

## Book Reviews

### A Study of new Russia

**RUSSIAN SOCIOLOGY** (number 161 of studies in history, economics and public law edited by the faculty of political science of Columbia University and published in 1915 by The Columbia University Press; price \$2.50) is by Julius F. Hecker, Ph.D.

No reference is made to the works of authors who merely re-interpret the theories of others and who have had no influence in directing the general trend of Russian Sociology, but it is regrettable that the author found it necessary to exclude the writings of Tolstoy, Turgeuev and Dostoevsky, filled as they are with sociological thought.

Part I is introductory. Part II is an analysis of the principal Russian sociological schools and Part III contains the miscellaneous theories which have entered into Russian sociology.

In view of recent happenings in Russia Chapter I, the Social-Political Background of Russian Sociology is intensely interesting and suggestive. Russia has been called the land of extremes. A despotic and autocratic bureaucracy was continually opposed by groups which championed the cause of the common people, but in their demands were as uncompromising and rigid as the dominant autocracy they opposed.

There are some 65 different racial and linguistic groups, forty-six of these ethnic groups being within European Russia and the Caucasus. The bulk are Slavic, the principal Slavic people of Russia, besides the Great Russians are the Little Russians of the South, the White Russians of the West and the Poles. The Little and White Russians although speaking different dialects are in religion and sympathy with the Great Russians, the latter being about two-thirds of the population.

The Russian Slav has a certain apathy, plasticity and pacific quality. He is long suffering and forgiving, much rather bearing wrong than inflicting it. Being mystically inclined, he is non-political (or was) and sentimentally communistic.

#### A BORN ANARCHIST.

Bruckner calls the Russian a born anarchist, but Masaryk thinks this characteristic developed because of the lack of democracy. The author favors Masaryk's view but believes (1915) "the passive non-political man may be aroused and become extremely active and dangerous."

The peasant has a tenacious hold upon the land commune or community ownership which, although by law (1906) allowed to be broken up survives in a large degree. After the enactment of the law permitting withdrawal of land from the commune, out of 90,099,000 communal members 17,874,000, or about 19 per cent withdrew by May 1, 1906. The area of land held by the communes was by 1913 reduced by only 11 per cent. The figures show that communes which have little land are compelled to break up the others preferring the communal way. This communal interest shows itself among the many religious sects of the Dukhobors in Canada, the Tolstovs and many others.

Russian autocracy is a combination of "Teuton militancy, Tartan despotism and Byzantine sanctimoniousness and at the present day (1915) represented by rulers of dominantly Germanic blood." From the northwest came the Norsemen who established themselves as the first dynasties of the Russian Slavs; from the South came the Byzantine sanctimoniousness.

The leaders in the movement against autocracy have sought to develop their programmes of action and to justify them by the aid of philosophy and the social sciences.

Peter the Great "cut a window through into Europe," but did not allow any liberal and philosophic currents to pass through into Russia from Europe. The schools established were confined to practical arts and sciences.

Catherine II allowed French and English liberal thought to come in her favorite philosopher being Montesquieu. The young intellectuals absorbed the ideas of Voltaire, Adam Smith and the French Encyclopaedists while mystic German idealism was taken up by the Russian nobility and expressed itself in the early Russian Masonic movement. Nicolai Novicov was leader of the Masons and developed the first popular literature in Russia and organized schools to teach the masses also aiding them through his philanthropic agencies.

With rumors of the French revolution and popular uprisings in Russia under the leadership of Peregatchev, Catherine adopted a rigid censorship, suppressing many periodicals and books. Novicov

was imprisoned and the Masons and other voluntary societies were disbanded. Radischev, who had formerly been allowed by Catherine to spread liberal ideas wrote "A Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow," describing the misery and oppression suffered by the common people and rebuking their oppressors and exploiters. He was arrested, tried and banished to Siberia, the first Russian martyr for the offence of attempting to shape public opinion. Catherine tried to justify her reaction by theorizing over the psychic characteristics of the Russian people, who, under the influence of Russia's peculiar geographic and climatic environment, she claimed were unfit for self-government and could only prosper under an absolute autocracy and this theory was the principal philosophical justification of the apologists of Russian autocracy up to the recent revolution, although the apologists overlooked the fact that the genius of the Russian people, continually produced personages and groups who think the opposite of that advocated by the minority in power and that history shows that the Slavs once lived in the same environment under democratic organizations.

The next movement, led mostly by army officers, is known as the Decembrist movement, named after the military insurrection at Petrograd during December, 1825, on the death of Alexander I, and the accession of Nicholas I. The greatest intellect of the Decembrists was Nicolai Turgeuev, who during long years of exile wrote his great work, "Russia and the Russians." He was influenced by Montesquieu and Adam Smith, his political programme was evolutionary and practical and his insight into the future social and political development of Russia was prophetic. After the Napoleonic wars Moscow became the centre of a new nationalism known as Slavophilism, and although emanating from German romanticism, it strove to become exclusive of everything foreign and to develop only national ideas. Another trend of thought wished to enrich Russian culture by the achievements of Western Europe, and was called Westernism, and though at first non-political became influential in Russian affairs rivaling the Slavophil Nationalists.

The Slavophiles looked for something peculiarly Russian upon which they could establish the new type of civilization. They claimed to have found this in the Russian Greek Orthodox Church, the Autocratic Government and the Parish Land-Commune of the Russian peasantry.

#### INTELLIGENZIA.

Belinsky gathered around him the "Intelligenzia," that progressive and radical wing of Russia's educated people which held the emancipation of the common people from their misery and ignorance to be its principal task. Belinsky was followed as a leader by Herzen Bakunin who stirred the intellectuals to action.

The despotism of Nicholas broke down during the Crimean war.

Alexander II promised radical reforms. Emancipation was the need—the peasant from serfdom, the citizen from the state, woman from patriarchal tyranny, the thinkers from authorities and tradition. The new order must recast society scientifically. The pressure of awakened public opinion compelled the government to act, and in 1861 was signed the Act of Emancipation freeing fifty-two million serfs. When the conditions became known a heavy gloom was cast over all the friends of the common people, the Act being really a compromise favoring the landowners who were allowed to exact an abnormally high price for the land they ceded to the peasants. Before the Act only 1.7 per cent of all lands were in the hands of small landowners, the bulk of 64.6 per cent was claimed by the government, and the rest by the gentry and by syndicates. The government lands were to be given over at the same rate. The rate of interest (6 per cent) on the indebtedness was unusually high and almost ruined the peasants economically. The area of land allotted to the peasants was not large enough. After more than forty years of appropriation (1906) the peasantry owned only 24.1 per cent, or 3.5 acres per individual allotment of all privately-owned lands, while the nobility's share is 52.3 per cent.

There was strong opposition to these inadequate measures. Bakunin and Herzen from abroad wrote against the reaction, the former advising immediate revolution by the rise of the peasantry. Chernishevsky at home led the intellectual class which was to prepare and lead the revolution which was to take place in 1863. The secret organization, "Great Rus-

sia" was founded, consisting mostly of university students of both sexes who began their propaganda among workingmen, soldiers and peasants. Out of this movement grew the more radical secret organization of the "Land and Liberty," which aimed at an immediate rising concurring with the Polish rebellion (1863). The region of the Volga was chosen. A pseudo-manifesto in the name of the Czar was circulated, which proclaimed liberty to all classes and granted full property rights to the peasants without payment. Soldiers were also to be freed from service and compensated by land grants. There was to be no conscription and no per capita tax, and all government officers were to be elected by the people. The manifesto stated that should the local authorities resist the population was authorized to rise in rebellion. This daring feat failed and a number of leaders were executed. This failure did not stop the activities of the secret societies, but divided them into two classes, one favoring an educational propaganda of gradual preparation of the masses for the revolution, the other holding that education was unnecessary since the masses were always revolutionary. (Bakunin's doctrine).

The peaceful propagandists formed their "organization" of 1865, its leading principle being the nationalization of land by stirring them up against proprietors, against the nobility, and the authorities in general. This was to be done through teaching in day and Sunday schools, the establishment of free libraries, and the organization of societies and workshops on the communal principle.

The "direct action" faction was inspired from abroad by Bakunin. The government was aroused and began a merciless persecution. A number of societies were discovered, their members tried, and most of them were exiled to Siberia.

Chernishevsky's successor was Pissarev, called the philosopher of the Russian Nihilist Movement, who preached an extreme realism, individualism and utilitarianism. He died at an early age and Lavrov became the leader of the populist movement and prepared a party platform which recognizes two principles of struggle; one the struggle against the theological metaphysical or religious concept of life by means of science, the other the struggle of the toiler against the idle consumer, which is a struggle against monopoly of any kind. He fought the conservative and pseudo-liberals, and against Bakunin and others who wished a revolution without preparation. He accepted the peasant commune as the basic economic institution of Russia. Lavrov being exiled, Mikhailovsky became the leader. He advocated the interests of the individual and the preservation of the peasant commune which he believed was best fitted to give the individual the opportunity for a many-sided and rounded development. At the same time there was developing the more radical movement which advocated direct action and led to the assassination of Alexander II in 1881.

Nechayev who believed in extreme measures was preparing for a revolution in 1870. He held that organization and education will be the task of coming generations whereas "our own task is a terrible, thorough, ubiquitous and pitiless destruction." His organization was called "The judgment of the people." He demanded unreserved submission from his followers and when one of them, the student Ivanov refused to obey he was murdered by order of Nechayev. This ended the revolutionary plot and Nechayev.

The new leader was Tkachev who advocated a political revolution if a general social revolution was impossible. In 1873-74 revolutionary feeling grew rapidly. The circle of the "Chalkovstys" in Petrograd, of which Kropotkin, Stepnyak were members developed great activity and there followed the movement known as "going among the people," which lasted through the summer of 1874, and which resembled a great religious revival. The bulk of the educated class, not only students, but many teachers, judges, physicians, officers and officials joined the ranks. Denying themselves comforts and undergoing many hardships, they went to preach the new liberty to the people. The immediate result was a failure. The peasants often turned against his enlighteners and delivered them to the authorities. But the failure was remedied by the society, "Land and Liberty," undertaking to organize permanent settlements among the villagers and working classes of the towns. This propaganda got a better reception from the proletariat of the cities. The workmen went farther and were more radical and direct in action. In 1879 the "Northern Alliance of Workingmen" was organized by followers of Tkachev, and resorted to terrorism, in the political struggle. But true populists could not uphold the terrorist policy so the "Northern Alliance" split off from the "Land and Liberty" party. The

(Continued on Page 19.)