

Father Georgi Appollonovich Gapon, Russian priest, labour leader, and (perhaps) spy



Although Father Gapon has worked and preached in the working class areas of St. Petersburg, there is a rumour that he is an agent for the police. Whether this is true or not remains to be seen.

He has organized workers into a group he calls the Assembly of Russian Workingmen. According to Father Gapon, this association is to strive "in a noble manner, under the leadership of educated, genuinely Russian people and clergymen towards a philosophy of life and the status of the working man in a sound Christian Spirit."

Upon arriving at the Winter Palace, Father Gapon will hand a petition to the Czar personally while the masses watch.

Sire: We, working men and inhabitants of St. Petersburg, our wives and our children and our helpless old parents, have come to You to seek truth, justice and protection.

We have been made beggars; we are oppressed and borne down by labour beyond our strength; we are humiliated; we are not treated as human beings but as slaves who must endure our bitter fate in silence. We have suffered this, and we are now being pushed ever further into the depths of poverty, injustice, and ignorance; we are being so stifled by despotism and arbitrary rule that we cannot breathe.

This is why we have come to the walls of Your palace. Here we seek our last hope of salvation. Do not deny Your people help; lead them out of the depths of injustice, poverty, and ignorance; give them the possibility of controlling their own fate and being free of the yoke of bureaucracy. Tear down the wall between Yourself and Your people and let them rule together with You . . . Examine our requests dispassionately and carefully: they are not evil in intent, but meant to help us and You.

We have nowhere else to go and there is no point in our going.

Russia in Revolt

The petition goes on to ask for the following:

1. A constituent assembly
2. Universal suffrage
3. Universal education
4. Separation of Church and State
5. Amnesty for all political prisoners
6. An income tax
7. A minimum wage
8. An eight hour day.

The first decision you must make is whether you will join Father Gapon and 120 000 other citizens of St. Petersburg on this march. Your decision will be based on what has happened previously and your feelings about those events. If you join the march you will be part of the events that follow. If you do not, you will be an observer of them. You will also observe the reactions of some of the individuals involved.

Of course, the war with Japan is still going on and letters continue to arrive from your uncle.

JANUARY 22, 1905

Sunday morning, January 22, 1905, with an icy wind driving flurries of snow, Father Gapon began his march. In the workers' quarters, processions formed to converge on the centre of the city. Locking arms, the workers streamed peacefully through the streets in rivers of cheerful, expectant humanity. Some carried crosses, ikons and religious banners, others carried national flags and portraits of the Czar. As they walked, they sang religious hymns and the Imperial anthem, "God Save the Czar"! At two p.m. all of the converging processions were scheduled to arrive at the Winter Palace.

There was no single confrontation with the troops. Throughout the city, at bridges and on strategic boulevards, the marchers found their way blocked by lines of infantry, backed by Cossacks and Hussars. Uncertain what this meant, still not expecting violence, anxious not to be late to see the Czar, the processions moved forward. In a moment of horror, the soldiers opened fire. Bullets smacked into the bodies of men, women and children. Crimson blotches stained the hard-packed snow. The official number of victims was ninety-two dead and several hundred wounded; the actual number was probably several times higher. Gapon vanished and the other leaders of the march were seized. Expelled from the capital, they circulated through the empire, exaggerating the casualties into thousands.

Nicholas and Alexandra

Reactions to Bloody Sunday

Some of the following reactions will come to you as participants or observers of the event. Others will come as rumours and suggestions from officials and servants associated with the Czar.

THE PEOPLE

As bullets riddled their ikons, their banners and their portraits of Nicholas, the people shrieked, "The Czar will not help us!"

Nicholas and Alexandra

FATHER GAPON

Father Gapon, from his place of hiding, issued a public letter bitterly denouncing "Nicholas Romanov, formerly Czar and at present soul-murderer of the Russian empire. The innocent blood of workers, their wives and children lies forever between you and the Russian people. . . . May all the blood which must be spilled fall upon you, you Hangman!"

Nicholas and Alexandra

NICHOLAS

At Czarskoe Selo, Nicholas was stunned when he heard what had happened. "A painful day", he wrote that night. "Serious disorders took place in Petersburg when the workers tried to come to the Winter Palace. The troops have been forced to fire in several parts of the city and there are many killed and wounded. Lord, how painful and sad this is!"

Nicholas and Alexandra

ALEXANDRA

"Don't believe all the horrors the foreign papers say. They make one's hair stand on end—foul exaggeration. Yes the troops, alas, were obliged to fire. Repeatedly the crowd was told to retreat and that Nicky was not in town (as we are living here this winter) and that one would be forced to shoot, but they would not heed and so blood was shed. On the whole, 92 killed and between 200-300 wounded.

"Had a small deputation brought, calmly, a real petition for the workmen's good, all would have been otherwise. Many of the workmen were in despair, when they heard later what the petition contained and begged to work again under the protection of the troops."

Nicholas and Alexandra

Assignment 6 JANUARY 31, 1905



The Journal and Papers of

Write a letter to a friend in Moscow describing the events of January 22, your role in these events and your reaction to them.

A Japanese cartoonist's view of the Russian Ice-Railway across Lake Baikal on the Trans-Siberian railway, April 1904



日露戦争電報實記之内
 國俄ノカイバ湖氷上鐵道閉車
 刺中氷中ニ没將校兵士數十人即死
 俄國輸送力大障碍受ルモトナリ

Reports from the Russo-Japanese War Phase 2 1905

BULLETIN FEBRUARY, 1905

The Battle of Mukden ended today with some 70 000 Japanese casualties. Again our soldiers have shown their love for Mother Russia and have only retreated foot by foot. Russian casualties are 90 000. The Japanese have occupied Mukden.

BULLETIN MAY 14, 1905

The Russian Baltic Fleet arrived in the Pacific today and immediately was attacked as it sailed for Vladivostok through the Straits of Tsushima. The Russian fleet suffered the following casualties:

of 8 battleships	—4 sunk, 4 captured;
of 12 cruisers	—7 sunk;
of 9 destroyers	—5 sunk, 1 captured;
Arrived at Vladivostok	—1 cruiser, 2 destroyers.



Admiral Rozhdestvenski will be brought to trial when and if he is released by the Japanese.

AUGUST 23, 1905

Treaty of Portsmouth signed!

All rights have been given to Japan in Korea, including Port Arthur. The southern half of the Island of Sakhalin is also ceded to Japan.

Political Parties: September 1905

All over Russia, political organizations are offering programs for change. These organizations vary from those who would destroy all existing institutions to those who would work within the existing framework of Czarism; from those who would abolish all private property to those who would make Russia a western-style democracy; from those who would execute the Czar and his family to those who would make him a constitutional monarch.

You, as a Russian citizen, are concerned about the country, what is happening to it and where it is going. You are also concerned about your own welfare and that of your family. Finally, surrounding all of this is your own philosophy about change, how it should be accomplished and how quickly it should come.

As you consider these things you might ask yourself these specific questions:

1. Do I believe in violence as a method of bringing change?
2. Do I believe that change should be accomplished within the law?
3. Can a political democracy accomplish the changes that Russia needs?
4. What changes will most benefit me as an individual?
5. Can I find happiness as a political revolutionary?
6. Can my ideas for Russia co-exist with the rule of Nicholas II?
7. Am I happy to continue to live as I am, without disturbing the *status quo*?
8. How far am I willing to commit my possessions, my time, my freedom, and even my life to bring change?
9. Would I like to see Siberia!

The following exercise will give you an idea of your own political feelings and of the political group in which you feel most at home.

There are five groups of statements, each group dealing with a different aspect of Russian life. These groups of statements will clarify your position on:

- A. The method of bringing change.
- B. The extent of change.
- C. The organization of government.
- D. The role of the different classes.
- E. The position of the Czar.

GROUP A: CHANGE AND HOW IT SHOULD TAKE PLACE

- 1. Allow life in Russia basically to proceed as it has, without change.
- 2. Use rational arguments and perhaps peaceful public demonstrations to bring needed change.
- 3. Use violence when necessary, but only when it will accomplish clearly specified objectives.
- 4. Start a campaign of terror involving the bombing of public buildings and the assassination of public officials.

GROUP B: THE EXTENT OF CHANGE

- 1. Continue the present economic and social system that has served Russia for centuries.
- 2. Pass legislation to bring economic and social reform to Russia, within the present framework of society.
- 3. Bring about a dramatic redistribution of wealth in Russia by communal ownership of land and business.

GROUP C: GOVERNMENT AND HOW IT SHOULD BE ORGANIZED

- 1. Continue the form of government that has served Russia for centuries and must continue to do so.
- 2. Work for the organization of a national *Duma* (parliament) with powers similar to the parliaments of England and France. Also call for the dismissal of incompetent ministers.
- 3. Make Russia a republic with a complete end to Czarist rule.

GROUP D: CLASSES IN RUSSIA AND THEIR ROLE IN CHANGE

- 1. Allow the aristocracy and existing government officials to bring change as

they see necessary, persuading the Czar to accept this.

- 2. Give power to the new, educated middle class to bring change through their new role in government.
- 3. Support a campaign of going into the villages of Russia to organize peasants into revolutionary groups against the government.
- 4. Support a campaign of going to the industrial workers of Russia to organize these individuals into revolutionary groups against the government.

GROUP E: THE FUTURE OF THE CZAR

- 1. Support the continuance of Czarist rule as part of the political future of Russia.
- 2. By all pressure short of violence, force the Czar and Czarina to step down and make Russia a republic.
- 3. By all pressure, including violence, force the Czar and Czarina to step down and make Russia a republic.
- 4. Devise a plot to assassinate the Czar and Czarina.

Note the statement in each of the above groups that best expresses your feelings. Using these statements as a basis, decide which of the following political parties seems best to carry out your ideas.

PARTY 1 THE RUSSIAN MONARCHIST PARTY

This group bitterly denounces the parliamentary institutions and democracy of Western Europe. It insists that the property rights of all landowners be maintained as the backbone of Russian society. The Czar is to remain as the focus of power in Russian government and all requests for popular representation are to be resisted. Great stress is laid on loyalty to the Czar, and this to be expressed by all citizens of Russia.

Leader: Gringmut (editor Moscow Gazette)

Karl Marx, 1818-1883. This photograph was taken three years before his death.

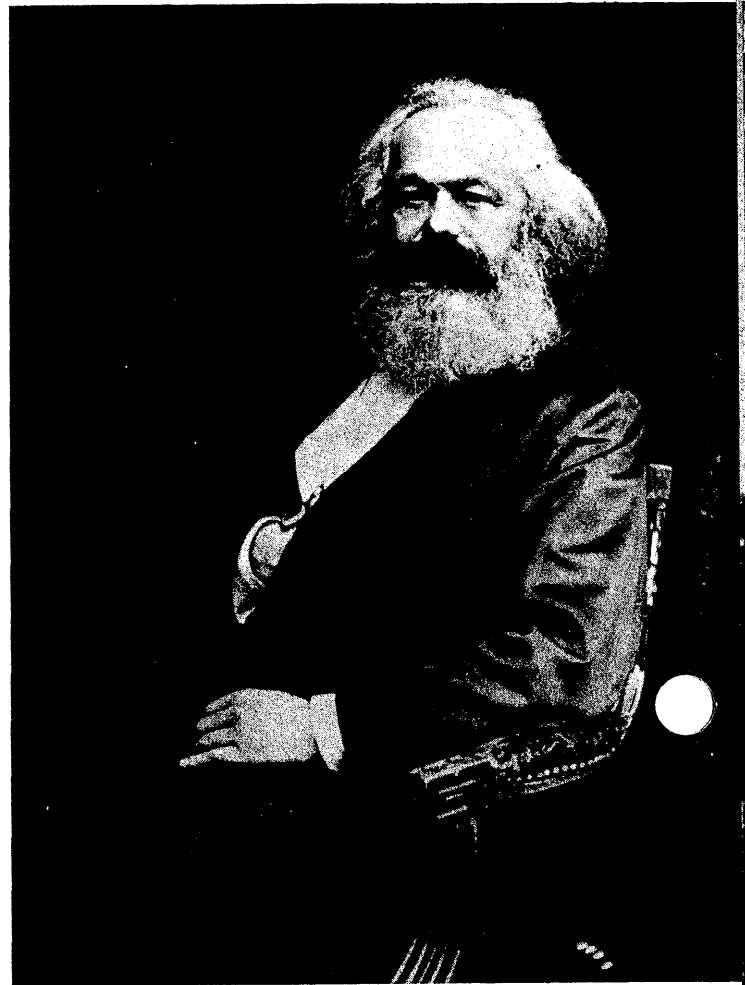
PARTY 2 KADETS

So-called from the initials of the party's name, the Constitutional Democrats or Kds—pronounced Ka Dets in Russian.

This group sees Russia lagging far behind the constitutional democracies of Europe like Britain and France. Russia has to move into the twentieth century by bringing government and law up to date. They particularly want the national *Duma* of Russia to resemble the British Parliament. This would mean it must have power to make laws, power to control taxation, and power to deal in foreign affairs. Ministers would be responsible to this organization. The Czar would no longer be absolute; he would be governed by a constitution. He would cooperate with the Duma rather than fight it. A few members of this party feel Russia would be best served if the Czar were to step down altogether.

This group rejects violence as a means of accomplishing change. It also rejects a complete change in the economic and social structure but sees the problems of Russia solved by economic and social reforms within the present framework.

This group is largely made up of the middle class and aristocrats. Included among its leaders are Professor Pavel Miliukov and Prince Georgi Lvov.



PARTY 3 SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARIES

The Socialist Revolutionaries, who in 1901 finally coalesced into the party known by that name, laid a good deal of stress on peasant revolt. . . . But it should not be imagined that they were exclusively an agrarian party. . . . Strikes, demonstrations, all forms of industrial protest were welcome. . . . It was the Socialist Revolutionaries' Combat Section which was, in the years to come, to be responsible for the long series of killings which astonished the world. . . . They were far from being disciplined ideologues: their simple-minded aim was to

clear away the system as quickly as possible and with as much violence as was convenient in order to establish in its place without further ado a new order of justice and equity.

The Shadow of the Winter Palace

This group accepts the need for a complete restructuring of Russian society. Land is to be confiscated and redistributed in the form of peasant communes. With the destruction of Czarism a new Russia will emerge from the ashes of the old.

Included in this party is a young man by the name of Alexander Kerensky.

PARTY 4 SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

This group accepts the blueprint of Karl Marx for revolution. Industrialism would bring a conflict between bourgeoisie (the exploiters—factory owners, landlords, etc.) and proletariat (industrial working class). Finally, in a bloody revolution, the proletariat under the leadership of this party will overthrow the bourgeoisie. This means the destruction of Czarism and the capitalist system on which it rests. The new system will give the people ownership of land, industry, and the means of exchange.

In 1903 this party split over the question of party membership. One group, the Bolsheviks, felt membership should be limited to a “centralized, disciplined party of professional revolutionaries.” A second group, the Mensheviks, argued for an open membership to any workers who agreed with the principles of the party.

Included among the leaders of the Bolsheviks is Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov. As the author of a pamphlet on revolution, he used the pen name Lenin.

One of the members of the Mensheviks is a young man by the name of Leon Bronstein. In escaping from Siberia, he used a forged passport with the name of Trotsky. He would keep this name for the rest of his life.

Assignment 7 SEPTEMBER, 1905



The Journal and Papers of

Now that you have joined a political party, prepare a speech that you will deliver upon your initial acceptance by the group. In this speech you should indicate why you have joined, what you hope to see accomplished and the role you personally want to play.

The October Manifesto, 1905

1905 started with the bloodshed of that Sunday in January and so much has happened since.

The war dragged on, with continuing defeats, until the Treaty of Portsmouth in August.

In Russia, in the months that follow that day in January, students riot and universities are closed. Peasants revolt and houses and estates burn. Workers strike and factories are shut down. Sailors on the battleship *Potemkin* mutiny and sail into a neutral Rumanian port. A bomb is thrown at a carriage and the Czar’s uncle is killed.

Then in September and October all the unrest and disorder comes together. It starts when printers in Moscow go on strike for more money . . . and it begins to spread . . . from one city to another . . . from one group of workers to another. St. Petersburg—bakers! Kiev—railway workers! Even the dancers of the ballet of St. Petersburg walk out. Factories, shops, schools, hospitals and law courts all close down.

During this time the St. Petersburg Soviet makes its appearance on the scene. It is a body of elected representatives speaking for the workers of the city. Other cities already have similar organizations. This organization puts forward demands for freedom, a voice in government and improved working conditions.

The greatest danger for Nicholas, however, lies in the growing agrarian disorders. All across the empire the “red cock” of revolt is flying as peasants burn and destroy the estates.

The violence spreads. Here is a report you hear from a friend who has a relative living in a village outside St. Petersburg.

The peasants, he said, would first order the landowner and his family out of his house. They they would seize his corn and other produce, his livestock, and sometimes his furniture. Then they would dismiss his farmhands and servants, and finally they would burn down the farm buildings.

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