RUSSIA’S AGONY, AMERICA’S FUTURE?
NEARLY 100 YEARS AFTER BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION, CANDID OBSERVATIONS OF REPORTER RECOUNTED

DURING WORLD WAR I, the British press was almost uniformly anti-Russian. What reporter Robert Wilton understood made him stand out: that Russia was not only a first-rank power, but a strongly equitable and just society as well. Wilton stood almost alone among English journalists at the time in trying to get the truth out about Old Russia, one where the monarchy was not only strong and respected, but dedicated to social justice as well.

By Marc Roland

One hundred years ago, remembered Robert Archibald Wilton, “I had been invited to lunch at the palace” of Czar Nicholas II. It was not the first occasion that the chief foreign correspondent of The London Times in Russia socialized with the royal family. The Mogilev Palace “forms a semi-circular row of buildings overlooking the picturesque valley of the Dnieper. In the large drawing room, 25 or 30 guests had assembled, standing in a long row and waiting for the hosts to come out of their apartments. . . . Although a civilian, I had to wear a sword, such being the etiquette. One of the British officers lent me his.” Wilton continued:

Walking around to greet their guests, the sovereigns stopped by to say a few words to friends or strangers. The grand duchesses filed past like a bevy of schoolgirls, holding up their hands to be kissed. In front of them came Alexei [the young czarevitch], dressed in soldier’s uniform, khaki shirt, trousers and top boots, and wearing the medal of St. George, of which he was very proud. It had been bestowed on him for service in the trenches. He gave me a friendly nod, and glanced admiringly at my ribbons [Wilton was awarded the same military decoration for his volunteer service in the Imperial Russian Army], which were those of his order. A winsome lad, bright and full of mischief, he interested and attracted all who knew him. As he had been thoroughly spoilt by his doting parents, and did pretty well what he pleased, this was rather wonderful.

Everybody then entered the dining room, where a long table was spread for luncheon. Another table containing the celebrated zakushka [an hors d’oeuvre of vegetables and sour cream dip served with vodka] stood near the windows, from which a glorious, snowy view of Russia’s historic river offered itself. Having partaken of the caviar
and other delicacies, we sat down to a modest repast served on silver. Half an hour later, we were again in the dining room. This time, the emperor spoke at greater length with those of his guests whom he wished to entertain.

He chatted with me about my visits to the front, displaying a remarkable acquaintance with regiments and their respective positions. He knew about my son’s service in the Russian and in the British Guards, remembering even the smallest thing. We spoke English and Russian. He had scarcely any trace of foreign accent. I had never met anyone more simple and unaffected. He looked shy and diffident, with a quiet dignity and an indefinable charm of manner.

The clear, resonant voice betrayed physical vigor; the mournful eye, an internal dreaminess. Altogether, a typical Russian. I never saw him again. That was in November 1916.1

Five months later, Nicholas was dethroned and arrested. In another 16 months, he, his wife, their four daughters and 13-year-old son were herded into the cellar of an abandoned, private home at Ekaterinburg near the Urals to be ruthlessly exterminated. Nicholas, Alexandra, their daughters Olga, Tatiana, Maria, Anastasia and son Alexei were devout Orthodox Christians. They exemplified all that is precious to Russians and Americans—Christian piety and love for one’s neighbor. Their murder in the house of a wealthy Jewish merchant was one of the greatest crimes of the past millennium and was followed by the breakdown of Christian family values worldwide—the core of an ethical and cohesive society. But the twisted dream has failed; today a new Christian leader has arisen in Russia, named Vladimir Putin. A plan is under way to build 200 new churches in Moscow. This while hundreds of mosques spring up across America.

Christians martyred by the Bolsheviks. This painting by Pavel Ryzhenko depicts some of Russia’s royal family (Czar Nicholas II, his wife Alexandra and little Alexei, their son) during their early imprisonment at Tsarskoe Selo (“Village of the Czars”) in the city of Pushkin near St. Petersburg. Later, the entire family was taken to Ekaterinburg near the Urals to be ruthlessly exterminated. Nicholas, Alexandra, their daughters Olga, Tatiana, Maria, Anastasia and son Alexei were devout Orthodox Christians. They exemplified all that is precious to Russians and Americans—Christian piety and love for one’s neighbor. Their murder in the house of a wealthy Jewish merchant was one of the greatest crimes of the past millennium and was followed by the breakdown of Christian family values worldwide—the core of an ethical and cohesive society. But the twisted dream has failed; today a new Christian leader has arisen in Russia, named Vladimir Putin. A plan is under way to build 200 new churches in Moscow. This while hundreds of mosques spring up across America.
found knowledge of Russian society from the bottom up
made him the foremost international journalist of the Vic-
torian Age. He is best remembered today, however, for
the book *Russia’s Agony*, still in print after more than 90
years, written during the last days of World War I. The
book is uniquely broad in scope, with a panoramic grasp
of the forces, personalities and causes that brought down
an empire. Wilton not only lived through this violent pe-
riod, but was on speaking terms with many of its leading
characters. Foremost among them, of course, was
Nicholas II, through whom the otherwise impenetrable
tangle of pre-revolutionary events becomes clear. So do
cautions holder tuples with the United States, similarly af-
flicted by the same kinds of pressures currently gnawing
away at our civilization.

These corrosive energies were inadvertently aided by
Nicholas II’s characteristic flaw, as described by Wilton.
It manifested itself on the day of his coronation, in May
1896, when the common people were invited to celebrate
with free food and beer at Khodynka field. This pre-
doomed attempt at public relations failed horribly, when
about 100,000 persons rushed to get their share, many of
them tripping and trampling over one
another. As soon as Nicholas learned
of the tragedy, he ordered the army
to supply relief and hospitalization,
then repaired to his chambers to pray
for the 1,389 dead and 1,300 injured,
but was sidetracked by his advisors
into attending instead a gala ball for
the newly arrived French ambassa-
dor. Virtually everyone else, however,
regarded Nicholas as callous and un-
caring.

While the first, it was not the last
time he was misguided by foolish or self-serving courtiers
to whom he all too often deferred against his better judg-
ment. But he was by no means their puppet, and rang up
a series of domestic achievements only a hard-working
regent could have brought about. These successes con-
trasted the continued portrayal of his reign by Western
court historians as an epoch of unrelieved incompetence,
tranny and misery ultimately culminating with his richly
deserved overthrow. In fact, shortly after Nicholas II as-
sumed the throne, he completed a series of financial re-
forms initiated by Alexander III, his father, 15 years
earlier, and stabilized the economy by putting it on
the gold standard.

By 1903, he oversaw completion of the Trans-Siberian
Railway, which established trade with the Far East. “The
czar threw open large tracts of fertile land in the Altai val-
leys to colonization,” writes Wilton. “Emigration had
changed the face of that vast region. Thousands of miles
of the railway, and sometimes many hundreds of miles on
either side, were dotted with settlements. Dairy farmers
associated themselves together, imported Danish experts,
set up modern plants and machinery, and did a roaring
business with the British market.” Wilton writes of “peas-
ant millionaires,” who “supplied cottage industries with
raw material and helped them dispose of their produce.

Wilton added:

The gradual cessation of periodic famines
(after 1900), thanks partly to improved transport,
partly to organization of local reserves of grain,
and the gradual increase in industrial prosperity,
verted agrarian disturbances. Moreover, the
growth in industries afforded an outlet for wage
earners. The working class thereby grew vastly
more numerous. Compulsory insurance of work-
men, employers’ liability, hospital funds, reduction
of hours, restriction of child labor, boards of con-
ciliation—all received more or less attention.

Rapid progress included political liberties and modern
education. Wilton says, “All the provinces of European
Russia, excepting those in the western border, the Cau-
casus and the extreme north, enjoyed the blessings of
local government. The percentage of
illiterate youths had fallen apprecia-
ably. In some provinces, notably on the
Volga, every boy was attending school
sufficiently to acquire the rudiments of learning. Classes in farming,
opened by the government in agricul-
tural districts, were packed to over-
flowing.”

To be sure, these advances were
not invariably administered to their
full potential, and a host of improve-
ments awaited much-needed reform.

But national morale grew higher with every step forward,
generating a universal feeling of positive momentum. Far
from the abject squalor supposedly inflicted on the
masses, Russia reached levels of material prosperity and
social well-being by 1913 unmatched throughout the rest
of the 20th century under both Communist and post-Com-

Nicholas strove to accomplish outwardly for world
peace what he achieved domestically. He had inherited
from his father’s reign alliances with France and England
for the encirclement of Germany, an arrangement he feared only contributed to international tensions. The
czar knew that diplomatic rhetoric about “mutual secu-
rity” thinly camouflaged French *revanchement* for their
1871 humiliation in the Franco-Prussian War and British
desire to stifle economic competition—interests of no
concern to Russia. Her politicians had been abundantly
bribed by London and Paris foreign agents to persuade
Alexander III that aligning with their respective govern-
ments would open up the Russian empire to Western Eu-
ropian investment and technology. But far more had

All too often, Nicholas II was misguided by fool-

ish or self-serving courtiers.
actually been contributed by other influences.

“German merchants and manufacturers thrived and multiplied in Russia,” according to Wilton. “Goods and machinery could be obtained in abundance from the Fatherland, money also. German manufactured goods flooded the market, while Russian rye exported to Germany went to fatten pigs. Customhouse duties had been suitably arranged in gratitude for German ‘friendship’ during the [Russo-Japanese] war. The Germans had helped to build up trade and industry, with great advantages to themselves, it is true, but undoubtedly with benefit to the country, in developing its resources.”

Nicholas himself was a Holstein-Gottorp-Romanov belonging to the northern German House of Oldenburg. His best friend among fellow monarchs was Emperor Wilhelm II, whom he affectionately addressed in their lengthy correspondence together over the years as “Willy”; the kaiser called him “Nicky.” The czar’s own wife was born Alix of Hesse and by Rhine. These and extrapersonal considerations made Nicholas seek an alternative to entangling alliances in the famous Hague Peace Conference. At his suggestion and instigation, it “convened with the view of terminating the arms race, and setting up machinery for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.”

While eagerly supported by “Willy,” the French and British were embarrassed into attending but entered it with their agenda unchanged. The international meetings afforded all participants opportunities for strutting upon the world stage in the bemedaled costumes of self-righteous pacifists but came to nothing. “Still,” writes historian Edvard Radzinsky, “The Hague conventions were among the first formal statements of the laws of war. In 1901, Nicholas II was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize—the for the initiative to convene the Hague Peace Conference and contribute to its implementation.”

The meetings nonetheless helped to significantly temper international tensions.

These important domestic and foreign policy successes were not the hallmarks of an inept tyrant. Nor, however, can they account for the violent revolution that overpowered the man responsible for them. Explanation lay behind the Pale of Settlement, a region where Jews were allowed permanent residency, and beyond which they were supposedly prohibited. It extended from the eastern pale, or demarcation line, to the western Russian border with Prussia and Austria-Hungary. In fact, many Jews lived in Moscow, Kiev, St. Petersburg and other Russian cities, enough to form their own metropolitan communities.

THE PALE

The pale had been instituted by Catherine the Great during 1791 in response to national outcry against the Jewish domination of Russian economic life, and to se-

The Myth of the Pogroms: How the Press Covered Up the Massacre of Christians

By Matthew R. Johnson, Ph.D.

From 1905 onward, the revolutionary movement was killing between 10 and 20 people a day. Some were innocent; others were government employees at some level. Not only did the Duma (or parliament) think this was acceptable, they both praised it and protested against any attempt to punish these terrorists. All told, some 10,000 Russians were killed by revolutionary violence throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, before the Reds took over.

Rather than being victims of pogroms, Russia’s Jews were some of the best armed human beings on the planet. They demanded total freedom from all taxation and military service and, in exchange, would not only finance the Red revolt domestically, but act as its primary infantry in the cities of western Russia such as Kiev, Mogilev or Odessa.

According to Oleg Platonov, in his book The True and the False about the Pogroms (Yauza Publishing 2005), in the 1905 “pogrom,” of all bodies examined after the violence, just 12% were Jewish. In Starodub, 150 heavily armed Jews fired on an Orthodox Christian procession protesting revolutionary violence. Overwhelmingly, it was Christians who were killed. Yet, both the Russian and English press called it a “pogrom.” In Odessa, another Orthodox Christian procession was stopped when Jacob Brietman threw a bomb. A few Jews were killed in self-defense, but it was called a “pogrom.” In June 1906, a heavily armed detachment of the Jewish Bund attacked an Orthodox Christian procession, killing between 20 and 25. But no mention in the press.

By 1906, the Russian-Jewish press and the Duma acted as one unit. Real journalism was non-existent. Royalist publications were struggling financially, though membership in the Union of the Russian People was far higher than all the Red groups put together. Myth-makers say that the “czar” financed these “far right” elements, but that does not explain the tremendous wealth of the Jewish press, compared with the royalist press. In Odessa, the pro-Romanov newspaper Russkoye Slovo was harassed by the local administration and almost forced to shut down. Soon, the mayor himself marched under the red flag. Odessa is the most heavily Jewish of all Old Russian cities.
pered from the pale."

While poverty afflicted them and gentiles alike behind the pale, many Jews were wealthy and formed social organizations for supplying clothes to poor students, dispensed free medical treatment, offered dowries and household gifts to destitute brides and arranged technical education for orphans. And huge sums were made available from charitable Jews in Europe and the United States. Gentiles, being mostly farmers, were less affluent and unable to afford the same kind of financial relief for their people, who received virtually nothing from kinsmen or relatives abroad.

The pale enclosed numerically larger enclaves of Catholic Ukrainians, Balts and Slavs, who often felt themselves victimized by Jewish organized crime, land speculators, tax collectors, loan sharks and shysters, resulting in popular reaction from time to time against Jews in general. "No instigation was necessary to provoke pogroms," observed Wilton.

"They would have occurred oftener if the police had not interfered. The Little Russian, Lithuanian or Polish peasants wrecked shops whenever Jewish ‘exploitation’ assumed intensive forms.

"It becomes clear that the purpose for which the pale and all other anti-Jewish restrictions had been devised was mistaken and mischievous. It defeated itself. It led to the penetration of Russia by Hebrew elements of the most aggressive kind. Amongst this suffering multitude, the devil of class hatred reared a fearsome harvest. The teachings of Karl Marx, a German Jew, were here decocted in their quintessence and spread by newly founded Soviet publications. Through the press they had already wielded enormous power and were capturing other channels of control, the committees and the militia. The revolutionary pseudo-Jews were thus destroying Russia's hopes of a national revival and dragging the country into disaster. Young and old, these zealots intensified revolutionary passions.

Toward the close of 1903, this agitation threatened to shatter Russia into a thousand quarreling pieces. Emotions had been artificially whipped to fever pitch, and old grievances—real or imagined—inflamed masses of discontented people in a polyglot empire of ethnically, even racially, diverse groups, each with its own angry, incompatible agendas. The czar's far-ranging economic and social achievements were then, as now, denigrated or spurned. His advisors strenuously urged that something even more dramatic was needed to reuni his people behind the throne. By December, they had browbeaten him into ordering an abrupt surge of military forces at Vladivostok and Port Arthur, a move calculated to provoke the Japanese.

Rather than react in kind, they tried to amicably diffuse any potential for confrontation by accepting Russian dominance in Manchuria in exchange for Nicholas's recognition of Korea within their own sphere of influence. But his foreign minister, Baron Roman Romanovich Rosen, peremptorily refused, demanding instead not only the whole of Manchuria, but all Korea north of the 39th parallel, as well. His insulting response was meant to goad Japan into attacking Russian territory in the Far East. He and his fellow politicians had convinced Nicholas that something perceived as a "defensive" war for their country's honor could transform growing hatred for the monarchy into fervent support of it. Besides, they laughed, what chance did Pacific islanders have against the empire of all the Russias? Instantaneous victory over Japan was a foregone conclusion.

Their promises were fulfilled when Japanese warships opened fire on the Russian fleet in Port Arthur, on Feb. 8, 1904. Made without recourse to a formal declaration of war, the attack galvanized all Russia into paroxysms of nationalistic frenzy. "The call of patriotism," writes Wilton, "stilled all party passions." They were shockingly doused the following year, however, when Port Arthur fell to the Japanese in January, followed five months later by the Battle of Tsushima, in which two-thirds of the Imperial Russ-

"Gentiles, being mostly farmers, were less affluent and unable to afford financial relief."
ian Fleet was destroyed. Soundly beaten on land and at sea, Nicholas sued for peace through U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt in September.

The resultant capitulation was of truly historic proportions. Never before had a White superpower surrendered to numerically inferior Asians—a fateful precedent that inspired many millions of non-White peoples around the world for generations thereafter, its fruits borne out, as Lothrop Stoddard infamously discussed in his book *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy*.

**THE 1905 REVOLUTION**

As Russia’s international reputation went into free-fall, humiliation at home plummeted to even deeper, more bitter depths. The war, which lasted far longer than anticipated, had almost bankrupted the economy, resulting in widespread financial hardship. Thus, the material and political repercussions of defeat reverberated over the next five months into St. Petersburg, where about 3,000 unarmed demonstrators marched toward the czar’s Winter Palace, intent on presenting him with a petition of grievances. But he was not in residence, because his quailing
advisors had implored him to flee the city. As Nicholas skulked undercover out of town, troops took up positions throughout Russia’s “Venice of the North.” Some of them panicked and opened fire on the protesters, killing 96 and injuring 333. Because his imperial guards were on the scene, Nicholas was wrongly accused of personally ordering them to shoot.

“Bloody Sunday,” as it came to be known, sparked strikes in many major cities, involving about 414,000 persons during January 1905 alone. Over subsequent months, factory walk-outs, peasant revolts and military mutinies were met with wholesale arrests, executions and legalized repression, much of it kept secret from the czar, who was increasingly isolated from reality by overprotective, inept advisors and his increasingly hysterical, demanding wife. Growing waves of mass political and social unrest threatened to utterly unhinge the empire, until Nicholas finally found within himself sufficient resolve to decree a State Duma, a Russian-style parliament for multi-party representation that would at least vent the frustrations of his subjects.

Its principles were set out and implemented by an October Manifesto, that effectively ended the Revolution of 1905.

The Marxist leaders had been outmaneuvered, because Nicholas granted their most important demands. Having been suddenly deprived of their very reason for being, they were entirely abandoned by their gentile followers. In the wake of these troubles came the most productive, socially stable years Russians ever knew. But the canker of their mortifying defeat at the hands of Japan continued to fester, especially in the imperial general staff. Concurrent with worsening political tensions in the Balkans, consensus feeling grew among officers that an opportunity was arising there for restoring their badly tarnished military prestige, a view supported by economists anxious to regain British investment interests. Reforms in the armed forces, based on lessons learned the hard way during the Russo-Japanese War, were moving apace.

Serbia had become Moscow’s covert puppet before June 1914, when an assassin working for the Russian-controlled Serbian police murdered Austria’s pro-Serbian Archduke Franz Ferdinand, sparking the desired conflict.5 Yet again, a frightened, uncertain Nicholas bent to the will of others and half-heartedly set his armies in motion. Alarmed, Kaiser Wilhelm demanded their demobilization, something Nicholas preferred against the outcry of most of his advisors. Standing down, he pleaded with them, “could move this crisis back into the Balkans, where it belongs.” But they insisted that such action would be viewed as cowardice, a perception that could lead to serious discontent. Better to proceed on a sure thing, the quick conquest of Germany, than risk a return of revolutionary upheavals. Like just 10 years before, Russia’s general staff officers were confident their numerically superior hordes would irresistibly steam-roll over Central Europe.

The patriotic fervor that engulfed Russia was no sooner ignited than quenched, however, when its mighty Second Army of a quarter-million men was decisively defeated by a much smaller German force during four days in late August 1914 at Tannenberg, a village in northern East Prussia. Thereafter, the Russians were continuously beaten backward, until the loss of Poland convinced Nicholas in September 1915 that he must assume personal responsibility for the conduct of the war, so badly handled by his generals. His presence alone at the front, he believed, could halt the Great Retreat. But he was engaging in a perilous gamble. In doing so, he put his dynasty on the line.

If, while at the front, the military situation improved, even marginally, such a powerful propaganda success would undoubtedly invigorate Russian morale and at least give the illusion of final victory.

In fact, conditions further deteriorated, thereby seriously undermining his authority and czarist aura. He had, moreover, left Moscow in the hands of his inept, meddling wife, whose harebrained antics with Rasputin served only to arouse public opinion against the monarchy. Its collapse in March 1917 could have been avoided with Russian neutrality.

The kaiser was never a threat, because he had nothing to gain, but indeed everything to lose, as he well knew, in attacking eastward. Besides, he liked “Nicky” far too well to invade Russia, which he always valued as a friend and wanted as an ally against “perfidious Albion.”

The gutter criminals who replaced the Romanovs lost no time discarding the “proletarian” masks that disguised their true identity. “In April 1918,” Wilton personally witnessed, “the Bolshevik ‘government,’ including 384 ‘Peoples’ Commissaries,’” was represented by two Negros, 13 Russians, 15 Chinamen, 22 Armenians and Georgians, and more than 300 Jews. Of the last, 264 had come to Russia from the United States during the ‘revolution.’

“This historic information, he straightforwardly reported, “was willfully distorted by the Jewish press. Facts cited by me on the best authority were ‘proved’ to be non-existent, and a campaign of slander and intimidation followed. Now, I was threatened with . . . murder.”

What made Wilton all the more remarkable was that he was not anti-Semitic, but a fiercely dedicated liberal, German-hating, British patriot. Throughout Russia’s
Agony, he consistently refers to kosher Communists as "pseudo-Jews," who strayed from their authentic Hebrew faith and its fundamentally virtuous people.

He desperately endeavored to separate the good Jewish majority from the relatively few Jewish apostates, but was inevitably pulled along further by the irresistible torrent of facts to the contrary, as his next and last book makes clear. In The Last of the Romanovs, he describes the royal family’s gruesome execution as an act of Jewish ritual murder. Of the firing squad’s nine members—Yakov Yurovsky, G.P. Nikulin, M.A. Medvedev (born Kudrin), Peter Ermakov, S.P. Vaganov, A.G. Kabanov, P.S. Medvedev, V.N. Netrebin, and Y.M. Tselms—only Ermakov and Tselms were not Jews.

After the revolution, Wilton escaped from Russia, returning to write for The New York Herald, in which his articles describing the historical events he experienced were widely acclaimed. In 1926, he returned to Europe, where he died from cancer at the Hertford British Hospital, at 58 years of age. But Russia’s Agony is still in print, approaching its first 100 years.

ENDNOTES:
1 All Robert Wilton quotes from Russia’s Agony. London: Edward Arnold, 1918.
3 Ibid.
4 The Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy. NY: Blue Ribbon Books, 1920. Theodore Lothrop Stoddard (1883-1950) was an American historian, journalist, eugenicist and political theorist. He attended Harvard College, graduating magna cum laude in 1905, and studied law at Boston University until 1908. Stoddard received a Ph.D. in history from Harvard University in 1914. During the early years of the 20th century, Stoddard predicted the overthrow of European colonial empires in Africa and Asia, with subsequent colored mass migration to and the internal collapse of all White countries, as well as the rise of extremist Islam as a rival to Western Civilization because of religious radicalism. His other books include The Revolt Against Civilization; or The Menace of the Under Man. NY: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1922; The French Revolution in San Domingo. CT: Negro Universities Press, 1970; and Into the Darkness: An Uncensored Report from Inside the Third Reich at War. CA: Noontide Press 2000 reprint of the 1941 original.

Marc Roland is a self-educated expert on World War II and ancient European cultures but is equally at home writing on American history and prehistory. He is also a prolific book and music reviewer for the PzG, Inc. website (www.pzg.biz) and other politically incorrect publishers and CD producers in the U.S. and overseas. He lives near Madison, Wisconsin. Roland has seen many of his articles published in the pages of The Barnes Review over the last several years.

The Agenda of the Black Hundreds

The term “Black Hundreds” was created by the hostile press, though it was not taken as an insult. “Black” always referred to the common, peasant classes in Russian. It is also a reference to the monastic life, as they were termed the “black clergy” for many centuries.

The “Black Hundreds” refers to the Union of the Russian People, a large and popular organization founded by V.A. Gringmut and B.V. Nikolsky to counter the revolutionary violence of 1905. Their agenda is not mentioned in the least by American historians, though their written work and transcripts of their speeches are available in Russian. The Barnes Review, yet again, must do the work the professors refuse to do. These two founders, far from being servants of the state, were arrested several times and routinely harassed by it. By the Japanese War, the bureaucracy (which is very different from the crown) was completely and solidly liberal.

By the outbreak of the war, all royalist parties agreed to the following platform:

- The liberal Duma needs to be destroyed for its support of terrorism and violence;
- Martial law needs to be declared until this violence is gone forever;
- Leftist papers—at the time all were involved in supporting violence—needs to be suspended;
- The Jewish press needs to be disbanded;
- State banks need to be created that were separate from Jewish credit or its merchant class;
- A state for Jews should be created in Palestine to which Russian Jews could emigrate;
- Peasants should be given free land and cheap credit;
- The working day should be reduced and social insurance increased by the state.

Nowhere in English will this agenda be reproduced. The Black Hundreds rejected the bureaucracy but loved the crown. It was not the “czar” that governed Russia, but an impersonal “state system” in distant Petrograd. Most were opposed to the war with Germany.

Moscow should be recreated as the capital of Russia and the Patriarchate resurrected in Moscow. The older system of the czar and church should be the moral exemplars of the nation.