

The work certainly succeeds as entertainment. It reads well and is profusely illustrated. Although Mr. Florescu has not established all the links in the monster's genealogy, he has found obvious pleasure in seeking them out, as can we by following in his footsteps.

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LETTERS

TO THE EDITOR:

Professor Treadgold, in his thoughtful and generous review of my *Russia under the Old Regime*, in the December 1975 issue, raises a major factual objection. He calls "truly astonishing" my statement that "in central Russia the peasants 'simply ignored' the Stolypin reforms." The pertinent passage in my book reads as follows: "In November 1906, the imperial government introduced easy procedures for the consolidation of strips into individual farmsteads. The legislation had a limited measure of success in the borderlands; in central Russia, the peasants simply ignored it" (p. 19). As the language of this passage suggests, I was referring not to the Stolypin reforms as a whole (which included a massive transfer of state lands to peasants, resettlement, and so forth), but specifically to those measures intended to transform communally-controlled strips into individual farmsteads known as *khutora* and *otruba*. As considerable confusion exists on this subject, I hope you will allow me to cite a few pertinent statistical facts.

If by the term "central Russia" we understand that area which it is also customary to call the "central industrial region," we are talking about seven *gubernii*: Iaroslav, Kaluga, Kostroma, Moscow, Smolensk, Tver, and Vladimir. In 1905, this was an area in which communal landholding was nearly universal: according to S. M. Dubrovskii's data (*Stolypinskaia zemel'naia reforma*, Moscow, 1963, p. 570), 99.3 percent of the households here were communally run, and only 0.7 percent belonged to the category of *podvornye* or individual farmsteads.

Now in January 1916 this region had 1,602,790 peasant households. Of this number, 363,178 (or 22.6 percent) had the petitions to take ownership of their strips approved (Dubrovskii, table 32, p. 247)—a figure which, on the face of it, suggests considerable success for the Stolypin legislation, and accounts, I suspect, for Professor Treadgold's astonishment at my bold statement. However, an analysis of the figure indicates something quite different. One must not assume that all or even a majority of the households that availed themselves of the provisions of Stolypin's law consolidated their holdings into individual farms. Many peasants, especially the poorer ones, petitioned for title to their land merely to be able to sell it and move out; the exact number of these people is not known but it must have been high judging by the results of the polls taken by various economic societies. Of the rest, a large proportion continued, after acquiring title to their land, to till it exactly as before, that is, communally. As a consequence, the proportion of peasants who between 1906 and 1916 separated themselves from the commune to form the "individual farmsteads" to which I refer in my book, was indeed

quite low: only 84,628 households out of the 363,178 affected by the Stolypin legislation (Dubrovskii, table 32, p. 247). In other words, by January 1916, nine years after the Stolypin laws pertaining to the commune had gone into effect, in central Russia a mere 84,628 peasant households out of a total of 1,602,790 had separated themselves to form individual farmsteads. This figure represents 5.3 percent of all the peasant households in the central region.

Perhaps "virtually ignored" would have been more accurate than "simply ignored"; still, it seems to me that where only some 6 percent of the peasants farmed individually (0.7 percent of the pre-1906 vintage, and 5.3 percent of the post-1906 one), and 94 percent continued to do so communally, one is entitled to speak of the peasants "ignoring" legislation intended to transform them into Western-style farmers.

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Professor Treadgold does not wish to reply.