

FROM PETER THE GREAT TO LENIN

S. P. Turin



FROM
PETER THE GREAT
TO LENIN

FROM PETER THE GREAT TO LENIN

A History of the Russian Labour Movement
with Special Reference to
Trade Unionism

S. P. TURIN



FRANK CASS & CO. LTD.

Published by
FRANK CASS AND COMPANY LIMITED
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN
by arrangement with P. S. King & Son Ltd.

First edition	1935
New impression	1968

Transferred to Digital Printing 2005

ISBN 0 7146 1364 9 (hbk)

P R E F A C E

IN writing this book my chief aim has been to present an account of the Russian Labour Movement, based mainly on original Russian sources. I should not have ventured on this dangerous ground if I had not been persuaded that the materials and documents here collected may be of some use in filling in the gap which exists on this subject in the literature of this country.

The Labour Movement in Russia differed greatly from those of the chief European countries from its inception up to its final stage, and it would be a mistake to apply to it the same measuring-rod which we are accustomed to use for the Labour Movement of this or any other country of Europe. On the other hand, the Revolution of 1917 created universal interest in the "soviets." Before that the existence of soviets was hardly known outside Russia, although the whole history of the Russian Labour Movement rests upon them.

The object of the book is, therefore, to investigate the main trends of the movement; to analyse the origins and nature of soviets; and to describe the scope and character of the Russian Labour organisation. The latter will be treated here with special reference to trade unionism, for the trade union problem has not received adequate treatment outside Russia, and indeed, even in Russia itself it has not been investigated sufficiently. The existence of a fair number of books in English on the Socialist Movement in Russia makes it hardly necessary for me to describe it fully here. I deal with it, therefore, as need arises, mainly

in connection with its influence upon the labour organisation in Russia.

Finally, I attempt to throw some light on the question of how far the present *régime* in the U.S.S.R., with all its strength and weakness, is the natural outcome of the prolonged struggle for freedom and independence by the Russian people.

No one can be more aware than myself of the defects and shortcomings of the pages which follow. I feel, however, that the opportunity which I have had of handling documents and materials that have already disappeared, or are rapidly disappearing, and my participation in the trade union movement, which I was able to observe from the inside at a highly critical period in its history, imposed on me a moral obligation to preserve some permanent record of them.

I have supplemented the book by the addition of two articles. The first is a Report on Workers' Family Budgets in Soviet Russia, which I communicated to the International Labour Office of the League of Nations in 1929; the second is a lecture on Russian Consumers' Societies, delivered at the Summer School of the Co-operative Party at Cober Hill, near Scarborough, in 1927. The former may serve as a basis for a study of the standard of life of the Russian workman; the latter describes, though necessarily only in outline, the development of the Co-operative Movement in Russia before the Revolution.

The bibliography of Russian sources printed at the end of the book will, I hope, be of some use for a further study of Russian problems, especially as in their more recent works the majority of Russian economists, historians and politicians omit references to the pre-revolutionary literature. I have resisted

the temptation to utilise sources published in languages other than Russian, and have made only a few references to them. I have also abstained from quoting any material published in Russian outside Soviet Russia, soon after the Revolution of 1917, as such material must be regarded as a secondary, and not a primary source.

My indebtedness to Sir William Beveridge, Professor Harold Laski, Sir Bernard Pares and Professor Lionel Robbins is great. Without their encouragement I should have found it difficult to complete my investigation.

I need hardly say how much my studies of Russian trade unionism have been inspired and guided by the works of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb on the history and organisation of trade unionism in Great Britain.

I am deeply grateful to Professor R. H. Tawney and Mr. C. M. Lloyd for all their suggestions and their invaluable criticism during my study. It is needless to say that I alone am responsible for any arguments and conclusions contained in this book.

I have also to thank many friends for their help and assistance of all kinds, and my wife for her unfailing comradeship throughout the whole period of my study and work.

I shall have realised my aim if my book should prove of some use to students of Russian problems, and helps to elucidate them.

S. P. T.

London, 1935.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	PREFACE	V
I.	FROM PETER THE GREAT TO PUGACHEV	I
	The Inception of Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries—Peter the Great and his Reforms—State Factories—The Organisation of Labour: <i>Artels</i> and <i>Starostas</i> —The Rules of 1741—Insurrections and Riots of Workers—The Pugachev Insurrection—The Character of the Russian Labour Movement.	
II.	BEFORE THE EMANCIPATION	19
	Russian Industry and Labour in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century—Wages—Labour Legislation—Strikes and Riots—Labour Organisations—The Influence of the <i>Decembrists</i> ' Movement—The Economic Conditions of Russia on the Eve of the Emancipation.	
III.	AFTER THE EMANCIPATION	31
	The Effects of the Emancipation—Conditions of Work in the Factories—Factory Inspectors' Reports—The Institution of <i>Starostas</i> —Strikes—The Morosov Strike—The "First Russian Labour Code" of 1886—The Socialist and Revolutionary Movement in Russia.	
IV.	THE RUSSIAN LABOUR MOVEMENT AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	46
	Disputes and "Group" Strikes—The Activities of the Russian Social-Democratic Party—The Famine of 1891—Demonstration Strikes—The Act of 1897—The Birth of Russian Trade Unionism—Revolutionary Propaganda—The Russian Labourer and the Character of the Russian Labour Movement.	
V.	POLICE SOCIALISM IN RUSSIA	56
	The Industrial Crisis of the late Nineteenth Century and the Discontent in the Country—The Law of January 10th, 1903—Zubatov and his Organisation—Professor Ozerov and the Revolutionaries—The Zubatov Organisation in St. Petersburg and in the Provinces.	

VI.	FATHER GAPON AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1905	68
	The Russo-Japanese War—Fear of a General Strike—Father Gapon—The Putilov Strike—The Gapon Society—January 9th, 1905, and the Workers' Petition—The Russian Social-Democrats and the Gapon Society—The Commission of Senator Shidlovsky—The Declaration of the Labour Delegation—Banquets of Liberals—The Revolution of 1905—The characteristic Feature of the Russian Labour Movement—The First Soviet of Workers' Deputies.	
VII.	THE ORIGINS OF A LEGALISED TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA AND THE FIRST TRADES COUNCILS	84
	The Workers' Factory Committees and the First Legal Trade Unions—The Moscow Trades Council and its Activities—St. Petersburg and other Trades Councils—Trades Councils in Germany—The London Trades Council of 1861.	
VIII.	THE GROWTH OF REACTION	110
	The Reaction after the 1905 Revolution—The Attitude of the Police towards Trade Unions—Employers' Organisations—A new Method in Strikes—The Strike of Textile Workers—Trade Unions, their Membership, Organisation and Functions—The Dissolution of the Duma and its Effect on the Labour Movement—The Labour Press.	
IX.	ON THE EVE OF THE WORLD WAR	118
	The Recovery of Russian Industry from the Depression—The Miners' Strike in the Lena Goldfields and their Claims—Delegates and <i>Starostas</i> —The Insurance Act of 1912—The Aspirations of Workmen before the War.	
X.	DURING THE WAR	127
	The Declaration of the War and its Effects on the Labour Supply—The Strike Movement during the War—"Political" Strikes—Trade Unions—The Shadow of Zubatov—Declarations of the Fourth Duma.	

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xi

	PAGE
EPILOGUE	135
Dawn of a New Epoch—Factory Committees— Trade Unions of the Old Type—The Third All- Russian Conference of Trade Unions (1917)—The First All-Russian Trade Union Congress (1918)— The British Labour Delegation to Russia and the Russian Printers' Union (1920)—Conclusions.	
WORKERS' FAMILY BUDGET ENQUIRIES IN THE U.S.S.R.	151
THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA	164
STATISTICAL SUPPLEMENT AND DOCUMENTS :	
APPENDIX	
I. THE REGULATION OF 1741	177
II. NUMBER OF WORKERS, WAGES AND PRICES IN RUSSIA IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	178
III. RULES OF EMPLOYMENT OF PERSONS FREELY-HIRED. (THE LAW CODE OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE FOR 1857.)	182
IV. THE "FIRST RUSSIAN LABOUR CODE." (THE LAW OF JUNE 3RD, 1886.). . .	185
V. STRIKES DURING THE YEARS 1895-1904	187
VI. THE RULES OF THE UNION OF WORKERS EMPLOYED IN THE TEA-DISTRIBUTING TRADE	190

APPENDIX

PAGE

VII.	THE DECLARATION TO THE BRITISH LABOUR DELEGATION OF THE RUSSIAN PRINTERS' UNION, PASSED AT A GENERAL MEETING OF THE UNION ON MAY 23RD, 1920	193
VIII.	WAGES AND PRICES OF FOOD DURING THE YEARS 1901-1915	196
	BRIEF CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE	200
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	203
	GLOSSARY	212
	INDEX OF SUBJECTS.	214
	„ OF PERSONS	217

FROM PETER THE GREAT TO LENIN

CHAPTER I

FROM PETER THE GREAT TO PUGACHEV

The Inception of Industry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—Peter the Great and his Reforms—State Factories—The Organisation of Labour: *artels* and *starostas*—The Rules of 1741—Insurrections and Riots of Workers—The Pugachev Insurrection—The Character of the Russian Labour Movement.

THE Russian Labour Movement is two hundred years old. The first signs of industrial development in Russia appeared in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but production was sporadic and primitive in character, and goods were manufactured not so much for the open market as for the use of the Crown; and internal and foreign trade alike bore a handicraft character. The early part of the eighteenth century marks the beginning of industry on Western lines, when Peter the Great decided to copy European methods of production in Russia. It was at this time also that the first shoots of free labour began to push their way through the bondage by which the social and economic life of Russia was overlaid.

In order to understand the experiments of Peter the Great in the sphere of production, and his attempts to guarantee a sufficient labour supply for newly-created industries, we must bear in mind that Russia at that time was just beginning to recover from the evils of civil strife, of "the Time of Troubles," and that the regeneration of the economic life brought

2 FROM PETER THE GREAT TO LENIN

with it the revival of the old political *régime*. "The nobles definitely seated themselves in the place of the boyars; and out of their midst arose the new feudal aristocracy that made possible the flowering of the 'new feudalism' of the eighteenth century."*

In the growth of Russian boundaries and in the increase of foreign trade much greater possibilities of use and development opened for merchants' and commercial capital, which had begun to accumulate in Russia long before the accession of Peter the Great. All the reforms of Peter the Great actually grew out of political and economic conditions. Peter the Great did not create his industries out of nothing.† There were present "all the conditions requisite for the development of large-scale production: there was capital (though in part foreign); there was a domestic market; there were working hands."‡ But Peter the Great did not realise that it was impossible to drive commercial capital into artificial channels and that Russia was not yet ready for industrial development on a large scale. It was beyond Peter the Great's power to force capitalism on Russia artificially. It came to Russia in the latter half of the nineteenth century as a consequence of the natural development of the economic forces of the country.

The methods employed by Peter the Great to

* "Boyar—free follower of a prince; member of highest social and political class in Russia until Peter the Great established the 'Table of Ranks' (1722), which made rank technically dependent on service position (as it had already become in fact)." M. Pokrovsky, "A History of Russia." London, 1930, p. 240.

† "There can be no doubt, that during the periods successively of Peter's grandfather, father, elder brother, and sister, those reforms had at least undergone a partial initiation, and more than one Western innovation had been borrowed." V. Klyuchevsky, "A History of Russia." London 1926, Vol. IV., p. 215.

‡ M. Pokrovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

foster industry in Russia are well known ; they included the enforcement of strict regulations, the establishment of monopolies, and grants of bounties to manufacturers. His government encouraged the free import of machinery from abroad and fixed high duties on imported manufactured goods ; it supplied the owners of factories with capital, with machinery and with skilled labour from abroad. Manufacturers were exempted from payment of various State dues and taxes ; entire villages, with their inhabitants, were placed at the disposal of factory owners in order to ensure an adequate supply of labour. State factories were transferred to private owners, together with the workers employed in them ; free artisans were no longer allowed to move from the factories in which they were employed to other parts of the country ; vagrants, illegitimate children, dissolute women and criminals were sent to the factories. This practice of Peter the Great reminds us of the means used to procure labour in other European countries, as, for instance, in Austria under Maria Theresa, or in England, when the Act of 1802 was necessary to defend the parish children against exploitation in the factories.*

But in spite of the stringent measures taken, the problem of an adequate supply of labour still remained unsolved, and in 1721 Peter the Great issued a decree which empowered noblemen to employ their peasants in factories, and which gave them, as well as the merchant class, the right " to buy entire villages together with their bondmen, on condition that these shall for ever remain attached to the factory for which they were bought," that is, factory

* I. M. Kulisher, " A History of Russian Industry and Labour," in the Archives of the History of Labour in Russia. Petrograd, 1921, Vol. I., p. 30.

4 FROM PETER THE GREAT TO LENIN

owners were not allowed to sell their factories separately from the workers employed in them. Later, in 1736, this decree was supplemented by an Order which laid down that not only bondmen, but all workers and their families should remain in the factories for ever, including those free workers who had no owners.* These two enactments legalised forced labour in Russian industry, and "our factories became real workhouses where order was maintained by strict discipline and onerous punishment was the only incentive to work."†

All Russian factories and works during this period belonged to one of three categories. There were, in the first place, State or Crown works ; secondly, there were private works, later called *possessional*, with workers attached to them ; and, thirdly, private works belonging to noblemen (later called *votchimi* or "private estate" works).‡ H. Storch, a German economist and tutor to Alexander I., gives the following description of the first two categories : "The work in Crown and private mines is done by crown 'master-workers,' by peasants attached to the mines and by free labourers. The class of 'master workers' consists of crown peasants and of men destined for the army, but who have been detained

* A. Bykov, "Factory Legislation in Russia." St. Petersburg, 1909, pp. 129, 130 ; V. I. Semevsky, "The Peasants during the Reign of Catherine II." St. Petersburg, 1903, Vol. I., p. 458 ; A. Afanassiev, "The National Wealth during the Reign of Peter the Great," in the *Sovremennik*, 1847, Vol. IV., Pt. II., p. 19.

† M. Tugan-Baranovsky, "The Russian Factories in the Past and Present." St. Petersburg, 1898, p. 23. Professor J. Mavor, in his book on the "Economic History of Russia," accepts this view of the position of labour in the time of Peter the Great : "Russian factory industry in the eighteenth century was founded upon the same basis as the cultivation of the soil, namely upon bondage, and the factories became veritable workhouses" (p. 126).

‡ The majority of Russian industrial undertakings at that time were either mines or iron works.

for work in the mines. These, as well as their descendants, belong to the private and state mines to which they are attached and are kept at the expense of the Crown or of the owners of the mines. Their wages vary from 15 to 30 roubles per annum, according to their qualifications. The cost of food which is bought by them in the stores is deducted from their salaries. The discipline, wages and punishments . . . are almost entirely military. Promotion is the same as in the army; they are tried by court-martial, and the members of administration of the mines attend the court, if necessary. . . . Peasants attached to factories perform all kinds of unskilled work, and their ambiguous position led to numerous abuses.”* The work in private undertakings which belonged to noblemen was done by their bondmen. As a rule, they worked three days a week at the works and three days in their own fields; and at first no wages were paid to them for work done for their owners.

The Government, having started State mines and factories, issued several regulations to control the conditions and hours of work in them. The Admiralty Regulation of 1722 was the first enactment of this kind: it fixed the hours of labour for State works only, but it was adopted as a general rule by the majority of works and factories, and was in force until 1853—over a century and a quarter! The working day fixed by this Regulation was ten hours in the winter months and thirteen hours in the summer. The bell calling the people to work tolled one hour before sunrise in winter (September 10th to March 10th) and tolled again one hour after sunset to dismiss them; the dinner hour was from 11 a.m. to

* H. Storch, “*Tableau Historique et Statistique de l’Empire de Russie à la fin du XVIII^{ième} siècle.*” Paris, 1801, Vol. II., p. 394.

6 FROM PETER THE GREAT TO LENIN

noon. In summer the bell tolled at 4.30 a.m., and again at 7 p.m., except in June and July, when work continued until 8 p.m.; the dinner interval in summer was longer than in winter, lasting from 11 a.m. till 12.30 p.m. in March and April, till 1.30 p.m. in June and July, and till 1 p.m. in August.*

This division of the calendar year into only two seasons led to unequal length of the working day in the different parts of the country. The Regulation was amended in 1843, when Russia was divided into three zones—Northern, Central and Southern—with four seasons instead of two. The working day was fixed at 12 hours in summer, 9 in spring and autumn, and 8 in winter. The average working day fixed by the Regulation of 1843 was 10½ hours, instead of the 11½ hours of 1722.

The number of working days was 250 in the year; the remaining 115 days were Sundays, feast days and free days (from 20 to 30 per annum); the latter were set aside to enable peasants working in factories to till their own land.†

It is an important fact that the wage system at this stage of Russian industry was of a primitive character. "The workman, if he was a bondman, hardly ever received his wages in cash. . . . Notwithstanding the government rule that wages were to be paid to bonded workers, hardly anything was left to them after their taxes had been deducted from

* K. Pazhitnov, "The Hours of Work in the Mining Industry," in the *Archives*, Vol. II., p. 19.

† "In the mining areas of the Ural and Altai Mountains work was usually done in two shifts of twelve hours each with a dinner interval of one hour; in some mines there were shifts of eight and sixteen hours alternatively." Ben Von Fr. Hermann, "The Siberian Works and Mines," 1797, p. 172, cited by K. Pazhitnov. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

their wages ; this was particularly the case when they were employed in private factories."*

The first decree regulating wages was issued by Peter the Great on January 13th, 1724, and fixed the following rates of pay for work done " by men and horses " in the mines : " ten kopeks per day in summer for a peasant and horse, and five kopeks per day for a peasant without a horse ; in winter, six and four kopeks respectively."† The decree applied to unskilled workers only ; the wages of skilled workers and of foreign workers were higher, and a special wage scale had been drawn up for foremen, journeymen, apprentices and unskilled labourers employed in the State works in the Ural province ; this scale, like the Regulation of 1722, was adopted as a standard by other works, and for more than a century was used as the basis of the regulation of wages in the country.‡

The payment of extremely low wages during the first half of the eighteenth century needs explanation, which lies in the fact that the money wages of bondmen did not play an important part in their budget, as they were mainly paid in kind ; that the cost of living in Russia at that time was very low ; and that the legal position of workers was such that neither owners nor Government saw any reason to trouble about their wages.

There was another factor affecting the workers' condition at that time : the system of factory stores. The establishment of these stores was dictated by

* A. Lappo-Danilevsky, " The Russian Trading and Industrial Companies in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century." 1899 (St. Petersburg), pp. 69-70.

† K. Pazhitnov, " Wages in the Mining Industry," in the *Archives*, Vol. III., p. 7. See also : J. Hessen, " A History of Miners in the U.S.S.R." Moscow, 1926, Vol. I., p. 52.

‡ K. Pazhitnov, in his " Wages in the Mining Industry " (*op. cit.*,

8 FROM PETER THE GREAT TO LENIN

pure necessity ; the workers had to be supplied with food and other necessities because factories, in the majority of cases, were built far from villages and trading centres, especially in Siberia and the Ural Mountains. "Supplies for the workers, according to the decree of the 11th February 1724, must be laid in for a whole year and money to pay for them must be deducted from wages or salaries."* Factory Rules issued in 1735 give details of the sale of provisions to workers at factory stores : "the quality must be good, weights and measures correct, and prices must not exceed cost price plus 10 to 20 per cent. to cover overhead charges."† But, notwithstanding this Regulation, the prices at the stores were very high, and this made the position of the workers unbearable. "Many workers, after deductions of payment for bread had been made from their wages, received from 1·25 to 3 kopeks per month. And buckwheat, meat and clothing had to be bought out of this balance."‡

The conditions of work in the newly-erected factories and works were also very unsatisfactory. A special Commission, appointed by the Government

Vol. III., p. 8) gives the following rates of wages paid in the State factories in the Ural province :—

		Roubles per annum.		
		1723	1737	1766
Foreman (foreign)	.	100	36	36
Foreman (Russian)	.	24-36	30-36	36
Journeyman	.	15-24	15-24	24
Apprentice	.			
Unskilled Labourer	}	12-18	10-15	12-18

This table indicates, in the first place, the reduction in the wages of foreign foremen, and, in the second, the amazing stability of rates of pay for unskilled labour ; nominal wages remained at practically the same level for nearly fifty years.

* K. Pazhitnov, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 11.

† *Ibid.*, p. 11. Compare also A. Lappo-Danilevsky, *op. cit.*, p. 69, etc.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 12. See also M. Tugan-Baranovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 25 ; V. Semevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 547.

to inquire into the position in these industries, reported that low productivity of labour and the bad quality of manufactured goods were due to "the very bad buildings in which work was being done; the lighting was inadequate and the roofs leaked . . . in the majority of undertakings there were no covered floors . . . there were no stone, brick or wooden floors. . . . The workers were badly dressed and few of them had a whole shirt to their backs."* As a result of this inquiry two decrees were issued by the Government on September 2nd, 1741; one was called the Regulation, the other the Workers' Rules; but neither of these found favour with the owners, who simply ignored them, and soon they were forgotten by the Government, which took no steps to enforce them.†

The low rates of wages, the rise in the cost of living and the unbearable working conditions led to riots of the Russian semi-servile peasants, engaged in the State and private enterprises. "The annals of history are full of slave insurrections and of semi-servile peasant revolts," say Sidney and Beatrice Webb in their "History of Trade Unionism." "These forms of the 'labour war' fall outside our subject, not only because they in no case resulted in permanent associations, but because the 'strikers' were not seeking to improve the conditions of a contract of service into which they voluntarily entered."‡ In Russia this type of insurrection of semi-servile peasants became to a certain extent the predecessor of the Russian Labour Movement, and

* M. Tugan-Baranovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 26; A. Lappo-Danilevsky, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

† A. Bykov, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-133. See also Appendix I., p. 177.

‡ Sidney and Beatrice Webb, "The History of Trade Unionism." London. Ed. 1919, p. 2.

on these revolts actually rests the history of the Russian labour organisation.

The most serious, persistent and characteristic revolts occurred in the famous metal works in Lipetsk, in the paper-mills owned by Count Sievers near St. Petersburg, and in the Demidov iron-works in the Urals.

The metal works in Lipetsk, to which 1,300 peasants were attached, had been handed over by the Government to Prince Repnin in 1754. The conditions of work immediately changed for the worse, and the management began to treat the workers as ordinary bonded peasants. The workers then decided to ask the Government to take them back into the State works. In their petition, which was put before the authorities by their representative, Kuprianov, they stated that their wages, which had been fixed by decree at from 4 to 5 kopeks a day, had been reduced to 2 and 3 kopeks, and piece work from 50 kopeks to 20·5 kopeks per pood ; that cash payment had been replaced by payment in kind : by 'scythes, knives, mittens, wax, incense and horses,' which were unsaleable owing to the high prices fixed for them by the management ; and that deductions of taxes from wages were introduced by the management, whereas they had already been paid to the noblemen, and workers were thus obliged to pay their taxes twice over. The right of the management to send undesirable workers to the recruiting offices further added to the workers' discontent, especially as the State workers were exempt from military service. The presentation of the petition did not pass unpunished, and a special detachment of soldiers was sent to the factory to flog Kuprianov before his assembled comrades ; the workers set upon the soldiery and liberated Kuprianov. After this, they

decided to create their own management, called the *Stanichnaya Isba* or District Peasants' Court, of which Kuprianov was elected chairman. The *Isba* used to send its representatives with petitions to the Government and collected money for the upkeep of the organisation. Workers who refused to join the *Isba* and to obey its orders were severely punished : in one case a man was beaten ; in another, all the doors and windows of a worker's house were taken from their hinges ; the wife of a third was dragged from her house by her hair and beaten.*

Another characteristic struggle had taken place in a paper-mill which had been given over by the Government to Count Sievers in 1753 and was, after his death, sold to Lieutenant Khlebnikov. From 1753 until 1802 the workers struggled here continuously for the restitution of their rights as State workers. They resented the cruel system of corporal punishment practised in the factory and insisted that floggings must be carried out in the presence of witnesses, before an assembly of workers.†

The Demidov works in the Ural Mountains afford a glaring instance of the cruel treatment of workers. According to the figures collected by the workers themselves, and put before the Government, 328 workers had been flogged in two of the Demidov plants between the years 1757 and 1760, and one of the men so flogged had died of his injuries, while a number of others were maimed for life. When the workers in Nikita Demidov's works rebelled in 1760, 500 Cossacks, and dragoons with a gun, were sent to

* V. I. Semevsky, "The Peasants during the Reign of Catherine II.," Vol. I., p. 487, etc.

† The origin of this demand was evidently Peter the Great's decree of 1736, in which it was laid down that floggings might only be carried out in the presence of all the workers of a factory, or all the villagers.