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ZEMSKOE LIBERAL'NOE DVIZHENIE: SOTSIAL'NYE KORNI I EVOLYUTSIIA DO NACHALA XX VEKA. By N. M. Pirumova. Moscow: "Nauka," 1977. 288 pp.

During the past decade Russian liberalism has generated a scholarly literature of increasing richness and vitality. Professor N. M. Pirumova's study of the liberal movement which developed among elected zemstvo deputies (as opposed to that of the "third element," that is, the urban, nonzemstvo intelligentsia) is a major contribution to the literature. The author traces zemstvo liberalism from its inception during the Great Reforms to the appearance in 1902 of the journal *Osvobozhdenie*, which brought zemstvo and nonzemstvo liberals together into a single movement, which the author views as qualitatively different from its exclusively zemstvo predecessor.

Professor Pirumova has set herself three distinct tasks. The first is to establish just how many zemstvo liberals existed, who they were, and how they compared with other zemstvo deputies. Since the criteria by which one defines "liberalism" are to some extent arbitrary, the author has done well to cast her net broadly, accepting as "liberal" anyone who participated in illegal or semilegal liberal organizations, advocated generally accepted liberal viewpoints, or worked in organizations such as the Imperial Free Economic Society or the Committee on Literacy. In her effort to identify liberals, she has plowed through a prodigious amount of printed and archival materials—from the records of provincial and district zemstvo meetings and various professional congresses to diaries, memoirs, correspondence, and police reports. The result is a list of two hundred forty-one liberals who were active in the zemstvo between 1890 and 1902. While necessarily incomplete, it is nevertheless a fair indication of the movement's overall size. She estimates that the number could not have exceeded three hundred in the period prior to 1902.

In a valuable appendix the author records each of the liberals by province, including all the information she was able to find concerning social origin, rank, education, and profession. Wherever possible she also notes the zemstvo offices they held, the journals in which they published, the liberal organizations to which they belonged, the illegal zemstvo conferences they attended, and their past (or future) party affiliations. The appendix is a tribute to the author's diligence and detailed knowledge of

the sources, and it should serve as a starting point for all future students of Russian liberalism.

In comparing the two hundred forty-one liberals with a representative sample of one thousand one hundred eleven zemstvo deputies from twenty-five provinces which the Ministry of Internal Affairs compiled for the years 1890–93, several conclusions emerge. The overwhelming majority (87 percent) of the liberals were hereditary nobles, a figure only slightly higher than that for all deputies. On the whole, liberals were both wealthier and higher in rank, although the differences here are also not great. The percentage of liberals with higher education (77 percent), however, is almost twice as high as that of zemstvo deputies as a group. (The author wisely cautions against any causal relationship between higher education and liberal views.) The most distinguishing feature of zemstvo liberals was neither wealth nor social standing, but rather the high degree of participation in zemstvo-related activities, including their prolific writing for national journals whose audiences transcended provincial boundaries. In addition to a profile of zemstvo liberals as a whole, the author provides more detailed portraits of the more prominent leaders.

Professor Pirumova's second major task is a description of the evolution of zemstvo liberals' substantive concerns, which ranged from advocacy of universal primary education and the creation of a volost zemstvo to opposition to corporal punishment and the government's industrialization policies. The most important concern, however, involved the place of the zemstvo itself in the framework of autocratic institutions and the demands, particularly widespread during the late 1870s and again at the turn of the century, for some sort of national zemstvo assembly to parallel those at the district and provincial levels. The political content of these demands varied, with the more traditional calling for a consultative *zemskii sobor*, and the more radical advocating a constitutional monarchy. The liberal movement was always politically heterogeneous, and the author has skillfully conveyed both the disparate nature of its members' views and their efforts to accommodate one another in the interest of a broader coalition.

Finally, Professor Pirumova offers an excellent account of the tactics zemstvo liberals employed during the 1890s and early 1900s in an effort to transform zemstvo liberalism into a viable national political movement. These included attempts to coordinate traditional zemstvo petitions to the tsar, the active use of national professional congresses as platforms for liberal ideas, an increasing number of semilegal "conversations" among deputies assembled from several provinces, and the first illegal national congresses of zemstvo deputies. In discussing these tactics the author is sensitive to the enormous importance of personal ties, which were sustained through correspondence and visits, and she has made excellent use of the private communications in illustrating the organizational and ideological dilemmas faced by zemstvo liberals.

The author's argument that zemstvo liberalism was essentially a bourgeois phenomenon is much less persuasive than her detailed discussion of the movement's specific goals and tactics. Indeed, much of the evidence she presents testifies to the classically "intelligentsia" character of liberals' political ideas and motivations. A more thorough discussion of the relationship between liberal zemstvo deputies and the "third element" would have been welcome, particularly since the latter harbored so many who were sympathetic to liberal aims. One hopes that the author's forthcoming book on the "third element" itself will provide such a discussion. In the meantime, those interested in Russia's social and political history will welcome this thorough introduction to the politics of zemstvo liberalism.

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