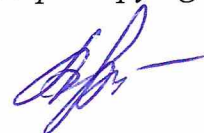


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**MOCHALOVA, Anna Alekseyevna**

**RUSSIAN POLICE REFORMS IN 1862–1917  
(HISTORICAL-AND-LEGAL RESEARCH)**

**Specialty 5.1.1 – Theoretical and Historical Legal Sciences**

Brief of a Dissertation for the Degree of Candidate of Science (Law)

**Research Adviser:**

**ILYUKHINA, Vera Aleksanovna,**  
Candidate of Science (Law), Docent

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**Research Rationale.** The history of Russian police is already more than three hundred years old. Since its creation in the 18<sup>th</sup> c., the police became a part of the state. In time, the police began to take a more and more active part in implementing Russian Empire's internal policy.

After the Crimean War of 1853–1856, the national policy elite saw the country needed comprehensive reforms. Alexander II's *Great Reforms* transformed various public life spheres, serfdom abolished and judicial, Zemstvo, city, military, education, etc. reforms carried out. The drastic processes changing the social structure, governance, and local administration could not but affect the police.

Despite the significant coverage of the issues of national police history, there are still scientific aspects for identifying novel problems, facts, and development trends in this state and public life sphere. Of note is the certain continuity in the Federal Law *On Police* dated 7 February 2011 with the police laws of the Russian Empire after the reforms. It was the time when first suggestions were made to create a professional police catering to the needs of an actively-developing society. Not unlike today, in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. – early 20<sup>th</sup> c., improving the police work and corruption fight legal basis, raising internal affairs bodies' work efficiency, skill formation, and building a favourable image of a police officer across the population were topical problems.

**Prior Research Extent.** Since as far back as the mid-century before last, Russian police issues have attracted careful scholars' and experts' attention.

In pre-revolutionary historiography, special mention should go to several groups of papers considering the police: 1) works by experts in police law (I. Ye. Andreyevsky, V. F. Deryuzhinsky, N. V. Kleyguels, V. M. Guessen, V. Ya. Fuks, M. Shpilevsky et al.), 2) research in police history (Ye. N. Anuchin, N. V. Varadinov, N. T. Volkov et al.), 3) papers by executives and officers of Ministry of Internal Affairs bodies (S. P. Beletsky, P. A. Valuyev, V. F. Dzhunkovsky, N. V. Kaspersky, K. F. Krayevsky, A. A. Lopukhin et al.), and 4) publicistic articles considering topical police reform issues (S. S. Gromeko, M. N. Katkov, Ye. Kulisher, S. I. Rappoport, N. A. Rubakin et al.). In general, the

pre-revolutionary research considering the police were described in terms of their being conducted by authors contemporary with the events they related and, therefore, to a greater extent interested not in theoretical, but rather in practical issues of Russian police's organisation and work (it concerns even historical-and-legal and police-law research). Another feature of the pre-revolutionary historiography of the problem under study was the polemics characteristic not only of publicistic works but also of scientific papers *per se*. Lastly, one more specific feature of the historiography of that period was that the police reform of 1862 was placed in the context of Alexander II's other reforms.

In the first decades of the Soviet period, the police topics were excluded from the list of historical research for ideological reasons. A renewed interest in these issues was not inspired until the late 1960s – 1970s. At that time, first papers by R. S. Mulukayev on police history were published and research on police topics by T. U. Vorobeykova and A. B. Dubrovina, T. I. Zheludkova, V. A. Shelkopyas, and D. I. Shindzhikashvili were conducted. Professor R. S. Mulukayev is justly considered to be the founder of development of Russian internal affairs bodies' history, who created a fully functional now scientific school of researchers specializing in police topics (A. V. Borissov, A. Ye. Yepifanov, V. M. Kuritsyn, A. Ya. Malyguin, M. I. Sizikov, K. G. Fedorov et al.).

Guided by the ideological tenets inherent in the Soviet period, the researchers were obliged to give a general negative estimation to the police (especially to the secret police) as an institution standing on guard of autocracy. Nonetheless, the papers were based on a wide range of historical records, archive materials were introduced into scientific discourse, new (in comparison with the pre-revolutionary period) research tasks were set. The main feature of the papers of the indicated group was their review nature – the authors aimed at covering the police system of Russia in general, characterize it in general, and show its role in the state. However, no regional research of the police was conducted at the level of monograph and no materials of local archives, as a rule, were involved.

The birth and development of the modern Russian state enhanced the public



interest in the history of pre-revolutionary Russian internal affairs bodies. In this respect, post-Soviet research was characterized by rejecting the ideologization inherent in the previous historiographic period. The theoretical and historical-and-legal problems involving the work of the police were reflected in monographs by a number of authors. *Inter alia*, I. I. Mushket and Ye. B. Khokhlov attempted to theoretically consider the problems of Russian police law<sup>1</sup>. V. V. Lyssenko (individually and in co-authorship) prioritized the work of the police in their fight against violation of law in the sphere of public morals, as well as the moral foundations of the work of the police<sup>2</sup>. A. Yu. Dunayeva considered the Russian police reform of the early 20<sup>th</sup> c. using the biographical method, under the lens of the works by V. F. Dzhunkovsky<sup>3</sup>. Yu. A. Reyent paid attention to the central and local secret police<sup>4</sup>. Finally, monographs by A. V. Gorozhanin<sup>5</sup> and the joint work by I. T. Tarassov and V. S. Chizhevsky<sup>6</sup> were characterized by a wide chronological coverage, however, thus, they lack in-depth analysis of separate periods, including the 1862 police reform and reforms of the police in the early 20<sup>th</sup> c.

In 2002, Yu. A. Reyent defended a doctoral dissertation considering the

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<sup>1</sup> *Mushket, I. I., and Khokhlov, Ye. B. Police Law of Russia: Problems of Theory [Politseyskoye pravo Rossiya: problemy teorii].* SPb., 1998.

<sup>2</sup> *Lyssenko, V. V. Moral-and-Legal Problems of the Police Work in Pre-Revolutionary Russia [Nravstvenno-pravovyye problemy deyatelnosti politsiyi dorevolutsionnoy Rossii].* / V. V. Lyssenko, V. P. Salnikov, M. I. Sizikov, and S. V. Filippova. SPb., 1996; *Lyssenko, V. V. Violation of Law in the Sphere of Public Morals and the Police of Russia (History and Contemporaneity) [Pravonarusheniya v sfere obshchestvennoy нравstvennosti i politsiya Rossiya (istoriya i sovremennost)].* SPb., 1997.

<sup>3</sup> *Dunayeva, A. Yu. Reform of the Police in Russia of the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century and Vladimir Fedorovich Dzhunkovsky, a Monograph [Reforma politsiyi Rossiya nachala XX veka i Vladimir Fedorovich Dzhunkovsky: monografiya]* / A. Yu. Dunayeva. M.: Joint Editorship of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia, 2012.

<sup>4</sup> *Reyent, Yu. A. Rural Security-and-Police Structures of the Autocratic Russia [Selskiye okhranno-politseyskiye struktury samoderzhavnoy Rossiya].* Ryazan: Ryazan Institute of Law and Economics of the Russian Federation, 2000; *Reyent, Yu. A. General and Secret Police of Russia [Obshchaya i politicheskaya politsiya Rossiya] (1900–1917).* Ryazan, 2001.

<sup>5</sup> *Gorozhanin, A. V. State and Police, a Monograph [Gossudarstvo i politsiya: monografiya]* / ed. by V. P. Salnikova; Ministry of Internal Affairs of Russia. SPb.: *Un-t Fund*: Saint-Petersburg University, 2001; *Gorozhanin, A. V. Russian Police on Guard of Imperial Stateness, a Monograph [Rossiyskaya politsiya na strazhe imperskoy gossudarstvennosti: monografiya].* Samara: Samara Law Institute of the Ministry of Justice of Russia, 2004.

<sup>6</sup> *Tarassov, I. T., and Chizhevsky, V. S. Police of Russia. History, Laws, Reforms, and Prospects [Politsiya Rossiya. Istoriya, zakony, reformy, perspektivy].* M.: Knizhny Mir, 2011.

police system of Russia in the early 20<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>7</sup> One year later, a doctoral dissertation on the uyezd police reform in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. was defended by Yu. V. Tot<sup>8</sup>. The papers by both the authors are based on a broad set of historical records; however, both the dissertations were defended for the degree of doctor of science (law). Accordingly, the focus was not on legal but rather on historical-and-social aspects.

In the post-Soviet period, S. Ye. Baykeyeva, N. F. Baykova, S. S. Glebov, D. A. Yerin, Yu. A. Yershov, V. Ye. Ivanevsky, A. V. Ivanov, A. Ye. Ivanova, L. K. Kiyikova, Ye. P. Kolodeyev, V. N. Kruchinin, M. V. Koltsova, R. V. Narbutov, K. S. Romanov, D. S. Ryzhov, A. A. Salnikov, A. Yu. Fomichev, K. P. Yukhnevich et al. defended doctoral dissertations considering different aspects of organisation and work of Russian police on the level of the whole Empire. In general, that research was focused on the police laws, moral foundations of the work of the police, police officers' legal status, staffing of police bodies, the police's different functions, and the police's interaction with other state bodies. Nonetheless, it is still unclear to what extent the general conclusions for the whole Russian Empire correspond to the way things were in different provinces.

In the last two decades, a number of doctoral and candidate's dissertations of regional nature have been also defended, focused on issues of the police's organisation and work in Saint-Petersburg and Moscow, some provinces and regions of the Russian Empire, as well as uyezd-and-city jurisdictions (papers by A. V. Vassilyev, S. N. Glavinskaya, S. A. Gomonova, N. I. Gorlova, V. I. Guryev, A. V. Koshkarov, V. Yu. Kladov, O. V. Lazareva, Yu. N. Moskvitin, A. M. Nazarenko, G. G. Nebratenko, A. P. Pashchenko, A. V. Petrov, A. A. Pomigalov, A. V. Sedunov, Ye. I. Stepanova, K. A. Sitnikov, P. A. Sungurov, Yu. B. Sysuyev, I. V. Chernova, V. V. Shibayev, V. O. Sheludko, D. M. Chilovsky,

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<sup>7</sup> *Reyent, Yu. A.* Police System of the Russian Empire in the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Dissertation ... of Doctor of Science (Law) [Politseyskaya sistema Rossiyskoy imperiyi nachala XX veka: dis. ... d-ra ist. nauk]. M., 2002.

<sup>8</sup> *Tot, Yu. V.* Uyezd Police Reform in Russia's Government Policy of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: Brief of a Dissertation ... of Doctor of Science (Law) [Reforma uyezdnoy politsiyi v pravitelstvennoy politike Rossiya v XIX veke: avtoref. dis. ... d-ra ist. nauk]. SPb., 2003.



D. A. Yaltayev et al.). At the same time, monographs by A. O. Andreyev, Yu. B. Sysuyev, A. V. Lobanov and O. V. Kuznetsov, T. V. Sheetova et al. based on regional materials have been published, too. The merit of these papers is a careful study of regional materials, documents from local archives introduced into scientific discourse, but it is far from always clear to what extent the conclusions for research of the police of certain provinces correspond to the All-Russia trends.

Lastly, owing to the celebration of Russian police tercentenary, scholars' interest to these topics has been enhanced. In the Russian Federation, *in primis*, in educational institutions of the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in 2016–2018, some research-to-practice conferences were timed to coincide with this jubilee. Some books in which scholars considered issues related both to the history of national police in general (for example, research by V. A. Yakushev and T. A. Batrova, Ye. V. Strugova, V. P. Timokhov, M. A. Nekrassov, and A. S. Massalimov), and that in its certain regions (research by A. V. Belyakov, Yu. G. Galay, and A. N. Lushin; A. V. Peregudov; A. N. Biktasheva, M. Yu. Grebenkin, and S. N. Mironov) have also been published.

In conclusion to the historiographic review, it can be said that quite a number of papers considering different aspects of national police history have been published by now. Nonetheless, much of the research of the capital police has been conducted in isolation from regional materials and regional research was isolated from capital one and lacked scrupulous analysis of the laws of the whole Empire. The dynamics of the reforms of Russian police in general in the period of 1862–1917, the analysis of which should be based on a combination of the legal-and-regulatory framework of the police's organisation and work with historical records characterizing implementing reforms of the general capital and provincial, as well as uyezd police have been left out unduly.

**The chronological research framework** covers 1862–1917. The first time limit is due to the police reform beginning in the Russian Empire with the adoption of the Provisional Regulation on Police of 25 December 1862. The second time limit is due to the end of the Russian Empire and imperial police bodies in 1917.

**The research object** is the totality of social relations concerning Russian police reforms, organisation, and work in 1862–1917. However, the research object does not include social relations concerning secret police reforms in the period under study, since, currently, this problem is treated as well-studied.

**The research subject** is the laws of the period under study regulating Russian Empire police organization and work, as well as other sources characterizing police practice.

**The purpose** of the dissertation research is identifying the patterns and specific features of Russian police reforms in 1862–1917.

The dissertation purpose predetermines the specific research **objectives**:

- to analyse the main principles and specific features of police reforming in a particular historical context on the basis of analysis of the *Provisional Regulations on Police Organisation in Cities and Uyezds Governed under the General Establishment* of 25 December 1862;
- to characterize the dynamics of development of the legal framework of Russian police organisation and work in the period under study;
- to determine the specific features of reforming Saint-Petersburg and Moscow city police authorities;
- to characterize, on the basis of law analysis, general police governing bodies' reorganisation in Russian Empire province centres;
- to analyse the legal-and-structural framework of uyezd-and-city police reorganisation according to *Provisional Regulation on Police Governed under the General Establishment* of 25 December 1862;
- to determine the specific implementing features of *Provisional Regulation on Organisation of Police Governed under the General Establishment on Provinces* of 25 December 1862, as illustrated by the Nizhny Novgorod Province.
- to identify, on the basis of law analysis, the specific features of Russian Empire police reforming in the early 20<sup>th</sup> c.

**The theoretical basis** of the research is academic papers by Russian pre-revolutionary, Soviet, and modern scholars (I. Ye. Andreyevsky, A. B. Borissov,



N. T. Volkov, Yu. G. Galay, V. M. Guessen, V. I. Guryev, A.A. Demichev, V. F. Deryuzhinsky, A. Ye. Yepifanov, D. A. Yerin, D.R. Zainutdinov, V.A.Iluhina, M. N. Katkov, N. V. Kleyguels, M. Ye. Kovalevsky, V. N. Kruchinin, V. M. Kuritsyn, V. V. Lyssenko, A. Ya. Malyguin, R. S. Mulukayev, A. M. Nazarenko, G. G. Nebratenko, A. V. Petrov, A. A. Pomigalov, Yu. A. Reyent, A. A. Salnikov, A. V. Sedunov, M. I. Sizikov, K. A. Sitnikov, I. T. Tarassov, Yu. V. Tot, K. G. Fedorov, V. Ya. Fuks, I. V. Chernova, T.V. Shatkovskaya, et al.), and executives and officers of the Russian Empire Ministry of Internal Affairs bodies (S. P. Beletsky, P. A. Valuyev, V. F. Dzhunkovsky, N. V. Kaspersky, K. F. Krayevsky, A. A. Lopukhin, and S. S. Gromeko), whose papers consider police law, history research, creation, and development as a part of the state of Russia, and topical police reform issues of the late 19<sup>th</sup> c. – early 20<sup>th</sup> c.

**The methodological research basis** is the totality of the general dialectical cognition method and principle of historicism to analyse the history of the Russian police after the reforms in progress with a particular historical context. This paper is also based on a set of general scientific cognition techniques: analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction, rising from the abstract to the concrete, comparison, etc. As the main special scientific legal method, the dissertation uses the legalistic method, allowing interpreting and explaining Russian police law of 1867–1917 (especially Chapter 1 and § 1 and 3 of Chapter 3). The Russian police law analysis also uses statistical methods to identify its development trends.

**The information research base** in the context of the research subject is the *Provisional Regulations on Police Organisation* of 25 December 1862, more than 130 other normative-and-legal acts governing Russian police organisation and work, published in the Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire and Code of Laws of the Russian Empire, not previously published archive documents from the State Archive of the Russian Federation (SARF), Russian State Historical Archive (RSHA), and the Central Archive of the Nizhny Novgorod Region (CANNR), as well of other historical materials, allowing characterizing the general and uyezd-and-city police organisation, work, and reform.



**The scientific novelty of the research** is that in the research, there is a comprehensive characteristic of Russian Empire police reform in 1862–1917, the specific features of the 1862 police reform and directions of the police reorganisation under the 1862 reform are identified, on the basis of statistical analysis of the body of Russian Empire 1862–1917 police laws, quantitative trends of police law development are determined, and the uyezds police work problems are identified. Besides, there are elements of dissertation research scientific novelty in introduction into scientific discourse of unpublished sources: archive fund materials of the State Archive of the Russian Federation (F. 102. Ministry of Internal Affairs Police Department), Russian State Historical Archive (F. 229. Minister of Transportation's Office; F. 1180. Main Peasant Affairs Committee; F. 1286. Ministry of Internal Affairs Executive Police Department) and the Central Archive of the Nizhny Novgorod Region (F. 2. Nizhny Novgorod Governor's Office; F. 5. Nizhny Novgorod Provincial Government; F. 342. Nizhny Novgorod City Police Authority of the Nizhny Novgorod Province).

**The validity and credibility of the research results** is specified by the scientific research methodology, evaluation of the materials of the paper in publications and the teaching-and-learning process, use of documents kept in central and local archives, speeches at research-to-practice conferences, as well as use of a comprehensive list of normative legal acts and doctrinal literature sources.

**Provisions of scientific novelty to be defended:**

1. One of the specific features of the 1862 police reform was the fact that the normative legal acts governing it were temporary. That situation was due to the fact that, in terms of chronology, the police reform came on the heels of the peasant reform and preceded the judicial, Zemstvo, city, and military reforms. On the one hand, it should ensure other Alexander II's reforms and on the other hand, its full completion was possible only after the completion of a number of other reforms (which corresponds to para 42 of the Passport of Specialty 5.1.1).

2. The main directions of police reorganisation under the 1862 reform:

– modernising the police structure;

- particularizing the legal status of police officers;
- rejecting the electoral basis in police formation;
- increasing policemen number and improving material substantive content;
- relieving the police of a number extrinsic judicial, investigative, and economic functions;
- building a favourable image across the population (which corresponds to para 42 of the Passport of Specialty 5.1.1).

3. The Russian police reform in the period under study was an ongoing but incomplete process. At that time, more than 1200 normative legal acts governing police organisation and different work aspects were published. The analysis of the Complete Collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire allows arguing that in 1862–1913, 7 to 93 acts were published annually in this sphere (in average, 23 to 24 a year). At that time, general acts on police and acts concerning the police of separate regions (the capitals, European Russia, the Baltics, South Caucasus and Central Asia, Siberia and Far East) were regularly adopted. Thus, the need of transformative/structural reforms of the police lasted all through the period under study (which corresponds to para 42 of the Passport of Specialty 5.1.1).

4. Among the police forces, it was the uyezd police (in comparison with the capital, provincial, and special-purpose police) that raised most criticism both on the part of the governing body of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and other state bodies and on the part of the population. That was due to the following factors:

- uyezd police's low level material-and-technical resources;
- uyezd police officer's low social status;
- rapid staff turnover (as a result of the two preceding items);
- uyezd policemen's unskilled level and lack of professionalism (as a result of the three preceding items); and
- low work efficiency of the uyezd police in general (as a result of all the above items) (which corresponds to para 42 of the Passport of Specialty 5.1.1).

5. Among other regions, the police reform was conducted in the Nizhny Novgorod Province. The police of the Nizhny Novgorod province in 1862–1917



bore both characteristics of all the provincial police of Russia and a number of specific features. The feature in common with other regions was that there was much concern not only about the skilled staff, but also about lack of police staff in general; there were difficulties in financing the police, especially the uyezd-and-city one; the material substantive content level was low; there was a problem of legitimacy in the work of the police, and there were often facts of corruption and excess of power. The specific features of N. Novgorod as a large multinational trade, trade-fair, and industrial centre had an impact on the police. In particular, there was a special trade-fair police and much attention was paid to night guards' work (which corresponds to paras 42 and 43 of the Passport of Specialty 5.1.1).

6. Despite the consistency of the ongoing reforms, difficulties arose in their implementing, that was why the reforms were continued in the early 20<sup>th</sup> c., too. *In primis*, it concerned the uyezd-and-city police. In that period, rejection of local funding and transition to full state funding, optimization of the police governing and structure, and staff professional training became the main reform objectives, along with enhancing police's authority across the population, improving the police's material substantive content, and relieving the police of extrinsic functions. In general, the police reform of the early 20<sup>th</sup> c. turned out to be more successful than in the previous period (which corresponds to para 43 of the Passport of Specialty 5.1.1).

**Theoretical and Practical Research Relevance.** The theoretical relevance of the research is that in the research, there is new and summarized previous knowledge of the dynamics of Russian police reforms of in 1862–1917, organisation, and work in the capitals and provinces. The practical relevance of the research is that its materials may be used in giving classes of different types in the disciplines of *History of Russian State and Law* and *History of Law-Enforcement Bodies* in higher educational establishments of the Russian Federation, as well as in preparing relevant courses of study and scientific research. The results of the research of the historical experience of Russian police reform may be also of practical interest for the legislator in modernising the regulatory framework in

force governing the police organisation and work in the Russian Federation.

**Research Results Evaluation.** The highlights and conclusions of the dissertation research have been discussed at a meeting of the Department of History and Theory of State and Law of Nizhny Novgorod Institute of Management – a RANEPA branch, reported at the international research-to-practice conferences *Police of Russia: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow* (N. Novgorod, 2012), VIII International Research-to-Practice Conference *Current Scientific Insights – 2013* (Prague, Czech Republic, 2013), *Student's Genius – 2018* (N. Novgorod, 2018), the All-Russia Research-to-Practice Conference *People and Authorities: Interaction in History and Contemporaneity* (N. Novgorod, 2014), and the Interregional Research-to-Practice Conference *Enhancing Public and Municipal Administration Efficiency and Improving the System of Training Staff for Authority Bodies at the Regional and Municipal Levels* (Dzerzhinsk, 2015), and reflected in the author's published papers (including eight articles in key peer-reviewed journals and publications recommended by the supreme Attestation Commission of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation).

**The structure of the dissertation** depends on the research topics, purpose, and objectives. The paper consists of an introduction, three chapters with seven paragraphs in them, a conclusion, a reference list, and five appendices.