) union movement in England

- Strike organizer Tom Mann wrote memoirs of the strike [CCC2,2:827f [CCC3,2:877-84](#)]
- Socio-economic [map of London](#) that year gives insight into the population-geography of European industrial urbanization
- 1889:English cultural elite, led by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, published *Fabian Essays in Socialism* [Sidney Webb's contribution in [CCC3,2:953-70](#)]
- [LOOP on Socialism](#)

◇1889:USA Theodore Roosevelt published *The Winning of the West*

- [Roosevelt](#) was the son of a wealthy New York importer
- As he pursued a legal and political career in NY, he was able to purchase ranch lands in Dakota territory where Native American Lakota Sioux were being pushed off their lands and pressed into reservations
- After a political setback and devastating personal loss of close family members, he retired for two years (1884-1886) to his ranches
- His book reflected his experience on the range and his desire to be identified with the mythic vigor of pioneer life
  - He praised the supreme "righteousness" of war against indigenous "savages" of the prairie, "though it is apt to be also the most terrible and inhuman"
  - Wide-eyed acknowledgment of this gruesome reality lies at the heart of his "heroism"
  - He wrote further, "American and Indian, [Boer](#) and [Zulu](#), Cossack and Tatar, New Zealander and Maori, -- in each case the victor, horrible though many of his deeds are, has laid deep the foundations for the future greatness of a mighty people"
  - NB! his future-forward view that horror today might eventually be justified by a great tomorrow
- "Though unsuccessful as a rancher", as one popular US desk encyclopedia put it, "he gained in the West many of the picturesque mannerisms that complimented his positive personality"

◇1889ja01:USA NV Paiute native, Wovoka, fell into a trance and had visions that became the basis of a new mystery religion called the "Ghost Dance"

\*--Within a year, the [Native American](#) reservations on the Great Plains were alive with Ghost Dancers

◇1889je:USA journal *North American Review* published article "The Gospel of Wealth" [[TXT](#) | Excerpts = CCC2,2:803f [CCC3,2:885-99](#)], written by industrialist Andrew Carnegie

- The article appeared [in book form under that title](#) in 1900
- Since 1888, [Andrew Carnegie](#) was the chief owner of the great [industrial company](#), Homestead Steel Works, just upstream from Pittsburgh

◇1889jy12:Russian counter-reform measures established "firm governmental authority" in the villages, in the form of *Zemskie nachal'niki* [Land Captains] [[VSB](#),3:687-8]

- As a rule, only those gentry who chaired regional noble assemblies could hold this office
  - The tsarist state sought to restore the power of the nobility over peasants, and thus, in part, to reverse one of the essential elements of serf emancipation [[ID](#)]
  - But the state also sought to extend its own authority more intimately into the post-emancipation village
  - [The tsarist state](#) made this final half-hearted institutional effort to resuscitate its most privileged but seriously damaged *soslovie* [social-estate]
  - This was the last effective moment in the life of [the noble assembly](#) as organizational center of aristocratic political life
- Gentry politics moved into more clearly "modern" institutional frameworks
- Now other organizations -- [zemstvos](#) and then [political parties](#) -- seemed better to meet the felt needs of the Russian well-born
- More Russians, even in privileged circles, were beginning to see that [reactionary policy](#) and the old order were indeed doomed
- Finance Minister [Sergei Witte](#) deplored the creation of Land Captains
  - He understood that it met no authentic aristocratic need and that it did harm to the most numerous *soslovie*, the [peasantry](#)
  - In his memoirs, Witte described how those officials who created [Land Captains](#) presumed that villagers were "eternally under age, so to speak. This belief seems to me profoundly erroneous"
  - Witte prophetically predicted that this belief "is fraught with disastrous consequences for the future"
- Not only were [gentry politics](#), per se, increasingly a failure, the Russian nobility, as a legally-defined and defended social formation [*soslovie*], was not actually prospering in the countryside. On the whole, rural gentry were weak and poor, and thus generally dispirited
- EG= View these film dramatizations = [FLM#1](#) based on Turgenev story | [FLM#2](#) based on a Chekhov story
  - But for some gentry, life was still sweet, or at least had the external trappings of sweetness =
  - 1894:Tea-time on a Kharkov province country estate [[pix](#)]

- 1894: Cadets prepare to practice dancing at the exclusive Corps of Pages [\[pix\]](#)

◇1889: Paris World's Exposition on the centennial of the Great French Revolution was less focused on "liberty, equality and fraternity" than on the muscular accomplishments of economic progress

\*--This world's fair followed in the emerging tradition [\[ID\]](#) by featured the newly built steely symbol of French industrial modernization, the Eiffel Tower [\[W lxt\]](#)

\*--Painting of the entrance into the Central Dome of the Gallery of Machines [\[lxt\]](#)

\*--This was the "Beautiful Era" [*Belle Époque*] that immediately preceded the WW1 catastrophe

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\*--[Wki](#)

◇1889jy14:jy20; Paris | In the year of the Paris Exposition [just above], an equally global or universal-minded organization, **the Second International**, held its founding congress

- The First International had faded from the scene in acrimonious factional dispute among leading figures [\[LOOP\]](#)
- But now European (and soon world-wide) social-democracy was becoming a public force
  - From this time forward for over a quarter century, the Second International worked to mobilize European, North American and world-wide progressive [political parties](#) and workers' unions
  - The goal was to hasten labor-friendly economic reform and to limit the economic power of capitalism and the political power of [industrial companies](#)
- The [liberal revolution over the previous century](#) had gone only so far to break free of the old feudal hierarchies
  - Activists felt that the liberal or "bourgeois" revolution had in fact created a new hierarchy based on wealth
  - That hierarchy was depicted in a pamphlet published by the International Workers of the World [\[pix\]](#)
- The long-term goal of the Second International was to replace the capitalist or bourgeois "mode of production" with a radically democratic socialist mode of production in which [wage-laborers](#) assumed the roles of both management and labor
- However, European socialism was splitting, giving birth to **two main trends in Social Democracy** =
  1. Moderate socialism, or left-wing-liberal or radical-liberal, an increasingly overt movement (EG=[Eduard Bernstein](#))
  2. Revolutionary, conspiratorial socialism, an increasingly covert movement (EG=[Vladimir Il'ich Lenin](#))
- The first trend expressed optimism about the ability to build on the successes of the earlier liberal revolution
- The second trend presumed that the earlier [liberal](#) revolution would have to be overturned by domestic war, by violent revolution
  - This split represents for socialism a functional equivalent of the contradictions built into European liberalism [\[ID\]](#) =
  - European [Marxism](#) broke into corresponding factions, and the Russian movement was soon to do the same
- The Second International lasted a quarter century
  - It [collapsed at the outbreak of World War One](#)
  - It died at the end of that terrible war
- The size and strength of the Second International did pressure industrializing nations of Europe and North America to follow [Bismarck's lead in Germany](#) in the direction of social [welfare](#) reform

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\*--[Rimlinger's comparative history of welfare](#), ch. 1:1-10 (Intro) [\[TXT\]](#); chs. 6-7:193-301 (USA [\[TXT\]](#) and Russia [\[TXT\]](#)); ch. 9:333-43 (Conclusion)

\*--P. Flora and A. J. Heidenheimer, eds., [Development of Welfare States in America and Europe](#)

\*--[GO 1927](#) to see how welfare comparison looked four decades later in a time of crisis, between WW1 & WW2

\*--[GO 1964](#) to see how welfare comparison was done yet four more decades later, in the era of the Cold War

\*--[GO 2007](#) to see a TABLE that compares affluence in USA with affluence in welfare-oriented Norway

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\*--LOOP on [The Second International](#)

\*--[LOOP on WW1a](#)

◇1889se:USA, Chicago | From an 1892 speech by founder Jane Addams, **Hull House** was described in the following way=

It represented no association, but was opened by two [women](#), backed by many friends, in the belief that the mere foothold of a house, easily accessible, ample in space, hospitable and tolerant in spirit, situated in the midst of the large foreign colonies which so easily isolate themselves in American cities, would be in itself a serviceable thing for [Chicago](#). **Hull House endeavors to make social intercourse express the growing sense of the economic unity of society. It is an effort to add the social function to democracy** [boldface added to highlight sense of "civil society" [\[ID\]](#) embedding in Addams' comments]. It was opened on the theory that the dependence of classes on each other is reciprocal; and that as "the social relation is essentially a reciprocal relation, it gave a form of expression that has peculiar value" ["The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements" ([TXT](#))]

◇1890:African Cape Colony under the control of English imperialist adventurer and free-wheeling colonial entrepreneur [Cecil Rhodes](#)

\*1888:1889; Documents describe Rhodes administration [\[CCC3,2:1138-49 | CCC2,2:841f\]](#)

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\*--[LOOP on WW1a](#)



◇1890:English public activist William Booth, founder of the Salvation Army, published [In Darkest England and the Way Out](#)  
 \*--William Booth compared the degradation and suffering of English [wage-laborers](#) with those of the peoples of [Africa](#) under imperial/colonial subjugation [[PWT2](#):173-6]

◇1890:Finland brought more tightly under Russian imperialist control

- While Russification rushed ahead in [Finland](#) and [Poland](#), opposition to [reactionary policy](#) grew within the highest ranks of Russian officialdom =
- 1892ja:Russian diplomat Vladimir Lamsdorf warned of the harm that Russification policy caused in Poland [[VSB](#),3:690]

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\*--E. C. Thaden, *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland, 1855-1917*

◇1890:French imperialist legislator and occasional Prime Minister Jules Ferry stated sacred claim to [Vietnam](#) in *Le Tonkin et la Mère-Patrie* [[E-TXT](#)] =

Colonial policy is the child of the industrial revolution. For wealthy countries where capital abounds and accumulates fast, where industry is expanding steadily, where even agriculture must become mechanized in order to survive, exports are essential for public prosperity. Both demand for labor and scope for capital investment depend on the foreign market ... All over the world, beyond the Vosges, and across the Atlantic, the raising of high tariffs has resulted in an increasing volume of manufactured goods, the disappearance of traditional markets, and the appearance of fierce competition. Countries react by raising their own tariff barriers, but that is not enough [...] The protectionist system, unless accompanied by a serious colonial policy, is like a steam engine without a safety valve [...] The European consumer market is saturated; unless we declare modern society bankrupt and prepare, at the dawn of the twentieth century, for its liquidation by revolution (the consequences of which we can scarcely foresee), new consumer markets will have to be created in other parts of the world. [...] Colonial policy is an international manifestation of the eternal laws of competition [Heineman, *Readings in European History*:184]

\*1870s:Ferry held [liberal](#) views on democratic education [CCC2,2:512-21 | CCC3,2:1030-]

\*1884mr28:French Chamber of Deputies heard Ferry speech on the need for French imperial expansion [[E-TXT](#)]

\*1885jy28:The Chamber heard Ferry on the question of French interests in Madagascar [[BNE](#):174-9]

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\*--[LOOP on WW1a](#)

◇1890:Russian mathematician Sonia Kovalevskaia described her [everyday life](#) in *A Russian Childhood*, a significant account of women's education

- Other [women](#) left significant memoirs of their experience, sometimes highly political. See Barbara Engel, ed., *Five Sisters: Women against the Tsar*
  - Vera Broido, *Daughter of Revolution: A Russian Girlhood Remembered* (1998)
  - Vera Figner, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*
  - Russian-born [Emma Goldman](#) emigrated to USA and launched herself on a remarkable half-century of [anarchist](#) activism
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- \*--Anna Hillyar and Jane McDermid, *Revolutionary Women in Russia, 1870-1917* (2000), chapters 1, 2 & 3
  - \*--Barbara Alpern Engel, *Women in Russia, 1700-2000* (2004)
  - \*--Nataliia Pushkareva, *Women in Russian History from the Tenth to the Twentieth Century* (1997)
  - \*--Dorothy Atkinson, et al., *Women in Russia* (1977)
  - \*--Rochelle Ruthchild, *Women in Russia and the Soviet Union: An Annotated Bibliography* (1993)

◇1890:USA naval strategist Admiral [Alfred Thayer Mahan](#) published *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783* [[TXT](#)]

◇1890:USA Harvard University Professor William James (1842-1910) marked the beginning of an epoch in American intellectual history with the publication of *Principles of Psychology*

- James always claimed that his ideas were derived from the principles of Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914) [[W#1](#) | [W#2](#) | [W#3](#)]
- James popularized "Pragmatism", a broad school of philosophy so dominant in USA in the generation before WWI [CCC2,2:1035-41 | CCC3,2:1173-91] =
  - Consciousness is not a mirror of actuality, it is selective, interested, goal-oriented
  - Action is a function of consciousness. The mind "carves out" a vision of actuality from "the jointless continuity of space"
  - Knowledge is instrumental. "Truth" is not absolute but "only the expedient in our way of thinking"
  - "Radical empiricism" [see below] is a philosophy that exalts "pure experience"
  - It rejects transcendent principles and seeks meaning in the "conjunctive relations" that variously link ideas with one another and join thought with experience. [1935:CDE:995]
- 1897:*The Will to Believe* [[TXT](#)]
- 1902:*The Varieties of Religious Experience* [[TXT](#)]



- 1907:*Pragmatism* [TXT]
- 1909:*The Meaning of Truth*
- 1912:*Essays in Radical Empiricism* [TXT], published posthumously
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- \*--[W]
- \*--[Wagar](#) on Pragmatism [TXT]

◇1890mr18:German Emperor Willhelm II dismissed Chancellor Otto von Bismarck [DPH:271-4]

\*--This dismayed many contemporaries [pix]

\*--[Bismarck's public career of 30 years](#), one of the most decisive and brilliant in the European 19th century, was at its end

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\*--George Frost Kennan, *The Decline of Bismarck's European Order: Franco-Russian Relations, 1875-1890*

\*--Retallack,James, *Germany's Second Reich: Portraits and Pathways*

◇1890je12:Russian Zemstvo electoral and voting laws were altered

- One result of these alterations was strengthening the position of landlords and marginalizing villagers within Zemstvos
- More generally, whether for landlords or for villagers, the range of zemstvo authority was seriously constricted
- This happened on the very eve of the great **1891:1892; Russian famine** [ID] when the Zemstvo was much needed [VSB,3:688-9]
- [The tsarist state](#) seemed bent on scuttling the [Zemstvo](#) and other "great reforms"
- This and other clumsy [official reactionary measures](#) provoked Witte to compose [a bitter and ironic "more rightist than thou" tirade](#)
- In this year the world-famous chemist Dmitrii Mendeleev resigned his St.Petersburg [University](#) post in protest over the refusal of Minister of Education I. D. Delianov (an acolyte of [Dmitrii Tolstoi](#)) to accept a student petition which [Mendeleev](#) had agreed to deliver

◇1890jy02:USA passed Sherman Anti-Trust Act [Wki]

\*--The Act was originally intended for use against large corporations and other business conglomerates [ID] engaged in the unchecked pursuit of their own perceived interests

\*--But the Act was more frequently and effectively employed against [wage-laborers](#) who sought to organize themselves in the pursuit of their own perceived interests

\*--NB! these words on the question of "trust" in market-economic transactions [\*2009:E-TXT]

◇1890de15:SD Standing Rock Reservation, not far from his family cabin, [Sitting Bull](#) was killed by US Government Agency forces in connection with the policy of forceful suppression of native religious practice

◇1891:English artist, craftsman and writer William Morris published his novel in the "[utopian](#)" tradition, *News from Nowhere, or , An Epoch of Rest* [TXT]

- Morris described a humane ideal future in 22nd-century England, where the observation of communitarian and libertarian principles eradicated cultural, political, social and economic exploitation
- Morris refused to accept the rampant vulgarities of mass-production industrial urbanization and commercial culture or [pop-arts](#)
- He was steeped in an esthetic of rural virtue that harmonized with a European cultural nostalgia for a "[down-on-the-farm](#)" life-style
- He reacted to the narrowness of [Bellamy's utopian concept of industrial progress](#). Morris, perhaps looking down his nose, called *Looking Backward* "a horrible cockney dream". The refined Englishman Morris certainly put the American author in his place
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- \*--[Website of Wm.Morris Society](#)

◇1891:Russian scholar [Maksim Kovalevskii](#) published *Modern Customs and Ancient Laws in Russia* [TXT]

◇1891:1892; Russian famine

\*--Not long before, Finance Minister Ivan Vyshnegradskii foolishly stated, "We may starve, but we WILL export". Who did he mean by "we"?

\*--Also not long before, the reactionary state took steps to confine [Zemstvo](#) operations [EG], severely limiting the ability of Russia to deal with famine

\*--Nizhnii-Novgorod region| **Pioneer Russian news-photographer Maksim Petrovich Dmitriev** recorded village and urban life in this difficult time [pix#1] (opening pix is of a *mirskoi skhod* [village assembly] | [pix#2](#)). News photos presented the suffering of the [peasantry](#) as only quality photographic realism can, immediate and horribly beautiful =

Dmitriev photo of dying peasant woman



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\*--[Saul](#), 2:335-64\*--R. G. Robbins, [Famine in Russia, 1891-1892: The Imperial Government Responds to a Crisis](#)

◇1891:1903; Russia | Trans-Siberia railroad, after a half-century delay, nearly completed in nine years

- Rail connection between Europe and the markets of Korea, [China and Japan](#) now established [[pix](#)] [[MAP](#)]
  - Ussuri River (north of Vladivostok) steamboat [[pix](#)]
- Russia now poised to become vigorous Pacific Rim presence, but would it be a commercial or a military/imperialist presence?
- Or would it be cultural/spiritual? Consider future Trans-Siberian railroad administrator and Chairman of the Russo-Chinese Bank, Prince Esper Ukhtomskii [[Wki-ID](#)] | Excerpts from his account of travel "To the East" as companion of tsarevich Nicholas Aleksandrovich ([E-TXT](#))
- 1893:Russia published an official explanation of the railroad's significance [[CCC2](#),2:616-20]

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\*--[Trans-Sib website, w/ good map](#)\*--[WEBSITE on Russian railroads, esp. Trans-Siberian](#)\*--Steven G. Marks, *Road to Power: The Trans-Siberian Railroad and the Colonization of Asian Russia, 1850-1917*\*--Marléna Laruelle, "'The White Tsar': Romantic Imperialism in Russia's Legitimizing of Conquering the Far East" ([E-TXT](#))

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\*--[LOOP on WW1a](#)◇1891:USA traveler and lecturer George Kennan published [Siberia and the Exile System](#) with its powerful condemnation of Russian [tsarist state's](#) oppression by means of [removal and frontier development](#) in Siberia [Excerpts: [VSB](#),3:684-7 | [WRH3](#):387-404]\*--As that great symbol of progressive modernization -- the Trans-Siberian [Railroad](#) -- reached for Pacific shores, Siberian exile expressed but another facet of [reactionary state policy](#).◇1891my01:Russian industrial workers delivered and listened to speeches on May Day [[Harding](#):84-91]\*1891fe04:French Labor Party and the National Federation of Trade Unions urged French workers to join the international labor day of protest (May Day) against miserable conditions of [wage-laborers](#) [[BNE](#):146-7] GO my15

◇1891my11:Japan, Otsu | Terrorist Tsuda Sanzo, an escort policeman, slightly wounded future Russian Emperor Nicholas II during state visit

\*--Kojima Iken, Supreme court, ruled against the death penalty, showing unusual independence of the law and its courts, but also diplomatic slight to Russia

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\*--[KEJ](#)◇1891my15:Vatican issued Pope Leo XIII's radical encyclical *Rerum novarum* [[TXT](#)]

- The encyclical gave Church sanction to the burgeoning world [wage-labor](#) movement and strengthened the Church's claim to be the spokesperson for the working masses
- [1931 anniversary](#) of this radical encyclical struck a very different tone

- The German [Kulturkampf](#) spread to France [[DPH:258-61](#)]

◊1891oc:German Social-Democratic Party adopted its Erfurt Program [[DPH:274-7](#)]

\*--German miner Nikolaus Osterroth wrote later memoirs about his first confrontation with the Social Democratic Party [[PWT2:170-3](#)]

◊1892:1894; Russian religious philosopher [Vladimir Solov'ev](#) published [The Meaning of Love](#) [Excerpts = [Edie,3:85-98](#)]

◊1892:Geneva | [Russian Marxist](#) Georgii Plekhanov published *On the Tasks of the Socialists in the Campaign against Famine in Russia* [[VSB,3:708-9](#)]

◊1892je11:[Tsarist state](#) revised the [1870 city-duma reform statute](#)

- The revised statute on city dumas increased central control over municipal self administration and reduced the number who could participate in elections [[VSB,3:689-10](#)]
- The center of gravity in Russian economic and social life was shifting from the countryside to the city
- This trend also called forth labor legislation (e.g., "[police socialism](#)") and [welfare legislation](#) were designed to meet the needs of a small but crucial and growing urban wage-labor population
- Semen Kanatchikov wrote an autobiography, [A Radical Worker in Tsarist Russia](#) which illustrated in great detail the life of a fresh-minted Russian proletarian or [wage-laborer](#) in the years up to the 1905 Revolution
- Photos of early 20th-century **Petersburg street scenes** =
  - [Nevskii prospekt](#)
  - [Kazan Cathedral](#) (across Nevskii from the Singer Sewing Machine Building)
  - [Stroganov Palace](#)
  - [Yusupov Palace](#) [ditto]
  - [Dvortsovskii](#)
  - [Peter-Paul Fortress island](#)
  - [Finlandskii](#)
  - [Smolnyi Cathedral](#)
  - [Nikolai bridge](#)
  - [Troiskii bridge](#)
  - [Street kiosk](#)
  - [Zoo](#)
  - [Troitskii Church with its Turkish canons](#)
  - [Surskii women's monastery](#)
- Russian Empire, 1895-1910. Pictures of St.Petersburg. Photographs from stereoscopic negatives in the Keystone-Mast Collection. They are presented by California Museum of Photography, University of California, Riverside (comments: [edward.earle@ucr.edu](mailto:edward.earle@ucr.edu))
- Photos of early 20th-century **Moscow street scenes** =
  - [Tverskaia](#)
  - [Petrovskaiia](#)
  - [Grocery outlet](#)
  - [Sretenka](#)
  - [Strastnoi Square](#)
- But what about urban elites? Was there a non-bureaucratic "bourgeois" liberal political culture? Was there anything of that much debated European *bürgerliche Gesellschaft* [urban or civil society]? Did modern city life come to Russia only at [the end of the great European epoch of urban capitalist liberalism](#)?
- Tighter restriction on the evolution of urban institutions was another example of [reactionary state policy](#)

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\*--Website [E-TXT of comparative essays on the Russian city Odessa and the USA city New Orleans](#)

\*--[Metropolis, 1890-1940](#) [[Another edition](#)]. See Kenneth T. Jackson, "The Capital of Capitalism: the New York Metropolitan Region, 1890-1940":319-353; and R. A. French, "Moscow, the Socialist Metropolis":355-379.

\*--L. S. Bourne., et al., eds., [Urbanization and Settlement Systems: International Perspectives](#), section 1, ch#1:23-48 (USA); section 4, ch#1:335-55 (USSR)

\*--Thomas C. Owen, [Russian Corporate Capitalism from Peter the Great to Perestroika](#) (1995), NB! "Russian Entrepreneurship in Comparative Perspective" [[TXT pp.78-83](#)]

\*-----, [Capitalism and Politics in Russia: A Social History of the Moscow Merchants, 1855-1905](#)

\*--Henri Troyat, [Daily Life in Russia Under the Last Tsar](#) [1903 fictional social history = everyday life, business & other elites in touch w/ folk]

\*--Alfred J. Rieber, [Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Imperial Russia](#)

\*--Jo Ann Ruckman, [The Moscow Business Elite: A Social and Cultural Portrait of Two Generations, 1840-1905](#)

\*-----, [Savva Morozov: A Moscow Entrepreneur on eve of the Russian Revolution](#)

\*--Daniel R. Brower, [The Russian City Between Tradition and Modernity, 1850-1900](#)

\*--Joseph Bradley, [Muzhik and Muscovite: Urbanization in Late Imperial Russia](#)

\*--Hamm, ed. [City in Late Imperial Russia](#) (Bloomington:1986)

\*--M. C. Kaser, "Russian Entrepreneurship". In *Cambridge Economic History of Europe* 8, part 2. Cambridge ENG:1978

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The following articles devoted to Russian [wage-labor](#) organizations are in [MERSH](#) (KNIGHT library reference) =  
 All-Jewish Workers Union  
 Assembly of Russian Factory and Mill Workers of Saint Petersburg [~~Zubатов]  
 Bakinskii Proletarii  
 Belorussian Workers and Peasants Party  
 Labor Groups of the War Industries Committee [Central War Industries Committee]  
 Ludinovo Workers' Disturbances 1861, 1865-66  
 Putilov Strikes  
 Union of Oil Industry Workers

◇1892jy04:USA | Platform of the Progressive or Populist Party addressed central issue of economic inequality and criticized the growing role of government in fostering and protecting that inequality

- Much rhetorical energy was exerted to praise *laissez faire* and "free" markets
  - But there was by this time little authentic dispute among US political factions, left, right or center, about whether a vigorous government should or should not be involved in social and economic matters
  - In practice (if not in rhetoric) all factions agreed that government should play an active role in the economy
  - **The only real issue was this = Whose social and economic interests ought to be fostered and protected by vigorous government action**
- The new Progressive Party opposed use of governmental power to support privilege
  - It sought to break up the close alliance of government and wealth
  - It did not seek to curb governmental power, rather to shift the focus of governmental power from protection of industrial companies toward protection of the needs of the vast majority of working people, to convert government into an active agent of popular [welfare](#)
- Among their goals was the institution of a graduated income tax, introduction of initiative and referendum, and democratic election of senators
- At the same time, the Progressive or Populist Party, as a "third party", challenged the near monopoly on political power held by the two main [political parties](#)
- The Progressive Era in USA gave Russian scholar Moisei Ostrogorskii [\[ID\]](#) grounds for optimism about the general European future of democratic politics
  - [TXT of 3 hopeful paragraphs](#) from his book [Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties](#)
- [The Progressive Era: Primary Documents...1890-1914](#) (2004)
- [The Muckrakers](#) . . .

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\*2003au03:*Kommersant* (a progressive business-oriented post-Soviet Russian serial) described what happened in USA progressive era when big oil and big finance became too big [\[TXT\]](#)

\*--Michael McGerr, [A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920](#) (2003)

\*--Robert D. Johnston, [The Radical Middle Class: Populist democracy and the question of capitalism in progressive era Portland, Oregon](#) (2003)

◇1892jy06:USA Homestead Strike (near Pittsburgh) [\[W#1\]](#) | [W#2](#)

- Five-month labor dispute with the huge [industrial company](#), Carnegie Steel, turned violent
  - Corporation manager Henry C. Frick hired 300 Pinkertons
    - Pinkertons were a private police force founded by Allan Pinkerton [\[W\]](#)
    - Pinkerton was also involved in Civil War espionage and contributed thusly to the creation of the Federal Secret Service
  - Frick organized military operations against workers, eventually involving the Pennsylvania National Guard
- [Carnegie](#), the owner, and Frick, [the manager](#), broke with one another, in part because of Frick's hostility toward [wage-labor](#)
- Occurring within two days of one another, the formation of the Progressive Party and the Homestead Strike announced that the [Progressive Era](#) was going to be a highly fretted quarter century in US history

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\*--James Howard Bridge, [The Inside History of the Carnegie Steel Company: The Romance of Millions](#) (1903)

\*--Paul Krause, [The Battle for Homestead: Politics, Culture and Steel](#)

◇1893:1934; Russian cultural phenomenon, lasting nearly a half-century, called "The Silver Age"

- The Silver Age opened with Dmitrii Merezhkovskii's "On the Present Condition of Russian Literature"
  - Merezhkovskii also wrote on revolution and religion, and the Jewish Question [\[RRS:187-224\]](#)
- [The Silver Age of Russian Culture: An Anthology](#)
- [Russian art of the avant-garde: Theory and criticism, 1902-1934](#)
- [The diary of Valery Bryusov \(1893-1905\)](#)

- Some would extend this remarkable epoch 41 years, through the 1917 Revolutions, into emigration, but also into the early Soviet period, up to the imposition of Stalinist "[Socialist Realism](#)" in 1934
- The Silver Age coincided with new trends in [Russian philosophical and religious thought](#)
- Russian artistic developments are best understood in a pan-European, perhaps one should say "global", context

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\*--William Brumfield, *The Origins of Modernism in Russian Architecture*

\*--Robert C. Williams, *Russian Art and American Money, 1900-1940*

◇1893:English theorist Thomas Huxley published [Evolution and Ethics](#) [excerpts = [CCC3,2:855-66](#)] which encouraged application of Darwinian biology to the analysis of human morality and behavior

- 1894:US scholar, diplomat and President of Cornell University, Andrew D. White, summarized some telling moments in the emerging struggle between science and religion, with special reference to the impact of Darwinian biology, [A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom](#) [Excerpts = [PWT2:229-31](#)]
- White described how Darwin's biology "had come into the theological world like a plough into an ant-hill"
- White and his university were accused of teaching atheism and "infidelity"
- [Darwinian concepts](#) gladdened some and outraged others
- Science continued its original role as challenger to received or customary ways of seeing the world
- And [science](#) expanded its second role = A new totalistic explanation and solution of human problems, a substitute for received or customary ways of seeing the world

◇1893:French philosopher and social critic [Elie Halévy](#) (1870-1937) and associates (largely from the elitist Ecole Normale) founded [Revue de métaphysique et de morale](#)

- The march of "Western" scientism was resisted in "The West", but not with a view to turning back to old spiritual ways =
  - The new journal stated that "it is necessary to act against the miserable positivism, which we are departing from, and the irritating religiosity, which we risk getting stuck in, to build a philosophy of action and reflection, to be rationalists with a passion"
- Halévy at this time devoted serious attention to the English classical liberal economic thinkers, the philosophical radicals of the early 19th century [[ID](#)] =
- 1904:He published [Growth of philosophic radicalism](#)
- He sought to install an economic foundation, so to speak, under his neo-Kantian philosophy [[ID Kant](#)]

◇1893:French sociologist [Émile Durkheim](#) published [The Division of Labor in Society](#) [Excerpts = [CCS,1:483-515](#)]

- He sought to round off the extreme individualism of the "classical economists" who emphasized the atomized individual
- Durkheim emphasized the essential social or communitarian setting of individual choices
- Still he felt the need to distinguish between "mechanical solidarity" and "organic solidarity"
- He made that distinction, but he presumed that advanced society required a bit of both
- We see again that the "Westernization" of the "[West](#)" was not a smooth or natural process

◇1893:Hawaiian Islands under control of USA sugar plantation owner

◇1893:Russian government focused on industrial companies when it launched a review of national manufacturing industry and trade [[CCC2,2:603-10](#)]

◇1893my01:Chicago World's Fair (Columbian Exposition)

- In a year of economic crisis in USA, Chicago put on the best show possible
- George Ferris, Jr., constructed the first modern Ferris wheel, powered by a 1000 horse power engine
  - Thirty-six wooden cars were suspended around the 264 feet high wheel. Each car held 60 riders
  - More than one million paid fifty cents for a ride
- At this same fair, Wisconsin University [old "Northwest Territory"] Professor **Frederick Jackson Turner** pronounced his great theory about US history, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" [[TXT](#)]
  - He later published a book-length study [[TXT](#)]
  - Some idea of the target of Turner's remarks can be gained from [this paragraph](#) of Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*
  - East Coast elites had reason to be affronted [[EG](#)] by the frontier-oriented and westward-looking cultural radicalism of Turner's thesis
- [Sitting Bull's](#) SD reservation cabin had been crated up and shipped to Chicago for exhibit at this World's Fair
  - The transported cabin was situated just down the lanes from where Turner held forth on the essence of the American frontier experience
  - When the Fair closed down, the cabin — so it is said — was packed off to the city dump
- Turner announced the closing of the American frontier, then Sitting Bull's cabin was trashed



- These two [Chicago](#) events together were like a mythic announcement that [the era of Native American independence on the Great Plains](#) was over
- More than that, the longer era that spanned [nearly two hundred years in the relations of Euro-Americans and Native Americans](#) was also at a close
- A new era was about to dawn
- In this same year, the Russian Trans-Siberian [Railway](#) Committee issued provisional regulations to promote peasant emigration to the Bashkir Steppes and Siberia
  - After nearly [200 years of frontier confrontation there, the Bashkir steppes](#) now brought fully under Russian dominion
    - 1899:Refinements published in "Regulations concerning government Grants-in-Aid to Settlers Migrating with Required Authorization to Siberia and the Steppe Governorship General" [[VSB](#),3:760]
  - Library of Congress [website devoted to the shared frontier experience of Russia and USA](#) (bilingual)

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\*--[White](#):18-40 compares RUS-USA indigenous populations, rates of geographical expansion, and early commercial phases of economic development [[TXT](#)]

\*--D. W. Treadgold, *The Great Siberian Migration: Government and Peasant in Resettlement from Emancipation to the First World War* [[TXT](#)]

\*--[Wagar](#) on Turner [[TXT](#)]

\*--[Saul](#),2:365-77

\*--Andrei Lobanov-Rostovsky, "Russian Expansion in the Far East in the Light of the Turner Hypothesis", in Walker D. Wyman and Clifton B. Kroeber, *The Frontier in Perspective*

\*--D. W. Treadgold, "Russian Expansion in the Light of Turner's Study of the American Frontier", 1952oc:[Agricultural History](#):147-152

\*--William Wykoff and Gary Hausladen, "Settling the Russian Frontier: With Comparisons to North America", 1989mr:[Soviet Geography](#) [now titled [Eurasian Geography and Economics](#)] #30, 3:179-89

\*--Continue "[Eurasia](#)" [LOOP](#)

◊1893de14:Russian law restricted peasant ability to buy or sell land independently from village community [[VSB](#),3:756]

\*--[Reactionary policy](#) resisted evolution of independent peasant farmers just as the Siberian frontier opened for them

\*1893:English traveler F. J. Wishaw, *Out of Doors in Tsarland* described [peasant](#) village life [[WRH3](#):426-34]

\*1894:Konstantin Korovin painting of wintry scene, a sleigh in front of peasant hut, in [Olga's Gallery](#)

◊1894:USA NYC | William Dean Howells published a utopian novel, [A Traveler from Altruria](#)

- One of Howells' characters **described the main change in American life, 1850-1890** =
  - In 1850, a person who ran into difficulties, who did not at first succeed, turned his hand to something else
  - As a last resort, a person "went West, pre-empted a quarter section of public land, and grew up with the country"
  - But, as the theorist/historian Turner declared, the frontier was now closed [[ID](#)]
  - "The struggle for life", Howells wrote, "has changed from a free fight to an encounter of disciplined forces, and the free fighters that are left get ground to pieces between organized labor and organized capital". [[Kazin](#):17]
- As the 19th century wound down, the gigantism of the "[second industrial revolution](#)" presented a looming menace to the contemporary imagination
  - Heavy stripes of disenchantment ran through cultural life, not excluding the [fine arts](#)
  - Events seemed to contradict the naive "liberal" belief in progress
  - A feeling of disenchantment drove [Max Weber](#) into deeper theoretical and sociological searches for sources of current problems
  - For others it encouraged a romantic affirmation of earlier, simpler, often rural virtues. For example, Thorstein Veblen praised life "[down on the farm](#)" and contrasted it with urban and industrial dehumanization
  - Disenchantment stimulated both dreamy projections of utopian escape ([remember Tönnies](#)) as well as terrifying projections of utopian hell (in the emerging [anti-utopian trends of the 20th century](#))
- Industrialization of farm production moved ahead [[pix](#)]
- Some concluded that the era of [urban-based "bourgeois" liberalism](#) was over because the laissez faire, entrepreneurial and true free-market foundations for its existence were transformed to meet the needs of transnational finance and corporate industrial gigantism
- The economy had outgrown its original liberal political ideology
- Nonetheless, at the turn of the 20th century, some Americans took courage from the saving graces of modernizing European civilization [[EG](#)]
  - These might have been a latter-day USA example of that general trend labeled "Westernizer" when it appeared a half century earlier in Russian cultural debate [[ID](#)]
  - Howells, for example, was much influenced by [Tolstoy](#) and the more clearly "Western" Ivan Turgenev
  - However, American-born but Europe-centered author [Henry James](#), an important representative of the US "Westernizer" trend and a friend of [Turgenev](#), expressed his fear that old Europe was stagnant. Its future "is more likely to be one of disintegration, with Russia for the eccentric on one side and America on the other" [[Kazin](#):17]
  - Missouri-born provincial Samuel Clemens took the pseudonym "Mark Twain" and left a very complex legacy in connection with the issue of "Western" modernity
    - See Twain's wondrously unwieldy novel/memoir *Life on the Mississippi* [[E-TXT#1](#) | [E-TXT#2](#)]



- 1922:USA culture critic Van Wyck Brooks wrote a surprisingly negative literary biography of Twain in which Twain is portrayed as a failed artist because he could not break free of the "low-brow" forces of USA commercial culture, *The Ordeal of Mark Twain* [[E-TXT](#)]
- Van Wyck Brooks showed a deep affinity for the "[Westernizing](#)" and critical, dissent-oriented traditions of the Russian intelligentsia [[TXT](#)]
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- \*1910:NYC| Howells, William Dean| *My Mark Twain: Reminiscences and Criticism* [[E-TXT](#)]
- \*1912c:| Paine, Albert Begelow| *Mark Twain: A Biography* [[E-TXT](#)]

◇1894:NYC,Harper| USA Progressive Era muckraking journalist and critic, Henry Demarest Lloyd, published *Wealth against the Commonwealth*, a general warning about how newly arisen giant corporations organized on a transnational basis ("wealth"), especially [Standard Oil](#), the Russian oil company Nobel, and the Europe-wide banking house Rothschild, threatened democratic civil society ("the commonwealth")

\*--He warned against US/Russian collusion to control the world's oil supply [[ID](#)]

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\*--[LOOP on "finance"](#)

◇1894:English journalist William Thomas Stead [[ID](#)] published *Chicago Today: The Labour War in America* [[TXT](#)]

- Stead was a wealthy supporter of [Progressive Era](#) reform who felt that [Chicago](#) was the hot-spot of American [wage-labor](#) problems, and a lesson to the world
- Stead had a great interest in Russia and USA. In 1888 he published *The Truth about Russia* which placed emphasis on the religion of Leo Tolstoy
- In 1890 he began publication of the journal [Review of Reviews](#)
- Stead died on the Titanic

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\*--Joseph O. Baylen, *The Tsar's Lecturer General: W.T. Stead and the Russian Revolution of 1905*

◇1894ja04(NS):Franco-Russian Alliance signed, a "secret" military treaty, based on the 1892au17(NS):French and Russian Military Convention [Fay, *Origins*,1:118-9 | [DIR2](#):358-9 | [DIR3](#):405-7]

- The diplomatic system forged by Bismarck [[ID](#)] was breaking down
- Powerful nations on eastern and western borders of Germany were taking action to protect themselves from "The Triple Alliance"[[ID](#)]

◇1894ja22;1897mr31; English Parliamentarian Joseph Chamberlain delivered three rousing imperialist and [racist](#) speeches, *The British Empire: Colonial Commerce ...* [[P20](#):23 | [PWT2](#):213-15] English version of European imperialism

◇1894je:Korean peasant uprising caused the anti-Japanese Korean monarchists to ask China for help

\*1894jy24:Japan works with pro-Japanese Korean forces to craft a treaty pledging Korean/Japanese alliance to drive China out of Korea [[E-TXT](#)]

\*1894au01:1895; [Manchuria](#)| [China and Japan](#) at war

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\*--[LOOP on WW1a](#)

◇1894su:USA Pullman Strike (south of [Chicago](#)) became a national crisis

- The American Railway Union, led by [Eugene Debs](#), had grown strong over the preceding two years and was now backed by a wide-spread, well-organized labor movement
  - President Cleveland sent in nearly 2000 US army troops to join the nearly 4000 National Guardsmen and about 8000 police and private security forces
  - These paramilitary forces deployed against laborers
- At the same time, steps were taken to make self-organization of [wage-laborers](#) a federal crime

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\*-- [[W#1](#)] [[W#2](#)]

◇1894oc20:1917mr; Russian **Emperor Nicholas II**, the last tsar and emperor, reigned for a quarter century that can be summarized in the following fashion =

- Nicholas II ruled via brutal official reaction inherited from his father Alexander III, but he responded with half-hearted reforms as revolution loomed
- This pitiful reign nonetheless continued the Witte economic transformation [[ID](#)] and witnessed one of histories most remarkable high-cultural awakenings, the Russian "Silver Age" [[GO](#)]
- At the beginning of Nicholas' reign, political opposition to [the tsarist state](#) was centered on the Zemstvo movement

- Tver Zemstvo address to the new emperor Nicholas II called for progressive social, economic and political change [1934:[SEER](#)#12:347-67]
  - By this time the Zemstvo movement had expanded into a whole complex network of enterprises
  - Now politics in Russia increasingly involved a broader spectrum of opinion and social action than ever before
- Zemstvo functions new and essential to the modernizing Russian rural civilization were neglected by traditional administrative institutions
  - By the time of Emperor Nicholas II's reign, Russians spoke with approval of a new "**Third Element**" in national life
  - By this they meant locally active Zemstvo professionals, distinguished from government officials (first element) or elected representatives to Zemstvo boards (second element)
  - The Third Element was made up of specialists who tended to health, educational and economic needs, EG=Doctors, veterinarians, agronomists, teachers, statisticians, engineers and technicians
  - In a broader colloquial sense the Third Element positioned itself between Imperial officialdom (first element) and the nation, the people, the *narod* (second element)
- The political implication of the broader colloquial sense of Third Element was obvious -- representational government
- Nicholas characterized such liberal political objectives expressed in the Tver [Zemstvo](#) address as "senseless dreams" [[ID](#)].  
HOWEVER =
- **The 1905 Revolution** [[GO](#)] stripped Nicholas of his absolutist, autocratic authority =
- **1906:1917; The Russian State Duma** was created in the institutional place of the old absolute and autocratic tsarist authority [[GO](#)]
  - But the autocrat remained and the new representative or "parliamentary" governing institution was slow to put down roots
  - The most significant legislative initiative taken in the time of the Duma was under the leadership of **Prime Minister Petr Stolypin** [[GO](#)]
- In the midst of disastrous **World War One** [[GO](#)], when confronted with the **1917 February Revolution** [[GO](#)], the Duma and all its initiatives collapsed with tsarist authority = Emperor Nicholas II resigned the Russian throne and the Duma dissolved itself [[GO](#)]  
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- \*2016:|>Berar,Eva| *Империя и город : Николай II, "Мир искусств" и городская дума в Санкт-Петербурге, 1894-1914*
- \*2014:|>Davydov,MA| *Двадцать лет до Великой войны [1894-1914]: российская модернизация Витте-Столыпина*
- \*2010no29:[RSH](#)#20,1:5-63|>Pirumova,NM| "The Elected Members of Zemstvo Assemblies and the 'Third Element' "
- \***1890:1905**; Tver Province Zemstvo politics in the 15 years leading up to the Revolution of 1905 are characterized by Charles Timberlake in [Emerging Democracy...](#), pp. 30-59

◊1895ja17:ja19; Tver liberals addressed new tsar Nicholas II about need for representative government, and Nicholas replied with rebuke of their "senseless dreams" about a constitution in Russia [\*1934ja:[SEER](#)#12,35:349-50 & 352-4]

\*--To the dismay a large segment of the Russian educated population, Nicholas seemed to be saying that [reactionary policy](#) would continue as before

◊1895fe12:Petersburg New Port strike leaflet

- That summer, a Moscow "Workers Union" stated labor demands [[Harding](#):143-6]
- 1895de:Tsarist police arrested leaders of this movement, some of them [wage-laborers](#) and some of them representatives of the educated Russian population, active as a revolutionary intelligentsia [[ID](#)]
- An important example of this new generation of dedicated labor-oriented intelligentsia was ex-student Vladimir Il'ich Ulianov
  - In this year of mounting labor organization, Ulianov helped organize a Petersburg Union of Struggle [*Soiuz bor'by*] [[Harding](#):149-215]
  - Ulianov's father was a tsarist education official who had received noble status as a result of long and high quality service
  - The family lived a comfortably established "middle class" provincial life [[pix](#)]
  - But Vladimir's brother Aleksandr [[pix](#)] went off to the [university](#) where he got involved in political circles associated with terrorist plots
  - He was arrested and executed
- Now, for his acts of labor agitation, younger brother Vladimir Ulianov was sent into Siberian exile in the valley of the Lena River
  - He changed his family name, adapting the Siberian river of exile to label his new identity = "**Lenin**" [[pix](#)]
  - Lenin's wife, Nadezhda Krupskaya wrote memoirs of their experience in the three years of Siberian exile [[StH](#):6-15]

◊1895:1908; English pundit, historian and sociologist, [H.G. Wells](#) (Herbert George, 1866-1946) wrote fantastic science-fiction, often projecting a future in a prophetic tone, sometimes utopian, sometimes dystopian

- Here are some of the most widely read Wells publications =
- \*1895:*The Time Machine*
- \*1896:*The Island of Doctor Moreau*
- \*1897:*The Invisible Man*
- \*1898:*The War of the Worlds*
- \*1908:*The War in the Air*

\*--Examples of 19th-c pop-arts magazines [UO [E-TXT](#)]

\*--With its fixation on modern technological, industrial life, [pop-arts](#) science fiction seemed always to be asking of science and technology, "Is you is, or is you ain't my baby?"

◇1895:USA efficiency expert Frederick Winslow Taylor (1856-1915) delivered a technical paper to the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, "A Piece-Rate System: A Step toward Partial Solution of the Labor Problem"

- For Taylor, the essence of the matter was the need for closer and more detailed structuring of worker behavior, near mechanical and scientifically scrupulous managerial attention to every productive movement of workers and machines
- **Economic efficiency -- profit -- was the ultimate virtue, whether in connection with machines or humans or the products they created for the market**
- The industrial commodity might be shabby, but the productive process must be highly regulated and production costs reduced to a minimum
- This was a "partial solution" not so much of the workers' own "labor problem" as it was of the capitalist managers' labor problem
- Taylor's inauspicious presentation marked the beginning of a globally significant "**managerial revolution**" which was redefining the functional meaning of "ownership" and old-fashioned notions of capitalist property, as well as the increasingly mechanized image of labor in the productive process
  - Taylor was a child of the petroleum phase of the industrial revolution
  - His insights had especially important implications as **the European industrial revolution expanded fully into its gigantic, corporate phase**
  - His importance lies in his adumbration of the coming "Second Industrial Revolution", the petroleum phase [\[ID\]](#) mounting toward the managerial phase [\[ID\]](#) of economic modernization =
    - **Managerial executives were replacing entrepreneurial owners at the levers of economic enterprise**
    - **EG= [Standard Oil Company](#) and [Henry C. Frick](#)**
- Taylor's insights had important implications far beyond the board rooms of corporate enterprise
  - For one thing, the "Taylor system" had political/institutional implications. The increasing application of various aspects of the Taylor System to wider areas of public life had two larger effects =
    1. It undermined the liberal phase of the European revolution [\[ID\]](#)
    2. It presented a powerful obstacle to the growing European social-democratic movement [\[ID\]](#) and to the US progressive movement [\[ID\]](#) in the [Progressive Era](#)
    3. It laid a scientific foundation for the coming third political/institutional phase of the European and world Revolution [\[ID\]](#)
- Analysis of this phenomenon in secondary accounts =  
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- \*--[Merkle](#):7-8
- \*--**Alfred Chandler, Jr [\[ID\]](#) authored two powerful interpretive histories of contemporary business organization and operation**
  1. [The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business](#) (1977)
  2. And later, on the global stage, [Scale and Scope: The Dynamics of Industrial Capitalism](#) (1990) =
- A relatively small number of gigantic corporations -- DuPont, Westinghouse, Dunlop, Armstrong-Whitworth, Farben, Siemens, etc. -- were beginning to function in the world like nation-states unto themselves, struggling to be winners in the quest to organize the earth
  - This was not so much a process of "Darwinian" survival of the fittest in some natural competitive process
  - This was an exercise in rational economic planning rather than "natural selection"
  - The "hand" was not "invisible" [\[ID\]](#), even if it was kept out of public view
- Chandler argued that mass production expanded levels of productivity to such heights that by merging plants, bringing unit costs down, "economies of scale" were possible
- Corporate organizational and distributive power gave them further close control over the process
- **Petroleum refiners** gained control over oil wells "upstream on the pipeline" and also filling stations "downstream on the pipeline"
  - Thus they positioned themselves profitably up and down the full spectrum of production and distribution of oil, gasoline and other petroleum products, all increasingly critical industrial commodities
  - This required meticulous or micro-control of humongous financial resources -- investment and income related to colossal industrial enterprises
  - This required extremely disciplined and ornate organizational structures, yet structures always open to intervention and control from a central administrative point
- Elaborate structures -- marketing, engineering, accounting, research, finance, etc. departments -- were under centralized managerial control
- This was called "[scientific](#) management"
- Scientific management laid the organizational foundations for what can be called "[the second industrial revolution](#)"
- In the age of imperialist competition, scientific management also marked the opening of the European, North American and, eventually, world-wide "[managerial revolution](#)", the 20th-century political history of the "European Revolution" [\[ID\]](#), now [globalized](#)

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- \*--[LOOP on WW1a](#)
- \*--[LOOP on "finance"](#)

◇1895mr06:German Reichstag heard [racist](#) (particularly [anti-Semitic \[ID\]](#)) speech by Hermann Ahlwardt, *The Semitic Versus the Teutonic Race* [[P20](#):30]

◇1895ap13:Kansas, Salina | Eighth-grade final exam [[E-TXT](#)]

\*--Universal and compulsory public education, at least through the eighth grade, was a central component of the [Progressive Era](#)

◇1895ap23:Japan and [China](#) brought their war to a close

- Shimonoseki Treaty gave Japan Liaotung Peninsula, w/Port Arthur and Dalny (Japanese:Dairen Chinese:Dalian or Ta-lien)
- Russia, France and Germany considered Japanese gains to be excessive, so they launched a tripartite intervention. [Beasley, MHJ:163 has strange list of motives, including German desire "to edge Russia away from European politics", perhaps to render Russia vulnerable with its back turned to Germany]
  - German Kaiser Wilhelm corresponded with tsar Nicholas II over the next weeks urging Russia eastward, "to cultivate the Asian Continent and to defend Europe from the inroads of the Great Yellow Race" [[VSB](#),3:693]
- [Russian-Japanese relations](#), up to this point, had been businesslike, now relations w/Asia embittered by the tripartite intervention, especially as both Russia and Japan turned their greedy eyes toward Korea and [Manchuria](#)
- Sir Ernest Satow, British Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan (1895-1900) and China (1900-1906) wrote [Korea and Manchuria between Russia and Japan, 1895-1904](#)

◇1895my19:Cuban revolution against Spain led by Jose Marti from USA

- [Spain](#) suppressed the rebellion and moved rebellious groups -- ex-slaves, mulattos and small holders of Spanish descent -- into areas called *reconcentrados* in garrison cities
- *Reconcentrados* were a grim variation on now familiar frontier or imperialist policies of [removal, transport and concentration](#)
- Cuban economy suffered, especially the \$50m worth of USA investments lost
  - USA business shifted to support rebels and a Cuban shadow government
  - A junta, settled in NYC under watchful USA eyes
- The Spanish version of European imperialism was coming unglued
- A new imperialist competitor arose in the "New World", the first serious overseas efforts of [US imperialism](#)

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\*--[Chronology of USA "intervention" in Latin America](#)

\*--John Lawrence Tone, *War and Genocide in Cuba, 1895-1898* (2006)

◇1895je02:Russian [women](#) trained to become doctors at the Petersburg Women's Medical Institute [[BRW](#):197-9]

◇1896:1916; Central-Asian expansion over two decades brought Russian power into Kazakhstan

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\*--G. J. Demko, [The Russian Colonization of Kazakhstan, 1896-1916](#)

◇1896:Austria | Hungarian-born Jewish leader Theodor Herzl (1860-1904), *Der Judenstaat* [The Jewish State, ([TXT](#))]

\*--Soon a Zionist movement arose in favor of the creation of a [Jewish](#) nation-state, preferably in Arabic Palestine

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\*--[LOOP on WW1a](#)

◇1896:French philosopher Alfred Fouillée criticized dominant positivist traditions of European thought in *Le mouvement idéaliste et la réaction contre la science positive* [[BMC4](#):618-23]

\*--[Science](#), or shouldn't we say "scientism", was coming under increasing critical scrutiny

◇1896:Russian Procurator of the Holy Synod [[ID](#)] Konstantin Pobedonostsev, *Reflections of a Russian Statesman* [[TXT](#)] gave expression to the most extreme official reactionary views on modernization of Russian life [CF= [VSB](#),3:736-9 | [WRH3](#):434-46 | [RRC2](#),2:390-401]

- To what degree did these official reactionary views reflect views among the public, or beyond the urban public and out into the countryside?
  - Does Pobedonostsev represent an "official reactionary world view" or does he represent a "public reactionary world view", or more broadly a "Russian reactionary world view"?
  - Were his extreme views the expression of a hot-house statism or the expression of a wide-spread national outlook? Were they the views of ordained Russian Orthodox Church functionaries?
- In any event, Pobedonostsev, as ideological anti-secular but institutional secular bureaucratic head of the [Russian Orthodox Church](#) (trained as a lawyer, not as a priest), became the representative figure of [Russian reactionary policy](#) in the late 19th and

early 20th centuries

- Are his views essentially different from those of prominent Oregon public figures in the same late-nineteenth century epoch? Consider this historical evaluation by Russell Sadler [TXT] which appeared in 2006mr29:ERG
- Concentrated in this one person, Pobedonostsev, Russian secularization presented itself in both of its two most significant forms =

1. World view = Pobedonostsev exercised his zealous power against what he perceived to be the diabolical threat of modern intellectual secularism

2. Institutions. The unordained lawyer [Pobedonostsev administered \(managed\) the Russian Orthodox Church in the decades that preceded the 1905 Revolution](#)

- [Over the previous half-millennium, secularization](#) was a central component of "modernization" or "Westernization"
- **Secularism continued to pose profound difficulties everywhere it was experienced around this wide globe, in "The West" or in the north, south and east, in Christian, Islamic, Jewish, Buddhist, Hindi and all other faith-based communities in the grip of seemingly inevitable modernization**

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\*--[Mironov](#), 1:425-518 deals with the secularization of Russian urban and rural consciousness in the imperial period

\*--Robert F. Byrnes, [Pobedonostsev: His Life and Thought](#) (1968). How comfortable with secularization is this near-contemporary US scholar?

\*--Vera Shevzov, *Russian Orthodoxy on the Eve of Revolution* (2004) explores tension in Russia between the Church as bureau of central government (the Petrine Church [ID]) or the Church as a "grass-roots" expression of Russian spirituality, a place not so much for official doctrine as for popular religious and nativist communitarian ceremony, as seen by Khomiakov and other Slavophiles [ID]

\*--John Shelton Curtis, *Church and State in Russia: The Last Years of the Empire, 1900-1917* (1940)

◇1896mr01: Ancient AfroAsian nation Ethiopia defeated aggressive and reckless imperialist [Italy](#)

\*--A shocking moment in which a non-European peoples defeated a "[Western](#)" aggressor

\*--Ethiopia was the only [African](#) nation to defeat an invading European colonial power in the age of modern imperialism [W]

◇1896ap19: Saint Petersburg League for the Struggle to Emancipate the Working Class, secretly organized by [Russian Marxists](#) in the previous year, issued a proclamation [VSB,3:709]

\*--The Russian Social Democratic Workers Party [SDs] was coming into existence, and in these months, future [SDs](#) were active in labor strikes [Harding:121-208]

◇1896my22: Moscow | Russia-[China](#) treaty was hostile to interests of Japan and Manchuria [DIR2:360-2 | DIR3:407-9]

- Russia secured a shortcut for the Trans-Siberian Railroad through Manchuria
- In this same month, Seoul [Korea] Memorandum exchanged between [Russia and Japan](#)
  - The two powers shied away from Yamagata Aritomo proposal to divide Korea into North and South
  - Korean King Kojong had fled to the Russian embassy when his Queen Min was killed by Japanese "henchmen"
  - Russia and Japan now agreed that the King would return to his palace, and Japan would impose some control over its "henchmen"
- Japanese military expenditure had this year reached 53m/yen, up from 15m/yen three years earlier
  - The Japanese military budget remained this high till [Russo-Japanese War](#)
  - Japanese naval expenditures wavered as army expenditures were much increased
  - Japan made decision at this point to head inland into the area of Russian threat (Manchuria) rather than overseas toward Taiwan [Beasley,MHJ:165]
- Insightful contemporary French journalist, Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu wrote [The Awakening of the East: Siberia, Japan, China](#) (1900)
- At a great trans-oceanic distance, [US imperialism](#) was on a collision course with Russian imperialism
- USA advanced by railroad and sea power, Russia by [railroad](#)

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\*--[Zabriskie](#) on USA/Russian rivalry in the Pacific, 1895-1914

\*--Don C. Price, [Russia and the Roots of the Chinese Revolution, 1896-1911](#)

\*--A. Malozemoff, [Russian Far Eastern Policy, 1881-1904](#)

\*--B. A. Romanov, [Russia in Manchuria, 1892-1906](#)

\*--Matsusaka Yoshihisa Tak, [The Making of Japanese Manchuria, 1904-1932](#)

◇1896je: Saint Petersburg labor strikes [MR&C2:350]

◇1896je09: Japan and Russia signed **Yamagata-Lobanov Agreement**, apparently guaranteeing Korean independence

\*--[Russian-Japanese](#) relations seemed deceptively harmonious as they jockeyed with one another to cash in on China's weakness and to gain advantage in [Manchuria](#), Korea, Sakhalin Island and the southern Kuril Islands

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\*--[LOOP on WW1a](#)



◇1896jy09:Chicago, at the Democratic Party's National Convention | William Jennings Bryan delivered his stirring oration against what he thought was an urban elitist assault on rural America, "Cross of Gold" [TXT]

\*1896:USA [Chicago](#) | Russian visitor [Vladimir Korolenko](#) recorded his impressions of [wage-labor](#) conditions in a US "Factory of Death" [[Hasty](#):83-94]

\*--Vladimir Korolenko, [History of My Contemporary](#) (memoirs of his upbringing and youthful populist radicalism up to 1885, concentrating on the years of Siberian exile)

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\*1918:In the last year of her life, the Polish-born German Social Democrat [Rosa Luxemburg](#) wrote an appreciative review article devoted to the German translation of Korolenko's autobiography [[E-TXT](#)]

◇1896jy31:London | French and German ambassadors to England met for long and serious (though informal) conversation about how their two nations might be marginalized by recent global developments

- The two ambassadors feared that Europe was in danger if strong and innovative measures were not taken
- They were not thinking only of the old imperialist monster England
- They noted also the recent rise of two new giants, Russia and USA in [Japan and China](#) [[BNE](#):195-8]
- Russian and USA imperialism seemed to flourish, but serious conflicts among other European imperialists threatened disastrous war =
- Imperialism was coming home
- Subsequent events in [China](#) and [Japan](#) only deepened these concerns

◇1896au26:Twenty-eight men and women, activists from the ranks of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation [[DASHNAKTSUTYUN](#), OR Dashnaks for short], took over the Ottoman Imperial Bank in the Ottoman Turkish capital for 14 hours, a remarkable act of urban guerilla warfare [[W](#)]

- NB! The Ottoman central bank was not managed by a Turk but rather by an English diplomat (an auxiliary feature of the financial imperialism, the "[capitulations](#)" that served English interests so well, and coincidentally thwarted the interests of other European competitors for advantage in the [Ottoman Empire](#), especially as England was right there holding the keys to the vaults of "The Sick Man of Europe")
- "Capitulation" agreements with Turkish officials had long ago brought the bank under the executive and administrative control of English and French financiers [[LOOP on "finance"](#)]
- Dashnaks didn't much care about capitulations. Still two decades before the notorious Armenian genocide [[ID](#)], the Dashnaks sought to bring attention to Turkish massacres of Armenians
- Atrocities against Armenians increased after the bank takeover
- Nervous influential Europeans convinced Sultan Hamid not to bombard the bank but to defuse the situation with a grant of safe passage to France for Dashnak survivors

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\*--Turkish source on Dashnaks and other Armenian political groups [[E-TXT](#)]

\*--[LOOP on "Imperialism and Revolution"](#)

◇1896au26:Philippine Islands rebelled against Spain

- USA closely followed stirrings for independence in the Philippines and Cuba
  - This sort of US "anti-imperialism" was designed to weaken [Spanish](#) control, not necessarily to promote revolution
  - Rebel Filipino leaders were at first pro-USA, then they were betrayed by USA
- 1896:USA political leader, [Henry Cabot Lodge](#) (1850-1924) wrote "For Intervention in Cuba" [TXT]
  - Lodge was imperialist in one direction (overseas) and isolationist in another ("the homeland"), free-trader in one direction and protectionist in another, so long as advantage flowed in a direction beneficial to his cohort
  - Pressures for a new [US imperialism](#) were mounting, but it had to cloak itself in anti-imperialist rhetoric
- 1897:Cartoon showed Uncle Sam "patient" as he waited for his colonies to come fully ripe before picking [[pix](#)]
  - Uncle Sam is dressed in the mode of a tropical plantationist, and his basket already holds Louisiana [[ID](#)], Texas [[ID](#)], California [[ID](#)], and Alaska [[ID](#)]
  - On the branch above his head hangs Cuba, soon ripe for the picking
  - Notice that the large fruit tree is rooted behind a high and deteriorating wall of some possibly declining power, yet the branches now stretch out toward the new plantationist, ready to take up the old plantationist's "burden" [[ID](#)]

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\*--[LOOP on WW1a](#)

◇1896au31:Leo [Tolstoy](#) wrote open letter [TXT] with political advice to Russian liberals who were upset because of [Russian reactionary state actions](#) to shut down volunteer societies devoted to cultural life

◇1897:1899; Russian philosopher [Vladimir Solov'ev](#), *Foundations of Theoretical Philosophy* [[Edie](#),3:99-134 | [VSB](#),3:732]

\*--"The Enemy from the East" and "The Russian National Ideal" in [RRS](#):41-60

\*--Excerpts [[VSB](#),3:731-3]

◇1897:French sociologist [Émile Durkheim](#) published *Suicide: A Study in Sociology* [[CCS](#),1:383-420]

◇1897:Italian nationalist and imperialist political figure Ferdinando Martini reacted to Italian defeat on the borders of Ethiopia [[CCC2](#),2:571f]

- This late blooming modern European nation-state, Italy, found itself in deep conflict between [original half-century-old liberal principles of Italian nation-state formation](#) and the emerging European imperative of imperialist dominion over non-European peoples
- Tensions were mounting between Austria and Italy as they pursued overlapping imperialist objectives along the Adriatic shores of the Balkan Peninsula
- [Forty years later](#), Fascist Italy took revenge on Ethiopia as it sought to carve a niche out for itself among the other European imperialist states
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- \*--[LOOP on WW1a](#)

◇1897ja28:Russia conducted first modern census, *Obshchii svod po Imperii rezul'tatov razrabotok dannykh pervoi vseobshchei perepisi naseleniia, proizvedennoi 28 ianvaria 1897 goda*

\*--The *Perepis* counted 129 million (13 million in cities) [CF= [RRC2](#),2#38] Translated title page [[W](#)]

\*--Eastview Press reprinted the census on CD and described "the first and last census of the Russian Empire". Its initiator was the famous Russian geographer and public figure Petr Semenov-Tian-Shanskii. He lobbied three decades to make this census happen. To test and improve the census questionnaire, he conducted an experimental census on his family country estate, Gremiachka. The final version of the questionnaire was designed for a household and included 14 questions. The announced goal of the census was "to learn more about the population and to study it ... to understand precisely the various conditions of popular life". It was also promised that the census would not "generate new taxes or other burden". The 1897 Census continues to be the most authentic source on the number of Russia's population and its ethnic composition at the end of the 19th century

\*--[Red Book of the Peoples of the Russian Empire](#) provides population statistics for almost 90 "minority" peoples of Russia

◇1897je02:Russian factory law [[TXT](#)] expanded on [previous welfare legislation](#) [[VSB](#),3:719]

\*--[Reactionary policy](#) mixed with "progressive" reform

◇1898:France rocked by "Dreyfus Affair" (with its origins in 1894 and final resolution not until 1906)

- 1894se:Evidence of a French officer's treasonous communications with German authorities was found
  - The culprit was Major Ferdinand Walsin-Esterhazy, scion of a French branch of a Hungarian aristocratic family
  - But he was an ardent Catholic and French patriot, well-connected in French upper-class circles
  - Thus a scape-goat was needed. A Jewish officer, Alfred Dreyfus, was framed, found guilty and sent to exile on Devil's Island where it was expected he would soon die
- French public protest grew stronger and found sympathetic support among a few high-ranking military and civilian officials
  - At a first glance, the Affair pitted progressives ([liberals](#) and socialists), humanists of all political stripes and defenders of Enlightenment and French Revolutionary traditions against racists (anti-Jewish elements), militaristic patriots, Catholic Church activists, and a wide spectrum of "right-wing" politicians
  - Closer examination reveals a painfully complex picture [CF=Harris below], but the larger European meaning of the more than 10-year long Affair was a victory over [anti-Semitism](#), over Church ambitions to dominate politics, or at least national education, and over chauvinistic [[ID](#)] military ambition and the still active movement to restore the French monarchy
- But it took more than ten years, and the way to victory was rocky =
  - 1897:Esterhazy was put under pseudo-court martial where he was hastily cleared by fellow officers
  - Officers who questioned Dreyfus' guilt and who resisted the expanding political charade were demoted and/or reassigned in punishment
- 1898ja13:Paris | Great French novelist Émile Zola's *J'accuse* exposed in a most public way the injustices of the Dreyfus Affair [[DPH](#):323-5]
  - The racist/nationalist press thought it was sufficient rebuttal to accuse the great French author Zola of being an "Italian"
  - Zola was himself put on trial, charged with political libel
  - Outside the courtroom a mob called for blood
- Anti-Jewish riots broke out across France and across the Mediterranean in French Algeria
- Masked beneath the racist mob mentality was a struggle that pitted civilian national virtue -- justice -- against mounting military virtue -- chauvinistic patriotism
  - Among the many high-ranking military officers who took the stand against Zola was Chief of Staff General Charles Le Mouton de Boisdeffre who identified support of the military as the central issue, as he put it = "confidence in the leaders of the army, in those who bear the responsibility for national defense"
  - Zola was found guilty, spent a year in prison, and then went into political emigration in England
- Rival volunteer associations formed = The *Ligue des Droits de l'Homme* [League of the Rights of Man (a clear evocation of the French Revolution)] arose against the *Ligue de la Patrie Française* [League of the French Fatherland]
- Jean Baffier defended the [racists](#) [[BNE](#):148-52]

- Charles Maurras denounced those whom he felt had subverted the nation, not just Jews but also Freemasons, Protestants and other foreigners
  - Maurras argued that France -- like England, Germany and Russia -- should be ruled by a monarchy
- Influential Church leaders took this opportunity to reassert their desire to control national education
- 1899je03:French Appeals Court overturned Dreyfus' conviction
  - Dreyfus was brought back from Devil's Island. A ravaged and deteriorated Dreyfus now faced another trial
  - Military judges found him guilty again
- The President of the French Republic took steps to forestall further appeals and to bring an end to the national agony
  - He pardoned Dreyfus. Neither justice nor chauvinistic patriotism prevailed; political expediency prevailed
  - In order to minimize the possibility of a military coup d'état, all military leaders responsible for the persecution and prosecution of Dreyfus were pardoned
- In another direction, the state took action against what it called "occult forces" in the Catholic Church
  - The Assumptionists [\[ID\]](#) were expelled from France
  - 1905:French law now formally created a separation of church and state
  - The most important consequence was the end of a century of post-Napoleonic state financial support of the Catholic Church (and to a much lesser extend support of Protestant churches)
- 1908:A right-wing extremist assassin attempted to kill Dreyfus
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  - \*--Ruth Harris, *Dreyfus: Politics, Emotion, and the Scandal of the Century*
  - \*--Louis Begley, *Why the Dreyfus Affair Matters* | Begley emphasizes the weakness of reason against hysterical demands of emotionalism in public life. He draws explicit parallels = Devil's Island and the post-9/11 Guantánamo Bay prison. Even the details of Dreyfus' shackles and those employed by USA on captured and imprisoned "terrorists" one hundred years later, the use of military rather than civilian courts, the danger of rigged justice under the influence of aggressive chauvinism, and punishment of military officers who criticize all this

◇1898:German Social Democrat Eduard Bernstein, *Evolutionary Socialism* [\[TXT~\]](#) | Excerpt = CCC2,2:934-8 | [CCC3,2:971-5](#)

\*--Bernstein was a moderate influence in the Second International

\*1899:He published a reply to his critics, *The Preconditions of Socialism*

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\*1994my06:TLS:27 | A summary of the main "revisions" that [Bernstein](#) is thought to have made in Marxist socialist ideology and tactics [\[TXT\]](#)

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\*--[LOOP on The Second International](#)

◇1898:Russian Foreign Affairs Minister Murav'ev [Muraviev] to Cassini, with Cassini reply to Murav'ev and Lamsdorf [\[Zabriskie\]](#)

◇1898:USA [Chicago](#) | [Theodore Roosevelt](#) delivered speech "The Strenuous Life" [\[CCC3,2:1127-37\]](#)

◇1898:1902; Russian Riazan Provincial [peasant](#) village the subject of intensive ethnographic study designed by Olga Tian-Shanskaia and K.V. Nikolaevskii

\*--Results were published as [Village Life in Late Tsarist Russia](#)

\*--In the half-century preceding the 1905 Revolution, Russian ethnography made tremendous strides toward full and accurate ethnographic description of Russian village life and culture. See [Reeder](#) (2nd ed.):85-104 (agriculture-ritual songs) and 109-136 (love, marriage, family)

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\*--[Mironov](#), 1:123-196 subjects the history of imperial Russian family life, rural and urban, to close scrutiny in an effort to refute widespread notions of Russian backwardness and stagnancy

◇1898ja01:Spain launched a reform of Cuban administration, designed to introduce self-rule to the island

\*1898fe:Puerto Rico granted independence

\*--No one much liked these seemingly progressive measures = It was too little too late for stumbling Spanish imperialism

◇1898fe15:Spanish imperial colonial territory, Cuba, Havana Harbor | USA Battleship Maine exploded and sank

- Without any evidence, USA officials and an expanding jingoist newspaper press—particularly the William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer sheets—blamed Spain for the murderous attack and called for righteous revenge
- One headline read, "THE WARSHIP MAINE SPLIT IN TWO BY ENEMY'S SECRET INFERNAL MACHINE"
- Only one authoritative investigation of this event was ever completed, that by Admiral H. G. Rickover, *How the Battleship Maine was Destroyed*
  - Rickover concluded that it was the US navy's fault for poor management of fuel and powder storage on the big ship, rather than some infernal Spanish "weapon of mass destruction"
  - Admiral Rickover's 1976 revelations about the true story of the Maine did not win him any friends in the US military-industrial "community"
- This explosive moment may be taken as the symbolic opening of a distinctly imperialist era in USA foreign policy

- The sinking of the Maine was a catastrophe that could be linked to the "evil-doing" of an international competitor
- The hand of military-industrial adventurers and profit-seekers (some of whom were actually responsible for lax security on the Maine) was freed of restraint
- Manipulated public opinion fell in line behind ambitious USA imperialists
- Now USA offered its version of European imperialism
- [Documents of USA foreign policy 1898-1914](#)

◇1898mr:1898ap; USA pursued a dual policy in the Cuban situation =

- USA tried to insert itself between Spain and Cuba in defense of independence for the Cuban people
- USA tried to purchase the island from [Spain](#). In other words, it tried to achieve "ownership" for itself, thus betraying Cuban independence
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- \*--Hugh Thomas [\[ID\]](#) in 98ap23:[NYR](#)#45,7:10-12
- \*--[Website](#) related to [US imperialism LOOP](#)

◇1898mr:China leased Port Arthur to Russia, Kiaochow to Germany and Kowloon to England

- In this year in [China](#), wide-spread traditionalism, anti-modernism, and anti-imperialism helped create an anti-"[West](#)", anti-Christian movement called the Society of Righteous, Harmonious Fists [better known as Boxers]
- Imperialism was producing local revolutionary resistance to expansionist European states
- Imperialism was also producing inter-state violence among these very expansionist European states. Imperialism was coming home

◇1898mr01:Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party [\[SDs\]](#) opened first congress in Minsk

\*--The SDs issued a proclamation, written from a [Marxist](#) perspective [\[VSB,3:709-10\]](#)

◇1898ap10:[Egypt](#) | Eyewitness accounts of the English attack southward against the Sudanese at the Atbara River

- The English were under the command of Lord Kitchener [\[ID\]](#)
- Kitchener's army built a railroad as they advanced to the south from Egypt into Sudan
- The indigenous anti-imperialist forces against Kitchener were led by an Islamic al-Mahdi [Savior]
- A participant, Winston Churchill, described the one-sided or "asymmetric" battle [\[Eye:398-407\]](#)
- Primitive desert warriors were confronted with all the might of industrial Great Britain, EG= machine guns and abundant ammunition carried to the battle by [railroad](#)
- The Sudanese lost 20,000 and the English, 500

◇1898ap25:Japan displeased with Russian/[Chinese](#) agreement in Liaotung Peninsula region (Port Arthur)

- However, Japan offered Russia free hand in [Manchuria](#) for Japanese free hand in Korea
- That initiative failed, but Nishi-Rosen Agreement pledged both sides to provide no military or financial advisers to Korea w/o prior agreement, and Russia recognized [Japan's](#) preponderant economic interests in Korea

◇1898ap25:USA declared war on Spain

\*--Tensions with Russia mounted as the Spanish-American war got under way

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\*--[Library of Congress narrative, a part of a multi-page website devoted to the Spanish-American War](#)

\*--[Saul,2:421-51](#)

\*1998sp:[WiQ](#)#22,2:42-65 | Warren Zimmerman (Z was 1989:1992; US ambassador to Yugoslavia)

◇1898my01:Philippine Islands, Manila Bay | USA Admiral George Dewey destroyed Spanish Pacific fleet

◇1898jy01:Cuba | Rough Riders with [Teddy Roosevelt](#) fought the Battle of El Caney

\*--James Creelman described the battle and the USA author Steven Crane described the aftermath [\[Eye:407-9\]](#)

\*--Roosevelt had recently resigned as Assistant Secretary of the Navy (in part responsible for the vigorous expansion of US naval readiness for war, and for the way the Maine was loaded with fuel and powder [\[ID\]](#))

\*--He now decked himself out in a new Brooks Brothers uniform and charged onto the pages of history, a hero of imperialist "asymmetric" warfare

◇1898jy03:Cuba, Santiago Bay | USA fleet captured entire [Spanish](#) Caribbean fleet.

◇1898jy07:Hawaiian Islands annexed to USA as territory

◇1898jy08:Puerto Rico Islands come under US imperialist administration

◇1898se:USA journal *North American Review* | Charles A. Conant published "The Economic Basis of 'Imperialism' " [TXT]

- Conant was a major figure in US financial affairs
  - He was editor of the *Wall Street Journal* and a trusted adviser to presidents from McKinley to Wilson
  - His central message was that recent disorders in American capitalist market would be solved by expansion of USA imperialism
  - Modern capitalism needs overseas expansion
- From the bankers perspective, Conant looked at the relationship of imperialism to capitalism much as did leading socialist theorists [EG#1 | EG#2]
- But, of course, leading socialist theorists took a stand against the relationship, while Conant recommended it
- In another sense, [Conant](#) was merely extending overseas the time-honored concept of frontier expansion

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\*--[LOOP on "Imperialism and Revolution"](#)

\*--[LOOP on "finance"](#)

◇1898se16:USA Senator from Indiana Albert Beveridge delivered campaign speech "The March of the Flag" [TXT]

- Senator Beveridge expressed an evident patriotic, imperialistic and [racist](#) pride
- [US imperialism](#) was supported by something like a political ideology
- 1900ja09:[Beveridge](#) spoke on US policy in the Philippines [RWP2:265-9]

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\*--[LOOP on WW1a](#)

◇1898oc14:Moscow Art Theatre founded by Konstantin Stanislavskii [real name=Alekseev] and Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko

\*--Russian [homepage](#)

\*--[VIDEOTAPE](#) history of the Moscow Art Theatre

\*--Russian playwright Anton Chekhov, with his sparse language and quotidian themes, seemed at odds with contemporary avant-garde trends in the [fine arts](#)

\*1899:1900; Maksim Gorky (1868:1936; real name "Aleksei Maksimovich Peshkov"; "Gor'kii" means "bitter") had been a struggling provincial writer (born in Nizhnii Novgorod). He now made the acquaintance of Chekhov and the great novelist Leo Tolstoy and, with his distinctly radical social and political ideas, he broke into the capital-city big-time. A few years later, Gorky wrote brilliant memoirs of his early acquaintance with Chekhov [TXT#1 | TXT#2], [Leo Tolstoy](#) [TXT], [Aleksandr Blok](#) and Leonid Andreev. [[Webpage devoted to Gorky](#)]

\*1902:Moscow Art Theatre production of Gorky's play, THE LOWER DEPTHS [*Na dne*] won international fame. At some odds with the prevailing sensibilities of the Russian "Silver Age", [Maksim Gorky](#) dealt with the Russian lower classes, the laboring poor of the neglected Russian backwaters, and did so in an increasingly "realistic" or descriptive style

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\*--W. H. Bruford, *Chekhov and His Russia: A Sociological Study* (1947)

◇1898oc18:USA, [Chicago](#) Peace Jubilee | AFL President [Samuel Gompers](#) delivered speech which expressed labor union dissent, "Imperialism--Its Dangers and Wrongs"

- 1898:Boston | German-born Karl Schurz founded Anti-Imperialist League, supported by unions of [wage-laborers](#) and major business leaders, EG= [Andrew Carnegie](#)
- 1898: 278,000 members in AFL
- 1900: 560,000 in AFL
- 1904: 1,670,000 in AFL
- 1915: 2,500,000 in all USA labor unions

◇1898de10:Paris Treaty. Spain ceded Philippine Islands, Guam Islands and Puerto Rico to USA

\*--[Spain](#) renounced sovereignty over CUBA and USA established military governance there

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\*--[LOOP on WW1a](#)

◇1899:USA PA Pittsburgh | Andrew Carnegie consolidated his vast steel holdings and created Carnegie Steel Company

- 1901:Two years later, Carnegie merged with United States Steel and retired
- In retirement, he funded hundreds of local libraries across the USA, supported public education, and world peace. He endowed the Carnegie Corporation of New York, with \$125 million for use in support of various charitable causes
- Andrew Carnegie devoted the final two decades of [his long and remarkably productive career](#) to philanthropy

◇1899:USA sociologist, born of émigré Norwegian [farmers](#) in Minnesota, [Thorstein Veblen](#) defined and criticized [The Theory of the Leisure Class](#) [CCS:699-725 | CCS,2:126-52]

\*--Nostalgia for life "[down on the farm](#)" had become a persistent feature the world in the grips of modernizing political-economic



systems

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\*--[LOOP on "Political-Economy"](#)

◇1899:1902; Philippine-USA War

\*--[Charles A. Conant](#) published his analysis of the new USA imperialism, [The United States in the Orient: The Nature of the Economic Problem](#) (1900)

◇1899:1908; [China](#) market now felt new USA presence. [US imperialism](#) had its distinct economic side

\*--Compare 10-year change in Russian and USA kerosene export (in millions of gallons) [[Laserson](#):324]:

Russia	from 25 to	3.0	88% decrease
USA	from 42 to	122.0	195% increase

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\*--[LOOP on WW1a](#)

◇1899:Atlantic crossing to New World. Russian anthropologist Vladimir Bogoraz [[ID](#)] visited USA [Hasty:95-110]

\*--Bograz crossed USA from coast to coast by rail. Wrote on "Black student" [Hasty:111-27]

◇1899:England | Russian émigré anarchist philosopher [Petr Kropotkin](#) [[ID](#)] *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*

\*--USA [anarchist](#) (Russian émigré in NYC since teenage years, factory worker) [Emma Goldman](#) (1869-1940) into the first decade of her 50-year activist career [[W](#)]

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\*--Vivian Gornick, [Emma Goldman: revolution as a Way of Life](#)

◇1899:German (English-born) dilettante cultural figure Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855-1926) championed "Pan-Teutonism", a political and cultural association based on crude [racist](#) presumptions, as expressed in *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* [[BMC1](#):554-7 | [BMC4](#):606-10]

◇1899:Russian Finance Minister Sergei [Witte](#) memo to Emperor Nicholas II, "Autocracy and Zemstvo" [[TXT](#)]

- The profound ambiguities embedded in Witte's memo can be taken as a signal of impending political crisis in the highest ranks of the state bureaucracy
- Over [the previous two decades](#) of largely [reactionary policy](#), frequent contradictory and arguably "progressive" state actions had been taken
- The time had now arisen in which the contradictions (as that between centralized autocracy and flourishing institutions of local and provincial self-administration) could no longer be brushed over
- Witte's remarkable pamphlet aroused the political exile [Vladimir Lenin](#) to new polemical/theoretical heights as he was completing his massive study of the Russian economy
- [Zemstvos](#) came under attack from all sides, left and right, as [the tsarist state](#) wavered

◇1899fe:English writer Rudyard Kipling celebrated manly virtues and touted Anglo-Saxon imperialism with his poem "The White Man's Burden", published in *McClure's Magazine* [[E-TXT#1](#) | [E-TXT#2](#)]

- Here he urged the USA to quit lagging and take up the cause of European imperialist expansion and global dominion
- Underneath Kipling's aggressive imperialism there lurked also a certain disdain for the sorts of radical-liberal or proto-socialist politics that arose in the US [Progressive Era](#)
- And there also lurked an impatience with the still lingering USA hostility toward the old imperialist master England. In essence, Kipling urged that racial brotherhood should erase the memory of actual historical division. And something like that erasure was well under way in USA
- 1899:USA NJ | United Fruit Company [[ID](#)] incorporated under ownership and management of Andrew Preston and M.C. Keith (1848-1929)
  - Their plantations were arrayed around the shores of the Caribbean Sea and grew bananas
  - The company formed a near monopoly in the harvesting, transportation and marketing of bananas
  - They soon included other fruits as well, all cultivated in ways very destructive of natural environments
  - Maintenance of this economic monopoly was assured by political domination over local authorities, control over native [wage-laborers](#) bound in conditions approaching slavery
- United Fruit in some cases gained near total command over the routing, construction and management of Central American [railroads](#)
  - Regions in the grip of these large agribusinesses were thus denied the possibility of self-administered and independent economic modernization
- This growing transnational corporation wielded considerable insider influence with the US government
- United Fruit closely coordinated its own profit-centered foreign policy with Washington, DC. For example =

- 1911:Honduras was invaded by US forces with United Fruit Company collusion
- 1928:Columbia massacred striking workers on [United Fruit Company](#) lands
- [Kipling's appeal to USA \(above\) appeared to be getting results](#)
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- \*--[LOOP on WW1a](#)
- \*--[LOOP on "Imperialism and Revolution"](#)

◁1899fe08:St.Petersburg University hit by student demonstrations

- \*--Over the next three years, the student movement spread to other institutions of higher learning and intensified [[VSB](#),3:739-41]
- \*--[University](#) student unrest was a harbinger of the 1905 Revolution, and [the tsarist state](#) perceived it as such

◁1899mr:Russian political exile [Vladimir Lenin](#) published *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* [[W TXT](#)], based on careful analysis of [Zemstvo](#) statistics on the village-level and region-level agricultural economy

- Lenin's main contribution here was to assert that peasants were not a distinct social class but were a complex and transitional social formation
- There were three sorts of peasants in this account
  1. "Rich peasants" (kulaks) were akin to a social class considered by Marxists to be genuine, the bourgeoisie
  2. "Poor peasants" were akin to another genuine social class, proletariat
  3. "Middle peasants" made up the rest of the rural population in this analysis
- The curious thing here is that this third, very large but theoretically inchoate portion of the Russian population (a large majority) who were neither "rich" nor "poor" held the future of Russia in their hands
  - Everything depended on which direction this unstable middle element moved as it fell into orbit with one of the two social classes deemed authentic in Marxist political-economy
  - It had to move either into the ranks of the "rich" (bourgeoisie) or the "poor" (proletariat)
- [Peasants](#) thus were granted no intrinsic status in this socially dualistic Leninist world-view, based as it was on an orthodox understanding of Karl Marx's teachings
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- \*--David Mitrany, [Marx Against the Peasants](#)

◁1899mr20:Canada, Ottawa | Down and out D.H. Davies described how he had a foot severed while trying to jump a train [[Eye](#):409-11]

◁1899mr22:Russian Finance Minister Sergei Witte submitted [another](#) significant report to Emperor Nicholas II

- "Report of the Minister of Finance to His Majesty on the Necessity of Formulating and Thereafter Steadfastly Adhering to a Definite Program of a Commercial and Industrial Policy of the Empire" [Translated with an introductory article, by T. H. Von Laue, \*1954mr:[JMH](#)#26,1:60-74 | [TXT excerpts](#) | Other published excerpts= [RRC2](#),2#37 | [VSB](#),3:757-9]
- Witte was working hard to convince the Emperor to support the "Witte System" [[ID](#)]
- Witte placed great emphasis on shortage of investment capital to promote vigorous expansion of the [coal](#) and oil sectors of the modernizing Russian Imperial economy
- [Witte's](#) views of Russian imperialist foreign policy were consistent with his policy of economic modernization [[VSB](#),3:693-6]
- 1899je03:French government seemed to awaken rather late, but very perceptively, to what was happening in [China](#), and reacted with alarm at Russian/English agreement on "spheres of influence" that allowed Russia to build [railroads](#) north of the Great Wall, and England, south [[BNE](#):180-3]
- Aleksandr I. Fenin [[ID](#)] wrote his memoirs, *Coal and Politics in Late Imperial Russia: Memoirs of a Russian Mining Engineer*

◁1899my18(NS):Hague Conference got under way [[W](#)] (International Peace Conference) [[DPH](#):215-20]

- Hague Conferences were international gatherings of representatives of the "Great Powers" in response to a Russian proposal offered to the increasingly aggressive European states
- Russian railroad magnate and administrator Ivan Blokh's remarkable analytical studies of modern war [[ID](#)] influenced Emperor Nicholas II's decision to sponsor this unprecedented international peace conference
  - Blokh predicted a European disaster if industrialized war were to break out
- Hague Conferences sought to reduce armaments and monitor peace treaties
  - Do "arms races" cause or prevent wars?
  - Do peace treaties prevent wars?
  - **How about mediation?** =
- Hague Conferences created Permanent Court of Arbitration (Hague Tribunal) to mediate international discord
- USA opposed because international arbitration or enforceable international law seemed a threat to nation-state sovereignty and to [US imperialist](#) ambitions
- USA was not alone among other reluctant "Great Powers"
- [Second Hague Conference](#)
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\*1843+: [Website summary of major European peace conferences, with bibliography.](#)

\*--[Sheehan.WHERE](#):22-8

◇1899jy:USA President McKinley appointed Elihu Root, a prominent member of the USA imperialist party, to the War Department for the purposes of administering the islands taken from Spain in the recent war [\[W\]](#)

- Elihu Root (1847-1937) was a corporation lawyer in the service of powerful NY businesses =
  - William A. "Boss" Tweed [\[Wki\]](#)
  - E. H. Harriman [\[Wki\]](#)
  - J. P. Morgan [\[Wki\]](#)
- In the previous year, McKinley hesitated to pursue imperialist war against Spain
- For this reason, Teddy Roosevelt compared his fortitude to a chocolate éclair
- Now the US President was on board the imperialist project and ready to enjoy the fruits of victory over old imperialist [Spain](#)
- 1899no21:McKinley interview outlined justifications for US imperialist expansion, recapitulating arguments long familiar to old Europe [\[BNE:183-4\]](#)

◇1899se06:USA proposed "**Open Door**" policy [\[TXT\]](#) to Germany, Russia, England, Japan, Italy and France, one of the first US foreign policy initiatives to gain immediate international attention, if not assent

- **1899no30:English reply** [\[TXT\]](#)
- **1899de18:Russian reply showed great reluctance** [\[TXT\]](#)
- USA Secretary of State John Hay was the author of the "Open Door" doctrine
  - John Hay (1838-1905) began his public career as Secretary to President Abraham Lincoln whom he had met when both practiced law in Springfield IL
  - After marrying into a wealthy Cleveland family of financiers, he devoted his life to travel and literature
  - In 1879 he became Assistant Secretary of State and moved to WDC, where he was an important member of the cultural/intellectual group that formed up around Henry Adams
  - He served as Secretary of State from 1898 until his death
- In these years USA sponsored a "trust company" to build a [railroad](#) across [China](#), Canton-Hankow-Peking [\[Beijing\]](#)
  - The concession was handed over to the American China Development Co. controlled by prominent USA capitalists
  - Russia sensed competitive pressure from USA businessmen in northern China ([Manchuria](#)) and suspected official support from the US government
  - Suspicions deepened when USA-[Japan](#) agreements became known and rapprochement between USA and England matured
- The larger significance of USA Secretary of State John Hay at the turn of the 20th century derived from the way he helped re-orient early 20th-century US policy toward international outreach, IE=Imperialism
  - USA was forging a new closeness to the "mother culture" of the ex-enemy Great Britain (England)
  - USA was in fact picking up what Kipling called "the white man's burden" [\[ID\]](#)
  - England was showing some signs of fatigue, and USA was showing ample signs of potential imperialist vigor [\[EG\]](#)
  - In a sense, the Hay re-orientation squelched the ambitious hopes of certain Englishmen to repossess their American colonies, lost over the previous century [\[EG\]](#)
- The intellectual impact of the US sea-change is reflected in the now widely employed abstract unifying concept "The West"
  - The concept is reflected, for example, in a curricular innovation that spread across US university campuses in the early 20th-century, "Western Civ"
  - The idea of "Western Civ" is based on a transnational notion that Classical Athenian Greeks and Romans of the great empire were closely related to USA
  - In USA the concept provided a refutation of the provincial New-World democratism or geo-egalitarianism implied, for example, in the Turner Thesis [\[ID\]](#) and other anti-East-Coast enthusiasms of the [Progressive Era](#)
  - "Western Civ" was fashioned persuasively into a story of a vast European (mainly northwest European and, for some, Anglo-Saxon European) mission of global progress and civilization
- USA efforts to cool down European imperialist rivalry, such as the "Open Door" initiative, did not work, perhaps in part because these efforts were always accompanied by efforts to enhance [US imperialist](#) advantage
- As for Russia, it felt surrounded by "[The West](#)" and didn't want to "open its doors" to romping/stomping "Western" self-assertion

◇1899fa:1902my31; South Africa| English/Dutch [*Afrikaaner*] imperialist/colonial Boer War

- The war pitted two European colonial peoples against one another, the English and the Dutch
  - "Boer" in Dutch and Afrikaans (a Dutch colonial dialect) means "farmer" and is pronounced like the English word for an oppressively uninteresting person
  - The Boer War was, for the English, an effort to grab -- and for the [Boers](#) to hold onto -- the lands of indigenous African peoples at the southern tip of the continent
- 1899no:German Social Democratic leader Karl Kautsky wrote about the Boer War, emphasizing how European imperialism in the wide world was suffocating liberalism and socialism at home [\[Daly.SDs, ch#6 "The War in South Africa"\]](#)
  - In Kautsky's view, the great French Revolution launched two dominant trends of European civilization =

1. **Socialism**, which Kautsky thought of as the original liberal political tradition evolving in natural rhythm with 19th-century industrial modernization
2. **Imperialism**, which Kautsky thought of as the desperate and ultimately futile effort of the industrializing European ruling class to sustain itself in its waning years of political and financial dominance at home via exploitation of the wider non-European world abroad

- The Boer War roused Kautsky to the fear that the forces of militant imperialism were growing stronger and were deployed, in a sense, as much against domestic socialism (by posing patriotism as a check against the home-grown threat of [wage-labor](#) activism) as against indigenous peoples abroad in the pursuit of profitable resources

- 1900sp: J.E. Neilly described civilian suffering in the course of the Boer War [[E-TXT](#) | [Eye](#):412-13]
- The direct grappling of two European imperialist cultures with one another at the peripheries of colonial dominance, rather than solely with indigenous peoples of [Africa](#), was an ominous premonition of WW1 [[ID](#)]
- So also was the powerful mechanized cruelties put on display in the Boer War
- Afrikaaner leader, at the beginning of a remarkable career, [Jan Smuts](#), played a major role in negotiating settlement with the British

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\*--[Wki on Smuts' role in the Boer War and post-war settlement](#)

\*--[BBC E-TXT](#)

\*--[LOOP on WW1a](#)

\*--[LOOP on "Imperialism and Revolution"](#)

◇1900:Austrian psychologist [Sigmund Freud](#) published *Interpretation of Dreams* [[TXT](#)]

\*--Freud was at the beginning of a public career that transformed modern ideas about how the mind works [CCC2,2:1061 | [CWC](#):155 | [CCS](#):73,623]

\*--While "Western" power shot outward, "Western" consciousness ducked inward

◇1900:English mathematician Karl Pearson delivered lecture "National Life from the Standpoint of Science" [[ID](#)], in which he explained the meaning of [social Darwinism](#) and expounded the cause of eugenics [[ID](#)], with emphasis on selective breeding of the very best "stock" [[PWT2](#):215-17]

\*--In vogueish contemporary [scientific](#) terminology, Pearson justified the re-imposition of earlier rejected medieval concepts of inherent status by birth, as well as European [racism](#) and imperialism

\*--Pearson was proud of his "free-thinker" reputation and his association with the English socialist movement

\*--Eugenics was at the beginning of a sorrowful career through the first half of the 20th century

\*--[Hop ahead a half century](#)

◇1900:USA census counted 76 million (17 million immigrants). EG= [Mennonites](#), [Jews](#)

\*--Michael Kraus, [The North Atlantic Civilization](#):151-80 presents documents and commentary on the immigrant experience

\*1845:1846; Scottish minister described emigration from his point of view. Also German emigration explained [[BNE](#):155-8]

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\*--Charles A. Ward, et al., eds., [Studies in Ethnicity: The East European Experience in America](#)

◇1900je:German Imperial Naval Act (#2) passed with goal of building vast, modern oceanic navy to rival English dominance of the high seas

◇1900je:[China](#) | Boxer Rebellion [[W](#)] occupied capital city Peking [then called Peiping; now Beijing]

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\*--Robert Bickers, *The Scramble for China* (2011)

\*--Joseph Esherick, *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising* (1987)

\*--[Cooper.PACIFISM](#) gives special attention to this example of overseas imperialist practice and its contribution to the brutalization of Europe in WW1 = [[TXT](#)]

\*--[LOOP on WW1a](#)

◇1900je:Russian state continued its campaign against Zemstvos

- Extending the reactionary trends of father Alexander III's reign into the young son Nicholas' reign, reactionaries took steps to strip Zemstvos of the authority to maintain warehousing of cereal grains and other provisioning against possible future famine (such had so seriously devastated Russia [one decade earlier](#))
- Officials were forced to reverse themselves in the coming winter (1901) when famine once again stalked the Russian countryside
- In this crisis, [Zemstvos](#) had to be called back into action to perform essential public welfare functions which the state was unwilling and unable to perform

◇1900jy04:USA, KS City Democratic Party National Convention. William Jennings Bryan delivered speech [[TXT](#)] against [US imperialism](#)

\*--The American "two-party" system was under great strain to accommodate the several varieties of political interest and opinion growing within the old political party system in the [Progressive Era](#)

◇1900se19: Russian Chief Gendarme, Count [Viacheslav Plehve](#), received and eventually approved a secret report by Sergei Zubatov, Chief of the Moscow bureau of the *Okhrana* [secret anti-revolutionary police]

- As a result, state-sponsored labor unions were created in Moscow, a policy known as "[police socialism](#)", lasting three years [[VSB](#),3:697-8 | [WRH3](#):466-7]
  - Police Socialism can be understood as an official reactionary measure against growing unrest among workers
  - But it was much more than that. It also harmonized perfectly well with a long-term and sanctioned relationship of state to society
  - It sought to bring the Russian proletariat under the wing of officialdom, in the tradition of the [1722ja24](#): Table of Ranks and Catherine II's [Charters for the nobility and the towns](#)
  - State action in the direction of organizing wage-laborers brought to mind earlier action among village laborers = [Arakcheev's "military settlements"](#)
  - And it expanded Russian labor/welfare [reforms](#) of the previous decade
  - Muscovite tsars and Russian emperors worked constantly to shape the social structure to statist needs
  - Police Socialism could be seen as an extension of traditional [social/service hierarchies](#) into the ranks of a newly erupting and still amorphous social formation, wage-labor
- 1901: A new and simplified version of the Table of Ranks was issued [[VSB](#),3:760-1]
- [The tsarist state](#) was suspended and oscillating between reformist and reactionary policy
- Revolutionary and other oppositional political parties had their own ideas about the appropriate way to organize workers
  - Some treated them as a new social formation, others as a variation on the ancient [peasant soslovie](#)
- And, of course, labor had views of its own on this question [See workers' memoirs in Victoria Bonnell, ed., [The Russian Worker](#)]
  - 1898fa:1900ja31; Skilled laborer Semen Kanatchikov went by train from Moscow to Petersburg and, for more than one year, was active in independent-minded worker circles
  - This group of [wage-laborers](#) was arrested and sent into exile [[Kanatchikov](#):83-120]

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\*--Rose Glickman, [Russian Factory Women: Workplace and Society 1880-1914](#)

\*--Robert Eugene Johnson, [Peasant and Proletarian: The Working Class of Moscow in the Late Nineteenth Century](#)

\*--D. Pospelovsky, [Russian Police Trade Unionism: Experiment or Provocation?](#)

◇1900oc:1905fa;; Saint Petersburg | Russian Assembly [*Russkoe sobranie*] as the first large "nationalistic" public reactionary political party

- Membership was, however, not so much generated from among members of Russian society at large as from the ranks of high state servitors and could be called a feature of [official reactionary policy](#).
- It is sometimes hard to separate out the "official" and "public" facets of this movement
- The [political party](#) came to be known as [Union of Russian Peoples](#) [*Soiuz russkikh liudei*]

◇1901fe: Moscow the site of a secret conference of [Zemstvo](#) activists

◇1901:1906; Spanish-born painter [Pablo Picasso](#): blue and rose period

- At first, Picasso seemed to assault all conventions of the [fine arts](#), but before long his creations were taken to be the modern standard

◇1901: Polish-born English-language novelist [Joseph Conrad](#) published his provocative fiction *Heart of Darkness* [[TXT](#)] set in the Belgian Congo

- Is it [racist](#)? Anti-imperialist? Pro-imperialist?
- Two editions of this fabulous novel were published by Norton with EXTENSIVE historical documentation about Europe and the Belgian Congo [[JD](#)], plus critical commentary [[1st ed](#)] [[2nd ed](#)]
- Contemporary socialist critique of European imperialism in the [Congo](#) can be compared with Conrad's complex views on the matter [[BNE](#):187-90]
- A great "English" writer, born in [Poland](#), gives one of many indications that European high civilization transcended nation-state borders and adds a special historical nuance to Conrad's choice of topics, the brutalization of a grand European civilization as a result of imperialism, colonial militarism and revolution
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- [Over a century, the LOOP on "Imperialism and Revolution"](#) described the origins of a central and morally challenging feature of 20th-century world history
- And so it continued to be into the 20th century

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\*--Mary Ann Gillies, *The Professional Literary Agent in Britain, 1880-1920* | A new middleman entered into the process of (increasingly "the business of") English literary production. The literary agent stepped between writers and their presses/publishers | This book concentrates on agents A.P. Watt and J.B. Pinker. Watt developed "agent's clauses" in agreements with publishers, settled "agent-client agreements" on writers, and sold copyrights. Pinker served as agent for Joseph Conrad, as



well as for Rebecca West and D.H. Lawrence

\*--[LOOP on "Imperialism and Revolution"](#)

◇1901:[Panama Canal](#) project was transferred by treaty from England to USA

- The canal would connect the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean at the balmy global mid-waist -- thus avoiding the distant and stormy tip of South America and the remote and icy Arctic seas above Canada
- USA took the project out of European hands
- [US imperialism](#) was now at full steam in the [Progressive Era](#)

◇1901je:Japan | Ito Hirobumi [PH&G:217-8] replaced by Katsura Taro, protege of Yamagata Aritoma [PH&G:741]

\*1901:1904; Russian/Japanese diplomatic exchanges [White, *The Diplomacy of the Russo-Japanese War*:349ff]

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\*--[LOOP on WW1a](#)

◇1901je:Russian émigré theorist in Switzerland, fresh from Siberian exile, Lenin published analysis "THE PERSECUTORS OF THE [ZEMSTVO](#) AND THE HANNIBALS OF LIBERALISM" [[TXT](#)]

- Lenin expanded on Sergei Witte's [1899 Memo](#) and laid down a thorough Social-Democratic critique of all [liberal](#) reformers AND political opposition since the beginning of the "[Era of Great Reforms](#)"
- Lenin was forming his own political conceptions through a careful study of the past four decades of Russian politics, oppositional and official
- He sought to bring national traditions or radical opposition into proper relationship to [Marxism](#)
- "[Leninism](#)" was about to make its historical appearance

◇1901no:1901de; Japanese negotiator Ito and Russian negotiator Lamsdorf tried to rebalance Russia-[Manchuria](#) Japan-Korea exchange, but failed, propelling [Japan](#) diplomatically into arms of England [Beasley,MHJ:169-70]

◇1901de12:Canada, Newfoundland | Marconi described waiting for the first trans-Atlantic radio signal [[Eye](#):414]

- The era of electronic media was opening

◇1902:French "decadent" literary figure and nationalist ideologue Maurice Barrès [[ID](#)] published *Scènes et doctrines du nationalisme* [CCC2,2:522f | [CCC3](#),2:1040-4]

◇1902:Geneva | Vladimir Il'ich Lenin published "What's to be Done?" [[TXT](#) | Excerpts = [CCC3](#),2:976-86 | [DIR2](#):363-78 | [VSB](#),3:710-11 | [BBMC1](#):620-2]

- The title question, *Chto delat'?*, was the Russian thinking person's eternal question, in this case very distinctly remindful of Chernyshevskii's notorious novel 40 years earlier [[ID](#)]
- Lenin's essay was devoted to a very local dispute over editorial power in an émigré journal of limited circulation
- But it became one of the most influential political tracts of the 20th century
  - Lenin expanded on his [critique of statist reforms](#) and [liberal](#) civil society in Russia
  - He now went even further, questioning the applicability to Russia of [standard social democratic tactics](#) as devised in the Europe-wide movement centered on the Second International and practiced among most other Russian SDs, those whom he would soon label Mensheviks ["minoritarians"]
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- \*--LOOP on [The Second International](#)
  - Lenin explained why the better future of Russia depended on the creation of a disciplined [cadre party](#) organization
  - A comparison of "What's to be Done?" with Lenin's last sustained piece of political writing two decades later, "[Better Fewer, But Better](#)", gives a simple two-point measure of his political evolution
- Lenin, with considerable justification, claimed to represent Karl Marx's original recommendations to Russian revolutionists, thus he claimed to be the only authentic Marxist
  - It is worth considering also the degree to which he might have justifiably claimed to inherit the traditions of oppositional politics within the broader Russian political culture [documents on this question in [Late Marx...](#)]
  - Lenin never openly claimed the inheritance from earlier decades of Russian political opposition because he did not want to be associated with the widely discredited legacy of "Russian populism"
  - Nor did he wish to be confused with the large rival Social Revolutionary Party which did claim to be the heir to the legacy of revolutionary populism
  - Lenin "went along" with the standard Social Democratic ridicule heaped on earlier movements
  - Nonetheless, he mined them carefully, for lessons about the peculiar features of the Russian "mode of production" and the political tactics those features recommended to all, whatever their ideologies
- As the general revolutionary crisis intensified in the first years of the 20th century, Russian [SDs](#) began to split into two factions, in fact two [political parties](#), eventually to be called Bolsheviks ("majoritarians", though they were the minority on all but a very few issues) and Mensheviks ("minoritarians", though they were the larger part of the party)

- [Vladimir Lenin](#) led the Bolsheviks
- Menshevik leaders were Yulii Martov, [Plekhanov](#) and other more moderate social democrats who represented Russian variations on the general European, labor-leaning, "left-wing liberal" or "radical [liberal](#)" trend associated primarily with [Eduard Bernstein](#) [VSB,3:713-14]
- [Russian Marxism](#) expressed itself in a variety of interpretations of Russian realities
- The party was caught by surprise when the 1905 Revolution broke out, and it thus played only a marginal role

◇1902:London | Russian émigré anarchist [Peter Kropotkin](#), *Mutual Aid, a Factor of Evolution*, refuted Spencerian notion of "[social Darwinism](#)"

- Excerpts from this and other works [VSB,3:729-30]
- Russian-language website with general-European [anarchist](#) texts [W]
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- \*--[Wagar](#) on Russian anarchism [TXT]

◇1902:Russian political thinker [Maksim Kovalevskii](#) published *Russian political institutions: the growth and development of these institutions from the beginnings of Russian history to the present time* (1902) [EXCERPTS]

◇1902:USA | Great coal strike forced into arbitration by President [Theodore Roosevelt](#)

\*--National Association of Manufacturers [NAM], etc., resisted

\*--Courts used 1890:Sherman Anti-Trust Act [ID] against labor unions and the organizational efforts of [wage-laborers](#)

\*--[Coal was still, after nearly two centuries](#) the central energy component of national industrial modernization

\*--However, the petroleum products were increasingly sought as replacement for coal energy [Brief 3-hop sub-LOOP on "coal"]

◇1902se:USA journal *National Review* published a piece by [Alfred Thayer Mahan](#) which put into wide circulation the artificial "compass-point" geographical term "Middle East" [[AfroAsia in SAC \(ID\)](#)]

- With little other authentic identity, the label echoed on down through the century
- Mahan predicted that the "Middle East" would be pivotal in the dawning 20th century
- The power competition centered there may be defined as control exercised by expansive sovereign nation-state "metropolises" over vulnerable and overlapping territories and resources located on near-by or distant "peripheries" [[ID theoretical terms "metropolis" and "periphery"](#)]
- In this same year, English economist John Atkinson Hobson wrote *Imperialism* [ [Excerpted E-TEXT](#) | [Full E-TEXT](#) | [W&P,1:5-11](#) ] | [PWT2:217-19](#) | [Wki](#)
  - Hobson was an early and influential critic of competition among these European metropolises for colonial predominance over the entire global periphery
  - He was apprehensive about the dangerous threat this posed to the wider world but also to "The West" itself
- [LOOP on "AfroAsia"](#)
- LOOP on "Imperialism and Revolution" absorbed hereafter in [LOOP on WW1a](#)

◇1902ja:je; USA citizens were jolted by emerging details of imperialist atrocities committed by US forces in the Philippines during the Spanish American War [ID]

- For six months a specially created "Lodge Committee" gave all appearances of an effort to get to the bottom of this matter
  - The Committee achieved only an effective "cover up" of US actions in the Philippines [W]
  - No one was surprised at the outcome. In the chair sat Senator [Henry Cabot Lodge](#) (MA Republican), a powerful pro-imperialist figure in Congress
  - He was closely associated with fellow Senator [Albert Beveridge](#) (IN Republican)
- The two were sympathetic to the rising Anglo-Saxon racism sweeping over the US establishment in these exciting years of [Progressive Era](#) debate on the question of projecting US power across the seas

◇1902ja30:Anglo-Japanese Alliance

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One historian of Japan wrote that this Anglo-Japanese Alliance, plus [Russo-Japanese War](#), made Japan very "Western" and, at the same time, very "anti-Western". Pressure from Europe and US,

brought revenge, self-confidence and a sense of mission. [Japan](#) was set on the road that was to make her in the following forty years an exemplar of Western civilization, transplanted; a champion of Asia against "[The West](#)"; and the megalomaniac builder of an empire overseas [Beasley,MHJ:173]

◇1902mr26 (NS=ap08):Chinese/Russian agreement said Russian troops would leave Manchuria after 18 months, but they stayed on the [Manchurian](#) frontier, now a bone of contention between Russia, [China](#) and Japan (with increasing USA economic presence and constant English and German diplomatic entanglement)

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\*--[LOOP on WW1a](#)

◇1902ap:Russian Interior Minister D. S. Sipiagin was assassinated

\*--Sipiagin's assassin was a member of the newly organized mass Party of Socialists-Revolutionaries [SRs], which from the beginning served as home for a group dedicated to violent struggle by means of terror

\*--The group was called "The Battle Organization" [*Boeviaia organizatsiia* | [Two-paragraph ID](#)]

\*--The specter of [political terror](#) again raised its head [twenty years after the assassination of Alexander II](#)

\*--Notorious statist reactionary Police Chief Viacheslav Plehve replaced Sipiagin and was the last gasp of official reactionary policy

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\*--Jonathan Daly [[ID](#)] helps explain how harsh and arbitrary bureaucratic (rather than judicial) incarceration and punishment can provoke "terrorism" [[Begin TXT w/first full pgf](#)]

\*--Amy Knight, "Female Terrorists in the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party" [[TXT](#)]

◇1902my:Russia/[Ukraine](#), Poltava and Kharkov provinces | Peasant disturbances provoked new Interior Minister Plehve to take reprisals [[MR&C2:369](#)]

- [Forty years of peasant reform](#) had by this time failed to meet the needs of the rural population
  - Chernigov Province police reported on political "propaganda" among local peasants =

In one or another region there appear unknown young people, who pass through in [railroad](#) trains and in carriages, or on horseback along country roads, or on foot through the villages. They scatter revolutionary books and pamphlets about.... The books and pamphlets are eagerly read by the rural populace and ... are passed on from one person to the next, without any thought of evil. In some cases public readings of them have been delivered to whole crowds of peasants. When peasants learn the contents of the literature, rumors spread among them about imminent partition of proprietors' lands. Relations with local landowners become more or less strained

- Police did not identify agitators, nor had they apprehended any. Local police resources were limited, so it might be best "to take measures to alert peasants themselves to seize agitators and hand them over to authorities and thus nip the evil in the bud" [Based on [Page:53](#)]
- [Plehve](#) and the Interior Ministry seemed to prefer [reactionary policies](#), but =
- At the same time more constructive measures were taken under the leadership of [Finance Minister Sergei Witte](#), who argued that "the evil" perceived among restless villagers perhaps did not reside in scattered books and pamphlets but in conditions of rural life
  - Witte created local committees of the **Special Conference on the Needs of Agriculture** in 49 provinces
  - All-Russian assemblies were instructed to discuss the agricultural crisis [[MR&C2:347](#)]
  - 1903:Aleksandr Rittikh summarized early deliberations of the Special Conference and defended [peasant](#) practice of periodic redistribution of land within the village commune [[VSB,3:761](#)]
- [The tsarist state](#) moved in contradictory directions

◇1902je08:1905; Germany, Stuttgart | Russian émigré publication "Liberation" [*Osvobozhdenie*] was for three years edited by Petr Struve and expressed the strenuously liberal oppositional political viewpoint of the Union of Liberation active back in Russia [[VSB,3:721-4](#)]

- The journal was published abroad rather than in Russia because [censorship](#) and police suppression of political movements made domestic publication impossible
- 1902je20:je22; Germany | [The Union of Liberation](#) [*Soiuz Osvobozhdeniia*] held its first informal meeting
- Soon the political organization, more or less a political party, was able to operate in Russia itself. The Russian old regime was sagging
- In this year a Saint Petersburg publisher issued two-volume Russian-language edition of Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* [[ID](#)], the classic, and now pan-European, statement of [liberal](#) political principles
- [Petr Struve](#) was at the beginning of a political career that shifted "left" to "right", from socialism to conservatism

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\*--Richard Pipes, [Struve: Liberal on the Left, 1870-1905](#) and [Struve: Liberal on the Right, 1905-1944](#)

◇1902je25:Russian Social Revolutionary Party [[SRs](#)] political proclamation [[VSB,3:719](#)]

- The SRs grew directly out of [populist socialist traditions](#) of the 1870s
- 1900:London | A newly formed "Agrarian-Socialist League" published *The Immediate Tasks of the Revolutionary Cause* by Viktor Chernov, the leading figure among SRs [[VSB,3:717](#)]
- 1925:A quarter-century later, in Prague exile, Chernov looked back and summarized the essential platform of his [political party](#) [[VSB,3:717-19](#)]

◇1902jy02:jy03; Russian [Zemstvo](#) activist [Dmitrii Shipov](#) met with [Plehve](#) and [Witte](#) to discuss possible truce and cooperation [[GFF:691-703](#)]

◇1902au:Russian commander Kuropatkin reported on political "propaganda" within the Russian military [MR&C2:373-4]

◇1902de30:Russian State Council met to discuss economic problems [MR&C2:373-4,325-6]

- In these months, high-ranking state servitor Aleksandr Polovtsev entered into his diary depressing observations about [tsarist-state](#) dysfunction [VSB,3:698]
- 1902:1904; These two years of mounting crisis fed into the 1905 Revolution [1905 Revolution LOOP]

◇1903:1904; TIBET the object of Russian and English competition as [Chinese authority](#) waned

- England invaded, ostensibly to counteract Russian inspired religious propaganda in Lhasa by Buryat-born Buddhist monk Agvan Dorzhiev [BrE]. As English troops approached they surrounded Tibetan fortress
- Six hundred twenty-eight [Tibetan](#) soldiers who surrendered were slaughtered by the English
- [More Russia in Asia](#) and more on the [Great Game](#)

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\*1997je12:NYR:45

\*--Bibliography on Buddhism in Europe [W]

◇1903:English mathematician, philosopher, pacifist and anti-dogmatist Bertrand Russell published his essay, "A Free Man's Worship" [CCC3,2:1213-20]

◇1903mr:[Dmitrii Shipov](#) met a second time with Plehve and Witte

- In these months police action against political opposition sharply increased
- An institutional or structural crisis matured within the [tsarist state](#), along with all the familiar forms of economic and social crisis

◇1903mr20:Finnish autonomy [further](#) limited by Russian imperialist decree, reacting to mounting nationalist independence sentiment in [Finland](#) f[VSB,3:701]

◇1903ap06:ap07; *The Kishinev Pogrom* [TXT]. Jews suffered one of the most severe of several pogroms [maltreatment and even murder at the hands of irregular gangs who invaded and terrorized Jewish settlements] [VSB,3:698-701 | PWT2:205-8]

- Kishinev is the central city in a largely Ukrainian and Moldavian ([Romanian-speaking](#)) region, sometimes referred to as "Right-bank Ukraine". Today it is the capital of Moldova, but for almost a century it had been part of the Russian Empire and would eventually become a component of the Soviet Union
- Pogroms first broke out in the aftermath of the [assassination of Alexander II](#), then fell off for almost 20 years
- The Kishinev pogrom occurred in Easter Week and marked a new wave of racist disorder that extended into the 1905 Revolution and beyond
- In many cases, officials looked on without acting. Some degree of local military and police participation was noted
- Certain ministers, [Plehve](#) for example, were distinctly [anti-Semitic](#)
- Some sought to divert growing mass discontent away from official circles and to disfocus it with racist distractions aimed particularly, but not exclusively, against [Jews](#)
- [Ukrainian](#)/Russian writer and journalist [Vladimir Korolenko](#) reported on the scene a few days after the pogrom [TXT]
- It is possible to see a parallel in the rise of the Ku Klux Klan in USA, but a difficult interpretive maneuver is called for = Both a connection and a distinction must be made between "official" and "public" attitudes and behavior, between governmental tactics and outlook, on the one hand, and popular attitudes and actions, on the other
- [Racist attitudes in society grew in late 19th-century Europe](#), along with nationalism and imperialism

◇1903my:Siberian city Ufa's Governor-General Bogdanovich was assassinated by political [terrorist](#)

◇1903su: Manchuria "Russian Lumber Company" sent "workers" (actually soldiers in disguise) down the Trans-Siberian Railroad to enforce Russian business interests in the far east

- Businessman Aleksandr Mikhailovich Bezobrazov was the leading proponent of this action
  - Bezobrazov was an entrepreneurial adventurer with huge timber concessions in Russian maritime provinces and in North Korea
  - He and his business adventures were carried out in close association with the Russian imperial military establishment
- Bezobrazov's action was a sign of [Witte's](#) failure
  - Witte failed to convince tsarist officials that a military approach to Asia was not in the best interests of Russia
  - He failed to convince them that the best approach was "peaceful economic penetration" along the full length of the Trans-Siberian railroad
- The [Russo-Japanese War](#) was the most important consequence of Bezobrazov's [Manchuria](#) victory over Witte
- Failed domestic policy of [the tsarist state](#) now contributed to its failure in international relations. Parallel railroad-related events transpired elsewhere =
- 1903:Iraq| German imperial ambitions caused the "[Berlin-Baghdad Express](#)" railroad project to be launched

- For over a decade, action groups like "Pan-German League" had been urging expansion of German technical and industrial might eastward toward Pacific waters and southward into AfroAsia [E-TXT]
  - German-Ottoman relations quickened as German diplomats, bankers and military leaders perceived an opportunity to project their power along rails through Istanbul to Baghdad
  - The railroad agreement granted extraction and transportation rights to natural resources 12 miles on either side of the tracks
  - It also granted marketing rights to German goods in the northern heart of Ottoman Turkish Arabia
  - In these same years, Ottoman-German cooperation created the Hejaz Railroad [Wki], from Damascus in the north to the holy city Medina in the south [Hejaz indicates the western half of what would after WW1 be known as Saudi Arabia]
  - So we see that German-Ottoman railroad cooperation stretched track west to east and then north to south, a simple rail network of profound implication for the future of AfroAsian territories of The Ottoman Empire
  - Over the previous 60 years, the railroad had everywhere become the powerful expression of industrial might and promoter of economic prosperity. And railroads still had a big role to play =
    - It was now clear that the railroad could be turned to imperialist and military uses
    - Imperialist and military uses were often at odds with the needs of domestic national industrial might and economic prosperity
    - Liberal economic arrangements had come to dominate domestic policy in European nations
    - But these liberal European domestic arrangements showed very little resemblance to those imposed on non-European peoples
  - As the 20th century opened, Europeans were beginning to feel the bite of militarist statism in their own realms
  - Imperialism after 200 years of "reaching out" to revolutionize the wider world was now "coming home"
  - European imperialism (and not just Russian imperialism) forged close ties between military establishments and large economic enterprises
  - The financial opportunities created by the need to prepare for modern industrial-era warfare were unprecedented
  - These were years in which the phrase "merchant of death" came into wide usage
    - Expanding transnational banking and financial organizations came into play
    - These organizations frequently operated in stark contradiction to standard laissez-faire ideas of Adam Smith [ID] and other liberal political economists
  - Was liberalism, as a general European experience, coming to an end just as the 1905 Revolution imparted a sudden new energy to liberalism in Russia?
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- \*--Eric Rauchway on early history of USA railroads [TXT]
- \*--Continue LOOP on railroad
- \*--LOOP on WW1a
- \*--LOOP on "finance" (IE=global financial trends | This LOOP absorbs the LOOP on global imperialism and colonialism)

◊1903jy17:Brussels and London | Russian SDs Congress #2 issued program [McC1:25-8 | H05:263-8 | VSB,3:711-13]

- Party rejected Lenin's draft of Party rules [DPH:294-5] Some saw a connection between the way a political party governed itself and the way it might govern a whole nation [TXT]
- 1903au:Russian SDs agreed with difficulty on a single party platform [W] [DIR2:394-9 | DIR3:426-31]
- Lenin's concepts of "democratic centralism" and his insistence on "managerial" manipulation of the larger political association did not harmonize with standard Social Democratic notions of the future democratic and egalitarian order
- A serious ideological crisis grew within the ranks of Russian Marxists

◊1903au31:Plehve wrote revealing letter to retired General Aleksandr Kireev, in response to Kireev's Slavophile critique of Plehve's official reactionary policies [VSB,3:701-2]

- Plehve said constitutionalism might be unworkable, but the desire for it flowed from "pure springs" of political inspiration
- But some other political actions flowed from muddier sources = ambition for personal power and the machinations of a "non-Russian origin"
- Best thing was to place "various obstacles" in the way of those whose inspiration was muddy and to remove the reason for activism among those of pure inspiration
- In summary, the best way "to pacify agitated minds" was by "gradually and organically improving norms of civil life"
  - Does Plehve conflate "norms of civil life" with "government policies"
  - Plehve seems to be recommending suppression of independent or "ambitious" political action and "co-optation" of those who simply needed a bone tossed their way
- But he did at least concede that significant improvements in government were called for
- The "official reactionary" Plehve thus conceded the need for "official reform" in response to cultural conservative Kireev's complaint about reactionary tsarist state policy.

◊1903no:Russia | Union of Zemstvo Constitutionalists [*Soiuz Zemtsev-Konstitutsionalistov*] founded

- \*--The liberal movement continued organize itself within Zemstvo institutions
- \*--It appeared now as a political party, not abroad but in Russia itself



◇1903no18:USA treaty authorized seizure of [Panama Canal](#) Zone [\[TXT\]](#)

\*--South American nation Columbia had the Zone cut out of its hide by a USA sponsored separatist revolution

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\*--[LOOP on WW1a](#)

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found enormous numbers of cultured and polished Dutch-descended South Africans using English as their daily form of speech, and in no way distinguishable from the rest of the nineteenth century Europeans. Our most noted judges, our most eloquent lawyers, our most skilful physicians, are frequently men of this blood; the lists of the yearly examinations of our Cape University are largely filled with Dutch names, and women as well as men rank high in the order of merit. It would sometimes almost seem as if the long repose the people have had from the heated life of cities, with the large tax upon the nervous system, had sent them back to the world of intellectual occupations with more than the ordinary grasp of power. In many cases they go home to Europe to study, and doubtless their college life and English friendships bind Britain close to their hearts as to ours who are English born. The present State Attorney of the Transvaal is a man who has taken some of the highest honours Cambridge can bestow. Besides, there exist still our old simple farmers or Boers, found in the greatest perfection in the midland districts of the Colony, in the Transvaal and Free State, who constitute a large part of the virile backbone of South Africa. Clinging to their old seventeenth century faiths and manners, and speaking their African taal, they are yet tending to pass rapidly away, displaced by their own cultured modern children; but they still form a large and powerful body. Year by year the lines dividing the South Africans from their more lately arrived English-descent brothers are passing away.'

\* \* \*

'There is peace to-day in the land; the two great white races, day by day, hour by hour, are blending their blood, and both are mixing with the stranger. No day passes but from the veins of some Dutch South African woman, the English South African man's child is being fed; not a week passes but the birth-cry of the English South African woman's child gives voice to the Dutchman's offspring; not an hour passes but on farm, and in town and village, Dutch hearts are winding about English, and English about Dutch. If the Angel of Death should spread his wings across the land and strike dead in one night every man and woman and child of either the Dutch or the English blood, leaving the other alive, the land would be a land of mourning. There would be not one household, nor the heart of an African-born man or woman that would not be weary with grief.

We should weep the friends of our childhood, the companions of our early life, our grandchildren, our kindred, the souls who have loved us and whom we have loved. In destroying the one race we would have isolated the other. Time, the great healer of all differences, is blending us into a great mutual people, and love is moving faster than time. It is no growing hatred between Dutch and English South African born men and women that calls for war. On the lips of babes we salute both races daily.'

\* \* \*

'I know of no more graphic image in the history of the world than the figure of Franklin when he stood before the Lords of Council in England, giving evidence, striving, fighting, to save America for England. Browbeaten, flouted, jeered at by the courtiers, his words hurled back at him as lies, he stood there fighting for England. England recognizes now that it was he who tried to save an empire for her; and that the men who flouted and browbeat him, lost it. There is nothing more pathetic than the way in which Americans who loved England, Washington and Franklin, strove to keep the maiden vessel moored close to her mother's side, bound by bonds of love and sympathy, that alone could bind them. Their hands were beaten down, bruised and bleeding, wounded by the very men they came to save, till they let go the mother ship and drifted away on their own great imperial course across the seas of time.

'England knows now what those men strove to do for her, and the names of Washington and Franklin will ever stand high in honour where the English tongue is spoken; the names of Hutchinson, and North, and Grafton are not forgotten also; it might be well for them if they were!

'Do not say to us: "You Englishmen, when the war is over, you can wrap the mantle of our imperial glory around you and walk about boasting that the victory is yours."

'We could never wrap that mantle round us again. We have worn it with pride. We could never wear it then. There would be blood upon it, and the blood would be our brothers'.

Assuming that Stead was right in condemning the war, how far was he justified in his unwavering, untiring, uncompromising opposition to it, once his countrymen were in arms? Many people, in different degrees, will be inclined to condemn him still, as he was condemned



then. Speaking for myself, I would say he was justified up to the hilt.<sup>1</sup> And as one evidence of this I would point to the effect of his words and actions on the leaders of the Dutch race in South Africa. No two men were better qualified to speak for their compatriots than Mr. A. Fischer and Mr. Steyn, ex-President of the Orange Free State. After some congratulatory words regarding the completion of the twenty-first year of the existence of the *Review of Reviews*, Mr. Fischer, in a letter dated March 22, 1911, said:

'My object in writing is more particularly to express the gratitude we feel for the noble stand you and your *Review* took up in the cause of truth and justice in those dark days when prejudice and misrepresentation were doing their worst to poison the minds of your countrymen against South Africans, and succeeded but too well for a time. To-day they must be prejudiced indeed who would not acknowledge that by your courage in declaring and waging war against war, you helped as much as any public writer to make honourable peace possible and to weld lasting bonds of friendship between those who ought – had the truth been known and believed as you knew and believed it – never to have been enemies at all. Your justification has come and you may well be proud of the way your facts and forecasts have been verified as proclaimed in the *Review*.'

Ex-President Steyn, writing on the same occasion (March 19, 1911), expressed himself as follows:

'We in South Africa feel that we owe you a deep debt of gratitude not only for the fearless manner you stood by us during the war, but also for your great assistance to secure us self-government after the war. You, and other good men and women, made it possible for us to accept self-government and to work whole-heartedly for the better understanding between former foes, for with Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, you showed us that England was great enough to keep her word with a small nation.'

<sup>1</sup> On the understanding, of course, that he was prepared to be imprisoned or executed for rebelling against his country's Government. Every one who knew Stead knew that he would go gladly either to gaol or to the scaffold in such a cause.

## STEAD'S FRIENDSHIP WITH CECIL RHODES – THEIR TALKS TOGETHER, 1891–1901

### I

IN the eyes of many of his Radical associates, Stead's friendship with Cecil Rhodes seemed almost as inexplicable as his tolerance for – not to say, his sympathy with – Russian autocracy. 'To me,' declared Mr. Labouchere in *Truth*, March 29, 1900, 'this Empire jerry-builder has always been a mere vulgar promoter masquerading as a patriot, and the figure-head of a gang of astute Hebrew financiers with whom he divided profits.' After Rhodes's death this estimate was to be revised a little. 'I do not suppose he cared for money except for the power it gave,' Mr. Labouchere wrote then, 'and though, in the making of it, he had to associate himself with a crew of financial adventurers, he was head and shoulders above them all.' That was about as far as most Radicals would go in Rhodes's praise; and that Stead could revere him as the greatest Englishman of our time seemed to them a matter alike for astonishment and for regret. People who habitually decried Stead, or laughed at him, pointed to it as one additional and perhaps crowning illustration of his incorrigible wrong-headedness. To know Stead properly, I feel, it is essential to try to know also his beloved 'Colossus.'

'Revere' and 'beloved' are strong words, but not extravagant, really, in this connection. Stead was not blind to the less admirable side of Rhodes's nature – his eyes were being continually opened to it by revelations from the great man's intimates: we shall see just now the reluctant testimony of Edmund Garrett. But, with all his weaknesses and shortcomings, Rhodes remained for him to the end something very like an idol. Garrett, also, admired Rhodes immensely, but he could not, he confesses, 'revere' him. His admiration was a long way 'on this side idolatry.'

Before we come to the talks with Rhodes with which I shall be dealing in this chapter, it may be well to try to see him more clearly as Stead and Garrett saw him. I shall give first some extracts from a character-sketch by Stead in the *Review of Reviews* for December, 1899.

A very timely article this must have seemed to Rhodes. Ever since the Jameson Raid he had been in the Doldrums – or, we might almost



say, in the Dock. And he was still painfully conscious of having made a dreadful mess of things. In such circumstances, and in such a frame of mind, he must have welcomed gratefully Stead's vigorous 'speech for the defence.' That is what the character-sketch was meant to be and what it amounts to. It is no mere high-flown panegyric but a skilfully conceived presentation of Rhodes's case – an appeal to the British public to understand him and place their trust in him.

Having recalled how, during the long and blundering negotiations which led up to the war, Rhodes had kept religiously in the background, maintaining the strictest reserve, and how, when hostilities at last became inevitable, he set out for Kimberley on the very eve of its investment by the Boers, Stead proceeds:

'There he is, and there he is likely to remain. He has equipped a force of 400 men at a cost of £15,000, and cheerfully awaits development of events. Of the wisdom of placing himself in such an exposed position, almost within grasp of the enemy, it is unnecessary to speak. Mr. Rhodes is not a man who acts upon calculation in such a case, but upon instinct. The same instinct which carried him into the Matoppos when it was necessary to induce the Matabele to lay down their arms, led him to throw in his lot with the beleaguered town which has sprung up round the diamond mines of De Beers. The fate of Kimberley is as nothing in popular estimation compared with the fate of Mr. Rhodes. Kimberley might be taken and retaken. The valuable machinery of De Beers might be destroyed and the town razed to the ground. These incidents of warfare would be regarded as mere trivialities compared with the sensation that would be produced if Mr. Rhodes were a captive in the hands of President Kruger. It is doubtful whether he would ever be taken alive, and throughout the Empire the disappearance of Mr. Rhodes would be counted a loss that would be dearly purchased by the annexation of both the Dutch Republics of South Africa.'

Then comes an effective illustration of Rhodes's 'bigness.' He had told Stead at their last meeting in London that he was going to follow Sir Alfred Milner blindfold – even into war. Here Rhodes and Stead parted company. The article continues:

'I drew the line at war. Mr. Rhodes drew no line, and, now that Mr.

Chamberlain's war has begun, Mr. Rhodes supports it without reserve. That he disapproves of my opposition to the war I know, but my relations with Mr. Rhodes have never been based on the principle that I had to subordinate my judgment or govern my action according to his wishes. After a tolerably long experience of working with statesmen, both at home and abroad, whose policy I have had alternately to support and oppose, I may say I know none who is so tolerant of difference of opinion, and who recognizes so fully the right of private judgment and of independent action on the part of his friends. I have repeatedly opposed Mr. Rhodes on matters on which he felt very strongly, but it has never affected the cordiality of our friendship or the sincerity of our alliance for the attainment of those objects on which we were agreed. It is true that I have never put it to quite so great a strain as at present, and it may be that Mr. Rhodes may consider that I have gone too far in opposing this war ever to resume the old confidential relations which have now lasted for nearly a dozen years. If so, I should regret it extremely, but of course that would not in the least affect the question of the right course to pursue in the present circumstances. I can hardly give a stronger proof of my inherent confidence in the broadminded tolerance of the man than to say that I do not anticipate any such result. I know the real Mr. Rhodes so well, and appreciate the greatness of his ideals. This war, important as it is and momentous as are likely to be the issues which it will raise, is but an incident. Mr. Rhodes's ideas, his aspirations, if you like, his ambitions, are too vast for him to allow difference of opinion upon detail, even such a detail as this, to affect his relations with those whom he knows to be thoroughly at one with him in his ultimate aim. . . .

'As I write these lines I remember a curious instance which illustrates the point that I am driving at. When Mr. Rhodes came home in 1896, I was very anxious to have him sent to prison, and made no secret of my desire, to him or to Ministers. Mr. Rhodes had no hankering after gaol, but although he knew that I wanted him locked up (believing that it would have been much better for him, for the cause of the Empire, and for the future of South Africa), he recognized that that was one of the questions upon which I had a right to my own opinion, and that my desire to clap him in Holloway was prompted by the same motive which led me to help him to his Charter and to support his African policy. . . .



'I have always treated Mr. Rhodes, both publicly and privately, as a man who regarded his own personal interests and his own personal aims as dust in the balance compared with his great ideal. When you have had twelve years of experience of acting on this principle, it is impossible not to know whether your working hypothesis has or has not been verified by results. After that test I shall "believe in Rhodes."'

Stead goes on to portray his hero in aspects which since then have been made familiar by Sir T. E. Fuller<sup>1</sup> and other biographers, but which at that time were little known and to many people almost incredible: as the man whom Gordon wanted to have with him at Khartoum; as the single-minded idealist, wholly indifferent to wealth save in so far as it might further his patriotic projects – the Millionaire with Imagination – the Thinker in Continents; as the almost ideal employer, just and thoughtful and generous, of whom it had been testified that, after the missionaries, no person had done so much for the natives of South Africa;<sup>2</sup> as the only white man in whom the Matabele would place their trust; and, finally, as that 'Loyola of the Empire' with whose early dreams and hopes we have in a previous chapter made acquaintance. This passage, also, I shall give in full:

'I used a phrase about Mr. Rhodes many years ago, the truth of which seems to me to be illustrated and confirmed by his support of the present war policy in South Africa. I said he was a great man whose ethical development had been somewhat neglected. Considering how many small men there are taking part in journalism and politics whose ethical development has never even begun, that fact is no reason why I should refuse to recognize the grandeur and sublimity of Mr. Rhodes's political ideas. But this neglected development of the ethical side of the man exposes him to the same temptation before which Ignatius Loyola and his followers succumbed. Loyola believed with intense and passionate earnestness in the theory that the Roman Church was the divinely appointed agency for saving the world. To strengthen that church, to extend its dominion, and to suppress all those who rebelled against it, became his supreme morality; and in the attaining of that end the question of means

<sup>1</sup> Sir T. E. Fuller's *Cecil Rhodes: A Monograph*, 1910. A fascinating book.

<sup>2</sup> By the Rev. Donald Macleod in an article in *Good Words*. Dr. Macleod had made a personal investigation into the labour conditions at Kimberley.

became a mere detail. Hence Jesuitism, with its doctrine that the end justifies the means,<sup>1</sup> brought the Society into disrepute, and enormously weakened the influence which it exerted in realizing its ideals. It is just the same with Mr. Rhodes. He is the Loyola of politics. To him the extension of the influence and authority of the English-speaking race and the maintenance of its unity are things which overshadow all other objects. And in attaining that end he is apt to be regardless of the scruples which would weigh with other men.

'Nevertheless, while admitting this sorrowfully and even mournfully, it is well to remember that the extent to which he overstepped the strict rules of right in the case of the Jameson Raid has been enormously exaggerated. That he labours under an undeserved opprobrium, is entirely due to the fact that he was so magnanimous and patriotic that he preferred deliberately to bear the burden of other people's sins, preferring to suffer rather than vindicate himself by letting the whole truth be known. There are few finer spectacles in contemporary politics than the way in which Mr. Rhodes shielded Mr. Chamberlain before the South African Committee. It is true that while he was in Africa he had in unguarded moments blurted out the truth as to the support which he had received from the Colonial Office; but when it came to the point, and he had to choose between giving away a department of the Empire or enduring silently the unjust censure for which his enemies were thirsting, he chose the latter without a murmur.'

\* \* \*

It was from Nordrach – although he talks as though he were still at the Cape – that Garrett, early in December, 1899, wrote as follows to Stead:

'The Rhodes in the *R. of R.*'s was, of course, extremely powerful and original and it's quite possible you, from further away, see him truer on the big lines of truth. For us who see him very close in S.A., your atmosphere of *moral grandeur*, elevation as well as bigness, is very hard to associate with our hero. We see too close, like the valet. He is always surrounded by contemptibles, and they pander; and he insists on taking all men on their lower side. It often revolts me, and,

<sup>1</sup> The Jesuits themselves consistently deny that this is their doctrine. See *The Catholic Encyclopædia*, Vol. XIV, p. 104.



when it does, his word is always "unctuous rectitude." I feel the greatness always better when I'm not in personal contact – for just these reasons . . . of course, I know rectitude is easier on the smaller scale but I can't *revere* a man, though I may admire him, unless I feel that besides being a greater he is a *better* man than myself; and I don't feel that about Rhodes. You do feel that at bottom he is really good: that he loves "righteousness," as the Dutch call it. They will never feel or believe that of him again. We thought they would come round. They never will to him. The rôle you cast him for is impossible.'

This had been Garrett's view of Rhodes throughout his five years' editorship of the *Cape Times* – his view of him, that is to say, from close at hand. 'Close to, at the Cape,' he had written to Stead in July, 1896, 'one can't quite pitch him so high *as a man*; or show his politics as so little drossy in essence. But it is worth anything, I believe, to all of us to have somebody who will publicly say – "I believe in So-and-so's moral nature." I don't quite believe in C. J. R.'s moral nature, but then that prevents me from helping to make it what I should like. I do, of course, believe in some things about him, with all my heart.'

And in January 1898, he had come back to the subject in a somewhat similar strain – Rhodes's health had been causing anxiety.

'We are staking a good bit on Rhodes's cardiac valves, but if I had been in a funk you would have heard long ago. I am far more afraid (in your ear), and so is Milner, of a sort of Kaiser-like *manie des grandeurs*, a sort of fanatical hyperæsthesia of the Ego cuticle, the sort of thing the Greeks said preceded and brought Nemesis, which grows on him – and *may* impair his judgment again as it did in '95–6. Poor old C. J. R.! A big man, among some terribly small ones, and with a petty side, like Napoleon – like *all* big men apparently. This country would be dull without him shoving.'

But Garrett, also, came to see the 'big man' more favourably 'from farther away' – and perhaps to 'see him truer on the big lines of truth.' In the brilliant memoir of Rhodes which he contributed to the *Contemporary Review* for June, 1902, he has much more to say for him. This is generally regarded as the best portrait of Rhodes ever painted and, although it does not hide his faults, the man it shows us

is good as well as great: 'no angel, but a big, rough-grained, strong-headed, great-hearted man.' It bears out almost everything that Stead, in his less carefully chosen words, used to claim for Rhodes: that he was kind and magnanimous and splendidly brave; that his life-work was 'a devouring passion to him,' and that, while he was no ascetic, he was almost like 'one dedicated to an order of working friars' in the intensity of his idealism. Incidentally, the article puts the living man before us with wonderful vividness – 'the leonine head, always looking large even on the large loose-knit body; the light, crisp hair, grizzling fast at the temples, tumbled impatiently on end above the wide and massive forehead . . . the face red, tanned, weather-beaten – an outdoor face; the chin and jaw formidable, except when lit by an attractive, almost boyish, smile; the prominent, light-grey, absent-minded eyes. . . .' We see him and hear him – 'talking, listening; speaking often not to the moment but as one elliptically following worn grooves of solitary thought: conceding "you object very fairly" . . . pouncing, "but I meet you there; the real crux is" so-and-so; appealing, "you catch my thought?"; seeming not to argue but to *think aloud*; without eloquence, without dialectics, without charm, as commonly understood; making admissions, making confidences; insisting, recapitulating, riding a phrase to death, breaking from deep notes into a queer falsetto; but always going to the root of the matter – and often making a conquest by sheer frank force of personality. . . . "It's all right about B." comes the next report in council. "He will come in with me – no, not squared, you're quite wrong – just *on the personal*!" Yes, that was the really formidable Rhodes – the Rhodes who won men not on the purse, but, in his own phrase, "on the personal."'

## II

Among Stead's papers have been preserved typewritten records, dictated in his rapid, unstudied way, of a number of talks with Cecil Rhodes. They were, for the most part, long, discursive, intimate talks, not to be turned to account as 'interviews.' Stead drew upon them, of course, from time to time, when discussing Rhodes's achievements and opinions, but a good deal of what follows will be quite new, I think, even to his most constant readers and most intimate friends.



A wide variety of subjects were touched upon in these conversations, and they will furnish, here and there, valuable 'Footnotes to History' to some future chronicler of our times. I shall restrict myself, however, to the passages which bear directly on the friendship between the two men and on the hopes which formed so close a bond between them.

Nearly all their plans and hopes had root in that grandiose idea of a world-wide English-speaking Confederation which pre-occupied them from almost the first hours of their acquaintance in April 1889. The fateful pig-headedness of George III was often the starting-point for their debates. 'To think of the insensate folly of that man!' Rhodes began once at dinner at the Burlington Hotel, his favourite London home, almost as soon as he and his guests – Stead, Sir John Willoughby, Mr. Abe Bailey and two others – had taken their seats at table. 'To think of the insensate folly of that man! And two or three of his advisers were worse than he. But for George III war would have been unknown throughout the world to-day. The English-speaking race would have been reorganized as a unit, with its central Parliament meeting alternately in New York and London, and it would have given peace to the world. There would have been nothing more for Krupp to do or any of your cannon-makers. And to think of all that lost because of the insensate folly of that man!'

A beginning after Stead's own heart! 'Excellent!' he exclaimed, 'All political discussions concerning the Empire ought to begin with a formal anathema upon George III!'

On this particular occasion the talk drifted quickly into a quite different channel. The date was July 19, 1901. The war in South Africa was the burning topic of the moment, and Rhodes's next anathema was for Kruger and Krugerism. After the Transvaal came Rhodesia, and Stead learnt how the problem of religious education had been solved at Bulawayo – a Jew teaching in one schoolroom, a Protestant in another, a Salvationist in a third, the time for instruction being from 8 a.m. to 8.30, and children without a creed of any kind being given an extra lesson in geography. 'It would never do,' explained Rhodes, 'to allow a lad to run wild from 8 to 8.30, throwing up his cap and thanking God he was an atheist!' Whether the Jews believed in a future life, how South Africa could be federated, how soon Canada would become part and parcel of the United States, these and half a dozen other questions then came up in turn for

consideration. On the whole, it was not one of the most memorable, apparently, of the Rhodes dinner-parties, except for the presence of Mr. Abe Bailey, thenceforth a firm friend of Stead's. 'A very straight man,' was Stead's impression of him, 'Straight in face and straight, I should say, in character. His conversation was more interesting than that of anybody else, not even excepting Mr. Rhodes who had not so much new to say.'

The theme of Anglo-American world-predominance is treated of most fully in the first of the conversations, held in Stead's office at Mowbray House in February, 1891. We have seen in Chapter 18 how Stead came to convince himself that the centre of the English-speaking world must presently shift to the United States. He now broaches this bold theory to Rhodes.

'What do you think?' he asks. 'Should we not join the American Republic, the whole of the British Empire being reorganized on the basis of the American Constitution?'

Rhodes – Stead tells us – became rather excited for the moment, then replied:

'How our ideas grow! I take it – I take it! Our two minds are moving exactly alike. I understand you mean to say that if you secured the union of the English-speaking peoples, you would be willing to be annexed to the American Republic. So would I. Dear me, how ideas expand! I thought my ideas were tolerably large, but yours have outgrown them. Yes, yes, you are quite right. For the sake of that great need let us all join the Republic!'

One would have liked to ask Stead what his old father, by this time in Heaven, was disposed to think about the necessity for the proposed amplification of *Pax Britannica*! One cannot read about it without remembering the wise old gentleman's remark to his son, in the early 'seventies, about not encroaching too much on the province of God Almighty!

We need not follow this discourse of Rhodes' any further – it was merely an elaboration in detail of the doctrine implied in these opening sentences and summarized for us by Stead in the passages cited in Chapter 14. From the standpoint of what the two idealists held to be (undeniably) the 'elect race' it was a most inspiring doctrine.

Among the inferior races actually specified by Rhodes in this connection were the French, the Germans, and the Portuguese.



Thinking chiefly of the latter, whose presence in Africa was a perpetual vexation to him, he broke out: 'Do you mean to tell me that any part was left in perpetuity for the pigmies? That these regions have to be peopled by pigmies while a superior race stands multiplying outside? I do not believe it. Our people will never adopt the doctrines of Malthus. They will go on multiplying and probably in 200 years they will fill the whole world. That is what we have to look forward to.'

The Spanish were not mentioned, but one may assume that Rhodes held them in not much higher esteem than the Portuguese, certainly not higher than the French and Germans. And yet, as we have already learnt, it was to a Spaniard he went for inspiration in his chief project for bringing his dream into being – to Loyola. Indeed, even in his everyday life as a practical statesman at the Cape, he tells Stead that he had modelled himself on the Society of Loyola and Francis Xavier. 'In South Africa, I am a Dutchman, remember,' he declares; 'I am all things to all men, I am a Jesuit. As the Jesuits were Chinese in China, so I am a Dutchman in South Africa,' and he proceeds to tell of the University which he is anxious to create in Cape Town. 'Hofmeyr distrusts this,' he says, with a smile. 'He sees possibilities in it. I see possibilities in it also – certainties! I shall have my own rectors and professors, men who will be imbued with the true ideas, men who will widen the outlook of their students.' One can imagine the glow of humorous triumph upon Rhodes's face as he gave out these words. Rhodes's friends describe how, when he was particularly pleased with himself, he used to sit upon his hands and rock his body about like a great schoolboy. Cannot one picture him so now, exulting over his benevolent, but guileful, day-dream – his Jesuitical outwitting of the very estimable but exasperatingly hide-bound Dutch?

The talk concentrated presently upon the Secret Society – the Society of the Elect (Rhodes liked that word) who were to bind themselves to work for the British Empire in the way in which the Jesuits worked for the Church of Rome.

Hitherto, apart from Stead, Rhodes had confided his scheme only to Lord Rothschild and to 'little Johnston.'<sup>1</sup> He had actually made his will, bequeathing his wealth in trust to the former for use in

<sup>1</sup> The term almost always used by Rhodes (as mentioned before) in talking of Mr. H. H. Johnston, not yet Sir Harry.

connection with it. But he had grave misgivings in this connection. Lord Rothschild, he felt, was an excellent man, but entirely lacking in imagination. Rich men of the Rothschild type were to him an object of contemptuous pity. 'Look at the criminal in his cell,' he exclaimed to Stead, 'and at Lord Rothschild! It is hard to say which has the harder lot. The prisoner has some fun, at least, with the spiders and the mice, but look at Rothschild! Out of the 365 days, he spends 300 in turning over bits of paper and marking them. Look at the two men far enough off, so as not to see any difference in clothing, and it will be hard to see any difference between them. Think of that man and his millions – what could he not do with them!'

This by way of preface to what he was now coming to. Stead's *Review of Reviews* and 'Association of Helpers,' he went on, had made a good beginning for the work he had in mind: 'You have got all the ideas, but you require the funds.' In a year or two, the funds should be forthcoming – enough even to buy *The Times*, if necessary. But Lord Rothschild must not be left in sole control of the money. There must be a General of the Society, with powers like those of the General of the Jesuits, and there must be a Committee of three or so. 'You have the ideas, you understand, and little Johnston, he knows – what would you say to you and Johnston being associated with Rothschild in this Trust?' Stead feared that Johnston – the right man in other respects – would not be available, being generally away in Africa. Rhodes agreed. Very well, then, let the Trust be vested in Rothschild and Stead alone. Rothschild would not like that, Stead objected laughingly. 'When he reads the will and finds that I am in it also, there will be ructions!'

'Well,' said Rhodes, 'I don't mind. I shall be gone!'

And so it was left. Here, *verbatim*, is Stead's concluding paragraph:

'I telegraphed for Brett, who came two hours later and we had a long talk. The net upshot of which was that the ideal arrangement would be, so far as we could see at present: Rhodes, General of the Society; Stead, Brett, Milner, to be the Junta of three. After Rhodes, Stead to be General, with a third, who might be Rothschild in succession; behind them, Manning, the Booths, little Johnston, Albert Grey, Arthur Balfour, to constitute a circle of Initiates. The Association of Helpers to be developed. A College, say under Professor Seeley, to be



established to train people in the English-speaking idea. Brett thought that some money should be in at once – not much, but some.'

The sequel is told on May 5, 1891, Stead having had meanwhile a second talk with Rhodes and one with Milner, recently home from Egypt, who is 'filled with admiration' and full of enthusiasm for the scheme: Milner himself, it seems, had cherished a somewhat similar project for a band of Companions of St. George. Rhodes, before leaving for Cape Town, had looked in one evening at Mowbray House, whence, he said, he was going direct to his lawyer, Mr. Hawkesley, having altered his will, as he had said he would, and left the whole of his fortune to Lord Rothschild and Stead together – Stead to be considered by Lord Rothschild as the representative of his ideas, and the money to be utilized in accordance with Stead's views. But while thus providing for the possibility of his death, Rhodes declared he was 'very strong' and quite hoped and expected to be able to control his fortune himself. 'He seemed very well pleased with himself,' Stead records in conclusion; 'said he had seen everybody and had worked like a galley-slave.'

There we may leave the matter. All that there remains to tell about it has been told fully in Stead's book, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil Rhodes*. From that last will Rhodes removed Stead's name because, as he said, of his 'extraordinary eccentricity,' a phrase covering Stead's two besetting sins in his friend's eyes – his pro-Boer partisanship, chiefly, but also, in some degree, his obsession with spooks.

The Secret Society was still-born. The Rhodes Scholarships idea, conceived at about the same time, shows every sign of immortality. Rhodes and Stead had often discussed it in the 'nineties, but it was not until April 10, 1900, that the provisions to be incorporated in the trust deed were finally decided on. Rhodes invited Stead to dinner – again at the Burlington – to discuss the matter with himself and his solicitor, Mr. Hawkesley. But Stead's account of that evening's conversation contains little that has not been told already a score of times, by himself or by Rhodes's biographers or by the actual terms of the Rhodes Scholarship Trust. We all remember how Rhodes approached the subject – his determination not to let the scholarships go to mere bookworms. The 'smug' element, as he called it (including Greek and Latin scholarship), might stand for four-tenths in the

selection of his scholars, but 'brutality' (by which he meant only manliness, with perhaps horse-sense) should stand for two-tenths. 'Then there is tact and leadership, again two-tenths. That makes up the whole. You see how it works?'

Stead urged that tact and leadership should count for more and scholarship for less, but both Rhodes and Hawkesley were against him. Eventually a compromise was agreed to, these two elements being made to stand each for three-tenths. It may be noted that when he was thus bequeathing his millions Rhodes had practically no ready money. Stead had called him 'the Millionaire without a sixpence.' 'Quite true!' Rhodes replied, 'I never have a bob. At this present moment my account at the bank is overdrawn £70,000. Never a bob! But my money is all right. Don't be afraid; it won't fail.'

While concerned mostly with problems and projects and big ideas, these talks turned of course upon persons now and again. Lord Milner's name recurs repeatedly, Stead condemning his South African policy, Rhodes defending and praising him. 'I have the greatest possible regard for Milner, but I have seen very little of him,' he declared that same evening. 'He said to me, "The less you and I are seen together the better." Hence I never invited him to Groote Schuur.' The war had been Milner's war, he added, not Chamberlain's – Chamberlain had been strong against it. This led to the usual wrangle, Stead deploring the war, Rhodes justifying it and accusing Stead of insubordination – the kind of insubordination, he complained, which he had always seen in the way of their Secret Society. 'Yes, insubordination,' he insisted. 'Now here we are, your three boys, Garrett, Milner and myself. We are all your boys and we are on the spot, and we all agree that a certain course is necessary and instead of your accepting our authority, we being on the spot, being your boys, nothing will satisfy you but to go off on your own line and oppose us!' If it had been a social question at home in which Stead had been interested, he, Rhodes, even if he had thought Stead quite wrong, would have said to himself, 'No, that's no business of mine – he says it is so,' and would have backed Stead up.

Here Stead tried to get a word in.

'Let me have my say!' Rhodes went on, 'I am going to get my talk in before you!' – but (so Stead describes him) quite genial and jolly and smiling and without a trace of bitterness. 'Take, for instance, America. I read your book on Chicago. That tells me what America



is. I would not set myself against you, because you have been there. Now in Africa *we* have been there. Why should you set yourself against us?’

‘You see,’ Stead replied, ‘it is my misfortune to have been brought up in African politics by a certain Cecil John Rhodes and he taught me certain principles in relation to Africa which I cannot abandon even if Mr. Rhodes now tells me to do so!’

‘That’s all right,’ said Rhodes, ‘but you must remember, things have changed.’

‘Yes,’ persisted Stead, ‘but you have always taught me that the fundamental principle of British policy in South Africa was to rely upon the Dutch and now you are making war on the Dutch and I cannot have it.’

And so the friendly dispute would continue.

Stead was to have two later meetings with Rhodes; but, in subsequent years, when recalling his friend, his mind will have gone back oftenest, I imagine, to that evening at the Burlington Hotel in April 1900. Few things in his life can have touched him more than Rhodes’s magnanimous farewell to him, as he and his fellow-guest were leaving. He records the incident very simply:

‘Then he took me with both hands, more like the way Canon Liddon used to do – Mr. Hawkesley declared afterwards that he thought we were going to kiss each other. And he said: “Now, my dear Stead, remember that even if you should feel that it was your duty to attack me, no matter what you might say, it will make no difference to our friendship. We are much too good friends, and I owe you so much for what you have taught me that I never could allow anything like that to come between us.”

“Thank you,” I said. “Mr. Rhodes, I sincerely hope I shall never have to attack you. Good-bye. God bless you!”’

## CHAPTER 26

## THE YEAR 1903

## I

MR. MOREL’S CAMPAIGN AGAINST CONGO SLAVERY: STEAD TAKES  
A HAND

EARLY in 1903 Stead’s active co-operation was secured for a crusade which soon riveted the attention of the whole world – Mr. E. D. Morel’s crusade against slavery in the so-called Congo Free State.

Before the Arab penetrated into the Congo region from the east, and the European from the west, the condition of the inhabitants had been one of absolute savagery, and it was still appalling when, in 1876, Leopold II, King of the Belgians, took the initiative in convening a conference of the Powers at Brussels to consider the subject from the standpoint of philanthropy and of civilization. The Arabs, according to Sir Harry Johnston, an accepted authority on African affairs, had wrought great improvements, doing ‘much to suppress cannibalism and to introduce a far higher standard of comfort.’<sup>1</sup> But they had prosecuted a ruthless slave-trade and the country stood in dire need of administration by an enlightened and benevolent ruler.

By one of life’s bitterest ironies, such a ruler was thought to have been found in King Leopold. In England especially was this the feeling. ‘Every one who was anyone in the Missionary world,’ Sir Harry Johnston reminds us, ‘or in that section of London society devoted to philanthropic ideals (such as the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, Albert, Earl Grey, Cardinal Manning, Sir Harry Verney, Sir William MacKinnon) decried any attempt on the part of Great Britain to import base commercial considerations into the political settlement of Equatorial Africa and hailed King Leopold as the man who would gradually raise the millions of Central African negroes to a condition of peaceable self-government, free, on the one hand, from the curse of the Arab, and on the other from the alcoholizing Englishman.’ The King of the Belgians stood forward as the champion of what was best in European civilization ‘and of all that was to regenerate this vast region of potential wealth.’

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to E. D. Morel’s *Red Rubber*.