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e-mail: [gali209@mail.ru](mailto:gali209@mail.ru)**PERLUSTRATION IN THE SEMIRECHENSK REGION  
(end of XIX century – beginning of XX century)**

During the empire, the main purpose of surveillance was to find out what the majority thinks, supports, and keep the people under control. In other words, to influence the people and completely own their minds. Therefore, whether in Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union or in the Russian Empire the main goal of surveillance and collection of information about public opinion was the transformation of the masses. Censorship considered surveillance mechanisms in the Russian Empire, were carried out with the help of employees of postal and telegraph institutions. There were no perustration centers in the Semirechensk region. At the end of the XIX and beginning of the XX centuries, the Semirechensk region received correspondence and parcels from all territories of the Russian Empire and from abroad. Employees of the local administration, special institutions and postal and telegraph institutions controlled correspondence according to the established mechanism. The purpose of this article is to determine the activities and features of postal and telegraph institutions (late XIX – early XX centuries) for the implementation of censorship in the Semirechensk region. The history of perustration in the Russian Empire, the introduction of perustration in the Semirechensk region, as well as the problems of monitoring individuals in the empire during the period under review are comprehensively examined.

**Key words:** perustration, «Black offices», correspondence, parcels, mail, telegraph, post roads, employees of postal and telegraph institutions.

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e-mail: [gali209@mail.ru](mailto:gali209@mail.ru)**Жетісу облысында перлюстрация  
(XIX ғасырдың соңы – XX ғасырдың басы)**

Жасырын бақылау империя кезінде негізгі мақсаты халықтың көпшіліктің нені ойлап, нені қолдайтынын білу оларды бақылауда ұстау болды. Яғни, халықтарға, адамға ықпал етіп, олардың санасын толықтай иелену болды. Сол себепті Нацистік Германияда болсын, Кеңес Одағында немесе Ресей империясында болсын бақылауды орнату жобасы – халық көңіл күйлері туралы ақпаратты жинаумен қатар, негізгі мақсаты көпшілікті трансформацияға ұшырату болды. Ресей империясында жасырын бақылау механизмдері болып саналған перлюстрация мен цензура пошта-телеграф мекеме қызметкерлерінің көмегімен жүзеге асырылды. Жетісу облысында перлюстрация орталықтары болған жоқ. XIX ғасырдың соңы- XX ғасырдың басында Жетісу облысына хат-хабарлар, жөнелтілімдер Ресей империясының барлық территориясынан және шетелден келетін. Жергілікті әкімшілік, арнайы мекемелер және пошта-телеграф мекеме қызметкерлері белгілі механизммен хат-хабарды бақылауға алды. Жетісу облысында перлюстрацияны жүргізуде пошта-телеграф мекемелерінің ( XIX ғасырдың соңы- XX ғасырдың басы) қызметі мен ерекшеліктерін анықтау мақаланың мақсаты болып табылады. Ресей империясында перлюстрация тарихы, Жетісу облысында перлюстрация жүзеге асырылуы, империяда қарастырылып отырған уақыт шеңберінде тұлғаларды бақылауға алу мәселелері жан-жақты қарастырылады.

**Түйін сөздер:** перлюстрация, «Қара кабинеттер», хат-хабар, жөнелтілімдер, пошта, телеграф, пошта жолдары, пошта-телеграф қызметкерлері.

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### Перлюстрация в Семиреченской области (конец XIX века – начало XX века)

Во времена империи главной целью не гласного контроля было узнать, что думает большинство, поддерживает ли власть или нет, и держать народ под контролем. Другими словами, влиять на народ и полностью владеть их сознаниями. Поэтому, будь то в нацистской Германии, Советском Союзе или Российской империи главной целью не гласного контроля и сбора информации об общественных настроениях было преобразование масс. Перлюстрация и цензура, считавшиеся в Российской империи секретными механизмами контроля, осуществлялись с помощью сотрудников почтово-телеграфных учреждений. В Семиреченской области не было центров перлюстрации. В конце XIX – начале XX веков в Семиреченской области поступала корреспонденция и посылки со всех территорий Российской империи и из-за границы. Сотрудники местной администрации, специальных учреждений и почтово-телеграфных учреждений контролировали переписку по сложившемуся механизму. Целью данной статьи – определить деятельность и особенности почтово-телеграфных учреждений (конец XIX – начало XX века) по осуществлению перлюстрации в Семиреченской области. Всесторонне рассмотрены история перлюстрации в Российской империи, внедрение перлюстрации в Семиреченской области, а также проблемы наблюдения за отдельными лицами в империи в рассматриваемый период.

**Ключевые слова:** перлюстрация, «Черные кабинеты», корреспонденция, посылки, почта, телеграф, почтовые дороги, служащие почтово-телеграфных учреждений.

#### Introduction

In the XVIII-XIX centuries, the process of modernization in the Russian Empire was carried out in a repressive and state-controlled form. This is because there were no dynamic mediating bodies in modernization. At the same time, the unstable civil situation in Russian society created conditions for the maintenance of political absolutism without control of the state. Due to this, anti-government groups and movements appeared, and the imperial government began to create institutions and tactics to protect the state.

The practice of perustration and censorship in the Russian Empire was guided by the example of European states. The “Black Cabinets” of the Russian Empire were used in France during the time of Napoleon, and later improved by the French state, and were made in imitation of the French “Cabinets noirs”, and the name was taken from them. Employees of this institution created a system of government documents related to the rebels. However, the system of documents about rebels continued only through the use of the Bertillon system of filing, first in the Russian Empire and then in the Soviet Union. It was based on Bertillon’s documentation system to create all the exact photographic parameters of the criminal to identify him (Holquist, 1997: 438).

The purpose of the article under consideration is to determine the activities and features of postal

and telegraph institutions (end of the XIX century – beginning of the XX century) in carrying out perustration in Semirechensk region. Issues to be considered: perustration in the Russian Empire, how perustration was implemented in the Semirechensk region, who is to be controlled and under what conditions? Here, the fact and mechanisms of perustration in Semirechensk region are analyzed. The efforts of the employees of the post-telegraph institution to mediate with other structural departments, to keep the fact of perustration a secret, and not to lose the trust of the public are considered.

#### Materials and methods

During the preparation of the article, various procedural documents, normative acts, statistical reports, funds of the Central Archives of the Republic of Kazakhstan were used: fund 194 «Vernensky regional postal and telegraph office of the Turkestan postal and telegraph district of the city of Verny, Semirechensk region (1872-1917)» (RK F 194, OP.1, D. 34.), 41 fund «Vernensky district administration (1862-1919)» (CGA RK, F 41, OP.1, D.96), 201 fund «Lepsinsk telegraph station of the Turkestan postal and telegraph agency of the Lepsinsk city, Semirechensk region (1870-1917 .)» fund (CGA RK, F. 201, OP. 1, D.11), and brought to the Central Archives’ funds from Russian archives «Across the Semirechensk region. “Reports on the mood of the population» (February 8, 1914 – January 8, 1915)

(CGA RK, F.2300 (GARF F. 102. OP.1, D. 4), OP. 8(123), D., (108), L. 16, 16 rev.).

Within the scope of the topic under consideration, the issues of the activity of special state institutions and the use of perlustration by special state institutions in the Russian Empire are discussed by A. Shashaev (2017), Z.I. Peregudova (2000), Iain Lauchlan (2002) in their works. And the issues of participation of postal workers in perlustration and military censorship were discussed by V.S. Izmozik (2015), Jonathan W. Daly (1998), Peter Holquist (1997), I. Zhdanova (2018), A. Smikalin (2018).

Among scientists, interest in the history of perlustration in the Russian Empire appeared at the end of the 20th century, and many studies contributed to the discovery of this topic. Z.I. Peregudova (2000) published works on police department activities and one of the methods of political investigation in the period of 1880-1917. As a continuation of these studies, the monograph «Political System of Russia (1880-1917)» was published. Here, a separate chapter is dedicated to opening the title of perlustration on the basis of previously unknown archival materials.

Professor V.S. Izmozik (2015), one of the authors of important works on Perlustration in the Russian Empire. The Secret surveillance in the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union is one of the most important researches in uncovering the problem of determining the «moods» of the people, recognizing the attitude of the masses to the government. The main focus was on perlustration issues, the activities of perlustration centers in the territory of the Russian Empire and the personal abilities and achievements of perlustration specialists, what groups of people perlustration was used for, its algorithm, how the practice of perlustration manifested in the Russian Empire was used and improved in the Soviet Union was comprehensively analyzed. The study is based on the concept of political control, which is considered as a means of determining and managing «moods» («nastroenie») in relation to power.

Jonathan W. Daly (1998) is one of the authors of important works on the secret police of the empire. The author examines the history of the secret police from 1866 to 1905, based on many archival materials. The book is divided into six chapters, and the secret police are devoted to the problems of the origin, structure, development of police methods, the conflict between the police and the opposition group, Sergei Zubatov's reforms in the police, and the interactions between the police and the administrative structure during the 1905 revolution.

Peter Holquist (1997) examines covert surveillance in the Russian Empire in the context of general European political developments during the First World War. The war contributed to a sharp increase in the activities of state and public institutions in controlling people's moods and thoughts. This service continued until 1917 and in subsequent years. Peter Holquist considers information practice as a field of data collection through perlustration, survey and agency control.

In recent years, the conceptual frameworks related to the creation of the state have been used by various scholars in their studies. Concepts such as Michael Man's infrastructural power concept and Anthony Giddens' notions of surveillance and administrative power are influenced by Foucault's concept of statehood and allow to study disciplinary aspects in the context of the history of everyday life through micro-technologies of power. Foucault's concept of statehood is seen as the «art of government» meaning that government is not limited to politics, but uses a wide range of control methods. It ranges from the control of the individual to the biopolitical control of society. The concept of governmentality prompts a new understanding of power. Power is considered not only at the hierarchical level, but also as social control of power in various institutions and various forms of knowledge. Power creates certain knowledge and discourses in a positive form, affects people and affects the actions of the people of the society. Governmentality theory also focuses on the relationship between the micro and macro political levels (Michel Foucault, 2008).

In the framework of the title under consideration, Giddens' concept of «administrative power» means «control over the duration and interval of human activity». Surreptitious surveillance is not only the identification of information, but also the integration or direct control of it. These forms of examination are constantly improving each other. Infrastructural power is the use of the state to penetrate civil society and conduct its policy throughout the territory. Infrastructural power was introduced by sociologist Michael Mann (Özbek, Nadir, 2008:48).

## Results and discussion

### *Perlustration in the Russian Empire*

Perlustration is the secret reading of correspondence against official law. Among many researchers, distinguishing between censorship and perlustration forms of control of mail and telegraph correspondence creates difficulties and causes debates among scholars.

At the end of the XIX century – the beginning of the XX century, the main purpose of perustration was to determine anti-government sentiments. The government had to prevent revolutionary unrest and control public opinion. Perustration Despite being an illegal practice, the criminal code «“Regulations on Criminal and Correctional Punishments» was very secret, but legally justified in the case of absolute monarchy: «It is not considered an abuse of power 1) when a minister or other government official deviates in his actions from ordinary rules, in a special case or in general in a case of this kind given by the supreme authority;» (Code on criminal and correctional punishments, 1886:230).

At first, perustration was considered as a tool of foreign policy, and from the middle of the XVIII century, mail correspondence was regularly opened and read. After the palace coups, the Tsar of Russia became distrustful of those around him. At that time, emphasis was mainly placed on correspondence with foreign diplomats (Izmozik, 2015:45-48).

In the Russian Empire, a permanent practice of the use of perustration in society was formed. First, the monarchs who were on the throne were interested in reading all the confiscated letters. Secondly, effective struggle of the top officials against the practice of illegal reading of letters of the governor and lower ranks was reflected. Therefore, the state was interested in preserving the secrecy of the mail and not losing the trust of the citizens in postal institutions and employees. Thirdly, the range of persons whose letters were perustrated gradually increased, including diplomats, state officials, members of the nobility, peoples included in the empire, members of the monarchy family, etc. In the Russian Empire, in the second half of the XIX century, the letters of everyone except the monarch, the Minister of Internal Affairs, and the head of the III Department were read (Jonathan W. Daly, 2016: 469).

At the beginning of the XIX century, there was a need to collect complete information in order to know the situation in various territories and nations that were part of the Russian Empire. Among those who were under control were, first of all, the opposition groups and the relatives and friends of the emperor. Secondly, territories like Georgia, which were not satisfied with the existing situation in the regions newly annexed to the Russian Empire, were controlled by the local elite. Thirdly, there was fear regarding the sentiments of the common people in the unsettled areas and they were under control. As we can see in the works of Russian researchers, the main focus of the empire was on Lithuania, Po-

land, Finland and other western territories (Izmozik, 2015:57-59).

In the second half of the XIX century, there were seven «Black Cabinets» in Russia, and their working methodology was similar to the restoration period in France. Therefore, in the main capitals of the empire, in the cities located on the southern and western borders, «Black Cabinets» served in the department of censorship of foreign newspapers and magazines in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Warsaw, Odessa, Kiev, Kharkiv, Tiflis (Jonathan W. Daly, 1998: 42).

During the war in Russia, field post offices were formed, and the postmasters here served as perustrators. For example, in 1812, they formed the practice of monitoring people by scanning the letters of officials, and in 1813-1814, they monitored the correspondence of people in the territories occupied by the army (Izmozik, 2015:65).

On November 21, 1826, at the suggestion of the Moscow postmaster, a perustration was organized in Tobolsk to control correspondence in Siberia. As a result, on December 16, 1826, Nicholas I approved the «Regulations on the Organization of Secret Expeditions on the basis of the Siberian Post Office» («Polozhenie dlya objektivnost pri Sibirskom pochtamte Sekretnoi ekseptidii») in order to control the criminals exiled to Siberia and their spouses. The staff of the secret expedition consisted of four people: the chief official, his assistant and two junior executors. Titular adviser Ban was appointed as the head. In addition, two more “black offices” were established in Siberia on June 5, 1834 in Tyumen and Irkutsk.

«Black offices» served under the guise of censorship of foreign newspapers and magazines (at Moscow and Petersburg post offices, Warsaw, Kiev, Odesa post offices), secret expeditions (at Kazan, Tiflis, and Kharkiv post offices). In 1908, the perustration center was closed in Kazan (Izmozik, 2015:117).

According to the rules of secrecy, the letters of three persons in the Russian Empire should not be opened under any circumstances: the Emperor, the Minister of Internal Affairs, the III Department, and after it was abolished, the head of the Police Department. Perustration was carried out «alphabetically» and randomly. If a randomly selected letter is of interest to political investigative bodies, various measures will be taken: the author’s identity and address will be determined, the said person will be secretly monitored, and correspondence will be monitored for a certain period in order to determine his acquaintances and intentions.

During random analysis, attention was paid to the size of the letter, the handwriting, the signature of the sender and recipient. Of particular interest were letters written by an “intelligent hand” or typewritten to foreign centers of revolutionary emigration (Geneva, Zurich, Liège, Paris, Prague, etc.). Most of the perlustrators had developed the technique of reading letters and the ability to create a psychological portrait of a person by hand. As a result of many years of experience, the social status, gender, age, profession, emotional and psychological characteristics of the letter sender, etc. could determine. Suspicious letters based on the place of origin or destination (letters received from or sent to Geneva, Paris, Brussels, London or other cities with the headquarters of left-wing organizations) and the handwriting of the owner of the letter were removed from the post office.

Analyzing the works written on this topic, the list of cases in which the letters are perlustrated in the «Alphabetic» character is as follows: firstly, the social and political activity of individuals could be the cause. Second, at the request of a known agency; In some cases, the control of correspondence was caused by requests made by suspicious persons to the address bureau (Izmozik, 2015:126).

#### ***How was perlustration implemented in Semirechensk region***

If we consider the statement on the correspondence sent and received from the Semirechensk regional post office and its affiliated postal institutions («Statement of sent and received correspondence of the Semirechensk regional post office and postal places subordinate to it for 1872») Semirechensk district from almost all the territory of the Russian Empire and from abroad Prussia, Central Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan, where various shipments and correspondence were sent from countries such as Austria, France, Turkey, China, America (CGA RK F 194, OP.1, D. 3, L. 22-23). Various political parties, revolutionary, religious organizations, printed publications of various directions sent a lot of leaflets and brochures, correspondence, dispatches to the Russian Empire. They were sent from ordinary villagers to nobility and officials. That is why it was necessary for the postal and telegraph workers to monitor all correspondence and shipments. Among them, employees of the post-telegraph institution had to identify suspicious shipments and report them. For example, according to the secret circular letter of 1895 “On the procedure for monitoring correspondence received from abroad by the Turkestan Post-Telegraph District”. Post-telegraph employees, from abroad or it was stated that they

should pay attention to the suspicious correspondence from inside the empire and report on it (CGA RK F 201, OP.1, D. 11, L. 1).

In the region, letters, dispatches, urgent messages by post-telegraph, and other types of information were distributed through post-telegraph stations, offices, departments and mailboxes in large cities and centers, while they were distributed to rural residents through regional offices. It seems that volost chief and his office were aware of suspicious shipments, distributed letters, dispatches, telegrams to the villagers, announced announcements, decrees, and important information to the villagers. For example, if we consider the incident in Andijan in 1898 as an example. During the “Andijan Uprising” that took place on May 18, 1898, 22 Russian soldiers were killed and 18 were wounded in the Andijan garrison, the number of killed and wounded among the rebels was 30. In addition, among the Russian people there were losses among officials and ordinary citizens. The leader of the insurgency, Muhammad-Ali, known as Dukchi (Iyikchi) Ishan, and a group of insurgents were arrested the next day on May 19. All the leaders of the uprising (6 people) were sentenced to death, and hundreds of people were deported to Siberia and other regions of the empire (Bababdzhonov, 2009:155). Information related to this incident was published in Semirechensk district in the form of an announcement in the newspaper «Semirechensk Regional Gazette» («Semirechenskiye oblastnye vedomosti») No. 43, and was sent by mail to seven districts and one settlement in Semirechensk region (CGA RK F 41, OP.1, D. 96, L. 110-116). The content of the announcement was presented to the public through a press release. For example, M. Kishibekov (Kisibekov), head of the Nizhneliysky district of Vernyy uezd, told the head of Vernyy uyezd “In accordance with the instructions of the 6th of October of this year ... I have the honor to convey to you the honor of ... disorder in the Fergana region was announced to the population at the village meetings of the Kyrgyz entrusted to me by the Volost” (CGA RK F 41, OP.1, D. 96, L. 108). However, Kazakh translators from the representatives of the local population were prohibited from reviewing and forwarding mail and telegraph shipments, and only court officials were allowed to do so (CGA RK F 194, OP.1, D. 34, L. 89).

Similarly, according to the secret circular of the head of the post and telegraph district of Turkestan dated June 15, 1895, it was said that the shipments with leaflets and pamphlets containing anti-government content should be opened in front of the ad-

dressee and sent to the local governor (CGA RK F 194, OP.1, D. 34, L. 38). Sometimes, leaflets and pamphlets with anti-government content were distributed covertly. For example, in a letter written by the head of the post-telegraph district in the Turkestan General-Governorship to post-telegraph offices and department heads: mail in book covers. For that, the last caches are arranged in the corks; in the event of disclosure of these, they were treated according to the established rules on the detention of correspondence with anti-government publications (CGA RK F 194, OP.1, D. 34, L. 164).

Anti-government pamphlets were sent from abroad in sealed letters in envelopes of different colors. For example, white and gray brochures with anti-government content were sent from Leipzig and Vienna according to the secret circular of the head of the Turkestan post-telegraph district of 1895. It also describes the symbolism of a political or religious organization: "... in the field, a list with a rubber stamp, with an image of a raised hand on the crown, a sword, and a bird with open wings, and a beast under it." According to this document, letters were sent to nobility and influential citizens. Such letters were immediately sent to the head of the Turkestan post-telegraph district (CGA RK F 194, OP.1, D. 34, L. 41).

At the end of the XX century, in the years before the revolution of 1905, appeals of various printed publications from abroad were distributed to the territory of the empire by mail and telegraph. They were the "Free Russian Press" fund from London and Switzerland (in envelopes of the same type, the addresses were written by the same hand) (CGA RK F 194, OP.1, D. 34, L. 32), «Draft Russian Constitution» («Proekt russkoy konstitutsii») from London (CGA RK F 194, OP.1, D. 34, L. 37) from Switzerland "Russische Justande" (CGA RK F 194, OP.1, D. 34, L. 42), «Word of Truth» («Slovo pravdy») etc. (CGA RK F 194, OP.1, D. 34, L.82).

Among the shipments found to be suspicious in the next category were letters and advertisements accepting subscriptions for lottery tickets abroad in the name of various categories of persons. Since the sale of lotteries was prohibited in the Russian Empire, such letters were sent to the local governor when discovered. In this regard, the secret circular of the head of the Turkestan post-telegraph district of 1904 contains the following information: «In many postal and telegraph institutions, the empire receives letters from abroad in the names of various persons, so-called «temporary tickets» that accept signatures, foreign lotteries, and announcements and advertising about these lotteries, order forms and envelopes

for sending lottery ticket orders abroad» (CGA RK F 194, OP.1, D. 34, L.187).

Since «Black offices» were not organized in Semirechensk region, large postal and telegraph institutions in the region engaged in perustration with the participation of gendarmerie, police, and local government bodies. The main feature of the organization of the mentioned service in Semirechensk region is the lack of precise regulation of legal acts and the organization of illegal post and telegraph institutions. Since the perustration is conducted in secret, the lack of data on it is the main problem. Employees of post and telegraph institutions with each department scanned letters and shipments with a separate algorithm.

One of the issues of interest in the study of perustration in Semirechensk region is the facts of perustration of letters and dispatches of a person from the imperial family, albeit indirectly. Prince Nikolay Konstantinovich Romanov was the son of Prince Konstantin Nikolayevich, the younger brother of Russian Emperor Alexander II, grandson of Emperor Nicholas I, nephew of Emperor Alexander III. In 1874, the prince was exiled from St. Petersburg to Orinbor due to the unpleasant situation in his family, changed his address for several years, and only in 1881 was exiled to Tashkent by the order of Emperor Alexander III. He had no political and social role in the region. However, he took an active part in settlement of Russian emigrants from Russia to the territory of Turkestan Governor General and solving irrigation problems in Syrdarya region. The prince died in Tashkent in 1918 and was buried in that city (Tsyryapkina, 2020:81-83).

Postal and telegraphic correspondence addressed to Prince Nikolay Konstantinovich himself, his wife, and those who served them, or sent by them to others, were subject to secret inspection. Correspondence sent to addresses located mainly in the Syrdarya region or related to those places was under control. Regarding the prince's correspondence, the circular of 1891, sent to the Turkestan Post and Telegraph offices and departments, states: «all written correspondence, no matter how it was received at the institution by mail, or through submission by someone to the institution – in person, or through dropping in a mailbox and from whomever it came, i.e. from outsiders, or from those on the list, if only it is addressed to the Grand Duke Nikolai Konstantinovich or to the names of his employees, then it must be sent to the Head of the Tashkent office in the manner specified in the circular. Only that postal correspondence that comes from His Majesty or his employees addressed to unauthorized persons

not on the list can be sent to the police department» (CGA RK F 194, OP.1, D. 34, L.19-20).

Although Prince Nikolay Konstantinovich did not live in the cities of Semirechensk region, the letters addressed to him, his wife and the people who served them were identified and sent to Tashkent from the post and telegraph offices here. For example, on November 29, 1892, the head of the post-telegraph office of Verny sent a report to the head of the Tashkent post-telegraph office that Matvey Chistyakov had sent a 2-word registered letter addressed to the prince (CGA RK F 194, OP.1, D. 34, L. 21 ,21)

#### ***Who will be monitored and under what conditions?***

In order to maintain public peace and order, all police and gendarmerie established public surveillance and covert surveillance of political criminals and untrustworthy persons under the regulation «On Police Control» («Police Health Regulations») of March 12, 1882 (Jonathan W. Daly, 1998: 41). The Minister of Internal Affairs could also prohibit receiving correspondence of persons under control due to individual circumstances. In this case, the lists of such persons are given to local post and telegraph institutions. Letters and dispatches addressed to them are sent to the head of the gendarmerie department in large cities, to the head of the district in uezds, and to the gendarmerie in case of letters with prohibited content (Tokareva, 2009:100).

Persons who are in contact with the criminal elements of the society or are distrusted by their actions against public peace and security are subject to secret surveillance. Those under surveillance were unaware of the secret surveillance, and their personal freedom and civil rights were not limited, but all their movements and communications were strictly monitored.

Covert surveillance was carried out until the suspicion was removed or the facts of the crime were established. Public control was imposed on morally and politically unreliable persons and was limited to

preventive measures rather than severe punishment. It could be established by a decision of administrative bodies or a court verdict. Strict public control was characterized by heavy police surveillance and restrictions on personal freedom and certain rights. The surveillance regime to be established depended on the body that established the surveillance (Regulations on police supervision on March 12, 1882, 1904:25-60).

#### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, the information collected through secret surveillance by special pre-revolutionary institutions covered all the problems of the pre-revolutionary empire. Therefore, the officials of the empire were covered with various information about the society of the Russian Empire. According to Izmozik, the conclusions made by the institutions on the basis of the correspondence intercepted at the end of 1916 seem to predict the revolution.

And according to Jonathan W. Daly, the Police registered all foreign citizens through perlustration and controlled censorship. In practice, the police could search, arrest, and detain anyone without a warrant or court order. However, although a highly developed police force helped the government to deal with social unrest and revolutionary organizations, it could not prevent or even predict social revolutions. That is, the police system could not save the regime faced with a mass social uprising. By 1905, these forces were useless, and the regime survived only by maintaining elite support through significant political concessions and suppressing popular unrest through the use of military force.

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