

OUTLINE

NICHOLAS I

I. PERSONALITY.

II. NICHOLAS AS AN ADMINISTRATOR.

III. QUASI-REFORM PERIOD, 1826-31.

1. Codification of laws
2. Peasants

← Polish Revolt of 1830-31

IV. ~~FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 1825-32~~

V. Reactionary Policies inside Russia.

1. "Orthodoxy, Autocracy + Nationalism"
2. Education

~~3. Education~~
3. Religion

Florinsky - 753
Grunwald - 57

Poorly organized

(See de Custine)

PERSONALITY OF NICHOLAS I

- 65
1. Third son of Paul. Much younger than Alex I.
 2. Not as ~~interesting or~~ complex as Alex.
 3. Education -- ^{fair} ~~pretty good~~. But not trained to be Emperor.

Spoke several languages.

Took little interest in ~~much~~ what he called "abstractions" -- i.e. economics, govt, law, finance, etc.

~~Military subjects -- great interest only in these.~~

~~Militaristic, disciplinarian. Tolerated by military men.~~

as his tutor.

5. Conservative -- ~~liberal~~ No La Harpe. Born the year Catherine died, so not affected by the liberalism of her early reign.

Educated to hate revolutionary and liberal ideas.

Without the dualism existing in Alex. Alex - comb. of Paul + Cath.

6. Honest, but limited mind.

Nich - no influence of Cath, but seems to have inherited some of Paul's characteristics.

7. The "apogee of absolutism" "gendarme of Europe."

Ultimate of autocracy.

Whipping boy for the old regime. -- most of the worst features of

8. Frightened by the Decembrist Revolt.

tsardom embodied in Nicholas + his reign.

Strengthened his already strong conservatism. Horrified of any tinge of radicalism. Convinced him of the danger of ~~any~~ even the slightest freedom.

● He told Grand Duke Michael -- "Revolution is at the gates of the Empire, but I swear it shall not enter as long as I draw breath, as long as I am Emperor by the grace of God."

(Grunwald - 57)

PERSONALITY OF NICHOLAS I

1. Good Impression on foreign diplomats at his accession:

X
Marshal Marmont -- "In his gaze and bearing there is an authority impossible to describe....But when alone with him, he is exquisitely polite....He is modest, makes no parade of his learning, and speaks with simplicity."

French diplomat -- "In all he does, you feel his sincerity and frankness...."

Another French diplomat -- "One cannot deny that the Emperor has distinguished qualities and praiseworthy intentions...."

Militaristic

2. Chief Experience had been with Military Matters --

~~Education -- unfinished?~~ No training in govt administration.

Positions -- commander of a Brigade of the Guards,
Inspector-General of Army Engineers
Served with Russian army abroad in 1814.

Described himself as "only a plain brigadier-general."

3. Chief Interest was with Military Matters.

Diplomat -- "The principal occupation of the Emperor is always the army, and this absorbs more than three-quarters of his day."

Nicholas -- "My greatest pleasure is to talk with my beloved soldiers."

4. Nicholas an Impressive figure on the Parade Ground

Excellent horseman. Gave commands in a deep, ringing voice that could be heard from one end of parade ground to another.

5. Attention to Small Details of the Guards.

a. Decided on the type of trousers to be worn, the number of buttons on their tunics

b. Himself assigned the army recruits to the various Guards regiments, according to height, type, color of hair. This involved thousands of men ~~recruited~~ each year.

c. *Couldn't distinguish between important + unimportant matters.*

Would have made a good drill sergeant, or perhaps an ROTC instructor.

6. Military Approach to All Things.

Masaryk (105) -- "Strict subordination, unquestioning obedience, were Nicholas's system. In his psychology men were machines, or, at most, animated slaves."

"I regard the whole of human life as service," he said on one occasion.

As though all Russian citizens were in the army.
~~Just as on the parade ground the commandant issued orders.~~

Thought to apply to all of Russian life and all branches of the govt the system prevailing on the parade ground -- the commandant (i.e., the Emperor) would issue the order, and immediately all would obey it ~~unquestioningly~~ without question, without hesitation, and without error.

Obedience, Loyalty, + Regimentation.

7. Orders re. Uniforms and Dress.

During the first 7 months of his reign he issued dozens of decrees regarding army uniforms and certain types of civilian dress.

Uniforms -- had to be worn by professors, students, engineers, and bureaucrats. After 1831, all nobles also.

Mustaches -- could be worn only by army officers.
 All had to be black, to be dyed if necessary.

Gray hats & beards -- forbidden (1837) --

(except for peasants and clergymen)

8. Use of Military Aides-de-Camp.

~~■~~ Important assignments, missions, messages carried out usually by an army officer, a military aide of the Emperor, wearing his special uniform.

Thus the whole govt assumed a ~~special~~ military character.

9. Ministers -- by 1850 all but one were military men.

(63)

NICHOLAS I AS ADMINISTRATOR

1. Thought he Knew More than Anybody Else.

After a few years experience, he acquired such a high opinion of his intelligence that he thought he knew more than anyone else on almost any subject. Took little advice. (Like Paul)

2. Inflexible -- Thought that it was important to be FIRM. *No doubts.*
 Herzen remarked that an inflexible firmness was a characteristic that one commonly met among such mediocre natures as "cashiers, bailiffs, post office clerks and sellers of theatre tickets."

A Contemporary - "He sincerely thinks himself capable of seeing everything with his own eyes, of hearing all with his ears, and regulating everything according to his knowledge." ~~(Mlle Tatcheva)~~

3. Concerned with Petty Things. - *small details*

(64)

4. Nicholas' "Tours of Inspection".

Considered himself a very conscientious ruler, and he was *in his way*.
~~Consequently,~~ He frequently made long trips around his empire to see that everything was in order, that everyone was enjoying the benefits of his rule.

Preparations -- But when word came that he was on his way, miraculous transformations took place. The houses were painted, gates repaired, children given new clothes, streets paved, new uniforms given to the soldiers.

Never looked beneath the surface -- Nicholas gave everything a quick look. If the streets had been swept, and the buttons on the uniforms were polished, he was satisfied.

III. NICHOLAS' PERSONAL RULE

~~IN HIS MAJESTY'S OWN CHANCERY~~

1. ~~Nicholas' personal rule~~ -- An energetic, conscientious monarch.

Worked hard at being tsar. Played an active role, partly because he felt that he understood all matters better than anyone else. Partly because he believed no one else would get anything done.

Typified by his placing many important matters under the jurisdiction of his own personal chancery.

Monas-89

PETITIONS TO NICHOLAS I

Nicholas felt himself a benevolent, paternalistic ruler. For example, he encouraged ordinary citizens to present petitions to him, which came to him through the ~~3rd Section~~ ^{police}.

2,000 to 5,000 such petitions came to Nicholas each year. ~~in the 1840's~~ to St. Pete.

4,000 to 10,000 more -- were presented to him during the course of his tours of his Empire.

Nicholas insisted upon seeing all of them, and demanded that the ~~3rd Section~~ ^{police} give him the full petition. The ~~3rd Section~~ ^{police} also studied each one, to act on each one.

Subject of the Petitions -- family quarrels, personal quarrels, business disputes, requests for special permission to travel or study abroad, etc.

III. QUASI-REFORM PERIOD, 1825-1831

I. INFLUENCE OF THE DECEMBRISTS.

Nicholas was shocked by the investigation of the Decembrist conspiracy, and the revelation that dissatisfaction was so widespread, even among the nobility.

He made a conscientious effort to study their complaints and suggestions, with a view of making needed reforms.

He really wanted to correct the faults of the Russian regime insofar as they could be corrected within the existing autocratic system. This was the difficulty -- most of the faults were due to ~~the system itself.~~ the system itself.

He wished only to administer a few doses of medicine, whereas radical surgery was needed.

II. THE SECRET COMMITTEE OF DECEMBER 6, 1826.

Appointed by Nicholas to survey the situation, decide what changes were needed.
Members conservative.

They drafted a number of proposals, but the outbreak of the French Revolution of July 1830 so alarmed Nicholas that little was done.

The ~~immediate~~ immediate results of the Committee's ^{work} were almost zero, though it did provide a framework for later discussions.



IV. "HIS MAJESTY'S OWN CHANCERY"

His own personal staff. (Comparable to our White House staff.)

Divided into 6 sections.

2nd Section -- headed by Michael Speransky.

Given job of codifying ~~memoranda~~ all the laws of the Empire, so that people could discover what was in fact the law of the land

An enormous job -- examined and edited some 40,000 separate laws.

"Complete Collection of the Laws" -- arranged in chronological order from 1649 to the accession of Nicholas. 51 vols.

"Digest of the Laws" -- 15 vols. From the mass of 40,000 acts Speransky excerpted and arranged in systematic manner the laws still in force. Obsolete laws eliminated. Where laws were contradictory, the latest law was held to have nullified the ~~previous~~ earlier ones.

A great achievement. People at least new now what the law was, (assuming they could read).

Completed in 1833.

The 3rd Section --

The Political Police -- under the ~~memoranda~~ direction of one of Nicholas' most trusted advisers, Count Benckendorff.

(More about this later)

(Condense)

V. THE PEASANT PROBLEM.

Nicholas realized that this was a ~~big~~ problem, but he was afraid to make any fundamental attack on it. As he said himself:

"There is no doubt that serfdom in its present form is an evil, discernible and apparent to all. But to touch it would bring a still more ruinous evil. Tsar Alexander I intended at the beginning of his reign to free the serfs, but he afterwards gave up the idea as being premature and impossible of fulfillment. I will never venture to do it. Since the time is far distant when it will be possible to take this step, any excitement about it now would be a criminal conspiracy against the peace and welfare of the state."

Afraid to abolish serfdom, for fear the whole social, ~~and~~ economic and political system would be undermined. (He was right, as events were to prove.)

Committees of Investigation -- Nicholas appointed 9 successive committees to study the problem, suggest ways of eliminating abuses.

~~General P.D. Kiselev -- head of the 5th Section of Chancery, later made~~
~~appointed Minister of State Domains.~~
Chief adviser of Nicholas on peasant matters.

LAWS AFFECTING THE PEASANTS:

1. Forbade the sale of land without ~~manumitted~~ serfs (so as to prevent the serfs from being deprived of land on which to earn a living.)
2. Prohibited the transfer of serfs to mines, or the renting of serfs to persons (such as middle class industrialists) who did not have the right to own serfs.
- 67 3. Speransky's Code of Laws -- had the effect of pointing out the legal responsibilities of the lord to his peasants, such as the obligation to feed them in time of famine. Also ~~had~~ limited the authority of the landlords
4. Serf estates belonging to the Church were taken over by the state, which usually meant a betterment of their lot. (The church was known as a hard master.)
5. State serfs were transferred from Barshchina to Obrok.

walsh text-191
clarkson text-271
flrasky text-279

PERMISSIVE EMANCIPATION OF THE SERFS:

By 1847 there were 4 legal ways by which a landlord could free some or all of his serfs. But in fact very few did so, and the laws, therefore, had little effect.

No landlord was required to free his serfs.

GENERAL P.D. KISELEV

Nicholas' chief adviser on peasant matters.

Was head of the 5th Section of His Majesty's Own Chancery, which dealt with the state peasants. Later this was transformed into the Ministry of State Domains.

For state peasants he: -- increased no. of schools.

-- established a limited form of peasant local self govt.

- tried to equalize the tax burden + army draft burden among state serfs by conducting a survey.

- attempted to equalize land allotments.

Condense

omit

~~Byzantine Empire and the Ottoman Empire~~

2. War with Turkey (1828-29) -- Captured Adrianople, and threatened Constantinople.
3. Treaty of Adrianople (1829) -- Greece became independent. Wallacia and Moldavia became Russian protectorates. Serbia became autonomous. *Straita - free passage of merchant ships.*

VII. FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1830.

1. Frightened Nich. He detested Louis Philippe. Henceforth Europe divided into 2 parts: the constitutional west, and the autocratic east.
2. Brought an end to the quazi-reform period of Nich's rule. From then on he considered it his task to fight revolution at home and abroad.

VIII. POLISH REVOLT (1830-31).

Compare w. revol. of 1956

1. Nich had tolerated the Polish constitution, although he didn't like the idea of it. *Diet seldom convened.*
2. ~~the~~ Uprising - chased Constantine out. Hoped to have aid from France, but none came. Defeated.
3. Constitution abolished, replaced by Organic Statute (1832). Abolished the Diet, Polish army, practically repealed the constitutional liberties. Territory absorbed into Russia. Russian administration. ~~Russification~~ Russification. Many schools, universities closed. Roman catholics persecuted.

IX. REPRESSION IN RUSSIA.

1. Nicholas now thoroughly reactionary.
2. Education.---
- a. Nich thought ~~the main~~ purpose of education to train meek, loyal servants of the ~~the~~ state.
- b. Favored class education. - *according to status.*
- c. Thought people should be given no more education than was required ~~for~~ for the technical needs of the ~~the~~ state (~~Still hear that idea today - too much education.~~)
- d. Minister of Education, considered his main purpose to ~~to~~ prevent the influx of new ideas.
- e. Universities deprived of autonomy. (1855)

"Autocracy, Orthodoxy, Nationality"

(66)

V. REACTIONARY POLICIES INSIDE RUSSIA.

I. "ORTHODOXY, AUTOCRACY AND NATIONALISM"

1. Count S. S. Uvarov -- Minister of Education, 1833-49.

Helped to formulate the official ideology of Nicholas' reign.

In a report to the tsar in 1832, he advocated "the truly-Russian conservative principles of Orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationality, our last anchor of salvation and the best guarantees of Russia's strength and greatness."

This rather trite formula was hailed in ruling circles as something marvelous, and became the slogan of the reign of Nicholas.

(Like "The Great Society")

2. "Orthodoxy" -- ~~the Church as a pillar of support for the throne.~~

Support of the Church for the autocracy, and support of the government for the ~~the~~ Orthodox Church.

Official government favoritism for Orthodoxy, and ~~discrimination~~ discrimination against other religions.

3. "Autocracy" -- meaning obvious.

4. "Nationality" -- meant official patriotism, or official nationalism.

Glorification of things Russian.

Benckendorff ^{head of police} -- "Russia's past is admirable; her present more than magnificent; as to her future, it is beyond the grasp of the most daring imagination; ~~and her future is a blank page.~~"
(This statement by a Baltic German was delivered in French)

Pogodin (Prof. of Hist. at U. of Moscow) --

"Providence guides the history of every nation, but this is particularly true of Russia. How great, indeed, are its merits....No other history contains so many marvels!"

"How great is Russia!...Is there anything the Russian state could not do? A word -- and a whole empire ceases to exist; a word, -- and another disappears from the face of the earth!"

Uvarov -- His assumption "of the mantle of prophet of Russian nationalism was somewhat ironic because he "had never read a Russian book and continuously used French and German in his own writings."

A. Minister of Education who
considered education a dangerous
thing, who was suspicious of education.

REACTION IN EDUCATION.

1. Uvarov -- ~~was~~ noted for his reactionary nature, ~~and his~~
~~suspicious attitude toward education. (He would doubtless have~~
~~been a firm defender of any "loyalty oath")~~

Circular which he sent around to school officials stated:

"Our common obligation consists in this: that the education of the people be conducted, according to the Supreme intention of our August Monarch, in the joint spirit of Orthodoxy, autocracy, and nationality. I am convinced that every professor ~~and teacher~~ and teacher, being permeated by one and the same feeling of devotion to throne and fatherland, will use all his resources to become a worthy tool of the government and to earn its complete confidence." (p.38)

(Teachers to be "tools" of the government.)

2. Class Education -- Uvarov also stated that education should be by class:

"A system of public education can only be considered to be organized correctly when it offers opportunities to each one to receive that education which would correspond to his mode of life and to his future calling in society." (p.43)

3. Dangerous to Educate the People/^{too} much. (Benckendorff)--

"Russia is best protected from revelutionary disasters by the fact that in our country, from the time of Peter the Great, the monarchs have always been ahead of the nation. But for this very reason one should not hasten unduly to educate the nation lest the people reach, in the extent of their understanding, a level equal to that of the monarchs and would then attempt to weaken their power." (p.43)

EDUCATION

PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION SYSTEM UNDER NICHOLAS. & UVAROV.

Social Classes --

1. Education by ~~class~~ -- Russian citizens not to be educated in such a way that they would aspire to rise into a class higher than the one into which they had been born.

Parish schools -- for lower classes

County schools -- for ~~merchants~~ children of merchants, minor officials, lesser nobility.

Provincial schools (gymnasia) -- children of nobility

Tried to keep children from the lower classes out of the gymnasia (secondary schools), and out of universities.

But failed in this:

Gymnasia -- % of students from nobility in 1864 -- 70%

U. of St. Pete -- in 1853, out of 424 students, 125 were from the non-privileged classes.

2. Prevent the Influx of New Ideas. -- a 2nd principle.

Uvarov -- "one must multiply, as far as possible, the number of 'intellectual dams'"

Considered that his main job was to halt the spread of foreign, subversive ideas in Russia.

(As if Senator McCarthy or James Welch were Commissioner of Education in the U.S.)



~~SECRET~~
Made the condition of the press unendurable. (copied - later)

Music Commission -- appointed to examine all ~~new~~ sheet music for possible revolvy messages in secret code. (dots).

Books-- In a book on Roman Empire, the author was not allowed to say that a Roman emperor was killed, but only that "he perished."

→ UNIVERSITIES. - *deprived of autonomy (1835)*

Philosophy & Metaphysics -- eliminated from the curriculum. ^{"dangerous"}

All courses to be based on religion & theology. *(fearful under Alex I also.)*

Logic and Psychology -- taught by theologians.

Lectures censored.

FOREIGN TRAVEL.

No one could go abroad without personal permission of tsar.

Police *withfulnes - said Sator*

DOSTOEVSKI

Member of discussion group (Petrashevski), which was arrested. Sentenced to death, changed at last minute. Exiled to Siberia.

Many others similarly treated.

Russia (more later on Police + Exile System)

(Copied from old notes)