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THE

RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

THE

RUSSIAN EMPIRE,

PEOPLE, INSTITUTIONS, AND RESOURCES.

BARON VON HAXTHAUSEN,

AUTHOR OF 'TRANSCAUCASIA,' 'THE TRIBES OF THE CAUCASUS,' ETC

TRANSLATED BY

ROBERT FARIE, Esq.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

BARON HAXTHAUSEN'S Work on Russia*, which now appears in an English dress, is already well known in this country, both through the original German and the French edition The present translation has been executed entirely from the German. The original Work consists of three large volumes, and the reasons which have led to its abridgment may be briefly stated: the subjoined note† of the Author will, I think, partly show its necessity The book not only contains much repetition, but there is a general want of arrangement in it, which doubtless arose in a great measure from the Work being written at considerable intervals: this still partly

* The original title of this Work is 'Studien uber die innern Zustande, das Volksleben, und insbesondere die landlichen Einrichtungen Russlands' The first two volumes appeared in 1847, the last in 1852.

† This note is introduced in the third volume of the original to explain how an anecdote is repeated which had already appeared in a previous part of the Work. "It only appeared during the printing of the Work that this cha cteristic anecdote had already been related. It could not be omitted here, as a separate impression of this account of the Russian army is to be published. In truth, repetitions frequently occur in this book; they were often necessary to explain the different consequences of the principles laid down in the Work, the first and the last parts of which were composed at the somewhat distant interval of eight years. It was only during the printing and correcting of the press that the repetitions caught the Author's eye, which is indeed but a poor excuse."

appears in the translation, but the omissions have, it is hoped, materially lessened the objection. Many details occur in the original Work which it was considered unnecessary to insert in the translation, being of local rather than general interest; for instance, it appeared superfluous to give all the different minute modifications of the communal and agricultural systems prevailing in the various parts of the Empire, as a more general description renders the leading facts and observations of the Author more obvious.

Baron Haxthausen has given, in his Preface, a general idea of the character of his inquiries; and whatever opinion the Reader may form of his views, he cannot but be convinced of the earnest and impartial manner in which the Author pursued his investigations It is scarcely necessary for me to allude more particularly to the high reputation which Baron Haxthausen enjoys in this country as well as on the Continent.

This translation was commenced without any definite purpose, or expectation of its being made public. It seemed uncertain whether it would ever be completed, and doubtful whether any English publisher would undertake it. The book however appeared to give the only account of Russia from which any just idea can be formed of the actual state of the people of that country, and the nature of their institutions and government; and both for the purpose of obtaining a clearer conception of the subject myself, and communicating information to such of my friends as felt an interest in it, I continued the translation at my leisure until it was completed. To facilitate the perusal of the Work to the

Reader, the Russian values, weights, and measures have been reduced to their English equivalents;* an Index has likewise been appended.

Finding from my friend Mr. John Edward Taylor† that he was in correspondence with the Author, I informed him of what I had done, and this he communicated to Baron Haxthausen, who approved of the principle adopted in the abridgment, and at the same time suggested the omission of certain portions of the Work which I had already determined to leave out. This was very satisfactory, and encouraged me to proceed with the publication of the book, and I have to give my best thanks to Mr. Taylor for the assistance he has afforded me during its passage through the press.

Although the translation of this Work was commenced during the late war, and was first prompted by the interest recently excited in the state of Russia, it would be a great mistake to suppose that the book is indebted for its value or interest to the circumstances of the crisis. It was written and published long before any of these events could have been foreseen, and it is not of a character consonant with the heat and excitement of an international struggle. Its perusal will be much more useful when that excitement has ceased; and, looking forward to its publication, I have often contemplated the

* The Paper Rouble, which has varied greatly in value at different times, has been reckoned by the Author as equal to 9⅓ Prussian silbergroschen, or 11*d.* English, the Silver Rouble, 3*s* 2⅓*d.* The Verst is equal to 3500 English feet, the Dessetina, or Deciatine, 2 7 acres; the Arshine, 28 inches The Tchetvert contains 5 76 bushels.

† Mr Taylor has recently published a translation of two Works by Baron Haxthausen, 'Transcaucasia' and 'The Tribes of the Caucasus,' which may be considered as supplemental to this larger Work.

conclusion of the contest as a favourable opportunity for bringing it before the Public. Before reading Baron Haxthausen's work, I was completely at a loss to form any idea whatever of the Russians or their history. There appears to be no other book on the subject by any author possessed of sufficient information, authority, and correctness to give satisfactory value to his writings and opinions; but it is impossible, I think, to read this without believing it to present a faithful picture of the Russian Empire, possessing ample intrinsic interest, independent of the fact that we have been recently at war with its inhabitants. When we consider that the Russian territory in Europe is as large as all the other countries united, that Siberia is twenty times the size of France, and that a large proportion of this vast space is still a desert, but rapidly increasing in cultivation, it will be understood how extremely important is a knowledge of the true character of its people and the real nature of their government That the people, with all their faults, are not the barbarians, nor the Government the oppressive tyranny we have been accustomed to believe them, is the earnest belief of Baron Haxthausen, and I leave the reader to form his own opinion of the value of his judgement from the materials now presented to him. My only object in giving the Work to the English Public is that an account, believed to be the most authentic, of a country little known, but now possessing increased interest for England, may be rendered generally accessible.

R. F.

London, April 25, 1856.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE Author of this Work has devoted his attention for many years to the study of rural institutions, or, in other words, the different relations of the peasant class to the cultivation of the land, their families, the landowners, their Communes, and the State. He has endeavoured to study the life of the lower classes of the people by direct personal observation; and, in pursuance of this object, he received a commission from the Prussian Government to prosecute his investigations through all the provinces of the Monarchy, and to draw up a detailed report on the state of the peasantry, which might serve as a basis for future legislation. For this purpose he travelled, from 1830 to 1838, throughout Prussia, as well as a large part of the neighbouring countries.

On examining closely the rural institutions of Western Germany, the Author found some peculiarities not in character with the common features of German life. From the sixth to the twelfth century these countries, although originally German, were inhabited by a Slavonic population which afterwards disappeared, or be-

came Germanized, and he was thus naturally led to attribute the origin of such anomalous features to these extinct Slavonic races and their institutions. It therefore became necessary, in the prosecution of his inquiries, to subject the popular life and institutions of these races to a more comprehensive examination,—a branch of study which he has never been satisfied to pursue merely from books and historical documents, without the important aid of close and direct observation of the life of the people: a subsequent study of books facilitated, but did not form the basis of, his information and opinions. He felt a strong desire to visit those countries which have always been, and still are, inhabited by Slavonic peoples, and where the national institutions have grown up intact and independent.

In those parts of Prussia still peopled by Slaavs, the Kasubs, Masurs, Upper Silesians, and Poles, the original rural institutions have not been preserved in their integrity: so many German elements have been intermingled with them, that it is frequently impossible to decide what is German and what Slavonic. The southern parts of the Austrian monarchy, with Servia, Bulgaria, and above all Russia, could therefore alone engage his attention.

But an investigation of this kind was attended with great difficulties, and could only be undertaken with the special sanction of the respective Governments. The Author found in the Russian Government the greatest readiness to assist him in his inquiries; and the Emperor not only ordered him to be recommended to the protection of all the authorities, but to have access to

the public archives for all the information necessary for his work.

Having at St. Petersburg made the preparations necessary for so important a journey, the Author took his departure from Moscow in the Spring of 1843. He travelled first to the north, traversed a part of the immense region of forests, and then returning to the Volga, penetrated eastward as far as Kazan, and southward to Saratof, visiting the rich corn districts of Penza, Tambof, Voronezh, and Kharkof, and then traversed the Steppes by Ekaterinoslaf to Kertch in the Crimea. Thence he made a short excursion into the southern countries of the Caucasus, at the conclusion of which he travelled over the Crimea, and, proceeding along the coast, arrived at Odessa He then traversed Podolia and Volhynia, reached Kief, and, passing through the Governments of Tchernigof, Orel, and Tula, returned to Moscow in the month of November.

The following Work contains a portion of his observations on Russia, the impressions he received, and the materials which he collected.

In the investigations to which I invite the Reader's attention in this Work, we must bear in mind the fact, that the rural institutions of every people have a peculiar basis of nationality, and can only be rendered intelligible when the importance of this fact is clearly understood. Differences and peculiarities are perceptible in all nations, but they are peculiarly prominent in the two great families of the Germanic and Romanic races,

which have also much in common, with many resemblances and analogies. A manifold intermixture of manners, languages, and interests, and a mutual assimilation of national life, have prevailed among them for a thousand years; and these circumstances, together with their common Church and the dissemination of the Roman law, have produced and established these similarities. This fusion is also stamped upon the languages; all have words expressing one and the same thing: for instance the sense attached to the words *Gemeinde* or *Commune*, —*Pächter*, farmer, *fermier*, indicates essentially the same social and legislative relations in each language, and is understood alike in all.

It is otherwise among the Slavonic peoples. The Poles and Bohemians have for centuries been influenced by German manners and ideas, their legislation has assumed the same character as that of the other nations of the West, and the original Slavonic institutions have been considerably modified, but with regard to the Slavonic peoples who have either had no contact with the ideas and civilization of the other European nations, as the Servians, Bosnians, Bulgarians, or those with whom this contact has only taken place in modern times, and so that the higher classes alone have appropriated this civilization without sensibly modifying the social and legislative basis of the rural institutions, as among the Russians, the case is entirely different.

In fact the social and legislative relations of the Slavonic nations who have not been affected by European culture differ so entirely, both in their first principles and their development, from those of other nations, that

we have often in our language no terms fitted clearly to designate them. The ordinary and legislative meaning of the word *Gemeinde*, for instance, is in all European languages so clear and uniform, that it may be used in each without fear of being misunderstood. But how different is the meaning of the old Slavonic or Russian *Commune!* With the former nations this indicates an aggregate of individuals, whom chance has brought together, and whose relations have been regulated by government and legislation, as well as by the manners and customs of the people, whereas among the latter it was originally a simple extension of the patriarchal family, which it still represents, with a chief or father at its head, and based upon a community of property.

In the case of those Slavonic peoples who have remained uninfluenced by modern civilization, such as the Servians, Bulgarians, etc, this is so evident, that Ranke and Cyprian Robert, in their works on the Servians and Slaavs, have not failed to remark it. In Russia it is not so evident. from an early time this country formed a political unity, having received at a remote period institutions from Constantinople, and even through German (Varangian) influences. Since the sixteenth century, when it threw off the Mongol yoke, it has come into direct contact with Western Europe, and has striven for a hundred and forty years to attain modern civilization. The higher classes have been educated and trained, and all the political institutions have been formed, upon the European model. Legislation has not only assumed the character, but even the forms, of other European States, the consequences of which however have been

manifested only among the higher classes of the people foreign civilization has not penetrated to the manners and customs of the lower classes; family institutions, and those of the Communes and agriculture, have remained intact, legislation and the Government administration have had little or no influence upon them.

But this want of homogeneity in the culture of the higher and lower classes has rendered the attainment of a knowledge of the national institutions extremely difficult even by the former Accustomed to foreign languages and manners, and basing their education upon foreign jurisprudence and institutions, they have been accustomed to regard all their native institutions from a foreign point of view, and have sought to frame the latter upon the model of the former. More recently indeed national sentiments have begun to manifest themselves, and here as elsewhere Russian learned men are now devoting themselves to an earnest investigation of the origin and true nature of the social state of their fatherland;* but the foreign civilization and cultivated language of the higher classes, which have impressed upon Russian words indicative of native institutions a borrowed meaning, interpose innumerable obstacles

When I say that even learned Russians, born in the country, have no longer a knowledge of its real condition and institutions,†—that they have not yet been

* Some learned Germans may claim the honour of having given the first impulse in this direction. Men like Schlotzer, Muller, Ewers, Georgi, Storch, etc, and in our day Reutz, have been the teachers of the younger Russian learned men, and have inspired them with a love of national institutions, and an ardour for investigating them

† A remarkable instance of this was presented in the case of Alex-

able to impart to their language the power of rendering that condition intelligible,—that their poets are only now beginning to understand and describe their national and family life, with its manners and peculiarities,—this must, of course, be asserted in a much higher degree of the foreigners who have written on Russia. Whoever would travel in Russia, earnestly study the condition of the country, and observe its national life with unprejudiced eyes, must first of all forget everything he has read in other countries upon the subject.

Having passed little more than a year in Russia, I cannot pretend to understand the national life and condition of the country in all their bearings, but I am at least assured by the conviction of having entered upon my investigation unprejudiced and with the profound veneration and love I have always felt for everything genuine, natural, and simple, in the life of nations. More than twenty years of travel have sharpened my observation to this kind of study; and I therefore hope in this Work to have not only communicated much that was wholly unknown, but to some extent to have indicated a new mode of studying Russian life. I would however expressly disclaim any pretension to have given complete information. My book contains studies: it is not a critical work, and cannot be supposed free from inaccuracies; but I hope to have indicated those points upon which any one must specially fix his attention who un-

ander Turgenief With a perfectly European cosmopolitan education, possessed of the deepest and most glowing love of his country, and a great knowledge of its external history, he knew little of the genuine national life

dertakes to describe the present social condition of Russia, or who may occupy a position enabling him to develope it upon truly national principles. All I desire is that enlightened and philanthropic men may examine the results of my observations, which I would more particularly impress upon the attention of the Russian Government. Let the opinions here stated be accepted or rejected, my object will have been attained, if my Work excites an earnest interest in the subjects of which it treats, and gives a new impulse to social progress.

In order to make good my positions, I will here indicate some of the results of my observations. In their origin and development the other nations of Europe are feudal, whereas Russia is a patriarchal state A crowd of consequences flow from this simple fact, which is almost sufficient of itself to explain the whole social and political condition of Russia

The family is the national microcosm. in it reigns a perfect equality of rights; so long as it remains united, the father is the head of the family; on his death the eldest son succeeds, and has the entire disposal of all the property, and assigns arbitrarily the part which reverts to each member. The Commune is the family enlarged. The land belongs to the family or commune, each individual has only a claim to usufruct, to which all persons born in the Commune have an equal right The land therefore is equally divided among all who live upon it, to be temporarily occupied by them. No right of inheritance exists in the children to the share of their father; each son claims an equal share with the rest, by virtue of his individual right as a member of the Commune.

The Commune has its paternal relation in the Ancient, or Starosta, to whom implicit obedience is shown.

According to the traditional conviction of the people, Russia belongs to the Nation, divided into Communes, as to a single family, under its chief or father, the Czar, who has the disposal of everything, and to whom implicit obedience is shown. The Russian people cannot imagine any limitation of the power of the Czar. "How can a father's authority be limited, otherwise than by the Divine law?" say that class who constitute the heart of the nation at the present day, as they did 230 years ago on the accession of the Romanof Dynasty. All attempts to restrict the power of the Czar made then or subsequently proved utterly abortive, before this deep traditional belief of the people The political position therefore of the Czar in relation to the Russian Nation is quite different from that of every other monarch, but as Emperor of the Russian Monarchy, his position is the same as that of other sovereigns.

As every Russian belongs to a Commune, and all the members are entitled to equal shares in the land, there are no born *proletarians* in Russia.

In all the other countries of Europe the originators of social revolution rise up in rebellion against wealth and property. Destruction of the right of inheritance, and an equal division of the land, are their shibboleth! In Russia such a revolution is impossible, as this Utopia of the European revolutionists already exists here, fully incorporated with the national life.

There is a large class of politicians in Europe who are anxious to obliterate every organic difference between

town and country, to destroy the mediæval institutions of guilds, trades, etc, and to disseminate universal freedom of industry From the earliest times this state of things has existed in Russia, but it has destroyed all internal progress, and the Government has striven to counteract it by legislation, by creating and giving privileges to towns, by establishing guilds and incorporated trades, and has exerted itself, hitherto with little success, to create a real middle class

The nobility, an element which probably did not belong originally to the Slavonic race, was not numerous before the time of Peter I. It has always owed its influence and importance more to the confidence of the sovereign than to its position in the nation Peter I. created an official nobility, which has almost driven the old hereditary aristocracy into the background * The course is free to all, and any man of the people may, on certain conditions and by service, acquire personal and afterwards hereditary nobility This however has been found in practice by no means a thing to be admired, and the want of an efficient rural nobility is unquestionable.

Of late years Russia has made remarkable progress in the modern system of manufactures, and a large number of the nobles have engaged in them. Moscow, the centre of industrial activity, has been transformed, from the residence of the nobility, into a manufacturing town:

* In all other, and even constitutional, countries the rank of noble is acquired by the favour of the Prince In autocratical Russia the Emperor does not confer this rank of his own accord, but it is acquired by service and the law, and still there is no worse nobility than this

it is very doubtful whether the result can be considered altogether advantageous. The wages of labour, partly in consequence of this circumstance, have risen immensely in Russia, and, in fact, taking everything into consideration, there is no country where they are so high. At the same time the price of the raw produce of the land in the interior, distant from the European markets and without means of communication, is very low

As wages are so high, it is evident that agriculture must be the least remunerative of all employments, and the rent of the land, if cultivated by hired labourers, would cease altogether The consequence is that agriculture in all its branches is prosecuted without energy, and retrogrades instead of advancing. This would be still more the case if in many districts serfage did not come to its aid Manufacturing industry is consequently one of the greatest obstacles to the abolition of serfage, which however cannot be much longer delayed in Russia.

From the earliest times there has existed in many parts of the Empire a system of manufacturing industry, based upon the Communal institutions, and forming a kind of national manufacturing association This in fact represents what the St Simonist theories have dreamt of as the model upon which the social reform of Europe is to be effected Hitherto the Government, from partiality to the modern manufacturing system, has paid far too little attention to these national associative manufactories

Russia, in her internal development, has the promise of a great future destiny The political unity of the country seems to have been intended by nature, which

has divided it into four colossal departments, not separately possessing the conditions of complete independence, and only capable when united of constituting a powerful and independent State The north is covered with forests, one continuous tract of which is larger than the whole of Spain Then comes a district of moderate fertility, extending from the Ural to Smolensk, covering an area of 380,000 square miles, and containing a population of more than sixteen millions of inhabitants, exhibiting the most extensive and varied kinds of industrial activity, but the very existence of which depends entirely upon the forests of the north, and the districts of the south, or the region of the so-called black soil, which in fertility and extent has scarcely its equal in the world · the tract of humus is twice as large as the whole of France, and crops of wheat have succeeded each other for a century upon the same land, without the application of manure. This is rarely used anywhere, in many places the land is not even ploughed, but is merely scratched as a preparation for the seed Straw and manure are used as fuel, there being no forests

To the south and south-east commence the immense Steppes, which have been overrun for thousands of years by nomadic tribes with their flocks and herds. These districts however are for the most part fertile, and are gradually being brought into cultivation by colonists from the interior, whose settlements form oases in the surrounding desert. If these countries which border the Black Sea should ever be wooded and sufficiently peopled, they would be among the most flourishing in Europe

This gigantic Empire, equal in extent to the rest of Europe, and bathed by four seas, is inhabited by a completely homogeneous, healthy, and robust race of men. The Russians are divided into two branches—the Great Russians and Little Russians; but in dialect these do not differ so much as Low Germans from High Germans. The thirty-four millions of Great Russians constitute the most numerous, compact, and homogeneous national mass in Europe Between these races there is not the slightest trace of jealousy or desire for separation, but they have a feeling of national and religious unity, which is found in no other country. The Little Russians present only a slight contrast to the Great Russians, but they have at the same time a strong feeling of the unity of Russia

The higher classes in this country have received for a century past a European cultivation, which is neither of native origin nor of national character. In this respect therefore two different peoples may be said to exist in Russia There is at present however a strong desire for intellectual improvement among the lower classes, caused by the extension of industrial activity, and it will be one of the greatest tasks of the Government to give the right direction to these tendencies and desires. The national Church can alone undertake this duty; but the clergy themselves require a more practical education to qualify them for the task; and exertions have only recently been made, at the suggestion of the Government, to supply this defect

When I declare the political unity and indivisibility of Russia to be a necessity of nature, I would at the same

time maintain that she cannot without injury to herself be a conquering Power She was obliged to make conquests until she had thereby acquired a state of internal unity and independence, and a compact external position. Without the coasts of the Baltic and Black Seas she could never have become a compact, self-contained, and externally powerful State. But every additional conquest has only proved a burden rather than an advantage to her If it were consistent with her national dignity, it would be better to abandon all such conquests But every village which should be conquered now would be a mere increase to her burden and diminution of her strength. Russia requires more than a century to develope her internal resources Of what use to her would be a million of subjects in a conquered country, on whom she could not rely, and who would require to be watched by a large army, whilst by the development of her internal resources she could gain in a few years ten million faithful and homogeneous subjects?

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Departure from Ekaterinoslaf —The Mennonites, their Origin and Settlement in West Prussia —Their Emigration to Russia and Settlement on the Dnieper —Village of Khortitz —Mennonite Colonies on the Malotchnaya —Their Religious Service —John Kornies —Visit to a Nogai Tatar Village —Constitution of the Mennonites —German Colonies on the Malotchnaya —Political Importance of the Mennonites.—Isthmus of Arabat —Arrival at Feodosia and Kertch 420

THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I

LEAVE BERLIN FOR ST PETERSBURG —DIFFERENCES OF TEMPERATURE —BREAKING UP OF THE ICE ON THE NEVA —HOLY WEEK —CHURCH MUSIC IN RUSSIA —EASTER —GRAND PARADE BEFORE THE WINTER PALACE —LEAVE ST PETERSBURG — THE FOREST INSTITUTE AT LISTZINO —NOVGOROD —VUISHNI VOLOTCHOK —TORZHOK — LEATHER MANUFACTORIES —TVER —COMMUNAL ORGANIZATION —VILLAGES — THE ISHORTZKI —HABITATIONS OF THE PEASANTRY —ENCLOSURES —NATIONAL COSTUME —MANNERS

Early in March, 1843, I left Berlin for St Petersburg. At starting we had already spring weather, but beyond Cosslin (travelling through Pomerania) the elevated ground was still covered with a thin layer of snow, whilst in the low grounds a thaw succeeded to the slight frosts of the night The same temperature continued along the coasts of the Baltic, in the country between Danzig and Konigsberg, and throughout Lithuania and Courland to Riga Here the Duna was still covered with ice; but it was already beginning to break up, and we did not traverse it without danger. Above Riga winter still prevailed the whole country was covered with snow, which became so deep after we passed Dorpat, that I was obliged to place the carriage

upon a sledge At a few posts however before reaching St. Petersburg the snow suddenly disappeared, and we had to attach the wheels again and abandon the sledge. This phenomenon is said to be not unusual, from the peculiar warmth of this small extent of country.

In St Petersburg we still found snow, and instead of the droshkies we saw only sledges in the streets. It seemed as if winter were about to recommence, the temperature was from fifteen to twenty-five degrees (Fahrenheit) below freezing, and continued so till the middle of April The first object of my visit here was to make acquaintance with various persons, procure the letters of of recommendation I might require during my journey in the interior, and collect such facts as might assist me in the study of the national life of Russia I will give only a short account of the few last days which I passed in this capital

Toward the end of April spring appeared. Until then I was lodged in Vasili Ostrof, on the right bank of the Neva. One morning it was announced to me that the breaking up of the ice in the Neva was about to commence, that in a few hours the bridge-of-boats would be dismounted, and, unless I transported myself directly to the other side of the river, I should be cut off for several days from the main part of the town I crossed over therefore immediately. In a few days the snow completely disappeared, the sledges vanished, and were replaced by droshkies, which were more numerous and more necessary than ever, for the streets were nearly everywhere a morass, almost impassable for pedestrians The pavement in St. Petersburg is extremely bad, and all the efforts of the authorities have not yet produced any satisfactory amendment, although in several

places every variety of paving has been tried. The nature of the ground and the climate undoubtedly present great difficulties, but in seeing the labourers engaged in mending the pavement, it is difficult to understand how such wretched work is tolerated

On the Saturday before Easter all the members of a Russian family assemble, generally late in the evening, and remain together until midnight, to visit the churches. I joined a family, from whom I had received an invitation. About half-past eleven o'clock we left the house: all the streets were illuminated, in a way which I have only seen in St Petersburg and Moscow. Along the *trottoirs* on both sides of the street, in addition to the lamps, and at intervals of four or five paces, are bowls filled with burning tallow and turpentine, which produce a peculiar magical illumination of all objects.

The streets were full of people, on their way to the different churches. We went to the Post Church, and found places in the gallery, whence we could survey the whole interior. The building became gradually filled with the faithful, each carrying an unlighted taper in his hand, everything was silent and sombre, and it was only in the centre, around the tomb of Christ, that tapers were burning At a quarter before twelve one priest appeared, then others, and the simple and imposing chanting of the litanies commenced, with the constantly repeated "Gospodi pomilui!" (Lord, have mercy upon us!) in chorus This simple chant, sung without any accompaniment by several fine male voices, proceeding from the only lighted part of the church, has a truly impressive effect The priests are engaged in their functions around the tomb of the Lord, which is at length carried into the sanctuary then the roar of cannon announces

the hour of midnight, and the commencement of the new and important day. The chorus of priests in loud and joyful tones sounds the "Christos voskress!" (Christ is risen!), the doors of the *ikonostas* open, at that on the left the woman standing nearest among the people lights her taper at the consecrated one presented to her by the priest The neighbours receive the light from her, and thus it spreads in erratic sparks on all sides through the church, which is soon illuminated by a thousand lights * And now begins the solemn mass, with the chorus of the priests

The music of the Western Catholic Church, particularly in Italy, has acquired a secular and profane character, which is heightened by the instrumental accompaniment, and the singers, male and female, dressed in the first style of fashion in the choir, who not unfrequently sing *bravuras* with embellishments and cadences of their own. Even the church music of Beethoven and Mozart too often partakes of this light and florid character,—the style of the theatre transferred to the church. Some of the stricter Pontiffs have endeavoured to prevent this, but in vain little improvement is likely to be effected, until instrumental music is entirely prohibited in the churches even the organ ought not to accompany the singing of the priest and chorus, but only that of the congregation

The choral music of the Protestant churches is admirable; the compositions of Sebastian Bach will always

* On Easter Thursday also I was told the Russians all bear wax tapers in the churches. During the reading of the Gospels the person standing nearest lights his taper at that of the officiating priest, and communicates the light to his neighbours, which is soon diffused throughout the whole church Each person takes the taper (the light of the Gospel) home with him. What a simple symbol!

be regarded as masterpieces, but in general the music appears to me too simple, monotonous, and cold.*

In my opinion the music of the Russian Church is the best adapted to produce deep religious emotions, which is manifestly the object of all church music In its present state it is not very ancient Throughout the whole of the Eastern Catholic church,—formerly also in Russia, and even among the Starovertzi (ancient believers), who retain tenaciously all the old forms down to the most insignificant details,—the church-singing is entirely different from the Russian of the present day It is entirely in unison, and in the execution the nasal tones predominate, as throughout the East, and even among the Mohammedans, so that the general effect is by no means pleasing The melodies however are for the most part very beautiful.

In the reign of Catherine II the church music was reformed in Russia The old melodies were adapted for several voices, and persons were sent to Rome to collect the most ancient Christian melodies, which had been preserved there principally in the Sistine Chapel, and thus the present music was formed and brought into use New compositions also, particularly those of the Russian composer Bartniauski, were intermingled with the liturgies Schools were everywhere instituted for teaching music to the priests, and it is a proof of the great musical capacity of the people, as well as of their excellent discipline, that within fifty or sixty years this mode of singing has gradually extended over the whole of the immense empire. How often have I heard in

* The cathedral music of the English Church offers a striking exception to this remark there is more varied and *just* expression in that of Purcell alone than perhaps in any other sacred composer.—TRANSL.

simple village churches the admirable singing which I had become acquainted with in the capitals!

After this short digression I return to my narrative.

The Mass proceeded quietly, until shortly before the consecration of the elements, when suddenly the shawl of a woman in the thickest part of the crowd took fire. It was a moment I shall not easily forget A cry of terror ensued from a thousand voices, a fearful tumult, and rushing towards all the outlets of the church! The priests instantly shut the ikonostas behind them. However the danger fortunately was soon over, and the fire was extinguished by the bystanders The terror was greatest and the danger most imminent near me, in the choir of the gallery, which was crowded, almost exclusively by ladies of the higher class: there was only one small staircase down to the body of the church. After an interval of ten minutes, all danger was over, quiet was restored, and the service continued to the end.

On entering the street again, I found universal rejoicing. All who met greeted, embraced, and kissed each other, with the joyful exclamation, "Christos voskress!" and the answer, "Vo-istino voskress!" (He is risen indeed!) It was about three o'clock; all the houses were open, and everybody out of bed, visitors entered them, and were everywhere received with the Easter greeting, and conducted to the tables loaded and decorated with all sorts of dishes, the consecrated bread and cheese being first presented. I met a friend, General von M——, in front of his house: his servants received him in the hall, and he embraced and kissed them all without distinction, then the family met us with embraces and kisses: it looked like a joyful meeting after a long absence.

It was only when day broke that each one sought repose At eleven o'clock I went to see the Grand Parade By the intercession of a friend I obtained, under the portal of the Winter Palace, a favourable place for witnessing the whole. It was glorious weather, and the magnificent troops were drawn up in a long line. The Grand Duke Michael first appeared, galloping along the line, and was received with loud hurrahs from a thousand voices After a little while the Emperor came out of the Palace, and walked to the troops. an immense shout of joy received him. He was in the uniform of the Don Cossacks, which became his handsome form better than a modern uniform He stood in the centre before the troops, and then a number of private soldiers from all the regiments stepped forward and surrounded him. He went up to each in turn, gave the Easter salute, embraced and kissed him. It was a scene of striking grandeur! Every year, on the same day, for centuries, this public jubilee has been renewed, to commemorate the resurrection of our Lord. The feeling of their equality before Him pervades the whole people; all, high and low, embrace each other as brethren; and even the ruler of a quarter of the globe, the temporal protector and head of the Church, salutes the lowest of his subjects, and acknowledges thereby the religious tie which binds him to his people, by a community of faith, love, and loyalty.

After finishing the preparations for my journey, I set out on May 9th, in company with Dr K——, Herr von A——, Herr W von S——, and Prince P. L——, in two carriages, which we had purchased, called *tarantas*,*

* The *tarantas* must not be confounded with the *telega*. The *tarantas* is said to have been originally a Tatar vehicle, and even now the best built ones are found in Kazan The *telega* is a genuine Russian

a very comfortable vehicle it consists of the body of a modern chaise fastened upon a Russian frame, composed of two young oaks about ten or twelve feet long, and four inches thick, fastened upon a carriage with four small wheels. The motion is elastic and swinging, and is pleasanter than with springs. I had decided to travel night and day on the road between St. Petersburg and Moscow, and to stop only a few hours at the most important places When we left St Petersburg the weather was splendid, but in a few hours it began to rain, and in the night there was a heavy fall of snow, which lay at least six inches deep, and only disappeared when we were within forty-five miles of Moscow at length, at noon on May 2nd, in bright sunshine, we reached the gates of the ancient city of the Czars

Peter I , who wished to bring his new capital as near as possible to the old one, ordered an Englishman named Macpherson to draw a straight line between St. Petersburg and Moscow, and make a direct road between them. Nearly seventy miles of it were actually constructed , but woods and morasses presented immense difficulties, and as all the inhabited towns and places lay out of this line, the plan was given up, and the important towns of Novgorod, Torzhok, Tver, etc , were included in the contemplated route The road is now about 480 miles long, whereas the direct line would have been only 393 miles.

On losing sight of St. Petersburg the road becomes very dreary, particularly in dull weather, passing almost

carriage. it resembles a boat placed upon a short four-wheeled frame; but nobody can assert that it is comfortable to sit in; you must always balance yourself upon it with some skill, to prevent being shaken off. As a cure for hypochondria, a daily ride in it would certainly not be without its use At the post-stations no other carriage is found.

entirely through woods and morasses It afterwards approaches the only range of mountains in European Russia—the Valdai Mountains—which constitute the watershed between the Baltic and Black Sea. The country here becomes pretty, and sometimes picturesque; nearer Moscow it is of a sandy character.

On the 27th of April, at a few stations distant from St. Petersburg, we left the high road, and drove to Listzino, where there is a newly-established Forest Institute, intended as a supplement to the Forest Academy at St. Petersburg what is taught there theoretically, is here demonstrated practically We had visited the establishment in St. Petersburg a few days before The plan of study and instruction is good, and in substance the same as in German institutions of a similar kind The education and discipline are military, and the young people wear a uniform The building has the appearance of a palace, and is luxuriously arranged, the floor for instance being inlaid. The most scrupulous order and cleanliness prevail. I expressed surprise at this appearance of luxury, which I thought must necessarily present to the youths a contrast to their future mode of life. Here they would be accustomed to all the comforts, conveniences, and luxuries of modern life; afterwards perhaps they would suffer every kind of privation, deep in the solitudes of the northern forests, and cut off from all the enjoyments, amusements, and elegancies of modern civilization The reply was, that I was deceived by appearances, and that no over-indulgence actually existed; that to accustom young people to strict obedience, order, and cleanliness, was always desirable; that the buildings were erected in a noble and handsome style, for in St. Petersburg, under the eyes of the Emperor, it

was not allowed to build in any other way, that some of the arrangements which appeared luxurious were in fact economical, as for instance the inlaid floor, which was a real saving in the annual expenditure: with merely plain boards, it would be hardly possible to keep the floor clean, it would have needed constant washing and scrubbing, and this, when overdone, rots the wood; the inlaid floor was dear at first, but there the expense ended, and so on The young people, it was said, were certainly not over-indulged in their food: their whole maintenance costing on an average about thirteen or fourteen silver copeks a day (5*d*) each person They receive in the morning bread and *sbiten*, a warm drink made of treacle, spice, and hot water, at noon three dishes, soup, meat, and a tart, in the evening soup and groats.

I could not admit that my remarks were answered, but I perceived that other reasons existed, which were not expressed, but might be divined In St Petersburg, before the face of Europe (a consideration to which unfortunately undue attention is paid in Russia), and still more under the eye of the Emperor, no establishment can be founded which has the appearance of poverty. It would also be impossible to retain young people in such an establishment, as all those of the same rank and education have been brought up thus luxuriously in the other Imperial educational institutions and cadet-houses in St. Petersburg. In Russia only the children of the nobility are educated in the public institutions Brought up at home in the midst of luxury (which is in no country greater among the educated classes, who consist alone of the nobility), they imagine they fare much worse in the Imperial institutions than at home How often have I heard complaints of bad food, although I found it

everywhere more abundant and better cooked than in any similar school in Germany! It would be impossible, in Russia, to retain these spoilt children of modern civilization in such institutions, were not certain prospects of rank and station united with them

In Germany, down to the very artisans, and even the peasantry, a large proportion of the children receive a good school education from early youth; whilst they learn, in the houses of their parents, relatives, and patrons, to endure all kinds of poverty and privation. If fortune gives them an opportunity of devoting themselves to professional studies, and so to fit themselves for the civil service of the Government or army, etc, they make no claim whatever to good living or luxury, and they can endure great privation If such lads were educated in public institutions, they might be maintained at a small expense, but they would never expect any luxurious dwelling, attendance, etc A middle class of this kind, with a European education, or at least capacity for education, and accustomed to labour and privations, is as yet quite wanting in Russia. The Government, since the time of Catherine II., has taken some pains to form a citizen class; and with this object, and on the suggestion of the minister Count Cancrin, the law regarding the hereditary rights of the citizens was recently enacted; but the whole project is still in its infancy.

To return to the Forest Institute, it may be asked with reason, Is not St Petersburg altogether the wrong place for such a school? Would it not be more suitable, nay is it not indispensable, to establish it in the interior, in the vicinity of great forests, as for instance in the Government of Vologda or of Kazan? To this however it may be answered, that the science of forestry in Russia is

still in its infancy, there are as yet no Russian foresters, nor any Russian teachers of the science, and it has been necessary to invite Germans as instructors Eminent men from abroad may indeed be induced to go to St. Petersburg or Moscow, but to penetrate into the interior requires more resolution than even brilliant pecuniary inducements often call forth. To obtain pupils even might be difficult in the interior The whole institution therefore cannot be regarded as capable of producing a sufficient number of people for the practical service of the forests, but only as a training school for the higher class of forest officials, and for perhaps future Russian teachers of the science of forestry, in institutions to be established in the interior.

The Forest Institute at Listzino is, as I have said, a branch of the St Petersburg Institute, and is intended for the practical teaching of the science The establishment was still in formation, or rather reformation, and on account of the holidays none of the pupils were there; I am unable therefore to give any opinion upon it

In the evening we started, and continued our journey through the night, arriving the following morning at Great Novgorod. I can say little of this celebrated old town, as during the whole day the snow fell heavily. We visited the cathedral of St Sophia, one of the oldest churches of Russia. This and its celebrated bronze gates have been frequently described, and I therefore pass them over here.

On the 29th we reached the Valdai Mountains. The road became very bad, and we passed some carts which had stuck fast, one of them having been overturned and broken. Here and there whole tracts had been covered with wooden planks, according to the old Russian fashion

of repairing the roads. At Vuishni Volotchok we passed one of the most remarkable and longest covered suspension-bridges in the world, without being able, in consequence of the bad weather, to examine it more closely Here is the *knot* of the colossal system of water communication which unites the Baltic Sea with the Caspian It is asserted, but I cannot affirm the fact, that a communication might be opened from the Baltic to the frontiers of China, by simply taking advantage of the tributary streams and small canals.

We again drove through the night, and the following morning, about eleven o'clock, reached the old town of Torzhok To this point the Tatars penetrated; and Batu Khan destroyed this frontier fortress of the republic of Novgorod in 1238 It is a tolerably long line, upon which the Mongols then stormed in upon Europe, from Torzhok, through Silesia, to Constantinople.

Torzhok stands on both banks of the Tvertza, the right side being amphitheatrical and very pretty. The crowd of towers always gives to a Russian town an imposing and picturesque aspect to a West-European eye, at a distance, it may have the appearance of a large place, when on entering it you see broad and deserted streets and immense squares,—usually only one street and one square, with stone houses of two stories, the rest occupied by wooden dwellings one story high, and separated by courtyards In a German town there are perhaps ten times as many houses as in a Russian town of the same extent. Torzhok occupies probably the same area as Hamburg, and contains perhaps 12,000 to 14,000 people,—in Hamburg there are more than ten times that number

At the inn we had excellent fowl-cutlets, which enjoy

a European reputation Torzhok is the head-quarters of extensive works in leather, which are in great demand. The leather used is mostly brought from St. Petersburg or Kazan. The principal articles are coloured morocco boots, shoes, slippers, pouches, etc, partly embroidered in a beautiful manner with gold and silver. These ornamental works are not properly of Russian origin: the Russians learned them from the Tatars, but now very much surpass the latter The boots are still called "Kazanski sapogi" (Kazan boots). There was a magazine of these articles in the inn, but I found them generally very dear The chief of the police in the town conducted us into various houses, where we could see the work in progress, and obtain information regarding the condition of the workmen.

A woman or girl can generally earn in a day one paper rouble (about 11*d*) by gold embroidery, and in the long summer days, when industrious, as much as two roubles. For a pair of women's boots the leather is cut out and delivered to them by the manufacturer, or they buy it for one rouble The gold and silver material they purchase themselves · a zolotnik of gold (about one-sixth of an ounce) costs two shillings, and they require nearly the whole for a small pair of boots The work is paid for at the rate of from fourpence to elevenpence the pair, according to the greater or less difficulty in the execution of the design. The manufacturer then gets them soled, and they cost him at the most 3*s*. 3*d* to 3*s* 8*d*. the pair; but he sells them here in the shop at eight to ten roubles (7*s*. 4*d*. to 9*s* 2*d*)

The workmen make a contract with the manufacturer, the Crown peasants for themselves, the private serfs through their masters The artisans of the ordinary

class receive, together with their living and the use of the workshops (which are heated in winter), fifty copeks a day in summer, and thirty copeks in winter, in coin, Sundays and holidays included. Better workmen receive more.

In the evening we continued our journey, and on the following morning reached Tver. Here I crossed for the first time the largest river in Europe, the Volga, which I afterwards in the course of my journey passed twelve times.

Tver has a striking aspect; it was rebuilt after a great fire which took place in 1763, and is known as one of the handsomest towns in Russia. The streets, which are broad and straight, lined with modern stone houses, with rows of pillars and balconies,—the large squares, surrounded by palace-like dwellings,—and the crowd of fine churches with innumerable spires and cupolas,—altogether produce a remarkable and imposing effect.

In some of the streets are handsome avenues of lime-trees. Wherever there is an open view of the river, a crowd of vessels is seen moving up and down, of which 4000 are said to arrive and depart in the course of the year. The flourishing trade and prosperity of the place are manifest also in the great traffic in the streets The churches and public edifices, and a large number of the private buildings, being painted yellow, the Russians call it "the yellow town."*

I made the acquaintance of the chief of the department of the Crown Domains, and also of the head of the Imperial Appanages, from whom I received some infor-

* A Russian popular rhyme says,—

"Tver gorodók	Tver the little town
Moskvi ugolók."	Is of Moscow a little corner.

mation on the present condition of the peasants in this Government

The soil is little adapted for agriculture, and yields on an average not more than three times the seed; from the inferior state of the meadow-land there is little cattle-breeding. Of commercial products a considerable quantity of hemp and flax is grown As agriculture does not wholly support the people, a part engage in other employments About 12,000 persons earn their living as *burlaki*, by towing vessels upon the Volga, and a great number in the different manufactories, of which in 1808 there were only thirty-one, in 1832 seventy-two, while now there are more than a hundred, with perhaps 4000 workmen

The ancient Russian system of communal industry still exists, in which whole Communes, men and women, carry on the same branch of trade Thus all the inhabitants of the village of Yurkinsk, in the Volost of Artimvsk, manufacture only boots and shoes these they send to Moscow, where some peasants from the village live, keeping large stores, and selling their goods partly wholesale to the merchants, and partly retail The Crown and Appanage* peasants pay the same taxes as have been customary from ancient times throughout the whole of Russia. The term of payment lasts for the first half-year until March, and may be prolonged to May, for the second, until January: the first term the peasants keep with difficulty Formerly there were always great arrears, but these do not occur now

The communal institutions of the Crown peasants have undergone some alterations in recent times. At the head

* The Appanage estates are those reserved for the maintenance of the Imperial family —TRANSL

of each village has always stood, and still stands, the Starosta, chosen by the peasants from among themselves; under him, and as his assistants, are the Tenth-men (decemvirs), each chosen by ten heads of families: these remain usually one year on duty, although by law they ought to be elected every month. In very small villages there is often only a Tenth-man (*dessiatzki*) at the head: these have no salary, but the Starostas receive sums varying up to 175 roubles (£8), according to the number of inhabitants. Here and there, even in former times, several villages constituted an Associated Commune (*selskoye obshtchestvo*), this is now the universal organization. Formerly the head of the Associated Commune, the Starshina, was the oldest Starosta of the villages; he is now elected by the collective heads of houses of all the villages, every ten houses electing two heads of families, and these appointing the Starshina. The latter receives a salary of 300 to 400 roubles (£14 to £18). As many villages as contain together about 500 or 600 heads of families are united into one, and form an Associated Commune, which appoints the recruits for the army, who were formerly taken by general levies, so many from every thousand inhabitants.

The union of several Associated Communes constitutes a District (*Volost*), at the head of which stands the chief, or Golova; he too is elected, and for three years. The Chief of the Circle must give in writing his opinion upon the choice, and the Governor confirms it. He may be re-elected, if no complaints are made against him.*

Several Districts form a Circle, which is presided over

* The popular organization reaches thus far, the divisions above it, the Circles, the Governments Palatine, and the Ministry of the Domains, are political or State institutions

by an officer of state, the Chief of the Circle, who is named by the Minister He belongs to the seventh or eighth class of civil servants, and has an assistant, who is of the ninth class. The Chiefs of Circles are under the head of the department of Domains in each Government

Each village has a tribunal, composed of the Starosta and two assistants, who are likewise elected. It has the right to inflict twenty-five blows with a stick, and to fine to the amount of five roubles; it also decides cases of *meum* and *tuum*, but not of heritable property. It exercises no criminal jurisdiction, but only presents informations and instructions, issues writs of arrest, etc.

The Golova of the District, and two assistants, who are likewise elected, form the District Tribunal (*Volostnoi Uprava*). This constitutes an appeal court from the communal tribunal, but it can only diminish, not augment, the punishments inflicted by the latter. If it considers the punishment too slight, it may make a representation to the Chief of the Circle, who, if he is of the same opinion, informs the head of the department of Domains, and he then decides it

The plan and style of building in the villages on the road between St. Petersburg and Moscow present several points of difference. In the district between St. Petersburg and Novgorod there are only post-villages, which were all founded by Peter I. A great many of the villages on the remainder of the road also date from that period. On the first portion Russians were settled; below Novgorod, a great many German prisoners, Letts, Esthonians, and Livonians, also Swedes and Poles; the latter being in the Valdai as early as Alexei Mikhailovitch. But scarcely any traces of these foreign nation-

alities are observable; since their submission to the Russian Church they have become perfect Russians.

Ingria, immediately after its conquest by Peter I., became completely Russianized; the population of the Finnish race of Ingria and Carelia was in general weak, and had almost entirely disappeared in the wars. Peter established Russians here, and made large grants of waste land to nobles, who were obliged to plant Russian settlers on it. The Swedish institutions, the privileges of Carelia, were abolished, and Russian ones substituted. A large part of the Finnish population—at that time professed Lutherans, but in reality almost half heathens—went over to the Russian Church, but, singularly enough, more to the Starovertzi (adherents of the ancient forms) than to the national church; the Carelians, in the Government of Tver, amounting to several thousands, are all Starovertzi. These Fins have already become very much Russianized, and nearly all of them speak Russian with their Finnish. It is only on the Ishora that the Fins have for the most part maintained their nationality, and consequently in St. Petersburg all the Fins are called Ishortzki.

The Ishortzki live in small villages, seldom containing more than five to ten houses. The plan of their villages, the architecture of their houses, their mode of living, manners and customs, even their agriculture and breed of cattle, distinguish them materially from the Russians living around them.

The plan and style of building of the Russian villages (I have only seen those on the high-road) are the same as in the rest of Great Russia and in the northern Governments in general,—as far as the Volga quite the same; they are adapted to the northern climate, and

correspond in material, structure, and ornament with the abundance of wood, the customs, taste, and wealth of the North Russians.

To the south of the Volga, in the direction of Moscow, the same plan and form prevail in the villages, but the construction of the houses and farmsteads is much poorer, smaller, and less ornamental.

All the Russian villages through which I passed on this road consist of a long, broad, and generally straight street, seldom with side streets. The dwelling-houses stand close together,—very frequently two immediately adjoining, then come, right and left, the narrow court-yards of the houses with entrance-gates, then again two

more dwelling-houses, and so on an order of the police is said to have gradually produced this arrangement, although I am inclined to think it is founded upon old custom. Each inhabitant is thus able, and is bound, to watch over and act the part of police to his next neighbour, and is watched by him in turn The houses stand, almost universally, with the gable-end toward the street,

the house-door being always at the side in the yard, and approached generally by a small staircase built against the house. Although the original Russian log-house does not consist of several stories, there is, at about eight or ten feet above the ground, a floor laid upon beams, which forms the dwelling. The space underneath contains stables for the cattle, and stores The dwelling-room occupies the whole breadth of the gable-end facing the street, and has always three windows. Above it, in the roof, is a window, frequently with a small balcony · this is the sleeping-room of the daughters or young girls, so often mentioned in the popular songs.

In the courtyard behind the house are several buildings generally one behind another,—cattle-stalls, barns, granaries, although these frequently stand all together in a row at the entrance of the village The last one is the threshing-floor, or the bath. The yard is sometimes shut in with planks, but more frequently open, and leads directly into the fields, which on this side are generally planted with cabbages, or used as pasture for the cattle

For some distance on this road no gardens are seen, these first appear in the neighbourhood of the Valdai Mountains, enclosed, but they have no fruit-trees.

The houses are rarely painted,—only those of the richer peasants occasionally, and then almost always green, and the shingle-roof red All Russian villages therefore have a sombre, grey appearance in the landscape If the houses were painted in bright colours, the ornamental carved work on them, and the never-failing window-shutters on the outside, which are generally painted bright green, together with the galleries and balconies, resting upon small wooden pillars, would be extremely pretty, and in no country would the villages

form such a picturesque feature in the landscape as the better class of those in Russia.

In the decorations and carved work, the galleries and outside stairs, there is an unquestionable resemblance to the Swiss peasants' houses. The internal arrangement however is materially different. I shall allude to this again, as the handsomest peasants' dwellings are found more to the north-east.

As far as Novgorod I observed in the fields the kind of fences, etc. common in the north, which are also found in Finland and Esthonia: I should be inclined to call them Tchudish fences Further south occur planked fences, of the same kind as those seen in Poland and Germany, where pine and other wood grows in abundance It is only in Little Russia that fences are made of branches artificially and closely plaited together The Little Russians are very expert in this kind of work, of which even the walls of the cattle-stalls and barns for the hay are commonly constructed.

The peasants are usually dressed in sheepskins, with the hairy side inwards, but, particularly in summer, also in kaftans, which, among the poorer class, are of grey or brown homespun woollen cloth,—in the rich, of blue cloth; the latter are frequently girded with Turkish or Persian scarfs of a bright colour: the merchants have real shawls. As far as Tver the peasants wear a low black felt hat, widest at the top, with a broad brim, and generally a ribbon and buckle. On approaching Moscow this changes to one with a narrow brim, peaked top, and a bright-coloured ribbon. The dandies among the peasant lads, particularly the smart and brisk postilions, have a rose, a peacock's feather, or other ornament fastened upon it

In warm weather the peasantry wear bast shoes, laced over the foot. The legs and feet are wrapped in rags, and the men have short loose trousers, over which the shirt is girded. The latter was formerly of coarse linen, but cotton is now becoming more common every day, from the increase of this manufacture;* on the high-roads bright-coloured cotton shirts are almost universally seen, the principal colour being necessarily red, as red and beautiful are identical terms with the genuine Russian, the language having only one word for both.† The head-dress of the women in Torzhok and Tver strikes the traveller. In the other parts of Great Russia a cap is worn, generally of red velvet, embroidered with gold, and often covered with pearls, surrounding the face like a halo: it has been elevated to the rank of a court dress (the Empress is often represented in it), and is extremely handsome and becoming. But here the head-dress is pointed in front and projects considerably, looking almost like a shoe placed upon the head, it is nearly a foot high, and three feet in circumference. this head-covering is called *kokoshnik*. The peasant-women have generally a cloth wound round the head. Over their petticoats they wear a dress of woollen cloth,—among the poorer class of homespun, among the richer of blue cloth; it is low in the neck, has no sleeves, and is sometimes short, only reaching to the knee, but occasionally down to the feet, it is then called a *sarafan* Over this, in winter, they wear a short fur pelisse, only reaching a little below the hips, which has the pretty name of "soul-

* As early as 1633, Olearius states that the Russian peasant-women wore cotton shifts

† *Krasni* A popular song begins —

"Krasna litze, A red (handsome) face,
Krugla litze" A round face

warmer," and has been introduced into the rest of Europe, particularly as a dress for children.

In the villages the men and boys are always seen in the roads, but a girl seldom, and women only when they have something to do. In the interior of the country, where the arrival of a carriage and strangers is a rare occurrence, the women and girls generally stand crowded together on some staircase; if any one approaches them, they immediately vanish into the house. This is perhaps a trace of Oriental manners. But when surprised in their dances in the streets, they are so grave and so absorbed in this important business as never to allow themselves to be disturbed by anything,—not even by the curious gaze of the stranger.

On the arrival of travellers at a station, there is always a great concourse of people, who examine and criticize the carriage attentively, but assist in changing the horses: it is evident that the Russian peasant has time enough on his hands! But it often happens that they have a personal interest in this affair: when there are no horses, or not enough, at the stations, these people may earn something by supplying the needful horses,—the most favourite mode of earning money to a Russian.

I left Tver late in the evening of the 1st of May, passed through the town of Klin on the Sestra, the old ancestral residence of the House of Romanof, and reached Moscow at noon the next day.

CHAPTER II

MOSCOW COMPARED WITH ST PETERSBURG —THE GREAT RUSSIANS.—NATIONAL IMPORTANCE OF MOSCOW.—INFLUENCE OF PETER I.—ASPECT OF THE CITY.—ARCHITECTURE OF THE STREETS AND CHURCHES —THE KREMLIN —IVAN VASILIEVITCH.—THE KITAIGOROD.—RUSSIAN SHOPKEEPERS.—POSITION OF WOMEN.—POPULATION OF MOSCOW.—CHANGE IN ITS CHARACTER.—HOUSES OF THE NOBLES.—DOMESTIC SERVANTS.—MANUFACTURING LABOURERS.—MOSCOW A CENTRE OF INDUSTRY.—FORMATION OF A CITIZEN CLASS.—GERMAN CORPORATIONS AND RUSSIAN ASSOCIATION.—RUSSIAN ARTISANS —NO PROLETARIANS —THE DVORNIK.—THE BUDOSHNIK.—THE PLOTNIK.

THE remark has often been made, that no proper and correct idea of Russia can be obtained by a residence in St. Petersburg. This city has been called a window which Peter I. opened to look out upon Europe, and through which to breathe West-European air. St. Petersburg is entirely a European city, with less national character than London and Paris, with rather more Russian than other churches, and inhabited by Russian soldiers and officials, some Russian citizens, and a great many Russian peasants, but beside these by Germans, Fins, French, and English. It does not even stand on national Russian ground, but upon Finnish. The Russians are only colonists, and have been here scarcely a hundred and forty years.

How the Russians became a people and a nation, is enveloped in an obscurity which it would be difficult com-

pletely to dispel. The principal element, the chief foundation of the nation, is Slavonic. The Little Russians probably have the Slavonic element the most pure, and have been the least mixed with foreign nationalities; and therefore they have not become the ruling people. Never have pure unmixed peoples stood at the head of civilization, or played a great and lasting part in the world's history. Were not the Greeks and Romans mixed peoples? Are the modern Italians, French, English, Spaniards, and Germans, nay even the Turks, of unmixed race? Among the unmixed peoples, the Hindoos, Mongols, and even the Hungarians, there is no want of great intellectual capacity; they are besides in sufficiently large masses; why then have they never been able to exercise any great or lasting influence upon the history of the world? The only exceptions to this rule are the Jews and Arabians. But the Jews are in every respect an exception in history, and even if we did not admit a direct and special divine guidance in the fate of this people, it is impossible to deny its mysterious position in the history of the human race: its influence however has always been more of a spiritual than a material kind.

The Arabians merely gave the impulse to a great event in history, the spread of the Mohammedan religion, which was then taken up by other peoples, the Turks, Persians, etc The Khalifate remained only a short time Arabian, Arabia Proper soon relapsed into its previous insignificance.

Thus too the real nucleus of the Russian empire, the thirty-six millions of Great Russians, are a mixed people In the same way as the Franks came to Gaul, became intermingled with Gauls and Romans, and constituted a new and distinct nation, the French, so also did the

Slavonic race gradually spread over Russia, and become mixed with the aboriginal inhabitants, the Tchudes (Fins), to which were added at a later period Germanic (Varangian), Tatar, Mongol, and other elements.

The Russians have pursued a different course from the other nations of Europe. The German peoples had great advantages in the attainment of their civilization, and an easier road to follow than the Slavonic races. In the Western Roman world, in which they settled and became amalgamated with the aboriginal inhabitants, they found everywhere a high and ancient state of cultivation: the Latin language not only prevailed in all these countries, but had made its way with Christianity as the language of the Church into the actual German and Scandinavian countries. In addition to this, an intimate connection between all these peoples was established by their German origin, language, and manners; and this was easily maintained, even when the Romanic languages were gradually formed, giving rise to separate nationalities. Another very important circumstance was, that these German races found a natural centre in Rome, based upon the Church, whence had come to them the elements of Christianity together with civilization. Unity in discipline and doctrine had likewise been preserved in the Eastern Church, but it was mainly the State, the Eastern Empire, which maintained this unity. In the West the position of the Church was more free: here was not merely unity, but a *centrum unitatis*, which was also externally free from the control of the State, nay, was upheld by the spirit of the time, and soon grew to be a great political power. The Church itself became the guardian of civilization, the teacher of the sciences, her unity gave uniformity to all efforts in that direction, all the peoples whom the

Western Patriarchate embraced were alike affected and influenced by it.

Then came the Crusades, which preserved Europe from the complete dominion and the one-sided direction of Roman or Latin civilization, by introducing and amalgamating with the latter the elements of Oriental knowledge and ideas. Chivalry and *bourgeoisie* also appeared in the political life of the people in the Middle Ages, disseminating uniform relations and ideas throughout the whole of Western Europe. Thus in the West civilization became the property not of one favoured nation, but of all nations, each representing certain tendencies, but only together constituting an entire whole. Even the disruption of the Church in the sixteenth century was unable to destroy this unity of culture; and in this respect all the nations of Europe now constitute one great family, whose relations and ideas are so similar, that the internal constitution of none can be anywhere modified, changed, or destroyed,—nay scarcely can any new idea spring up,—without the effect being felt in the most distant extremities of Europe

Russia has not enjoyed the same great advantages as the German peoples. The Slavonic race which settled in Russia found there no civilized people with whom it could amalgamate, and whose ancient culture it could appropriate. It found only scattered remains of Tchudish peoples, much beneath itself in civilization. It received Christianity from the Eastern Church at a time when the latter, if not entirely fallen away from the Western Church, at all events assumed a hostile attitude toward it. Russia therefore kept apart from the rest of Europe, more than the Greek Empire, to which, from political reasons, the Latin West was too indispensable

ever to permit a complete rupture with it or with the Pope. Russia in fact stood rather in a hostile than a friendly attitude even to the Greek Empire. Its connection with the Patriarchate alone united it to Constantinople; but this connection was much looser than that of the Germano-Romanic peoples with Rome. Besides—and this is extremely important—Russia adopted not the Greek form of worship, but the Slavonic. Thus the necessity was not imposed upon the Russian clergy of learning the Greek language. Although therefore Russia possessed an acquaintance with the literature of the Greek Church, she remained an entire stranger to the classical culture of ancient Greece The old Slavonic was indeed a fine, rich, flexible language, as is shown by the still extant translations of portions of the Bible, by Cyril and Methodius, which it would not be easy to excel words and forms of expression are even still borrowed from it in the higher class of poetry but the Slavonic language had no literature, and consequently could not serve as a basis of civilization

It was therefore natural that Russia should not keep pace with the great spiritual and political development of the rest of Europe, although it was not altogether unaffected by it We find, in fact, in Russia, from the tenth to the thirteenth century, the same germs of civilization and popular development as in the rest of Europe; and it can scarcely be said in this respect to have been much behind those countries, which received Christianity at a later period and about the same time,—such for instance as Scandinavia. The annals of Nestor, the monk of the cave-monastery at Kief, exhibit in Russia, at the end of the eleventh century, a perfection of language, an ecclesiastical and social condition and cultiva-

tion, not below those of Poland, Bohemia, Sweden, and Denmark. Nay, we find at that time decided traces of German ideas and political institutions having taken root in the Russian people,* and even the sentiment and spirit of chivalry are clearly observable, as for instance in the epic song of the expedition of Igor against the Polovtzi, of the twelfth century, and in fact in the Russian heroic songs in general.

But at this point Russia remained stationary. She had first to withstand the furious onslaught of the Polovtzi from the East, and, although summoned by the Pope and the Emperor at Constantinople, she was unable to share in the Crusades, that important element in the development of popular culture. In addition to this, her invasion and subjugation by the Mongols and Tatars soon stifled all these germs of civilization, or at least prevented their arriving at maturity

But although the conquest by the Mongols checked the advance of civilization, it produced important and beneficial consequences to the political existence of Russia. By means of the Varangians the German feudal constitution had taken root; the race of Rurik, in pursuance of it, divided the land into numerous small principalities, which, according to the feudal law, were intended to be subordinate to the Prince of the oldest branch, who reigned as Grand Duke in Kief. These however assumed a semi-independent position, and lived in constant feud with each other; by which the Boyars,

* A cursory glance into the oldest Russian law-book, the '*Russkaya Pravda*,' of the twelfth century, gives convincing evidence of this. The seeds of the feudal system appear to have come over with the Varangians; from them sprang the commencement of a feudal nobility, the *Drushina* ('the followers,' 'the faithful,' the *Antrustiones* of the Franks)

the Drushina, and even the cities (which frequently deposed their Princes and set up new ones, but, in strict accordance with feudal sentiments, held fast to the race of Rurik) attained to political power. Broken up externally into many different parts, politically weakened internally by the independent power of the nobility and the towns, Russia had lost all unity, and fell without any long resistance, after several bloody battles, into the hands of her conquerors. For two centuries and a half the Mongols governed Great Russia; Red Russia and Little Russia, with Kief, the seat of the Grand Dukes, fell about the same time to the share of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, and afterwards with Lithuania itself passed over to Poland

The Mongols did not settle in Russia. Although the Khan of the Golden Horde had a town and his permanent residence on the southern part of the Volga, at Sarai, his people remained nomadic. He left the Russians their constitution, and only required from them taxes and tribute

Russia then acquired three advantages. The feeling of nationality, sustained by a common language, was not destroyed; but on the contrary the oppression the people endured produced in them a feeling of strong and irrepressible energy, arising from their hatred to their foreign oppressors. In the second place the religion of the country was not interfered with by the Mongols, and constituted the people's consolation and bond of union under all their calamities; it became a part, a mighty element of nationality, in opposition to the Mongols and Mohammedanism; nay Christianity received thereby almost the character of a national religion,—its worship that of a national *cultus*. Thirdly, the organization of

the State remained intact: the people continued under the government of their own Princes; nay the Mongols committed the great political error of not only recognizing, but even strengthening, the power of the Grand Dukes as opposed to the smaller Princes; so that the oppression endured by the people, together with the increasing power of the Grand Dukes, necessarily led to a union which effected the overthrow of the Mongol yoke at the end of the fifteenth century.

Even before the commencement of Mongol rule the ancient Grand-Dukedom had been divided into two parts. Beside the old Grand-Dukedom of Kief, there arose a new one in Vladimir, which was afterwards transferred to Moscow, and, together with all the principalities of Great Russia, made itself independent of Kief. Kief afterwards disappeared altogether from the scene, being conquered by the Lithuanians and incorporated with Poland, and thus Moscow (Novgorod being subdued and having gradually fallen into insignificance) became the only central point of the unity of Russia.

Moscow has an importance in the eyes of the Russians such as no city has for any other people: it is the centre of all the national and religious feelings of the Russians. There is no Great Russian in the immense empire, in Archangel or Odessa, in Tobolsk or Novgorod, who does not speak of Moscow, "the holy mother," with deep reverence and enthusiastic love. Every Russian peasant, when, after travelling hundreds of leagues, he first sees the towers of Moscow, will reverentially take off his hat, and bless himself. Nay, in Moscow itself I have often seen the *Isvoshtchik* (droshky-driver) in the early morning, on turning the corner of a street, when first he saw the towers of the Kremlin, take off his cap,

and make the sign of the cross. But it is not only the common uneducated Russian in whom this deep affection is manifest; I have observed it, with scarcely any exceptions (some *blasés* of St. Petersburg perhaps), in all classes of the people, in high and low, educated and uneducated. Napoleon did not know or suspect this, otherwise he would not have marched upon Moscow. If he had led his army to St. Petersburg or to Southern Russia, he would not have awakened the national feeling in such a degree, and other results might have ensued By the occupation of Moscow it became a war to the death, and peace, so long as a single Frenchman remained in Russia, impossible

After the conflagration of Moscow in 1812, the greater part of the habitations were rebuilt in the modern European taste and style; this circumstance in many ways influenced the manners and habits of the people About 8000 or 10,000 Germans and French live here, and there may be also from 15,000 to 18,000 inhabitants who have received a more or less European education, —officers, nobles, civilians, honorary citizens, merchants of the first and second guilds, etc , all the rest, perhaps to the number of 300,000, are, in feeling, education, manners, and habits, still genuine Russians, free from the tinsel of modern cultivation

The predominance of the genuine Russian element in Moscow was naturally much greater in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

The rulers of Russia have long felt that their people are in cultivation much behind other European nations, although equal to them in origin, intellectual and physical capacity, religion, and political position They have seen the necessity of bringing Russia into closer connec-

tion with Western Europe, and introducing the advanced civilization of the latter. They felt this could most easily be attained by attracting as many foreigners as possible into the empire; they consigned, when practicable, the education of the Russians to foreign teachers, and introduced West-European political institutions, or modelled and recast the Russian after them. Already Ivan Vasilievitch brought in many foreigners, especially Germans, and sought to organize his army on a European footing. The Princes of the House of Romanof eagerly pursued the same course.

But no one saw the necessity of placing himself upon a level with the cultivation of Western Europe more clearly than Peter I, or took more decided and energetic steps to that end It was not in the eager and vehement nature of Peter merely to sow the seed, without wishing to reap the harvest and enjoy the fruits. He encountered obstructions everywhere to the realization of his ideas. the natural dislike of the people to innovations, and to all that was foreign, interposed innumerable obstacles. But he was not a man to be frightened by these, nor to do anything by halves. He felt that so long as he continued to reside in Moscow, the centre of the ancient and genuine *Russiandom*, no effectual reform or energetic and rapid introduction of improvements would be possible He cast his eyes around, like Archimedes, for a firm point beyond the earth, from which to move it, and this he found in the situation of St. Petersburg He had in a successful war obtained the coasts of the Baltic Sea for Russia, which rendered a more intimate connection with Western Europe possible. His genius recognized at a glance the immense advantages which the situation of St Petersburg presented to the

whole trade of Russia with the West; and he saw that this place, with the water communication which he had already projected between it and the interior of Russia, would necessarily become one of the first commercial cities in the world. And does not commerce constitute the most natural means of communication between different nations, and the easiest bridge of civilization? Thus he determined to make St. Petersburg his capital, and from thence begin with all his energy to reform Russia. Who can deny that he succeeded? The direction which he gave to the country still continues; the impulse, which he set in motion, still lives and works in the entire political and national life of Russia It is a *fait accompli*, the effects of which can be destroyed by no human power, and therefore all questions as to whether this direction has been beneficial and necessary must be rejected as useless. That Peter I. paid too little respect to much that was genuine and nationally characteristic,—that he hastily transplanted from abroad much that was mediocre and even injurious, without inquiring whether it could strike root, or harmonized with the existing elements and nationality of his country, cannot be denied.* At present however the question is, Should

* Peter I called in to his assistance for the education of his people Dutch, German, English, Swedish, in short Germanic elements. He desired as much as possible to establish a civilization of a solid, indispensable, and truly useful kind First under Elizabeth, French cultivation began to make its way into the country French tutors and governesses, together with French manners and ideas, have done the greatest injury to Russia, they have disseminated frivolity, levity, irreligion (retaining outward forms), superficiality, concealed under external polish, to such a degree amongst the higher classes of Russia, that the whole political and national life of the country suffers from it as from a cancer. It was not Peter whose ideas gave a false direction to Russia; the French tendencies, introduced at a later period, caused the mischief; and it will not be right again until they are rooted out.

this tendency be pursued still more energetically and comprehensively? or, satisfied with the results obtained from it, and improving upon the West-European cultivation already acquired, should another more national direction be adopted, fostering and preserving the good wherever found, and maintaining and developing every still existing national element? I shall hereafter return to this the most important question of the internal politics of Russia

The aspect of Moscow, on approaching it, is extraordinary, and I know no city in Europe which can be compared with it: the finest view is from the heights called Sparrow Hills. Those countless golden and green cupolas and towers (every church has at least three, most of them five, some even thirteen, and there are about four hundred churches [1]) rising from a sea of red house-tops, the Kremlin in the midst upon a hill, towering like a crown over all, with its thirty-two churches and one hundred and seventy towers and cupolas, present a spectacle without a parallel. Here once sat Napoleon upon his horse, surrounded by the Old Guard, in expectation that the Boyars and authorities of the place would appear, and humbly deliver to him the keys of the city. No one appeared; the inhabitants had abandoned the "holy city," and in the night it was consumed by the flames; but Napoleon had reached the zenith of his career, and from that time his progress was downwards.

On entering the gates of Moscow the impression of grandeur produced from the outside is lost; the city is then like any other; nay, it has less of an historical aspect than, for instance, Nuremberg, Lübeck, or Danzig, where the churches and habitations of every century from

the tenth downwards stand side by side. Cities that have a history, of which the buildings of various centuries are the silent relators,—where in every house successive generations have passed through joy and sorrow, and have gone to their rest,—have for me an attraction and interest greater than is found in such modern towns as St. Petersburg or Berlin, which look as if they had sprung from the ground in a night, at the command of one of the mighty potentates of the earth. Those long, straight streets, those tiresome barrack-like houses, all built in the same artificial and pretentious style, which do not even answer to the demands of genuine taste and art, are not what I admire. A house, in my opinion, should either wear a peculiar, characteristic, and picturesque aspect, or constitute an architectural work of art.

Moscow has been entirely rebuilt since 1812, altogether in the usual modern style, except that, according to the national predilection of the Russians, a superfluity of pillars and balconies has been erected. Old, interesting, or remarkable private dwellings are scarcely to be found anywhere It is only in the suburbs and bye-streets that the houses are completely national,—constructed of logs joined together, the gable-end facing the street, with the courtyard and its planked fence and entrance-gate It is evident that there existed originally in Russia no difference between the style of building in country and town.

An exception indeed to this modern wearying style of architecture are the churches: on turning the corner of any street, or standing in the back part of a courtyard, these are seen on all sides: they have a very singular appearance, somewhat like tropical plants in the midst of the common ones indigenous to the country.

The architecture of the Russian churches* is, like everything connected with the worship of the Eastern Catholic Church, confined in great measure to some fixed principles, from which in former times scarcely any deviation was ever made The older churches in Russia are therefore very much alike, and have a certain monotonous character, although the style is really simple and noble. Many of our so-called Byzantine churches in Western Europe are built in this style; and even the modern Italian, as exemplified in its completeness by St Peter's at Rome, has in fact the same architectural basis

In the centre of the nave, which is nearly square, is a lofty cupola, supported internally by pillars · in the oldest churches, as for instance the cathedral in Novgorod and St Sophia in Kief, which were probably built upon the model of St Sophia in Constantinople, the interior of the cupola has a representation in fresco of Christ blessing the world

The church is divided into two principal parts by the *ikonostas*, a thin partition with three doors, ornamented from top to bottom with pictures of saints The front part is used by the people; the back, which is divided into three sections, is set apart for the priests. In the centre of the latter stands the altar alone. Beside the principal cupola, at least two smaller ones surmount the nave; but there are generally four small cupolas, one at each corner, and some churches have as many as thirteen. These numbers are not arbitrary,—they have a symbolical signification: the three cupolas represent the

* The excellent work by Blasius, 'Travels in European Russia in the years 1840–41,' contains drawings of a great number of Russian churches, belonging to all times and in the most various styles.

Trinity; five cupolas indicate Christ with the four Evangelists; and thirteen, Christ with the twelve Apostles.

The bells are generally suspended in a belfry standing alone near the church; and where there is no belfry, in the small cupolas, which are then usually constructed in the form of a tower, but never in the principal cupola, as this forms a part of the interior of the church. In the old churches there are properly no windows in the nave, but occasionally one, or several small ones, behind the altar The only light in the interior falls through the cupola, and this produces in all the Russian churches a dim religious twilight The daylight is faint, and the chief illumination is from the wax candles at the altar and the ikonostas

The more modern churches in Russia are built externally in a style approaching that of St Peter's at Rome, as are also the Isaac's Church and the Kazan Church in St Petersburg; the colossal new Cathedral of the Redeemer at Moscow, not yet completed, is constructed in the Byzantine style by the architect Town, and approaches the old Russian style. From Catherine the Second's time are to be found churches quite in the modern Italian, or so-called (corrupt) Jesuit style; for instance, the Church of St. Andrew in Kief *

Although the majority of the streets and private houses in Moscow have an entirely modern aspect, this is not the case with one, though a comparatively small, part of the city, the Kremlin, standing upon a considerable elevation and surrounded by a high wall, and partly also the adjoining Kitaigorod. The objects of interest peculiar to this part of the town, and indeed to Moscow in general, are sufficiently described in other works. I pass these by therefore with only a few remarks.

* A drawing of this is given by Blasius, part II. page 252

The Kremlin covers the area of a moderate-sized town, half a league in circumference, and, including the Kitaigorod, rather more than a league. Most of its edifices, except the churches, are modern, having been built since the beginning of the eighteenth century. The remains of the ancient Palace of the Czars, and the Granavitaya Palace, which is not large, with the lofty wall surrounding it, and its three gates and turrets, are the only more ancient edifices; but they do not date further back than the sixteenth century. Several of the churches however are exceptions to this remark: that of *Spas na Boru* (the Church of the Redeemer in the Wood), standing in the centre of the court of the new Palace, dates from the twelfth century it existed before Moscow was a city Russia possesses few ruins of an early time, as it was not the custom formerly to construct stone buildings · there are no buildings, nor even ruins, of a date previous to the Christian era From the eleventh century downwards only isolated stone churches are found in cities of note Even the walls of towns were formerly constructed of wooden blocks laid one upon another:* the dwellings were always of wood According to Olearius (1633) even the Czar at that time lived in his wooden palace in the Kremlin, although a stone palace already existed, habitations of wood being considered formerly much healthier

The indented wall which surrounds the Kremlin, together with the sixty-one turrets, placed at its three gates, are evidently the work of Western architects: they date from a period when Gothic architecture was in its decline, but before any new style had been established.

* The wooden walls of the Gelones in the Scythian countries of which Herodotus speaks'

The basis of the architecture is Gothic, but there is a great admixture of a kind of modern Italian and of something else, for which it is difficult to find the proper expression,—Oriental, Tatar, in short something in which the Russian atmosphere influenced the mind of the architect

One of the most singular and wonderful buildings is the church of Vasili Blagennoi, in the large square that separates the Kremlin from the Kitaigorod. It displays all the colours of the rainbow, and might be taken at some distance and in a fog for an enormous cowering dragon. Ivan Vasilievitch ordered it to be erected in 1554 by an Italian, to commemorate the conquest of Kazan. After it was completed, he is said to have asked the architect whether he would undertake to make a plan for a still more singular building; and when the latter in his vanity answered in the affirmative, he ordered his eyes to be put out,—a ruler with somewhat singular and unpleasant fancies! but, wonderful to tell, in the memory and traditions of the Russian people he was a pious and good-natured man, though easily deceived and vacillating!* The Attila (Etzel) of the German

* The name of John (Ivan) is with the Russians, as with most other peoples, a symbolic name, it denotes nationality, the people's character, their chief tendencies and inclinations, and above all the national rogue or wag As in German the "Hanschen," the "Hanswurst," in French the "Jean Potage," in English the "John Bull," so is the Russian "Ivan Ivanovitch" the national, good-natured, phlegmatic, roguish fool. The Russians denominate everybody thus whose name they do not know, and whom they wish to turn into ridicule; even the Czar Ivan Vasilievitch the Terrible is in the popular tradition altogether good-natured, completely resembling the "bon roi Dagobert" of the French popular song. He says to his head attendant, his chief chamberlain, who, like a good Russian, is lolling upon the stove—"Ivan Ivanovitch, come down, and pull my boots off!" Ivan Ivanovitch however has no inclination to do so, but lies still, merely raising his left leg like a post in the air,

Niebelungen-lied is in like manner a pious, good fellow, so also is Charlemagne among his peers. Tradition gives us different information from history, and yet is as truthful: but what we term history gives us only one phase of the truth.

A large new Imperial palace is being built in the Kremlin. When seen from the Moskva, where its whole breadth is visible, it towers high above all the other buildings, producing from its squareness a very unpicturesque effect among the mass of elegant turrets and cupolas, and entirely destroying the aspect of the Kremlin.

The finest view of the Kremlin is obtained from the Moskvoretskoi bridge over the Moskva. I was driving in a droshky, one beautiful May night, from the opposite quarter of the town, across this bridge, it was midnight, deep stillness reigned around, interrupted only by the gentle rippling of the river below me, when the Kremlin rose up in the magical moonlight, and I felt as if a tale in stone from the Arabian Nights were standing before me

On the other side of the square, which extends before the two large gates of the Kremlin, commences the Kitaigorod, the first building in which is the immense warehouse or bazaar, called also *Gorod.* I believe a person might walk for an hour without traversing all these innumerable passages, with their rows of booths

and slapping with his hand upon the stove "Stove, I order you, carry me to the Czar!—*Czar.* But, Ivan Ivanovitch, the stove does not obey you —*Ivan* That is unfortunate, O Czar, then come you to me," etc. An isvoshtchik, on seeing for the first time the train with the locomotive on the railway to Tzarskoye Seló, exclaimed, "Look! look! there is Ivan Ivanovitch riding on his stove to the Czar!" Everybody who looks awkward and stupid, and also every isvoshtchik, is called "Ivan," or, with the diminutive, "Vanka"

on both sides. It is a fair that lasts the whole year; but one not well acquainted with it does not easily find what he wants; for every kind of merchandise has its own row of booths,—leather goods, cotton, linen, etc.; and the stranger may consider himself fortunate if in his wanderings he soon arrives at the booth he requires These bazaars are found in every town in Russia: they are manifestly of Oriental origin, but quite adapted to the spirit of association of the Russians. The Gostinoi Dvor* in Moscow surpasses, as might be supposed, all the others, and it would be difficult to find in the whole world, under the same roof, a stock of goods surpassing this one in the variety and richness of the different articles. Everything imaginable is to be had here, of course at a good price. there is however great pressing and tempting of customers. In most of the booths are boys of twelve to fifteen years of age in long cloth kaftans, generally blue, who are trained to decoy the passers-by As soon as you approach the booth, the little rascal comes smirking up to you, and tries with wheedling gestures and expressions to entice you in: he stops the way, places himself before you, and only yields reluctantly step by step as you press onwards. On the confines of his own department he makes another desperate effort, seizes hold of your body, clings to the skirt of your coat or arm, and tries to force you into the booth. If however you still resist, he suddenly desists, and walks away, to hunt down the next passer-by in the same manner. You however escape from one, only to encounter the assault of the next no less zealous little brat; and if you unluckily chance to stand in the

* In St. Petersburg, Novgorod, Yaroslaf, Volotchok, etc., the bazaar is called Gostinoi Dvor, 'the House of Guests'

middle between two booths, you are attacked on both sides.

Women or girls are never seen as shopwomen in Russia. Even in the modern milliners' and fashionable shops French, German, and other foreign women wait upon the customers; I have never observed Russians. Among the young workwomen sewing and embroidering may sometimes indeed be seen Russians also; but they do not appear as saleswomen, at least not of millinery.

The St. Simonians went to Egypt to discover the free woman; had they gone to Russia they would perhaps have returned better satisfied. In a constitutional country the King reigns, but does not govern; in a well-organized family the man reigns, but the wife governs. In Russia, at least in Moscow, the reverse of this is the case, here the wife reigns, and the man governs. The female sex in Russia occupies a peculiar position, different from that which they hold in other European countries: it varies however according to rank. In the case of the Muzhiks, or peasants—of whom there are above 100,000 in Moscow—the women work much less than the men, even the work in the houses is generally done by the men, who carry wood and water, and light the fires,* whilst the wife looks on, walks about, carries the children, etc. With the *bourgeoisie*, particularly the merchants and artisans, the wife does nothing the whole

* There is a humorous little Russian story which represents, in the form of a dialogue, the patience and humility of the peasant, and the tyrannical domination of his wife over him:—"*Peasant.* Dear wife, we will sow this barley —*Wife.* Husband, it is not barley, it is buckwheat. —*P.* So be it, I won't dispute it.—*P.* See how well the barley has come up!—*W* It is not barley, it is buckwheat.—*P.* Buckwheat let it be, I won't dispute it.—*P* The barley is ripe, we will cut it.—*W.* It is not barley, it is buckwheat.—*P.* Buckwheat so be it, I won't dispute

day; she takes not the slightest trouble with the housekeeping, nor has any idea of the life and duties of a German housewife. The husband does everything, even directing the housekeeping. Among the rich, the females are educated mostly in the different boarding-schools, and receive an education much superior to that of the men; but these institutions form only ladies of fashion, not housewives. In the higher classes this is still more the case.

The households in Moscow are indeed becoming more and more Europeanized; in every genuine Russian household all the work was formerly, and still is, performed by the male sex. There are only men cooks,—no cook-maids, chambermaids, housekeepers, etc , all their work is done by men, hence the extraordinary predominance of the male population in Moscow, which amounts to nearly double the female. The statistical tables in 1834 gave 214,778 men, and only 133,784 women.

A great part also of all fixed property is in the hands of women On the front of every house in Moscow and St. Petersburg is written the name of the proprietor, and before every third house at least the name is that of a woman. With landed property the same thing occurs; from one-fifth to one-fourth is perhaps in the hands of the female sex. The preponderance this must give to the women, in their whole social position, may easily be conceived.

it.—*P.* The barley is threshed now, how fine it is!—*W.* It is not barley, it is buckwheat —*P.* Buckwheat let it be, I won't dispute it.—*P.* What beautiful barley-malt! we will brew beer with it.—*W.* It is not barley-malt, but of buckwheat —*P.* Buckwheat-malt let it be, I won't dispute it —*P.* What delicious beer from our barley-malt!—*W.* It was not barley-malt, but buckwheat-malt.—*P.* So be it, I won't dispute it; but I never heard of buckwheat-malt, or that beer was brewed from it."

The general development of social life has led to this result. Nowhere is there such a perpetual revolution in property as in Russia: the land is constantly passing from hand to hand; in the public service, in commerce, in manufactures, in the professions, large fortunes are made rapidly, but are as rapidly lost Frauds are discovered in the public service, and the property of the culprit is confiscated; unsuccessful speculations (the Russians are fond of speculation) ruin the merchant and manufacturer,* and in such cases his family would be completely ruined These occurrences are so frequent, that the parties are obliged to calculate upon them as a part of their probable casualties, and thus seek to preserve a *peculium* for their families They assign a part of the property—the house for instance and the real property—to the wife, at first this was for appearance' sake, but it has gradually become a fixed and permanent legal condition. Russian legislation too favours women in the administration and disposal of their property more than that of any other country The property of the husband has become the personal, that of the wife the real part of the property. the latter remains secure, even when the former is dissipated.

As Moscow since the great fire in 1812 has assumed a completely altered outward aspect, so has it also undergone a great revolution in its population. It was once the city of the Russian nobility, it is now a modern

* The unstable footing upon which many of the great manufacturers stand may be inferred from the fact, that some, who were at the same time landed proprietors, have assured me that if ready money does not exist for an undertaking, it cannot be commenced, unless it is certain that from the commencement of its working thirty to thirty-five per cent. be realized on the capital; but the ordinary rate of interest is frequently twelve per cent

manufacturing town. Only fifty years ago it was calculated that, of the 8360 private houses, about 6400 belonged to the nobles,* who at that time lived mostly, at least in winter, in Moscow. The nobles however were too proud to allow others to live in the same houses with themselves; the whole buildings were so constructed that shops could not easily be placed in the lower stories, nor traders and artisans carry on their business in them. The dwelling-house was placed either in the back part of a courtyard or fronting the street, but had always a court with a carriage-gate by the side. Many were large palaces, with two and even three stories; others, of one story, were constructed of logs, but handsomely ornamented. Streets consisting of rows of adjoining houses, of two, three, or more stories, the lowest forming shops, as in our West-European towns, were unknown in Moscow.

In these houses dwelt the nobles, with their families and dependants (serfs), in a mixture of Oriental and European luxury. The peasant worked and paid a poll-tax to his lord, which the latter with his family and domestic slaves generally expended in Moscow. The greatest luxury was displayed in the number of horses and servants; and the Government was frequently obliged to issue regulations regarding the equipages, decreeing who was to drive with six, four, two horses, etc. Of the luxury displayed in servants it is impossible for us to form any idea: it is asserted that in the larger palaces there were as many as a thousand, or more; even nobles of minor consequence and fortune had at least from twenty to thirty; and a more wretched, lazy, and disorderly crew were not to be found It was impossible to give suffi-

* 'Sketches for a Picture of Moscow,' by Wichelhausen, p. 226.

cient occupation to this crowd of people: I have been told it was often ridiculous to see the manner in which the household business was divided amongst them: one had nothing to do his whole life long but to sweep a flight of stairs, another had only to fetch water for the family to drink at dinner, another in the evening, etc. The expense of their maintenance however was not great: they lived, like the Russian peasants, on bread, groats, *shtchi* (cabbage-soup), and *kvas* (a kind of sour beer); their dress was that of the peasants, and they lived in the *izbas* (black rooms) which are always found in Russian courtyards.* The nobles and their house-servants constituted at that time the principal population of Moscow, perhaps 250,000 souls. Of these, one-half or two-thirds repaired to the country in summer, and Moscow was then deserted until winter.

Since 1812 a complete change has gradually taken place. The nobles' houses were all burnt down, and their families retired into the country, they had suffered immense losses, and had therefore neither the power nor the means of restoring their palaces to their former state, or of leading the idle and luxurious lives to which they had been accustomed. The nobles remained more in the country, and passed the winter in the different Government-towns, which have since greatly increased in prosperity. The Government began to encourage and promote trade and manufactures, and Moscow soon became the centre and principal seat of industrial activity. If you now ask, "To whom does this palace belong?"

* The Russomaniacs, who assert that there is a close national and blood relationship between the Russians and Greeks, may be reminded that the *izba* (black room) was found amongst the ancient Hellenes. see Homer, Ilias II. 414

the answer is, "To the manufacturer M——, the merchant O——, etc., formerly to Prince A—— or G——"

Since the rise of this trading and manufacturing activity, the elements of the population of Moscow have been completely changed. In the better parts of the city the rows of houses are more continuous, one house adjoining the other; the large courts with entrance-gates are now seldom seen, being found only in the more distant quarters of the town. The houses are generally of two or three, rarely of more stories, and in the lower stories are rows of shops Some streets, as for instance the Smiths' Bridge, may vie in this respect with the most splendid in the best towns of Europe.

The place of the nobility, with their innumerable and lazy domestics, is now occupied by the manufacturers with their equally numerous workmen A large number of the nobles have themselves engaged in manufactures, and their former house-servants now work in the factories for wages.

But even those of the nobility who have not turned manufacturers, and reside in Moscow in the civil service of the Government or on their private fortunes, have entirely altered their mode of life The number of horses has been very much diminished, and they confine themselves to what is indispensable. The system of household servants has been quite changed. no more are retained than are necessary, and although there may still be double the number kept than for instance in Berlin (a family which in Berlin would be served with two or three domestics, maintains in Moscow at least four or six), still the crowd of unemployed dependants has disappeared. It is a rare thing to find twenty or thirty people in the house, or to hear a Russian noble speak of some old

Boyar still gathering some hundreds of servants about him in the old way, is an extraordinary occurrence. I was told of a Prince Galitzin as an instance of this. In general, the nobles find it suit their present habits as well as interest much more, to permit their former idle servants (on payment of head-money to them their masters) to take work for wages in the numerous manufactories, in this way maintaining themselves, and often acquiring property. Indeed those of the nobility who adopt completely the European mode of living, have generally not even their own serfs as servants, but hired domestics Whilst a nobleman's own serfs are perhaps living as domestics in other families in Moscow for their board and wages, he in turn hires the serfs of other nobles.

Thus the outward appearance as well as character of Moscow has been so much changed in the last thirty years, that the social condition of the place fifty years ago is no longer to be recognized The political influence which Moscow exercises, as the centre of industry, upon the policy and measures of the Government, has hitherto neither been made the subject of investigation nor remark. With the love and veneration of all Russians for the "white-wall-encircled holy mother Moscow," and its immense importance as the centre and representative of the industrial activity of the empire, the Government is obliged, particularly with regard to the system of protective duties, to show the greatest respect for the opinion of Moscow, however much reasons of foreign policy might incline it to adopt another course. This will be better understood when we consider the extent of this industrial district, which equals that of a large empire, and contains sixteen million inhabitants.

I was told that recently, when there was some talk of a complete incorporation of Poland, a deputation from Moscow represented that the industry of the interior, and particularly of their city, would suffer great injury, and consequently the project was given up for the time.

I have already remarked that I consider it one of the greatest defects in the social condition of Russia, that it possesses no distinct citizen class, which, by its education and position in society, might have introduced that municipal and corporate spirit, those honourable and proud sentiments, which have contributed so much, from the Middle Ages downwards, to the development and cultivation of the German and Romanic nations.

It appears as if mysterious causes existed in the character and history of the Slavonic peoples unfavourable to the formation of a citizen class; for not only in the case of the Russians, but also of the other Slavonic races, there is nowhere any powerful spontaneous development of it,—neither among the Poles nor the southern Slaavs, and in Bohemia it is an institution introduced by the Germans, nay, the Bohemian towns are to this day mostly inhabited by Germans.

For more than half a century the Government has exerted itself to form a citizen class in Russia. Catherine II. issued regulations for the towns, and several laws concerning their condition were enacted in the German spirit and after the German model. It must be acknowledged that these laws were on the whole a failure, and have by no means had the effect expected. The German corporate spirit, on which the law was founded, was quite foreign to the Russian national character, which possesses a strong spirit of association:* it was opposed

* The contrast between corporation and association, which is at pre-

to the national habits, the social customs and ideas, of the Russian people; and I do not believe that it will ever really strike firm root in the soil.

It is otherwise in the case of the trading and manufacturing system, which has sprung up with much vigour in the last twenty-five years. That this, with the enormous extension it has acquired, will exercise a decided influence, and one which it is at present impossible to estimate, is unquestionable, but what form it is to assume still lies concealed in the future

The Russian has capacity and talent for everything Of all peoples he has perhaps the greatest amount of practical ability in acquiring a position adapted to him But that which is so peculiar to, and characteristic of, the German—an attachment and love for his position, his profession, his work—is unknown to the Russian. The true German loves his position in the world; he would not exchange it for any other, to the profession or trade to which he has devoted himself he remains faithful, pursues it with constancy, with love, and with a certain pride, he thinks it honourable to perfect himself in it, and rejoices in the successful work of his hands, he believes that he sees in his position a distinct appointment of Providence, to which he is bound to remain faithful.

Not so the Russian · accident mostly decides which of the talents a boy possesses shall first be developed. The landed proprietor, without much examination, chooses among the boys of his serfs, who is to be a shoemaker, who a smith, who a cook, who a clerk, etc. Prudent landowners, in order to acquire better workmen, sometimes

sent the cause of a political and party contest in Western Europe, and particularly in Germany, I will explain in another place, where I shall speak more in detail of the condition of the Russian towns.

give the boys to master-artisans, under a contract for three to eight years to teach and exercise them in their work. The colonel of a regiment orders at once, and without much investigation, that so many men shall be saddlers, so many smiths or wheelwrights, these shall be musicians, those clerks. And they become all these, and almost invariably with ease and dexterity; and from them proceed in general the most solid and best artificers, workmen, and artists, because, being appointed and constrained by outward authority, they remain in the occupation they have adopted In the case of the Crown peasants, on the other hand, the boy receives the first impulse from his parents or relatives, or chooses an occupation for himself After adopting his calling, there is no question of any education such as the German artisan receives, nor of the settled apprenticeship with regular masters, nor advancement from the position of apprentice to that of journeyman, and ultimately on examination and trial to that of master, participating in important privileges. He learns as he can, from observation or accident, attempts and invents himself, and seeks employment wherever he can find it. Of love or veneration for his position or calling, there is never any question · he has no fixed tariff of the price of his work, but takes what he can get. Of the feeling of duty or honour in the production of a good substantial piece of work he is ignorant, he works only for appearance, only to dispose of his commodity, and his reputation is quite indifferent to him.

If an artisan fails in one handicraft or profession, he adopts another How often does a man commence as a shoemaker or tailor, then leave his work, and become perhaps a *kalatchi* carrier (running about the streets of

St. Petersburg or Moscow with pastry for sale); then, after having made some money, and provided himself with horses and a cart, he turns carrier, and wanders about the whole empire. He enters too into small speculations, as a hawker, and at last establishes himself in some spot, and, if fortune is favourable, becomes perhaps a rich merchant. The career of most of the large merchants and manufacturers, if examined, will be found to correspond with this description.

But even when the Russian has become a rich merchant or manufacturer, he does not therefore grow attached to his position and profession. he regards the latter merely as a means of acquiring wealth If he has children, he perhaps educates one for his own profession, but solely in order to have a faithful assistant in his business; upon the others he endeavours to bestow an education qualifying them for the military or civil service, and thus giving them hope of acquiring the rank of noble, for the love of money and distinction are the rocks upon which in Russia every character is shipwrecked The common man, the peasant, is estimable and good at heart, but as soon as he acquires money, and becomes a speculator or merchant, he is ruined and metamorphosed into an arrant rogue.

The Government is aware of the injurious consequences of this fluctuation, and has made various attempts to restrain it within certain limits. It is anxious to form a stable class of citizens, and the law regarding the institution of honorary citizens is a striking proof of this

The awakened manufacturing activity contributes in some degree to introduce stability into the citizen class. The mere merchant, particularly the Russian one, who possesses the spirit of a chafferer or shopkeeper much

more than that of a merchant (and therefore seldom, considering their large number, engages in the foreign trade of the empire,* which is generally left to the Germans and English settled in St. Petersburg), can easily shut up his shop when he pleases, and abandon his business. Not so the manufacturer · a manufactory implies a certain stability, it is almost like a landed estate. There belongs to it a large material and fixed capital in buildings and machinery, and an equally large capital in human physical and mental labour and power, consequently a dissolution of the whole is much more difficult, and always accompanied by great losses. Besides, a far more comprehensive ability, study, and varied education are needed in a manufacturer than in a merchant. The permanence and stability of a manufactory leads the owner to educate his children to his business, in this education solid acquirements are requisite, and these produce in every man a certain love for the occupation to which he devotes them In this way undoubtedly Russia may cherish the hope that gradually, in the manufacturing class, may spring up a higher class of citizens.

But the real kernel, the lower citizen class, is still wanting The higher will, in Russia, sooner or later become amalgamated with the nobility, but for the formation of an honourable and numerous lower class of citizens, there is at present no hope. The people who represent it, artisans, shopkeepers, and small traders, are utterly demoralized.

To attempt to raise these classes out of this demoralization by means of strict guild regulations I consider

* It is only the tea trade with China in Kiakhta which is in the hands of Russian merchants

impracticable, because, as I have observed, the corporate spirit of guilds is altogether foreign to the Russian national character Example, emulation, and competition have done most for these classes. In almost all the larger towns are German workmen; and when a Russian wishes particularly to praise and recommend any article, he says it is German work; consequently competition and example occasionally lead to imitation, and the Russian artisan begins to work in a substantial manner and to charge honest prices

Unfortunately it has lately been the subject of remark, that the newly arrived German workmen have not maintained their old reputation for solid and honourable dealing, but many of them have become fond of puffing and not to be depended upon

The original Russian form for the production of mechanical products is the trading Commune organized as a manufactory. Entire villages and districts, or rather the whole of their inhabitants, carry on one and the same trade There are villages which produce only boots, others only tables and chairs, others earthenware, etc. One or several families form a manufactory, dividing the work among them, and having their warehouses and shops in the large cities and market-towns. This kind of industry is found all over the empire, and is genuinely Russian. The Russians are in general excellent workmen when united in manufactories, but singly bad artisans, they are fond of workmen's associations, but not of workmen's corporations

There is no lower class in Moscow, such as is found in German towns, for instance in Berlin, living in garrets and cellars Cellars I have never seen in Moscow; and there are few if any hired garrets. Formerly there

was no rabble in Moscow, and even now this forms but a very small proportion of the population. There were in former times only two lower classes: either they belonged to the peasantry and to some commune, and had always a right to the possession of a portion of land, or they were bondmen, and belonged to some proprietor, who was obliged to provide food, lodging, and clothing for them. People without a home, land, or a proprietor to provide for them, people in general *vis à vis du rien*, were unknown.

Enlistment in the army is one of the means by which freedom is attained in Russia: the serf who becomes a soldier is thereby freed from his master When discharged he is an entirely free man, but it is only the freedom of the bird in the air. Formerly the soldier abandoned every other relation in life, and this for ever. The number of soldiers who remained after the twenty-five years' service, and again returned into civil life, was very small · they seldom formed new family relations, but lived and died isolated and alone, and could not be considered as the germ or foundation of a future proletariate. The Emperor Nicholas abridged the time of service, and even introduced a system of furlough for a series of years, which gives the soldier back to civil life, without his former connections with his commune, his family, or his master being resumed. It is a dangerous experiment, and exhibits in Russia for the first time the germs of a rabble, of a future proletariate.*

In all large towns we still see characteristic figures and

* By a new decree, it is permitted to every soldier on his discharge to enter any Commune of the Crown; and the latter is bound to receive him, and allow him to participate in the division of the land. But the soldiers make no use of this; they indeed allow themselves to be inscribed in some Commune, but never become peasants

costumes. In the German towns also are found people in the original national dress, but they already form exceptions. The townspeople have everywhere given up the national dress; and it is only among the country-people from the neighbouring villages that it is still seen; as the Vierländer in Hamburg, the peasants from the Oderbruch in Berlin, the Altenburger in Leipzig, etc., still the dress of the country is everywhere giving way to that of the *mode* In Moscow however the whole population of the lower classes, or perhaps nine-tenths, appear in the national dress Singular and occasionally very characteristic figures are seen among them; there are also some particular employments which have given peculiar manners and customs to certain classes. Among these that of the Dvornik is one of the most characteristic figures he occupies the place of house-servant and door-porter The Dvornik lives summer and winter in the court and entrance-hall, under the gateway or in the street the latter he is bound to keep in a respectable state of cleanliness, if he neglects this, let him beware, for his good cousin the Budoshnik understands no jesting! Morning and evening he is seen, armed with his broom, indefatigably at work, cleaning the *trottoirs* or the interior of the courtyard, of which he is absolute ruler, and from which (*dvor*, court) he has derived his name. Charged by the proprietor with the superintendence of the house and premises, he acts as agent between him and the lodgers, whose factotum he is. Together with all affairs connected with the lodgings, he has the repairs, inspection of chimneys, etc. under his control. The police too apply to him in everything which regards the lodgers: if they require a *carte de séjour*, a *visa* for their passport, or any other attestation of the

police, they have recourse to the Dvornik: he is the man-of-all-work, whom neither proprietor, lodger, nor police can do without: the latter constitutes him its right arm in every house. The place of Dvornik is generally filled by old soldiers, although the peasants are also always glad to accept it.

A BUDOSHNIK, OF MOSCOW

The first cousin of the Dvornik is the Budoshnik, the lowest servant of the police he is the superintendent of the street, as the Dvornik is that of the court At the corner of all the principal streets is a log-hut, the abode of the Budoshnik It is his duty to see that no disorder takes place, and that the street is kept clean · he has to observe everything, and to know who lives in each house to him you may always apply for information. In general the Budoshnik stands in majestic inactivity, in front of his hut, leaning upon his immense halberd, and lets the sun shine upon the sheepskin that covers his broad back. If a stranger asks him, "Does so-and-so live in this street, and in which house?" a

laconic "Niét!" (No) is the first answer If the stranger continues to question him, he points with his hand to the Budoshnik in the next street; but if the stranger now puts his hand in his pocket, or balances a *grivennik* (ten-copek piece) in it, the lazy figure becomes active, and the business is done in a moment. He expects however the realization of his just expectations, and even modestly reminds the oblivious stranger of his duty, with a "Na vodku!" (Brandy). I cannot omit here to mention a national difference between the St. Petersburg and Moscow expectants of drink-money That everybody in Russia demands or receives drink-money, or gratuities, is acknowledged,* but the St Petersburger, infected with European culture, lisps out in honeyed terms "Na tchai!" (Tea), whilst the Moscovian honestly asks, "Na vodku!"

A thoroughly characteristic figure in all Russian towns, but particularly in Moscow, is the Isvoshtchik (the droshky-driver) The Great Russian is born a driver · riding is properly not his *métier*, the common man (Cossacks excepted) is seldom seen on horseback, but in the art of driving he surpasses all other nations The flower and crown of Russian drivers however is the Isvoshtchik A more amiable, civil, cunning, and dexterous rascal there is not in the wide world His first instruction he receives as postilion to the equipage of some nobleman: here the boy of ten or twelve years is seen the whole day, and in the season also the greater part of the night, sitting upon one of the leaders, he eats and drinks, plays and sleeps

* "After God had created the world, wanting to people it, He created the different nations, and richly endowed them all, amongst the rest the Russians, to whom He gave much land, and everything in superfluity Then He asked each nation, whether it was satisfied. All said they had enough; but when God asked the Russian, the latter took off his cap, and simpered, 'Na vodku, Lord!'"—*Russian Popular Story.*

upon it, in short he is properly one with his horse. How often have I, in a bitterly cold night, seen such boys quietly asleep on their horses! And how he drives! How firmly he sits in the saddle, how carefully and cleverly he turns his two horses when required, and always at a sharp trot! When seventeen or eighteen years old, he is advanced either to be coachman on the box, or becomes an Isvoshtchik;—at first on hire, with some one richer than himself, until he has saved or made by his speculations sufficient to procure a horse and droshky, and in winter a sledge, for himself. Thenceforward he lives on the narrow seat in front of his droshky or sledge He and his horse subsist in the most frugal manner, on the hay, corn, and bread which he takes with him in the droshky

In Moscow and St. Petersburg there are night as well as day droshkies, which drive about the streets the whole night from ten till five o'clock Generally two Isvoshtchiks unite in partnership, they have together three horses, and manage so that each horse has always in turn one day of rest. About five o'clock in the morning the night droshkymen drive into the courtyard of certain *kabáks* (inns); here are also the day Isvoshtchiks, who then get out of bed, and they drink their tea together, their only warm food during the day. From five to seven o'clock scarcely a single droshky is to be seen in the streets. In good-breeding, patience, and civility the Isvoshtchik surpasses every other class of the people. When a well-dressed man, walking in the streets, merely looks round, he is sure to see half-a-dozen droshky-drivers drive up to him, offering their services in the politest manner; there is the greatest emulation between them, but none of them ever abuses

another, or a successful rival; they never touch or drive against each other, nor injure anything. The public carriages in St Petersburg and Moscow are excellently and carefully superintended by the police: unrelenting severity is exercised, the driver or Isvoshtchik who kills or even injures anybody by driving over him, or who injures another carriage, is immediately arrested, and in the first case he is irrecoverably delivered up to be made a soldier; in the other cases he receives corporal punishment; his horse however he always loses; it is given up to the police, who send it to the depôt of the Fire-brigade.

Another very characteristic class of the people are the *Plotniki* (carpenters) As the great majority of buildings in Russia are of wood, and indeed are almost entirely built of it, the carpenters are in number and importance such as they are found in no other country. Every peasant is a carpenter, and knows how to frame, build, and fit up a house The Plotniki in the towns, particularly in Moscow, are merely the *élite* of the ordinary peasants, and not, as in Germany, workmen expressly educated to the business They have nevertheless admirable dexterity and skill, and display those national characteristics and talents of the Russian people, which have already assigned them a high position in the world's history, to be raised perhaps still higher in the future,—the power of unconditional obedience, a true feeling for all proportion, a practical talent for suitable arrangement, and finally the ability not only to help themselves with simple instruments and slender expedients on emergencies, but also to execute some great and substantial work The Plotniki of Moscow constitute a complete and well-organized community, with

connecting links and sections, household arrangements in common, and with leaders chosen by themselves, to whom implicit obedience is shown The order and discipline which prevail are exemplary; and all this has been effected not at all by regulations and laws on the part of the Government, but it has sprung from the necessities and natural sympathies and love of order among the people themselves.

The correctness of eye, the ease, dexterity, and rapidity, with which they detect and turn to account every advantage, is wonderful with these people, or rather with the whole Russian nation The genuine Russian Plotnik properly carries no other implement than an axe and chisel. with the axe in his belt he traverses the empire from one end to the other, and seeks and finds employment: it is incredible what he can do with his axe, all the manifold instruments of our accomplished artisans are quite unknown to him, and still his work is not inferior, nay is often better adapted to the purpose, than that of our more highly educated workmen. It is often difficult to believe that such charming decorations and carvings as are found on Russian ships and houses can have been produced with a clumsy axe and mere common chisel. Lycurgus prohibited the Spartans from employing other tools than the axe and saw, in order to avoid all elegance as effeminate and injurious to morals. The Russian Plotnik could have shown him that the natural inclination for ornament, neatness, and decoration are not destroyed by rendering difficult the means of attaining them. Man helps himself the best he can with insufficient means, and still attains the object in the end. The genuine Plotnik in the interior despises even the use of the saw, which however the workman in Moscow

knows well how to use. In the north, where wood is still in superfluity, he hews down a whole tree when he wants a plank, and cuts away at both sides of it, until only the part which he wants remains.

As the common Russian is excessively fond of travelling and roaming about, as every year millions of them traverse the empire in all directions as pilgrims, carriers, hawking pedlars, workmen, etc., and as from the great love and veneration of all Russians for Moscow, they have all a natural wish to visit "the holy city" at least once in their lives,—the national physiognomies, the outward aspect and character of the different Russian races, as well as of the different provinces and districts, may be studied and compared most effectually in Moscow These are not to be studied in the nobles The nobility is by origin for the most part, and by education completely, to be distinguished, and is almost a different race, from the Russian people The purest and most unmixed, particularly Slavonic, blood, is to be found among the priests for eight centuries they have constituted an hereditary class, which has almost invariably contracted marriages exclusively among themselves. A skilful observer might perhaps distinguish in the priestly families the ancient limits of the oldest historical Slavonic races, as there is little change of residence among them, and they have generally remained for centuries in the same district

The greater number of the people seen in the streets of Moscow are Great Russians, this is a regularly and completely formed race, with predominating Slavonic elements, which however in the north and north-east have been strongly mixed with the Finnish; in the east, south-east, and south with Tatar and Mongol, in the south-

in rooms furnished in the modern fashion; but as he only understood Russian, the conversation was rather stagnant. Upon my requesting to see the treasury of the Convent, he led us into the building appropriated to it.

This treasury, containing church vestments, vessels, etc. is of immense value, it surpasses everything seen elsewhere, in Russia or the rest of Europe,—Rome, Loretto, etc. not excepted. The skill of Russian embroiderers, silkweavers, workers in gold brocade, etc., may here be studied from the fourteenth century downwards, although many foreign materials and church vessels may be among them.* Nearly all the Czars and Czarinas, Princes and Boyars, to the latest times, have made pilgrimages hither, and left here costly gifts The richest presents are those of Boris Godunof and his consort Maria, who lie buried here, of the Empresses Anna and Elizabeth, and particularly of Catherine II, who appears to have wished in this way to atone in some degree for her confiscation of the Church property, which fell particularly heavy upon this Monastery.

The church vessels are kept in large glass cases; they consist of chalices, baptismal basins, the pyx, incense vessels, etc., bishops' mitres and crosiers, mostly of pure gold, ornamented with jewels, testaments and missals bound in gold, then mass robes, bishops' vestments, altar-cloths, sepulchral coverings, literally bestrewn with pearls † Among the curiosities the hunting-coat of Ivan

* The Russians have always excelled in the production of rich silk church cloths, interwoven with gold and bright-coloured flowers; and they still surpass everything which I have seen elsewhere, not even excepting the cloth of that kind made at Lyons. Nowhere either is so high a price paid for them as in Russia

† It would be difficult to count the number of pearls on the pic-

the Terrible is shown; also the hair dress and wooden beaker of St. Sergius, with the mass-robe worked by Catherine II., richly ornamented with pearls and diamonds, and a golden chalice glittering with jewels. A polished agate, in the interior of which nature has distinctly represented the form of a cross, with a monk kneeling, is shown as a great curiosity. There is also an autograph letter written by the Emperor Paul to the Monastery, announcing the birth of his son Nicholas.

Upon my request to be allowed to see the cell of one of the monks, I was conducted into that of the youngest. It was an apartment about twelve feet square, with a high ceiling, one window, and a small sleeping-room, furnished simply with a desk for praying, a bookcase, and some cane chairs and tables. The whole wanted that complete character of mortification and poverty which is found in the cell of a Carthusian or Trappist monk; it had somewhat the appearance of the cells of the Benedictines or Jesuits. The Russian monastic life retains the character of the most ancient Christian times, the transition from the anchorite to the conventual life is still visible. Each monk lives almost entirely by himself, and furnishes his dwelling according to his means or pleasure; only the church service and the meals are

tures, dresses, etc in Troitza, it would be easier to measure them by the bushel! In the pictures of the Virgin and Saints only the face and hands are painted, the clothes are represented by plates of gold The pictures most venerated are surrounded by broad wreaths of pearls and jewels There are perhaps in Troitza more pearls than in all the rest of Europe. The great mass of pearls have for a long time gradually found their way into Russia, where they are partly collected and employed in the churches, and partly serve as ornaments. There are Governments (for instance Nizhni Novgorod) where every peasant-woman has two or three hundred, often even more than a thousand real pearls on her headdress or necklace

dances of the women, or in company with men, are in general grave and serious; no sound of joy is heard; but when the men dance alone, which is more particularly the custom among the Cossacks, it is with an extraordinary display of mimicry, and the most peculiar and lively movements and jumps. The voices of the men, in singing, are often powerful, and very harmonious; but they never scream. The women sing much seldomer than the men

South of Moscow, in the Government of Kursk, is found a very interesting Russian race, easily distinguished from the others they have uncommonly compact figures, with the head almost square, its breadth somewhat greater than the length, a low broad forehead, nutbrown hair and eyes, short regular nose, and the upper lip long A different character prevails among the people in this district from that found in the other districts of Russia Can they be descendants of the old thievish Drevliani of Nestor! Even under Catherine II. the Government was often obliged to burn and destroy the woods for about two miles on each side of the high-roads, to check their robberies; and whilst throughout the rest of Russia the utmost security prevails, here robberies are said still frequently to occur. Of the family of Voropani it has been necessary for many generations always to send at least one to Siberia! Here serfage is very mild, because the spirit of resistance is unusually strong, the people only pay money-tribute (*obrok*), and do no statute-labour. They are a choleric, pugnacious, revengeful, and treacherous race, always ready with a shot from behind a bush or for incendiarism; but they are industrious, and therefore well-off; they are excellent fruit and vegetable gardeners

The Little Russians constitute, next to the Great Russians, the most numerous Slavonic race in Russia, comprising probably upwards of six millions. Not many however are seen in Moscow: they form a contrast to the Great Russians, inasmuch as the ancient city of Kief has for them the same sanctity which Moscow has for the other Russians.

The White Russians are the weakest of all the Russian races; they have completely the appearance of a dwarfed and enfeebled people,—lean, with long faces and necks, sharp noses, narrow chests and hips, and small calves; they are blond (where the Tatar settlers have not introduced black hair), with grey and blue eyes; they have small sexual desire and few children, but strong attachment and fidelity to home and children They are very religious, obedient, and full of reverence for all authority, even for their masters, whom otherwise, as Poles and Catholics, they hate bitterly. They wear a grey felt hat without a brim, a grey coat (*svitka*), but no sheepskin like the other Russians. They are seen upon the roads leading to Riga in the winter, with their slight one-horse sledges laden with flax and hemp, moving on slow, still, and melancholy, with a clod of frozen earth upon their laps, on which a small pine-cone fire is burning, by which they warm themselves. Their food consists almost entirely of buckwheat-groats, bad bread, and honey; animal food is scarcely ever seen among them. They live under the severe pressure of heavy *corvées*, which are all the heavier that they are only able to work in an inefficient manner; but they are completely demoralized and enervated by the use of brandy. The landed proprietors, from the defective means of communication, are unable to find sufficient conveyance for their grain,

or means to change it into money, and consequently they convert it into brandy. In the villages Jews farm the public-houses; their contracts oblige them to take a certain quantity of brandy from the distillery of the landlord, and they employ all possible means of seducing the peasants to drink. Often before the crop is ripe the greater part is the property of the Jews

The nearest neighbours of the White Russians, who are however not often seen in Moscow, are the Lithuanians, — a great contrast! They are a strong and powerful race Those from Samogitia are thickset and strong-boned; those who live to the east of Vilna are tall, slender, with broad shoulders and narrow hips. The Lithuanian has a high and broad head, with the back part prominent his moustache is turned down inwards toward the mouth, whilst the Little Russian has it turned up toward the eyes The Lithuanian is voluptuous; the women are well formed and strong, and most of them have a slight moustache. These people are fanatical, choleric, revengeful, fond of drink, but without being enervated by it: they are much attached to each other, but not to the landowners. Without being otherwise thievishly inclined, they are born and irreclaimable horse-stealers, on which account they are so nicknamed by their neighbours the Letts in Courland, whilst they retort upon the latter by calling them "swine-stealers."

CHAPTER III

LEAVE MOSCOW —STARLINGS' NESTS —PEASANT COSTUMES —THE MONASTERY OF TROITZA LAVRA —PROFESSOR GOLUBINSKI —BELFRY — USPENSKI CATHEDRAL — TOMBS OF THE CZARS AND PRINCES — CHURCH OF THE TRINITY —CURIOUS PICTURES —LEGENDS OF PICTURES OF CHRIST —THE DOCTRINE OF PURGATORY —ST SOPHIA AND HER DAUGHTERS —CHURCH TREASURE —PEARLS —THE MONK'S CELL —RUSSIAN MONKS — THE REFECTORY — THE HOSPITAL — THE LIBRARY — OLD SLAVONIC MUSICAL SIGNS — RUSSIAN MINIATURES — SCHOOL FOR THE POOR — THEOLOGICAL ACADEMY — BEGGARS.—PERESLAVL —STONE AND WOODEN CHURCHES —MONASTERY OF ST NIKITA —LAKE PLESHTCHESVO —MONUMENT OF IVAN.—VILLAGES OF YAROSLAF —ROSTOF —GARDEN VILLAGES

On the morning of the 12th of May I left Moscow with my travelling companions It was glorious spring weather, and behind us glistened the golden cupolas of the ancient city of the Czars in the brilliant morning sunlight, and sank gradually beneath the horizon as we receded from it We took the road to Yaroslaf, at first a paved way, but which, when we lost sight of Moscow, became an ordinary sand road , it was already dry, and we proceeded pretty rapidly. On tolerable roads the Russian horses never let you stick fast. The first villages were poor, the houses small and bad, generally joined to a barn under one roof Close to most of the houses stands a high pole, at the top of which hangs a kind of basket, for starlings (*skvortzi*) to build their nests

in,—a pleasing custom, which is found all over Great Russia, and is probably founded upon some old popular belief. We encountered everywhere upon the road men and women travelling in small detachments,—mostly day-labourers, manufacturing artisans, in search of employment, and occasionally pilgrims. Among the men three kinds of dress are observable, according to their circumstances,—a coat made of homespun grey cloth, one of coarse brown cloth, the kaftan of blue cloth, always accompanied with boots, whilst with the first kind of coat the legs are found swathed in rags and bast shoes. The women wear a white woollen upper garment, reaching to the middle of the calf of the leg. nearly all of them had a kerchief wound round their head, which concealed the lower part of the face, leaving only the eyes and nose visible. This is undoubtedly the remains of a Tatar custom, with the Tatars and the Caucasian nations it is indecent for men ever to see the mouths of women The Russian women however only cover their mouths in this way when they travel

At the third station, about noon, we reached the monastery of Troitza Lavra (Monastery of the Trinity), about forty-five miles distant from Moscow This celebrated institution, which is intimately connected with the history of Russia, was founded in 1330 by a man from Rostof, whom the Russian Church at a later period canonized under the name of St Sergius, with the surname Radonieski, and who is still worshiped almost more than any other saint. He lived here as a hermit, when the district was still quite a desert Other hermits soon collected around him, who at last formed a convent, of which he became the first Archimandrite (abbot). The report of his holy life rapidly spread abroad, and old

and young from far and near sought refuge with him in their distress. When Mamai, Khan of the Tatars, invaded Russia, the Grand Duke Dimitri Ivanovitch repaired to the holy Sergius, and besought his counsel and prayers; the latter sent him two of his disciples, exhorting him boldly to confront the foe, and God would give him the victory. A battle was fought on the plains of Kulikof, on the banks of the Don, here first appeared the dawn of Russia's deliverance from the Mongol yoke, and the victory acquired for the Grand Duke the appellation of Dimitri Donskoi. The legend relates that, whilst the battle was being fought on the Don, Sergius was with his monks a hundred leagues distant, absorbed in prayer, suddenly he rose up and announced to them that the battle was ended and the Christians had conquered; he enumerated those who had fallen, and with the brethren performed the service of the dead for them

The Monastery of Troitza was, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the centre of the national resistance to the Polish rule It had become immensely rich, from the gifts that were made to it on all sides, and it expended this wealth in the deliverance of the country.* In 1609 it was besieged for sixteen months with no effect by the Poles, under the command of Lissovski and the Hetman Sapieha The Poles then sought, not only by force of arms, but also by gold, bribery, and persuasion, to obtain this bulwark of Russian nationality for the False Demetrius; but all in vain! The monks and the garrison under the command of a Prince Dolgoruki

* In the secularization and confiscation of the estates of the Church under Catherine II, it was found that the Monastery of Troitza possessed 107,000 peasants, which at present would represent an estate of perhaps £3,750,000

and the Boyar Golokvastof courageously resisted them. On the siege being raised, the Monastery sent its treasure of gold and silver vessels to Moscow to be sold, in order to pay and provide for the troops. When, after the fall of Shuiski, Moscow itself had fallen under the power of the Poles, it was first in Troitza that the nucleus of resistance was again formed The Abbot Dionisi and the Steward Abrami Palitzin assembled everywhere armed men, and sent a summons to all the Boyars to hasten to the assistance of the "holy mother Moscow." They induced Prince Trubetzkoi to risk a battle, by which he regained possession of the greatest part of Moscow, and drove back the Poles into the Kitaigorod. Their summons to Kazan and Nizhni Novgorod at length occasioned the general revolt, which under the leadership of Minin, the renowned citizen of Nizhni Novgorod, and Prince Pozharski, freed Russia from the Polish yoke. Again in 1615 Troitza was besieged by the Polish Prince Vladislaf, who laid claim to the Russian throne in opposition to the Romanofs. Neither force nor stratagem however could procure him possession of the Monastery; after a bloody assault, which was repulsed, he retired, and at length, under the walls of the Monastery itself, in 1619, peace was concluded between Russia and Poland, thenceforward the balance of ascendancy began to incline in favour of Russia

It was finally the Monastery of Troitza in which the Czars Ivan and Peter, in 1685, found refuge when they fled from the rebellious Strelitzes Peter I. again retired hither in 1689, and destroyed from hence the power of his ambitious sister Sophia. Peter I. carried with him, as a palladium in all his campaigns, the portrait of St. Sergius, which is found here painted upon wood. The

names of all the battles and sieges at which it was present are inscribed upon it.*

The Russians consider it in the light of a miracle that the French in 1812, exactly two hundred years after the invasion of the Poles, did not advance to Troitza, as they were quite close to it; and they believe that the guardian-angel of Russia protected the Monastery The French appear at all events not to have suspected the enormous Church treasures, valued at several million pounds, which were here deposited.

The Monastery stands upon a height, and at a distance are seen the many cupolas and spires (perhaps sixty to eighty), most of them gilded, glittering in the sun. We drove up the hill to a large square, surrounded by buildings, at the end stands the hotel belonging to the Monastery, which furnishes free quarters to strangers.

I had a letter of introduction to a Russian priest named Fedor Alexandrovitch Golubinski, who is established as professor in the theological academy at Troitza, one of the most learned and able men I have met with among the clergy in Russia He had not only received a classical education, but had thoroughly studied French and German literature, and was acquainted with German philosophy, and its newest form down to the present time, I was not a little astonished to hear from a Russian pope opinions upon Schelling and Hegel, and the divergent tendencies into which their schools had separated, which, although mentioned in the most un-

* The preceding notices are partly taken from an oration of the Metropolitan Philareth of Moscow, which he delivered on the 5th of July (St. Sergius' day), 1822, in the Convent of Troitza It is translated into French under the title, 'La Vie de St Serge, fondateur du Couvent de Troitza,' and printed in St Petersburg, 1841 The Archimandrite of the Monastery gave me a copy

pretending manner in conversation, evinced an independent study of the subject He inquired earnestly about our learned men in Germany, and the personal history of Schleiermacher, Neander, Hegel, and Schelling. I asked him his opinion of Hegel and his philosophy: he thought that Hegel had done much toward a right apprehension and explanation of all other philosophical systems,—his dialectics he considered admirable; but that the system he himself had set up had satisfied neither himself nor any one else When asked his opinion of Schelling, he said, "Ot odnavo berega otstal, da k'drugomu ne pristal," and on my asking him the meaning of these words, he said, "It is a Russian proverb, and signifies, having sailed from one bank without having landed on the other" He spoke German quite correctly, although, as he had doubtless little practice in it, very slowly That he was however perfectly master of the language, he had shown by translating into German the Catechism of the Russian Church, which was published by the present Metropolitan of Moscow, Philareth (printed by Pratz, at St Petersburg, 1840) He is, beside his learning, a pious man, faithfully devoted to his Church. In conducting me about, I remarked that he also strictly observed all the ceremonies and forms of devotion of his Church He had a handsome, intellectual face, a very amiable, unpretending, simple manner, and showed us everything with the heartiest satisfaction. We went round the circuit of the Monastery with him. As the Kremlin is not merely an imperial palace, but an entire town, in like manner Troitza is not merely a monastery, but likewise a small town, with an imperial palace, a palace for the archbishop, nine churches, an hospital, a large bazaar, etc. Gigantic white walls, fifty feet high,

with towers at suitable distances, surround the whole. The bell-tower, erected by the architect Count Rostrelli, which stands alone in the centre of a square, is 250 feet high. It is built in the peruke style of Louis XV., caricatured to the utmost. Such a building is not handsome, but it has a certain peculiarity, and above all, it is not so bare and tedious as the edifices erected from 1790 to 1815, which predominate in the larger towns of Russia. This tower has probably the most powerful chime, of thirty-five bells, in the world, one weighing seventy tons. When sounded together, it is said to be the most imposing peal possible.

The Cathedral of the Transfiguration of Mary (Uspenski Sobor) is one of the handsomest Russian churches I have seen Here are the tombs of many interesting historical persons, as the Czar Boris Godunof and his consort, the Princes Odoyevski, Galitzin, Trubetzkoi, Volinski, Saltikof, Glinski, Vorotinski, Shuiski, Pozharski, Skopin, Mestcherski, etc. In still greater reverence however is held the small and low Church of the Trinity (Troitza), of which the Monastery bears the name, and in which is the tomb of St. Sergius, richly ornamented with gold and silver and precious stones. The baldachin alone, which is of silver, is said to weigh twelve hundredweight.

In the church of St. Sergius are some curious old frescoes and pictures,—among them the portrait mentioned above, which has been carried as a national palladium in so many battles. There is a picture also of the countenance of Christ imprinted upon the handkerchief, with regard to which I will notice the difference between the legends of the Eastern and Western Churches. The story of the Western Church relates, that when Christ had sunk down under the cross from pain and fatigue, a

compassionate Jewish woman approached him, and with her handkerchief wiped off the sweat and blood which flowed from under the crown of thorns upon the sacred countenance. But when the kerchief was unfolded, a complete likeness of our Lord appeared imprinted upon it: this likeness, afterwards frequently copied, has always been preserved as a type in the church, and borne the name of *Verum Icon*, or true likeness. Tradition has not preserved the name of the compassionate Jewess; she was called "the woman with the *verum icon*," and thence arose the name Veronica, which was afterwards given to herself.*

The legend of the Eastern Church, on the other hand, relates that a Byzantine emperor (the Armenians call him an Armenian king), a very pious man, had once the greatest longing to see Christ with his bodily eyes: our Lord appeared to him in a dream, in the glory of his transfiguration, and pressed a cloth, which lay upon the emperor's bed, upon his countenance. when the emperor awoke in the morning, he found the cloth, and the likeness of Christ imprinted upon it This picture also has become a type, which is often copied, and has been preserved in the church.†

There is a material difference and contrast between these two pictures. The one of the Veronica is Christ with the crown of thorns, in pain and sorrow; the picture of the emperor is the transfigured Christ, with the halo in the glory of Heaven.

* The Bollandists and the Romish Saints' Calendar recognize indeed a St Veronica; but this is a nun, who lived at Milan in the fifteenth century, and was baptized with that fictitious name.

† This picture is found also in the Latin Church, not however as an impression upon a cloth, but as a portrait, which, according to tradition, is said to have been painted by St. Luke.

Another picture, which is interesting in relation to the dogmas of the two Churches, is found in the vestibule of the Church of St. Peter here: it is called the "Picture of the Temptations." It represents a dying or dead man, surrounded by devils; his soul, parted from the body, being conducted by its two guardian angels along the road to the gate of Heaven. Upon this road it remains forty days, during which time the remembrance of all its sins recurs to it, and at the same time temptations from every side assail it in all kinds of shapes.

The Eastern Church has not defined the doctrine of Purgatory so exactly as the Western, although there is no material contrast or opposition between them.* I have not been able to learn upon what the preceding tradition is founded, neither in the Catechism of Peter Mogila nor in that of Philareth is it explained.

In the Spaski (Redeemer's) Church there is a pretty picture, which is often seen in Russia, St Sophia with her three daughters This has a mystical and symbolical meaning, representing the divine wisdom (*Sophia*), with the three virtues born of her, *Vera, Nadezhda, Liubof* (faith, hope, and love)

After inspecting the churches, our guide introduced us to Antoni, the Archimandrite of the Convent,—a man fifty years of age, with a remarkably fine head, who had been bred in the house of Prince Grusinski, and was formerly a physician He received us with great kindness,

* Both Churches assume an intermediate state for the souls "who die in the faith, yet without being able to bear fruits worthy of repentance," and believe that the saying of prayers and the mass by the living procure peace, alleviation, and freedom for the dead. The whole affair appeared in the Council of Florence to be only a dispute about words, the Greeks would not allow the expiatory fire, but Purgatory itself. Compare the above-cited Catechism of Philareth, p 90.

west and west with the other Slavonic races, particularly Little Russians and White Russians, and lastly the Lithuanians. The Great Russian race is the most numerous of all the Slaavs; nay, next to the Germans and French, it is the most numerous race in Europe speaking the same language. it numbers from thirty-four to thirty-six million individuals, perhaps more.

The Great Russians are in general a sound and robust race of men, with strong frames, of middle size, with broad shoulders, slender waists, and strong broad necks. The back part of the head is almost in a straight line with the neck, indicating strong sexual desire; the muscles are not prominent, the flesh is somewhat turgid, although large bellies are seldom seen; the limbs, hands, and feet are well formed, with much ease and grace in all their movements. the face is oval, the brow short and projecting, the hair thick, generally blond or light brown, I have scarcely ever seen a bald peasant: the eyes lie deep, are not large, and are grey, blue, or clear brown, the nose small but straight, the mouth handsome, with large but well-arranged white teeth, the ears small and flat, the beard full and curly. The complexion is seldom fresh, or the cheeks red, but generally of a brownish tint. The gestures are lively, the carriage of the body unconstrained, the gait easier and more graceful than that of the Germans, the expression of the countenance is clever, sly, reserved, observing, changeable, goodnatured, but not open. In the east and southeast, where there is a mixture of Tatar and Mongol blood, particularly among the Cossacks, the people have very generally black hair and eyes, the cheek-bones are more prominent, the nose turned up and thick, the mouth large, and the lips heavy On the whole the

Great Russians are handsome; and I have seen old men, with white curly hair and beards, who might have sat as models to a painter; in addition there is the handsome, picturesque dress, with which scarcely any Scandinavian, German, or French one can compare.

We cannot speak so favourably of the women, but indeed the ugly dress they wear in most districts detracts from their appearance. The head-dress is pretty, but the waist is placed immediately under the arms, and the skirts of their gowns are tied over, instead of under the bosom. Their feet are either thickly swathed in rags, and firmly laced in bast shoes, or they wear clumsy boots Thus no judgement can be formed of their figures in general they are small, and have a great tendency to become stout, which is a beauty in the eyes of their husbands · they paint their cheeks for the most part red, and formerly coloured the teeth black. In the Government of Yaroslaf there are however many very handsome girls and women

I have never seen a common Russian deformed or humpbacked, and am informed this very seldom occurs The senses of sight and hearing are unusually acute in the Russians, and even in extreme old-age they lose little of their power

The Russians are not only hardy, but in general little sensible of heat, cold, and pain, which they can endure with unparalleled fortitude.

The Great Russian has neither the capacity nor the strength for work of the German; but in the endurance of heat and cold, hunger and thirst, pain and hardship, he greatly surpasses the latter I have observed that the movements of the Great Russians are easy and graceful; they take great delight in dancing. The

in common. Their mortification consists principally in the most rigid fasts; they never eat animal food, only on particular days eggs and milk, and during the fasts not even fish: their diet is bread, groats, herbs, mushrooms, prepared merely with oil and salt.

It is generally acknowledged in Russia that monastic affairs have greatly degenerated, in some measure changed their character, and require reform. The nunneries in particular had become disorderly, and of late years the bishops who attended strictly to their duties, as those for instance in Moscow, have been obliged to re-establish at least outward discipline In the monasteries two kinds of monks must be distinguished Many enter them from real piety, to lead a life of contemplation retired from the world; others, merely to pass their lives in indolence, being idle, ignorant, and disorderly

Another class of monks are the learned ones. Sons of popes and other youths acquire in the schools and theological academies a certain degree of learning, assume the monk's habit, and become inscribed in a monastery, but without residing there, they prefer entering the offices of the bishops and archbishops, and attending on their personal and clerical service. This relation becomes quite analogous to that of military adjutants to generals, and of civil adjutants to ministers. From these are chosen the bishops, archimandrites, abbots, etc. It is a career like the whole service in Russia. Many may choose this profession from an inward vocation,—the majority are driven into it by immoderate ambition, egotism, and vanity, the curse of the higher classes in Russia.

The monk to whom we were introduced received us humbly and modestly. he was scarcely thirty years old,

and a strikingly handsome man, the son of General Kulebiakin, and had been a captain in the army. What had induced him to leave the world and become a monk we did not learn.

We next examined the large refectory; it was once arranged to dine five or six hundred, now scarcely one hundred assemble, and it must look rather bare and deserted. There is a well-arranged hospital for poor travellers and pilgrims, where the sick are nursed by the monks: it is, I believe, the first and only attempt which has been made in Russia to give an active and self-sacrificing direction to monastic life.

The library is said to contain about six thousand volumes. The librarian was not a monk, nor even in orders. A curious Hebrew Pentateuch of the twelfth century, many ancient Russian theological manuscripts, and a psalter with Russian initials and symbolical miniatures, very prettily painted by various Grand Duchesses, were shown us We also saw two manuscripts relating to the Liturgy, in which above every line were written singular musical signs, little crotchets, strokes, dots, etc, such as I have never seen elsewhere. We were told these are often found among the Raskolniks (the old believers), who still transcribe and sing by them. There has been found in Germany, in the famous abbey of Corvey, a very ancient manuscript* with musical marks which are still unexplained. May not these perhaps be the same marks, and might not the key be found for their explanation by means of these old Russian notes?†

* It is said to be a Litany of the time of Louis the Pious.

† The Testament upon which the Kings of France took the oath on their coronation at Rheims was written with letters which were formerly unknown, and could not be deciphered. When the book was shown to Peter I. he recognized it at once as an old Slavonic manuscript, in Glagolite characters

On leaving the Convent we encountered a crowd of boys, coming out of a building erected seven years before as a school for poor children. Everywhere in Russia there appears to be a want of elementary schools; the people call for instruction; it needs no force to drive the children to school The one here numbers from eighty to a hundred pupils

The Theological Academy was erected in 1749 by the Empress Elizabeth. There are about one hundred young students, with fifteen professors, three of whom are monks, two clergymen, and the others laymen. The school arrangements are copied from the Jesuits; the first Biennium is for philosophy (the *Humaniora* of the older German Catholic schools), the second Biennium embraces the ordinary theological studies. The building in which this Academy is placed was formerly the imperial palace. the present academical *auditorium* is a hall which Peter I once inhabited

As in the western convents, here also the crowd of beggars is great; several hundreds are fed every day. Upon the glorious old limes and birch-trees of the large courtyard a mighty republic of crows and ravens has established itself; the profound peace of the Monastery guarantees their safety, no firearms ever molest them, and thus they are tame and bold as nowhere else.

We left Troitza about eleven o'clock in the evening, and the next morning reached the town of Pereslavl-Zalieski, in the Government of Vladimir. The villages through which we drove in the morning were ill built. Small houses, with little windows, generally three, but sometimes only one, facing the street, seldom ornamented in the usual manner, stood in courts, around which the other buildings were scattered. Occasionally a gallery

runs along under the three windows In most of the villages however are handsome new stone churches ; but in Novaya I saw for the first time an old wooden church, which in former times were universally common in Russia, built of blocks of wood placed one upon another, the roof being covered with planks and shingle. These wooden churches diminish in number every day, and are replaced by stone ones. The Russian country-people take a particular pride in having stone churches in their villages : to leave a village with a stone church, for one with a wooden one, is looked upon as a degradation; nay its inhabitants would scarcely marry those of villages with wooden churches ! The latter therefore exert themselves to the utmost to get raised to the rank of the other villages by building a stone church This shows how the pride of rank in every department, and in all classes of the people, rules the minds of the Russians. In the present case, in order to attain the coveted distinction, no certificate or acknowledgement is required, but only a sum of money . rank is purchased by building a stone church ! This costs ten, twenty, or thirty thousand silver roubles ; but nothing is easier than to collect such a sum : a dozen active villagers bestir themselves, disperse on all sides, and go about begging for funds to erect the church ; on all the roads they place a box for offerings, fixed to a strong pole , they spend nothing, being everywhere hospitably entertained free of expense , and after a time the money is collected. They then obtain a plan and an architect (every plan for a building must be approved in St. Petersburg), and in a few years there stands the stately church, built in the modern style, and the village has risen in rank in its own and its neighbours' opinion !

Nothing of this kind is ever found in Western Europe, the religious feelings which lead to these outward manifestations* have gradually disappeared, and too great a fluctuation of ideas, too little attachment to thoughts and feelings of common interest, prevail among the nations. The Russians it is true have no political ideas, but two feelings act upon them with intense force,—a deep common feeling of nationality, and a glowing love for their national Church for these feelings, they sacrifice willingly and without hesitation their fortunes and their lives

To understand how these large collections for obscure village churches are raised, and for the most part among mere peasants, it must be remembered that the Russians regard giving and receiving as very nearly allied. Nowhere does property hang by such slender threads, or change hands with such mad rapidity, as in Russia. A man is rich today, tomorrow poor. Money is made and spent almost simultaneously, people cheat and are cheated, steal with one hand, and give away with the other. The common Russian sets his heart on no kind of property; he loses with indifference what he has just acquired, in the hope of gaining more on the morrow. The Russian is besides by nature good-hearted, gentle, benevolent, and generous. Thus the shopkeeper, who has perhaps just cheated his neighbour for twenty copeks, without the slightest qualm of conscience, will give a rouble the

* At one time a small German ecclesiastical prince, Archbishop of Cologne, was able to conceive and partly execute the gigantic plan of Cologne Cathedral, in the present day the whole of Germany had formed the resolution of completing it, but how soon has the noble fit been dissipated, whilst the collections and contributions grow more slender every day! If the kings did not hold fast to their resolution, the affair would long ago have been lost sight of by the people.

moment afterwards toward building a church in another village.

Pereslavl, from its numerous churches and spires, has at a distance the appearance of a large city; but on entering it, it looks completely deserted, these churches being the only remains of its ancient splendour. There are several convents here,—one very celebrated, of St Nikita, who like St. Sergius was a native of Russia. This convent is also a place of pilgrimage. On Lake Pleshtchesvo, near the town, Peter I. made his first attempt at shipbuilding; a boat constructed by him is kept here as a relic. Divine service is performed once every year upon the lake in commemoration of him It is said that Peter also put herrings into this lake, and that these fish are still found in it. Not far from this town, we passed a stone monument, of pretty, half Gothic, half Russian masonry. Ivan the Terrible ordered it to be erected, on receiving intelligence on this spot of the birth of his son.

We now reached the Government of Yaroslaf The villages here have a different aspect,—richer and more stately; some peasants' dwellings have the appearance of manor-houses or town-houses The dwellings here do not form streets, as in the villages between St. Petersburg and Moscow, but stand in detached courtyards; bye-streets are occasionally seen

In some villages the gable-end of the house faces the courtyard, generally ornamented with the two symbolical horses' heads, which are found also in North Germany and Scandinavia. they looked almost like North German peasants' houses

We travelled through the night, continually meeting with some accident or other to our carriage on the de-

testable roads, and about daybreak arrived at Rostof, but only saw the exterior of this interesting place. Rostof is one of the oldest towns in Russia, and was formerly the capital of an independent principality, under one of the successors of Rurik, from whom the present Princes Rostovski are said to be descended. In the beginning of Lent a large fair is held here, which lasts three weeks, and is often visited by forty to sixty thousand buyers and sellers. sales of goods are said to take place to the amount of £1,500,000 In the neighbouring fields and surrounding villages horticulture is extensively carried on, and the people travel all round the empire as gardeners: they either rent land (as in Moscow, Riga, etc.) and skilfully cultivate garden-produce for sale, or take work as gardeners.

This morning in a bright sunshine we passed through the beautiful village of Semibratorshina, belonging to Prince Tchernitchef it has a handsome new church, built after the model of the Kazan Church in St. Petersburg, but without the colonnades

Poretchi was the next village we reached, belonging to Count von Panin, here the people cultivate only medicinal herbs, in which they carry on an extensive trade.

In the afternoon of the 14th of May we descended from the heights before Yaroslaf, which presented a very stately appearance. It is surrounded on this side by a river, which here expands into a lake, and unites in front of the town with the Volga In crossing this broad piece of water, we had an extremely picturesque view of a beautiful church in the town.

CHAPTER IV.

YAROSLAF —RUSSIAN INN, CARAVANSARY, AND HOTEL —THE SAMOVAR. —THE GOVERNOR AND HIS WIFE —RUSSIAN DEVOTION —ENORMOUS STURGEON —M KARNOVITCH —COMMUNAL MEETING —DESCRIPTION OF AN ESTATE — INTERIOR OF A PEASANT'S HOUSE. — A PEASANT FAMILY —A MODERN FARM —VELIKOYE SELO —SERFDOM.—THE NOBLES — LINEN MANUFACTORY — DIVISION OF THE LAND. — NOBLES AND SERFS.—COUNT KISSELEF —LEGAL TRIBUNALS.—TAILORS —RUSSIAN DIVISION OF THE LAND IN THE COMMUNES. — OBROK — THE TIAGLO — INCREASE OF POPULATION — IMPORTANCE OF THE COMMUNAL INSTITUTIONS — ST SIMONISM — RESEMBLANCES AND CONTRASTS WITH RUSSIAN SOCIAL CONDITION —AGRICULTURE.—VILLAGE POPE —RIBINSK —ITS COMMERCIAL IMPORTANCE.—THE BURLAKI — RETURN TO YAROSLAF

HAVING now established ourselves for the first time in an inn in the interior of Russia, I shall make some general remarks upon these places. The European inn was formerly unknown in Russia, where such houses of public accommodation more resembled Asiatic caravansaries—large, naked, unfurnished buildings, in which, for a small remuneration, lodging for man and beast, but nothing else, was to be found. There is no landlord, in the proper sense of the term, beds are not to be had, provisions the traveller must procure for himself. There is no such thing as a friendly reception on the part of the landlord, or being well or ill served. Such caravansaries still exist in the southern part of the empire, in Astrakhan and the Caucasian countries. There are also

everywhere houses of entertainment, in which, although board and lodging are not furnished, well-cooked food can be procured, particularly tea, in the districts on the Black Sea coffee also, prepared in the Turkish manner. Formerly, when Russians travelled in the interior, they carried with them all they wanted, beds, provisions, etc. It is only since Western cultivation has spread in Russia that the European system of inns has been introduced, but very gradually Even in St Petersburg there is no hotel to compare for comfort even with those of an ordinary small German town on the Rhine The Hotel Demuth or the Hotel Coulon in St. Petersburg can scarcely be compared in point of elegance and comfort with a third class hotel in Germany, although outwardly they have the appearance of immense palaces. The beds and furniture are wretched, a *table d'hôte* is very seldom met with, and if you wish to eat anything in the house, it must be prepared separately for yourself. Sometimes the *restaurant*, or privilege of supplying food in the house, is let out by the landlord to some other person: attendance is wholly out of the question. It would not however answer a man's purpose to establish an elegant hotel, which would be used only by foreigners, and would therefore yield little profit The Russian merchant still prefers going to the Russian inns, arranged like caravansaries, the high-born Russian, in travelling, still carries with him, as in former days, his beds, etc; nay a person of the first rank takes even his cook, and all that he requires he establishes himself in an inn as in his own house, and sends out his servants to buy whatever he needs It is only Germans, French, and English who have established modern hotels in St. Petersburg and Moscow.

In place of hotels, a system of accommodation has been established in these cities for travellers who remain for months or longer. An agreement is made for board and lodging at a stipulated price; they receive one or two furnished rooms, tea, a good dinner at the *table d'hôte*, and tea in the evening; and each pays for lodging, fire, candles, food, drink, and attendance, twenty-five, forty, or fifty silver roubles (£4, £6. 8*s*., or £8) a month. Inns of this kind now exist in all the Government-towns, some of them kept by Germans, and these for the most part tolerably good In places however where they have been established and are kept by Russians, they still present a mixture of the caravansary and Asiatic eating-house On arriving and stopping before one of these houses, no one comes to receive you,—the landlord you seldom get a sight of You go into the house, and search for the bar, which is generally in the upper story, and there you find a kind of waiter, whom you ask for lodging. He shows you the rooms, in general badly furnished and without beds, instead of which a leathern sofa serves for a place on which you can spread out your own bed The traveller has always to bargain, and offer half what is demanded; and when this is concluded he enters into possession. At the bar different kinds of drink (wine, brandy, etc.) and cold meats are sold; next to this are several rooms, the so-called *restaurant*, in which dinner is served *à la carte*. If you ask what is to be had, cutlets and beefsteaks are always named (since 1815 these two words have penetrated even into the heart of Asia!); they are however commonly of very bad quality, and very ill cooked. On the other hand, if you ask for genuine Russian dishes, the *shtchi* (cabbage soup with meat in

it), or the *piróg* (a kind of pie with fish or meat), you find these palatable and wholesome. The white bread is bad, the black bread good. Good tea may also be procured everywhere in tumblers, generally with a slice of lemon in it, and without milk. The genuine pious Russian drinks it ordinarily with honey, at least on fast-days, because the sugar is refined with ox's blood. It is only, I have been told, when the sugar has come from one particular manufactory, where this process is not used, that an orthodox Russian will eat it on fast-days.*

Travellers usually carry with them a small box, *pogrebetz*, which is sold in all the shops in Moscow, at prices varying from 12*s* to £2 · it contains a teapot, sugar-basin, two glasses, two little plates, a spoon, an ink and sand-bottle, room for some paper, and a small supply of tea and sugar. In the inn the traveller merely asks for a *samovar*, or tea-urn with hot water, which he receives for one or two *grivenniks* (3½*d.* or 7*d.*) The *samovar* (literally, 'self-boiler') is a kind of oval copper tea-urn, like those in fashion in Germany fifty or sixty years ago . the Russians have now raised it to the rank of a national utensil · it is found not only in every inn, but in almost every respectable peasant's house, as the use of tea has extended enormously even among this class.

Housemaids are never seen in the Russian inns ; every-

* It is a curious sight to see, in the eating-houses, the merchants sitting motionless in rows upon the benches ranged along the walls,—genuine bearded Russians, in blue kaftans, never moving except to put the glass of tea to their mouth, or set it down again Thus they sit in summer days four to six hours at a time, without stirring a limb or speaking a word, swallowing one glass of tea after the other (they will drink twenty-four in succession), the perspiration streaming down their faces.

enna musical timepiece, which played a number of overtures, marches, and symphonies, and had cost the good man not less than 30,000 roubles (£1375) As in Russia there are no bands of musicians travelling about the country, nor any in the pay of the towns, their place is supplied by these musical timepieces; for all the modern music is known, and appreciated, through the very prevalent practice of the pianoforte

A foreigner is struck by observing the deep devotion and strict obedience to all the ordinances and practices of the Church which prevail among people of rank and education in Russia I had already noticed this in Moscow: a young Prince T——, an elegant Moscow dandy, conducted me through the churches of the Kremlin, and in almost every one he fell on his knees before one of the venerated relics, sometimes the coffin of a saint, or a picture of the Virgin Mary, etc, touched the ground with his forehead, and humbly kissed the relic. In Yaroslaf I observed the same thing Madame Baratinska, and another lady who accompanied her, conducted me through the churches, and scarcely had we entered one, when both ladies approached a picture of the Virgin, and, without regard to their dress, fell upon their knees, touched the ground with their foreheads, and kissed the picture, at the same time making the sign of the cross. And these were ladies of the highest society and first *ton:* Madame Baratinska had been one of the ladies of honour at the Court, and an ornament of the first society in St. Petersburg, was unusually well educated, and knew French and German literature completely. Even in the strictest Catholic countries, Belgium, Bavaria, Rome, Münster, etc., these public marks of devotion are not seen, or only as rare exceptions in

women, never in men. The educated have separated from the lower classes in this respect; even when otherwise pious, they consider such public manifestation of their feelings as not quite decorous, and feel a degree of shame in exhibiting it.

It is quite otherwise in Russia. There are free-thinkers here, even atheists, perhaps in as great numbers as in the west of Europe; but even these submit unconditionally, and almost involuntarily, at least in public, to the usages of the Church There is in this respect no difference visible between a Russian of the highest rank and a common man; everywhere prevails the unity of the national Church and national worship: there is moreover in the Church, what is very beautiful, never the slightest difference perceptible between high and low. In the Protestant churches every one has his own place, his own separate pew, frequently like small rooms with doors and windows, the most distinguished being nearest the altar and pulpit, the others nearer or further off according to their rank All the worldly baubles appertaining to the different ranks and stations are carried to church. In the Roman Catholic churches, particularly the cathedrals, this is less the case; still however the genteel class generally assemble on one side, and endeavour to separate themselves from the common people; in the north of Germany even the Protestant custom of pews is here and there imitated. In Russia there is complete equality, as there should be in all Christian churches . here the lowest does not yield to the most distinguished, the beggar, the serf, places himself without hesitation above or before the rich man, his lord and master; the latter on the other hand claims no precedence. In the Russian churches pews are unknown;

there are in general no chairs, not even stools to kneel on. The whole congregation stands or kneels; occasionally only seats are provided for the females.

At Moscow I had received a letter of introduction to a Russian nobleman living near Yaroslaf, which I sent to him, and now received an invitation to visit him on his estate.

On the morning of the 16th we first went down to the Volga, to see an enormous sturgeon, which had been caught eight days before, and placed in a reservoir formed of stakes and planks on the bank of the river Only a stream like the Volga could contain such a monster it measured eight or ten feet in length, and perhaps as many round the body

I then asked permission to see the arrangements of the office and registry of the Court of Domains, together with their order of proceeding, and found these in general analogous to the Prussian, but the mass of tables and accounts is infinitely more complicated and diffuse. Official scribbling and registering may almost be said to exist in greater excess here than in Prussia, but, what is most essential, the officials are much behind the Germans in education, solidity, industry, and honesty

In the evening I drove out with Herr von Hahn to Gorapiatnitzkaya, the estate of the nobleman I mentioned above, M. Karnovitch. The road led through a pretty, well-cultivated country, but we also passed over large tracts of low brushwood and reeds, which in some places are scarcely capable of, and in others would not repay, cultivation

We stopped in a village half-way, to change horses: it had been burnt down some time before, and was prettily rebuilt The villagers were all assembled, and as

there was some business to transact, Herr von Hahn, in order to show me how a Russian communal meeting is conducted, held one on the spot. All the men placed themselves in a circle around us in the road; the Golova (head of the Volost, or several united Communes), the Starosta of the village, and the "White-heads" joined us, and a lively discussion commenced; it was however carried on in Russian, and I did not understand a word, but the subject was explained to me It related to some general affairs of the Commune, and minor disputes between different members of it, which, after a brief consultation among the "White-heads," were decided by the Golova, with the concurrence of the President of Domains. Everything took place with the greatest order, and only the Golova, the Starosta, and the White-heads spoke. Among the younger men who stood around them profound silence and attention reigned, the others however spoke with vivacity, and seemed to express themselves clearly and connectedly, at least none appeared at a loss for words. No one screamed or blustered, or interrupted the other, the greatest politeness prevailed on all sides. Their behaviour toward the President of Domains spoke favourably for both parties, the people were confiding, friendly, and accommodating, but by no means slavish or degradingly obsequious toward him One man begged of him with tears and entreaties the liberation of his son from the army: the President was obliged upon legal grounds to refuse, but consoled the poor father kindly and affectionately.

We then went, accompanied by the Golova, the Starosta, and the White-heads, into the Communal-house, where the clerk of the Commune placed various papers before Herr von Hahn, of which I understood nothing.

It is clear however from this, that the passion for writing begins to penetrate into the deepest recesses of the national life of Russia.

At my request, the following information was given me regarding this village. It consisted of twenty-three farms, with eighty-two male inhabitants, and was formerly the property of a Prince Koslovski; but the peasants had purchased their freedom, and paid to the Prince for the land and what was upon it, together with their freedom, 50,000 roubles (£2290),—30,000 roubles in ready money, the rest within seven years.* They had accordingly at present no other taxes than the poll-tax and communal charges There has not yet been any division of the land here, according to the population, as is usual in Russia; but it was allotted according to the sum which each had contributed to the purchase-money. This kind of partition however is so unusual and inconvenient for the people, that they decided upon dividing the money at the next revision among themselves, as simply a personal money-debt, and resuming the usual division of the land.

The sun was setting when we drove off. A peasant had asked permission to get up behind our open caleche and travel with us. He soon commenced a lively conversation with the President, which I did not understand, but which my travelling companion assured me was remarkably logical and clear; the man, he said, had

* What a singular institution is this Russian serfdom! To the Prince Koslovski belonged not only the families of the village, together with the land pertaining to it, but also all their property, consequently also the 50,000 roubles which they paid him for their freedom; why then did not he take possession of their money directly, and retain the people in servitude? no law would have prevented him. But the Russian manners and customs forbid it, and these are mightier than the law

spoken so well, particularly about the division of the land, that his words might have been printed just as he uttered them. The Russian language is the same for high and low, educated and uneducated,—there is no *patois;* and therefore the diffusion of a certain degree of education would be extremely easy. The written language is quite intelligible to the common Russian.

It was midnight when we arrived at the house of M Karnovitch, and we soon retired to rest. A glorious morning roused us from our beds; and we were presently busied with our host in examining all the different branches of his rural economy. This is by no means old Russian, merely following the traditional forms of Russian life; nor is it West-European; but rather national Russian, with the introduction in every department of the improvements and inventions which European science affords, and experience has here tested upon the spot. M. Karnovitch is a scientifically educated man, knows Germany, France, and England, has informed himself on the spot as to the condition of husbandry in these different countries, and returned full of zeal and patriotism, to apply what he has learnt in making improvements at home, and to become the teacher and pattern of his district. He is unmarried, and lives with an old aunt, in the country among his people. He has tried many experiments in his domestic economy with various success, and has had to contend with the obstinacy and folly of his people, with their blind attachment to old customs and habits, and hatred to all innovations; but he has overcome these, and attained a state of husbandry on his estate which I have not seen excelled in Russia. The improvements he has effected were not new to me, but it was interesting to find them in this country.

The estate of Gorapiatnitzkaya is situated in a district intersected by ridges of low hills, and is pretty fertile and pleasant for this not very fertile Government; it lies nearly in the same latitude as Livonia. The soil is principally sand and gravel, with a considerable admixture of humus. The district is rich in water, with numerous brooks, ponds, lakes, and marshes; the woods consist of pines, limes, birches, etc.

The farmstead is situated upon a rising ground at the head of a small churchyard: it consists of a square space, surrounded by the farm-buildings in front of the dwelling-house, behind which a somewhat neglected garden lies among grounds which are otherwise rather pretty. In general the aspect of the whole is not very different from that of a Livonian or Prussian farmyard The dwelling-house is built of logs placed one above another, like all old Russian houses, but, what is unusual, it has two stories, of which the upper one is inhabited by the owner.

After inspecting the farmyard we proceeded down the hill, where lay the fields under cultivation, with several barns, sheepfolds, etc. Our host conducted us over them, to show us the success of an attempt he had made for the protection of his potatoes during the winter. He had stacked them up in the autumn in the open air in heaps twenty feet long by ten broad and four high, upon a dry part of the ground, and had covered them with a layer of straw six inches deep, and this again with a quantity of earth a foot and a half thick. They had thus stood the cold of winter, and the covering of earth was removed in our presence. There still appeared, on the 29th of May, frozen clods amongst the earth, but the potatoes were perfectly preserved, of which we had an opportunity of convincing ourselves at dinner.

In a barn close by, which, as well as the granary, is built quite in the same manner as those in Livonia, with stone foundations and pillars, we saw a peculiar threshing-machine, which is said to be very much used in the Government of Simbirsk; but as there was no corn to thresh, we could not judge of its utility. In the fields some of the people were ploughing for the summer seed, under the leadership of an old man, who was actively driving the first plough: he was unusually handsome, with a fine head, and long white hair and beard: from his great activity I supposed him to be not more than sixty years of age, but he was eighty, and had a son only five or six years old!

From hence we went to a small village in the neighbourhood, and examined the farm of one of the peasants. The farmyards here are arranged in the same manner as I have described in the first chapter, the gable-end of the dwelling-house facing the street, and next to it a long narrow courtyard with a gate. This house had also an entrance from the street, which is not very usual; the door was situated on the left, with another small one on the right, for the lower story of the house, in which are the smaller animals. We ascended a staircase, to the dwelling-room (*izba*), which had no other furniture than a bench running round it. Opposite the door in the corner stood the image of the saint, with a lamp burning under it; and on the walls were some shelves, upon which were placed all kinds of vessels and utensils. Spinning-wheels and hand-looms testified to the widely disseminated linen manufacture in this district. An enormous stove, built up with bricks, filled one third of the room, this in winter is a sleeping-place; beside it a small staircase led down to the lower

part of the house mentioned above (*patpolye*), which serves as a store, and where the smaller animals, fowls and swine, take up their abode in the night: in winter also the cows are milked here. On the other side of the staircase are some closets, with very small windows, receptacles for all sorts of things, such as boxes,—one for each member of the family, containing clothes. In summer the family generally sleep here. The stove of the dwelling-room serves for cooking, and is always heated, even in summer. Immediately adjoining the house is the stable for the cattle, into which is an entrance from the house · it is covered with two roofs, so that the house and the stable had three roofs, one lower than the other. Here stand the horses and cows, separated by partitions, but not by walls; in the winter it is very cold, but to this they are accustomed.

Behind the stable stands the *sarai*, a building in which the carts and agricultural implements are kept. Here the supply of salt and meal is also stored, and a strong padlock is put upon the door. Some paces distant, but in a line with it, is a covered cellar, containing cabbages, fruit, etc., then a small cabbage-garden, with the granary at the end, then a spot where the peasant places his grain before putting it in the granary and dries the hay; the last of this row of buildings is always the bath-house. Every courtyard is long and narrow.

It might be imagined that the dwelling would be very dirty, the atmosphere mephitic, — with so many animals and a low heated room,—but it was not so; the air was purer than I could have expected, to which the constantly burning fire and open windows contributed: moreover the room was kept so clean and neat that it was a pleasure to see. Our host told us that the pea-

sants live better here, and are more cleanly in their houses, than the townspeople

We found the people in this house busy spinning and weaving. On our entrance they were friendly, confiding, natural, and not at all bashful; they readily gave me information about everything concerning which I questioned them.

The family was strangely composed: the head and master of the household was an old man, who had been a widower for more than twenty years, and was childless. With him resided an old woman, a widow, distantly related to him; she had a daughter living with her, a beautiful girl fourteen years of age. The husband of another daughter who was dead had married again, and with his wife and five children did the principal work of the farm. The family therefore was not at all related by blood, but there prevailed among them, M. Karnovitch assured us, the greatest harmony and affection. A relationship of this kind is not at all unusual: the Russian cannot live without a strong family tie, if he has none, he invents one; if he has no father, he searches for and chooses one for himself, and has the same veneration and affection for him as for a parent. In the same way, if he has no children of his own, he adopts some. It may be asked why this old man did not marry the old woman, whereby at least an outward relationship, of a stepfather, would have been formed; but the custom of these countries does not permit this, and it is not considered respectable for a widower or widow to marry after their fiftieth year. But a man requires then more than ever female care, and thus these relationships are constituted quite naturally.

M. Karnovitch had made an attempt (the first in Russia,

as we were told) to change the condition of the Russian peasant into that of an ordinary tenant farmer. At the distance of a verst from the village he had established a farm, with a house and farm-buildings, allotted to it thirty-four acres of land and sufficient meadows and pasture, and placed a peasant family in it. The architecture and arrangement of the house were quite different from the Russian; it was rather a copy of that of an English farmer. The cultivation of the fields and rotation of crops were conducted upon the most approved principles, and adapted to the climate, soil, and situation; the agricultural and domestic implements were faultless. The proprietor had educated the farmer's family expressly for the purpose, and had himself instructed them in the practical management of a farm, before placing them on an independent footing He had given them a lease, or rather (as this would have had no legal effect before the issue of the Ukase of April 2nd, 1842) a deed of concession, in which all the conditions were laid down with precision As this farm had already existed for some years, and the returns improved annually, the attempt may be considered completely successful.

I expressed some doubts respecting the entire revolution M. Karnovitch had effected in the arrangements of the house and farm, as well as the agricultural implements, mode of cultivation, etc., and questioned whether this abandoning all the accustomed national Russian practices in these things would tend to awaken a desire to imitate and follow the example on the part of the people; the whole scheme, I thought, might fall to the ground, without producing any permanent or general effect. It would have appeared to me more natural and consistent, if he had founded his new arrangements upon

the existing system, and the national manners and customs; they would then have constituted a model imitable by his neighbours; these principles he had adopted in his own farm, and from that very cause had met with such success.

M. Karnovitch was not of this opinion: he said that his own farm was a long-established one, and he could only proceed gradually with his improvements, amalgamating the new with the old; his people had received a perfectly different kind of education, and he should have to accustom them to all new arrangements, which were hateful to them; he had therefore only been able to undertake improvements, without attempting a revolution of the whole. It was otherwise in the case of this small farm, which was a new creation from the beginning, and therefore he could, or rather he was obliged to, proceed here upon scientific principles; the people to whom he had entrusted it were sufficiently educated for this. But still they were Russians: if they had been placed in a situation in which the national basis was retained, with a mixture of improvements and innovations, they would probably have been exposed to the ridicule of their neighbours, and seduced by their example; their old national feelings and habits, and the remembrances of their childhood, would have returned, and they would soon have been led to neglect the new improvements, and have relapsed into the old customs prevailing around them. On the other hand, in this new situation, which was different from everything around, they were conducted into a path from which they could not deviate. The economical arrangements were so securely established, they had so little resemblance and analogy with the national system, the arrangement of the whole domestic

economy was so different, that a change to the national mode of life, or a gradual relapse into it, was impossible.

Being hungry after our walk, and the inspection and discussion of so many things, dinner was very welcome to us. Immediately before it coffee and liqueurs were handed round,—a Russian custom, borrowed perhaps from Sweden,* where also before dinner are presented several liqueurs, with something *piquant* to stimulate the appetite, as cheese, caviar, herring, etc., which you eat standing, and afterwards sit down at table. Our dinner was in other respects in Western style, as is the case in all good Russian houses; but the national dishes and drinks, the *pirogi*, the *kvas*, and at the close the *nalivki*, were not wanting The pope of the village dined with us, the daily guest and intimate friend of our host.

After dinner, May 17th, we drove to Velikoye Seló (literally, 'Large Church-village'), a township with 3000 inhabitants.† The land and its inhabitants had been the property of seven sisters, three of whom were already dead: the rest did not live here, and having no agricultural establishment, had placed the peasants upon *obrok* (poll-tax); not however laying the tax upon the separate *tiaglos* (families), but upon the township at large as a tribute, proportioned to its population, the extent and quality of arable land conceded, together with the meadows, woods, and manufacture (an extensive one of linen is carried on), in the township. The amount of

* This custom has been transplanted from Sweden to Livonia, and what was formerly Swedish Pomerania, where it still prevails, but is strictly limited to the confines of the Swedish rule.

† According to a notice in the Journal of the Ministry of the Interior of 1839, vol. 6 p 739, this place has about 5400 inhabitants, and only 700 dessetinas (1890 acres) of land

this tribute was calculated, first, from the rent derivable from the land; secondly, from the number of individuals to whom it was granted; thirdly, from the peculiar resources of skill and industry with which the inhabitants carry on certain branches of manufacture.

Russian serfdom, since the introduction of the culture and manufactures of Western Europe, has completely changed its nature and form in many districts of the empire. Originally only the numerous household and outdoor servants (prisoners of war and their descendants) were serfs, or rather slaves The peasants were free farmers, who held their farms by the year, and could give them up on St. George's Day. As however each petty Prince prohibited his subjects leaving his territory, the circuit of their wanderings was limited.

When the petty principalities ceased to exist, and Russia became a united empire, these barriers were of course removed, and the peasants acquired unlimited freedom to go where they pleased. The Russian has always been of an unsettled disposition and fond of roaming; he has a strong love of his native country, but little feeling for home; he practises agriculture from necessity, not like the German from choice, and avoids severe and continued work. Thus, from the unlimited power of going where they pleased, arose great inconveniences and embarrassments districts in which agriculture was carried on with difficulty or little profit, became quite depopulated and almost deserts; while others, where the work was lighter and profits more easily acquired, on the banks of rivers, in towns, etc, became over-populated. The Czar Boris Godunof therefore (November 21, 1601) issued a ukase, abolishing the liberty of roaming about, and restricting all the peasants to the spot they inhabited

on the preceding St. George's Day.* Thenceforward the peasant came under the police regulations of the landowners, but was not yet a serf: this he became gradually after the time of Peter I., almost by accident, and it can hardly be said legally, as will be shown more elsewhere.

As long as Russia remained a purely agricultural country, the bondage of the peasants was little oppressive, particularly in Great Russia, where formerly few nobles lived on their estates, and where consequently the peasants performed no statute-labour, but the landowner delivered over the whole land to his peasants, for their uncontrolled use, on payment of a rent. This is still frequently, and with the Crown peasants always, the case: (as far as I know, the Crown does not possess a single estate or farm managed on the system of statute-labour in Great Russia) the amount of rent, as it were, fixed itself; the landowner could only receive the moderate net proceeds; if he was oppressive, or demanded more than this, the peasants became impoverished, their cattle and farming-stock were deteriorated or disappeared altogether, agriculture retrograded, and it became impossible to collect the rent. On the other hand, the State rigorously required the landowner to be answerable for the taxes of his peasants, and at the same time forced him to maintain them if they had nothing themselves. Thus the simple interest of the landowner compelled him to be forbearing, and to assist his peasants:

* The Russian popular songs still lament St. George's Day as one of misfortune, the day of their lost freedom · and yet it only robbed them of the freedom of wandering about; they still remained personally free. The popular songs have never complained of the loss of personal freedom by the gradual introduction of serfdom: the people have always considered this a small evil. The confinement is complained of, not the necessity of working for a master.

he was even obliged to endeavour to keep up for them a certain amount of farming-stock; otherwise he could not hope to receive his rent regularly. Besides he did not live among them in their villages, but in the towns, as there were no country-houses: he was unable therefore to exercise any control over the property of the individual peasants; he could not, as the saying is, pry into the pot, but was obliged to impose a tribute upon the whole Commune, according to the population; and thus the already powerful institution of the Commune assumed a still more imposing attitude toward him. The Russian Commune had become, as it were, a well-organized free republic, its dependence upon the landowner consisting solely in paying him a fixed tribute.

But this is now changed, and threatens to become by degrees completely transformed, through the introduction of Western culture, manufactures, and luxury. Peter I. and his immediate successors introduced manufactures artificially, they called in foreign manufacturers, advanced them capital, and assigned them ground for their establishments, at the same time furnishing them with a number of workmen, generally a whole village, on the same conditions as those under which the serfs stood to their landlords: they had to work in and for the manufactory, the master being answerable for their maintenance, clothing, and lodging.* This arrangement first gave rise to the idea in Russia, that, as all the labour of the serf belongs to the master, he might be employed in any kind of work the latter might require.

* There are some of these manufactories still in Russia, and I shall afterwards describe one which I visited at Yaroslaf. But they are in a languishing condition, as compared with the new ones established on modern principles.

In former times the landowner had only two ways of employing his serfs, in the cultivation of the ground or as domestics. But as manufacturing industry continually increased, and the Government everywhere invited the nobles to establish factories,—a summons which has been only too well obeyed during the last twenty-five years,—the masters employed serfs as workmen, in the same manner as was already the case in the Crown manufactories. They first made use of their unemployed domestics; but these, at least in the beginning, were bad workmen; consequently the peasants, when more numerous than were needed for the cultivation of the land, were taken; and at last agricultural industry was frequently neglected and abandoned, because in poor districts it yielded a smaller return than the factories. But it was soon discovered that every Russian is a bad workman when subject to the system of statute-labour, but a good one, or capable of becoming so, when he works on his own account; permission was therefore given to the serfs to seek work wherever they could find it, and in return a tax was imposed upon them *

This is now the usual state of things: it has arisen quite naturally, and it cannot be said that the peasants or common Russians complain of it; on the contrary it suits their national disposition. Agriculture, as before remarked, is not their favourite occupation: they may

* It has long appeared to me a political error, that twenty-five years ago manufacturing industry was so much encouraged in Russia, without regulating beforehand (as might have been done, and actually was done in Germany) the relations of the serfs, and establishing them upon a legal basis; or without at least regulating the future relations of the serfs to the manufacturers. This becomes every day more necessary; but it is much more difficult now than formerly, and the difficulty increases

now abandon it, or consign it to the women, children, and old people, and gratify their propensity for wandering about, by seeking a livelihood as pedlars and small traders, artisans, factory labourers, and carriers,—occupations which have been greatly extended by the immense increase of manufacturing industry. They speculate and work on their own account, and only pay a certain sum to their master, the amount of which is generally an occasion of much haggling. This state of things however is as convenient and agreeable to the nobles as the serfs.

Since 1812 the poorer portion of the Russian nobility (with the very rich, the Court nobles, it was previously the case) have become acquainted with the rest of Europe, its enjoyments and comforts, they thus grew dissatisfied with home life, began to despise the national manners, and endeavoured to transplant European life into their own homes. This they found expensive; and having always been inclined to luxury, they fell deep in debt. Their estates were sold, and came into the hands of *parvenus*, who had made fortunes dishonourably by speculations or in the public service. The ancient ties of mutual attachment and fidelity, handed down from generation to generation, which could alone render the condition of serfage humane, or at least tolerable, were broken: the new masters regarded the serfs merely as machines, as means for the acquisition of money.

By the Tchin system (ranks in the public service) new *parvenus* were continually ennobled. A certain kind of superficial modern cultivation or polish, too contemptible to be associated with the term civilization, but sufficient to destroy everything noble and national in the heart of man, and even to generate and establish hatred and antipathy to the national life, spread

in increasing circles over Russia. Every man who had acquired this kind of polish entered the public service, and thereby attained the rank of noble, if he had it not already; and as all outward rank, as well as all real power, was concentrated in this dangerous official hierarchy, beyond it no honour, no power, no rank was to be acquired, nay, out of its limits, no man could even serve his country or the Emperor; all those who belonged even to the old nobility entered the ranks of the officials, and became more or less infected by the spirit of corruption which prevailed there Thus it has come to pass that the nobility in Russia has swollen into a people,—a race of masters, in opposition to the old Russian class of servants,—separated from the latter by foreign ideas of life, foreign manners and dress, and united with them only by religion and language.

Formerly, when the nobles were not so numerous,—when they still constituted one people with the serfs, little differing from them in manners, education, and ideas,—when serfage comprised solely the cultivation of the soil,—before the old village communes, in which lies a great principle of true and regulated freedom, were broken up by the partitions that dissolved and destroyed them,—serfage was no unnatural, destructive, or unsuitable condition, perhaps indeed, for the political development of Russia, it was necessary. At present it has become an unnatural state; and every day shows more clearly that it will be impossible much longer to retain it. No intelligent Russian disguises this fact from himself; but how to dissolve and re-model serfage, without exciting a great social revolution, is the important question of the day.

At present serfdom in Russia is an inverted St.

Simonism. The latter demands that men shall be valued according to their wants and capacities, in order that what may be considered the interest of the capital they represent may be given and apportioned to them. It is the same with the Russian serf: he is taxed to the utmost of his value by his master, who says to him, "You are of such an age, have such physical constitution and health, such bodily strength, capacity for work and endurance, you have such intellectual powers, education, talents, and skill,—consequently you represent an amount of capital worth so much." But instead of saying further, like St. Simon, "Because you have such a value, so much of this world's goods are given to you," the Russian landowner on the contrary says to his serfs, "Because you have such a value, you must earn so much, and bring it to me, as the interest of my capital, which lies in yourself."

After this explanation, let us return to the affairs of the township of Velikoye Selo. The buildings are such as are usual in small towns, there is also a bazaar, some good modern houses, which testify to the well-being of the inhabitants, and a considerable manufactory of linen. The inhabitants do not themselves spin, but buy the yarn. The weaving of fine linen is paid for at the rate of 7*d* per arshine (28 inches); and even a woman, if a good weaver, can with ease earn 11*d*. to 1*s*. 4*d*. a day. These are high wages, and quite disproportionate to the price of agricultural produce; for, in good years, the price of a tchetvert ($5\frac{3}{4}$ bushels) of rye falls generally as low as 4*s*. 6*d*. How can agriculture flourish, how can the people be asked to engage in it, when it yields so poor a return, and when in every other branch of industry they can earn more money? Here a

female weaver earns as much as enables her to buy a bushel of corn with a single day's labour; in Bielefeld, in Westphalia, she would be able to earn, at the utmost, five silbergroschen (6*d.*), with which scarcely one-eighth of a bushel can there be purchased.

This place possesses a well-arranged school, which the pope had undertaken to conduct.

Concerning the constitution of the Communes and the division of the land, I obtained the following information. Some of the inhabitants have by linen-weaving acquired considerable property and commercial business, others are employed in agriculture, and a few as artisans. The proprietors of the land have, in consequence of the commercial and manufacturing activity of the place, fixed a higher poll-tax (*obrok*) than could have been borne by agriculture alone. If they had, in the usual manner, laid an equal tax on every male, they would have oppressed the poorer members of the Commune, whilst the richer ones would have paid a disproportionately small amount. As the owners lived at a distance from the property, it was difficult for them to tax each according to his means, they have therefore preferred, as the entire township and its inhabitants are their property, to impose a round sum as a tribute upon the Commune, leaving to the latter the apportionment of the money among its members. The Commune however has laid the whole tax upon the soil, but not in equal proportion: the rich have been forced to take more land than they can make use of, and to pay a higher impost than they can realize from its cultivation. Those who are not engaged in agriculture let their land to the peasants at a small rent, which is far from covering the tax; and some allow it to lie uncultivated. The power of the Communes, and the obedience

shown to them, meet us everywhere, and we shall frequently have occasion to remark their peculiarity

A considerable horse-fair is held here annually, although there are not fifty horses in the place. Velikoye Selo is a peasant village, but has no agriculture; its inhabitants manufacture linen, but grow no flax; there is a horse-fair, but they have no horses.

On our return, we again took a walk through the gardens and fields, when our host gave us a great deal of information, particularly relating to the nobles and their serfs. The common Russian, he said, is in general full of good feeling; and if a master be just and considerate, and truly desirous of his people's welfare, a really affectionate relation usually springs up between them Some years ago there lived in this neighbourhood an old bachelor named Arkhakof, who was not only held in veneration by his serfs, but was beloved throughout the district. He resided in a small Russian house in the midst of his peasants, to whom he was as a father and benefactor. He was not rich, and shared everything with them; but at his death he possessed three times the number of serfs he had at first. If a village in the district was for sale, the peasants generally went to him, and besought him to buy them. If he told them that, as they well knew, he had no money, they would answer, "But, Bátiushka (father), we have some, we will bring it to you, that you may buy us." The disputes of all the surrounding villages were submitted to him for settlement, and every one brought his money to him to keep. From what we saw and heard, it was evident that our host was equally beloved and venerated, although his modesty would not permit him to acknowledge it. And who could look into his mild and kindly

eye without being assured that the purest benevolence warmed his heart? His habit of keen observation, and long intercourse with the lower classes, gave great value to his remarks. I unfortunately neglected to write down every evening what I heard, and thus many things have escaped my memory. I will insert some few detached remarks.

Speaking of the character of the peasants M. Karnovitch observed, that whoever has to exercise authority over them must above all things guard against indecision, whether in word or act The Russian always requires a definite command; and in disputes, if the settlement be distinct and peremptory, he will be satisfied, whether the sentence is favourable or unfavourable, wise or unwise. If there be hesitation, he immediately becomes intractable, while a resolute command has a magical influence which he cannot resist. But this exact obedience, however agreeable to those in authority, must always be associated with the patriarchal idea The people must see in every command only the authority of a father, and the obedience must proceed from filial affection, then the command, if it appear occasionally unwise or even unjust, is not resisted, for the respect due to a father forbids that his authority should be weighed in the balance. But the Tchinovniks (officials) destroy the people, they stifle every right feeling in them, their commands appear the effect of avarice, superciliousness, or the caprice of petty despots; not the result of fatherly care, but only of a father's severity and unrestrained will; the obedience therefore is not filial, but servile.

Count Kisselef, the Minister of Domains, formed the noble resolution of re-awakening and strengthening a sense of right and wrong in the people. He saw that

the communal institutions were a bulwark of self-respect and well-regulated freedom; and he strove to elevate them, and to found upon them, as far as possible, a system of self-government, that the people might be released from the despotism and avarice of the officials (Ispravniks). He wished the peasants to feel that, although they must implicitly obey the officers chosen by themselves (the Golova, Starosta, the White-heads, etc), yet that these were able to protect them, that they would receive protection also from the Minister, and even from the Emperor. At first they complained, because their direct taxes were somewhat increased, but when they found that the extortions of the Ispravniks, which far exceeded the direct taxes, ceased, or were much diminished, they acquiesced; and, what is more important, the feeling is spreading, that it is possible to obtain relief from injustice Complaints, sometimes delivered personally, are frequently laid before the Minister, and these are always followed by a speedy and complete examination, and often by severe punishment of the offender.

M. Karnovitch was of opinion that the administration of justice is too cumbrous for the present condition of the country, and that petty tribunals are greatly needed. There are no advocates; and when it is necessary to travel thirty or forty miles, on bad roads, to present a trifling complaint in person, the people prefer to endure injustice, or seek by violence or otherwise to help themselves. He thought that an institution resembling that of the French "Juges de Paix" would be beneficial, and that suitable men might be found without difficulty; their office however must be honorary, and not linked in the great chain of officials. The late M. Arkhakof, he said, had shown the need of such an institution, and

the possibility of establishing it; and there was also a M. Palotzof, now living in this district, and several other excellent men, who enjoyed the confidence of the people almost to an equal extent He believed also that a very great evil in this part of Russia arose from the small profits yielded by agriculture; for on this account no one will invest capital in improved methods of cultivation A man who has money to spare increases his property by purchasing more land, and never by improving that already in his possession. The constant rise in the price of land is not a consequence of its improvement, but results from the demand The income from land is somewhat greater, but only because through the increase of manufactures many things are utilized which formerly had no value *

In one of the peasant-houses which we entered, we found a tailor working at a kaftan, and we were told that in some villages in this Government the entire population are tailors. At certain times, generally in winter, they travel about for work, and on arriving at a village they work from house to house, until all the inhabitants appear in new trim then they go to another village. They are paid by piece-work, not by day-wages: for making a grey coat they receive from $5\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $8d.$, and for a blue kaftan from $1s$ $10d$ to $3s$ $9d$, in addition to their board

In the houses of the peasants we almost always found a *samovar*, or tea-urn. The peasants however do not all drink Chinese tea, but many of them home-grown, the

* The greatest rise is said to have taken place on the south coast of the Crimea, where the price of land has increased fiftyfold in the last sixty years But the south coast of the Crimea was then a desert, it has now become a blooming garden

preparation of which forms the sole occupation of some entire villages. I may also remark that cotton shirts are almost universally worn here

The following information was given to us concerning the division of land in the village Communes. The principle is, that the whole of the land (tillage, meadows, pasture, woods, streams, etc) belongs to the population regarded as a unity, and every male inhabitant has a right to an equal share. This share is therefore constantly changing, for the birth of every boy creates a new claim, and the shares of those who die revert to the Commune The woods, pastures, hunting-grounds, and fisheries remain undivided, and free to all the inhabitants, but the arable land and meadows are divided, according to their value, amongst the males. This equal division is of course difficult, as the soil differs in quality, and portions of it may be distant or inconveniently situated. There are however in each Commune skilful land-surveyors, without any education but what has been acquired from the traditional habits of the place, who execute the work to the satisfaction of all. The land is first divided, according to its quality, position, or general value, into sections, each possessing on the whole equal advantages, the sections are then divided into as many portions, in long strips, as there are shares required, and these are taken by lot. This is the usual plan, but each District, and frequently each Commune, has its local customs, and it would be very interesting to collect these.* In the Government of Yaroslaf, for instance, many of

* The allotment takes place in an assembly of the whole Commune, including the women and children A very just spirit prevails, and disputes never occur. If too small a share is supposed to have fallen to any one, it is made up to him out of the reserve

the Communes have peculiar measuring-rods, which are almost regarded as sacred; they correspond with the quality of the soil, the rod for the best land being the shortest, and that for the worst the longest: the shares therefore vary in size, but are equal in value.*

The preceding remarks apply to the free Communes, to whom the land belongs as their own property: these are very numerous, all the Cossack Communes for instance being of this class. The principle however is the same, whether the peasants are owners of the land, or merely tenants as on the Crown estates, or only attached to the soil, as in the case of the serfs.

Equal division springs from the most ancient constitutional principle of the Slaavs, that of joint and undivided family possession, and periodical sharing of the produce; this probably existed among all the Slavonian races, and is still to be found in Servia, Croatia, etc., where it is the practice, in some parts, not even to divide the land every year, but to cultivate it jointly under the direction of the "Elders," and only to share the harvests equally among the members of the Commune. Equal division prevails in Russia, even among the private serfs, who in Great Russia were formerly always, and still are generally, placed upon *obrok* (money-tax). It is however somewhat modified in the case of those who have to perform *corvées* for the proprietor.† The following is the most ancient

* In certain villages in the Government of Voronezh the Minister Kisselef ordered a survey and adjustment to be undertaken by scientific surveyors; and the results were found to agree with the valuation of the village land-measurers within three or four per cent. Who shall say which was right?

† I have in some places used the word *corvée*, and in others *statute labour*, but they mean the same thing—work performed without wages for the proprietor, in return for the possession of land.—TRANSL.

method of cultivating an estate by the labour of the serfs, and one which is still adopted in Great Russia when they are unable to pay the *obrok*, and the proprietor is consequently obliged to set up a farming establishment of his own. The latter sets apart for himself a portion of the estate, at most one-third or one-fourth; and the remainder is retained by the peasants, who are required to cultivate without payment the part reserved by the proprietor. They manure the land, plough and harrow it, sow the seed (which is provided by the landowner), reap the crop, and carry it to market, at their own expense. The superintendence of this service is usually entrusted to the Starosta, and under this primitive arrangement the proprietor needs no farming-stock, no labourers, not even a bailiff, no house on the estate, —only perhaps a barn and a granary. To prevent abuses, the Government has decreed that the labour of the peasants shall in no case exceed three days in every week.

This method of cultivating the estates has a modifying effect upon the division of the land Where *obrok* is paid, every male receives an equal share of land (the father takes it for his infant son), and each must undertake to pay an equal share of the tax. Where the *corvée* system prevails, of course the boys and old men cannot work, and have no claim to the land, which is given as an equivalent for labour. Another arrangement is therefore adopted, that of the *tiaglo*. The meaning of the word *tiaglo* is not quite determined,—at least the word cannot be translated: it is not merely a married couple, nor is it a family, but the meaning is something between the two. For instance, a peasant has a father unable to work, a grown-up son, and several young children: these constitute one tiaglo, perform a single amount

of labour, and receive one portion of land. If the son marries, although he remains with his father in the house and farm, they constitute two tiaglos, perform a double quantity of labour, and receive two portions of land. Marriage therefore, which creates a new tiaglo, is usually strongly urged by all the three parties concerned. The landowner generally is greatly interested in having as many tiaglos as possible. If however his estate is small, an increase in the number of his people might be a burden to him, as he would have more labour than he could employ, and the division of the land would not yield sufficient for the existence of each family, so that it would be necessary for him to purchase more land, or procure the means of subsistence for the people in some other way This case however is not likely to occur now, as, with the increase of manufactures, he can consign the supernumeraries to a manufacturer, or require them to pay him *obrok*, and give them passports to travel as labourers, artisans, carriers, etc.

The formation of a new tiaglo may be also a gain to the Commune. If the latter has more land than its members can cultivate by their own labour and with advantage, every increase of labour-power or tiaglos is a clear gain to the others, whose *corvées* are thereby reduced. The fathers of families themselves have generally the greatest interest in the marriage of their sons. It is the custom in Russia for the married sons not to establish a separate household, so long as the head of the family is living: every marriage therefore brings gain to the latter, who acquires a new share in the land * It

* In Western Europe, among the lower classes, a large family is a burden, to the Russian peasant it constitutes the greatest wealth the sons always bring an increase of land, and the daughters are so much

is true that he has to undertake an additional quantity of labour, but this is compensated by the services of the daughter-in-law, who, although she may bring no portion, and have nothing but her two hands, is always a welcome addition to the family. This is another instance of the favourable position of the female sex, even among the lower classes.

As marriage presents so many advantages to all parties, it usually takes place early, and celibacy is almost unheard of among the common people.. Until quite recent times boys were married so young, that, according to Wichelhausen, in his description of Moscow, vigorous women of four-and-twenty might frequently be seen carrying in their arms their betrothed husbands of six years of age!* The Government, I was told, had recently prohibited the marriage of boys before their eighteenth year, and the abuse seems now to have disappeared.

The facts here described constitute the basis of the Russian communal system, one of the most remarkable and interesting political institutions in existence, and which possesses great advantages for the social condition of the country The Communes present an organic coherence and compact social strength which can be found nowhere else, and yield the incalculable advantage that

sought after that a portion is rarely required Hence the vast increase of the population; and this would be still greater, if the children were not sacrificed in their infancy to extreme carelessness with regard to their food and management Russian marriages are very prolific, ten to twelve being the usual number of children, but scarcely a third reach maturity

* In these early marriages, where the disparity in age was so great, a scandalous state of things arose, the father usually cohabited with the daughter-in-law. By the time the boy had grown up, his wife was an old woman, and he did not live with her, but, like his predecessor, with the wife of his six-years-old son.

no proletariate can be formed so long as they exist with their present constitution. A man may lose or squander all he possesses, but his children do not inherit his poverty: they still retain their claim upon the land, by a right not derived from him, but from their birth as members of the Commune. On the other hand, it must be confessed that this fundamental element of the communal system, the equal division of the land, is not favourable to agriculture, which, under this system, might remain for a long time stationary. It is indeed doubtful whether it will be maintained, if intellectual culture should make any considerable progress among the peasants. Intelligent landlords, like M. Karnovitch, are unfavourable to it, and are of opinion that, if the principle be strictly acted upon, agriculture cannot advance. But the principle, although nowhere abandoned, has in recent times been extensively modified, and is no longer strictly carried out. The Russian peasants, who possess in general an acute understanding in what concerns their interests, have long since perceived the loss and inconvenience attending the strict observance of the system. I was assured, both by M Karnovitch and others of whom I made inquiries, that the annual division of the land is no longer practised. Various modifications of the principle no doubt occur in the different parts of Russia. In this District, and probably throughout the Government of Yaroslaf, the following system is adopted.

At certain periods a Census of the population is taken, for the purpose of adjusting the taxation and raising recruits. It is called the "Revision," and has taken place eight times since the reign of Peter I.—in about a hundred and thirty years. In the Revision year a new allot-

ment of the communal lands is enforced: if it were not rendered compulsory, the peasants, at least in this District, would not undertake it even at such long intervals. It is evident that they consider it inconvenient and disadvantageous, from the epithet which they apply to it, —"Tchorni peredèl," the black division. At the last Census the following was the mode of proceeding. The Communal surveyors measured, valued, and divided the land into shares,—in the Crown Communes according to the number of souls,* and in the Appanage and private Communes according to the number of tiaglos; and in each Commune, in order to provide for any increase of the population, several portions of land were set apart as a reserve. The shares were all made of a convenient shape, and the irregular pieces formed by roads, streams, ditches, etc, called *zapoloski*, were added to the reserve, and applied to the subsequent adjustment of claims The shares were then assigned by lot, and the reserve let out or otherwise made use of.

If then a boy is afterwards born, or a new tiaglo is formed, a portion is taken from the reserve. If any one dies, his share reverts to it, but for convenience sake the land which belonged to the father is assigned to the son, that existing farms may be altered as little as possible. This is a reason also why families often prefer remaining undivided on the same farm: nay, when the father dies, the eldest son frequently takes his place, and is treated with the same respect as the head of the family, the farm remaining intact. The division of the land therefore is not practically so unfavourable to the progress of agriculture as might be supposed.

* In all these statements relative to the Russian Communes, the word *soul* is synonymous with *male!*—TRANSL

It will be said, that if a man is not the proprietor of the land, or at all events has not the certain prospect of occupying it for a considerable number of years, he will undertake no improvements, nor invest any capital in its increased cultivation. We have shown however above that the occupiers are tolerably sure of remaining in possession from one Revision to another, *i. e.* from ten to fifteen years. Agricultural improvement however has hitherto received little attention in Russia.

In Western Europe and Germany the land itself does not generally constitute more than two-thirds of the value of the entire farm; the remaining one-third consists of agricultural implements and improvements. If therefore a farmer be not sure of retaining the land for a certain number of years, and at the end receiving back what he has spent in improvements, he may lose nearly one-third of his property. The cost of the manure, seed, and tillage he may lose entirely; the live-stock may be depreciated in value, and the implements rendered partly unnecessary or useless In Germany if an estate of three hundred acres of arable land, sixty acres of meadow, and six acres of garden-ground, be purchased on the 1st of June of any year, the price will be made up in somewhat the following manner:—

1	The bare ground	£2910
2	The meadow-land	1313
3	The garden	146
4	Manure, tillage-money, and seed	437
5	Meadow improvements	73
6	Fruit-tree and garden improvements	73
7	The cattle and farming-stock	874
8	The farm buildings	874
		£6700

If then the numbers 1, 2, and 3, amounting to £4369

in value, may be taken from me at any moment, I should incur the risk of losing entirely the items 4, 5, and 6, or £583; and in the items 7 and 8, amounting to £1748, I might suffer incalculable loss. But in Russia such calculations are not thought of. In the central parts of the empire, in the country of the "black soil," the fertility is so great that manure is not required; the land is ploughed only once, often indeed the surface is scarcely disturbed · thus but little capital is required for tillage and manure, and in abundant years seed-corn costs only about tenpence a bushel Meadow improvements are rare, and fruit-trees are hardly anywhere to be seen. Sheep are seldom reared among the peasantry, cattle only to a limited extent, and horses are cheap In the Government of Yaroslaf the usual price of a good farm-horse is from £2. 5*s* to £2 15*s*. A Russian peasant builds his house entirely without assistance, and obtains the timber gratis from the woods of his Commune: the whole cost is scarcely fifteen shillings Thus in the greater part of Russia the capital invested in agriculture is hardly worth taking into account; permanency of occupation is therefore by no means of the same importance as in the rest of Europe

Generally speaking, in the greater part of the empire the soil has very little value in itself. Here it is valued only as a basis for human industry. Until the last few years it was customary to make contracts, sales, donations, and bequests, with reference merely to the number of peasant families,—in such or such a village so many peasants were sold, bequeathed, etc.; the land was regarded only as an appendage to the human beings upon it. Whether the value of land will increase, or, in other words, whether agriculture will flourish, is a question

which the future alone can answer; but I fear that for some time to come the answer will be unfavourable. I have shown above that agriculture and manufactures are at present not in harmony with each other: the former will not flourish while it yields such small profits, and the profits will continue to be small until the artificially created manufactures are brought back to their natural limits, or until the increase of the population produces a superfluity of working hands. In the rest of Europe manufactures employ only the labour which is not required in agriculture, whereas in Russia the labour devoted to agriculture is only that which cannot be employed in manufactures

Equal partition of the land amongst the members of the Communes is, I am persuaded, adapted to the entire social condition of the country, and to its present degree of civilization; and it involves no principle necessarily opposed to progress. If the peasants be left to themselves, and not compelled, even at the Census, to resort to the "black division," they will show themselves quite capable of promoting their own interests. They have already introduced useful modifications of the original principle, and will discover any others that may be necessary Here, if anywhere, we would warn against too much unnecessary government *

We see, at present, three distinct principles prevailing with regard to the possession of land in Europe. In three countries they are distinctly marked, and in the others they exist in a modified form.

* The German colonists of Saratof brought with them their own customs affecting the inheritance of landed property, and these were not only sanctioned, but prescribed, by the Russian Government. But the Russian principle of equal partition appeared to them so advantageous, that they solicited and at length obtained permission to adopt it.

In England we find this principle:—The land must be divided as little as possible, and only so many hands devoted to agriculture as are absolutely necessary; for in this way alone can it be energetically prosecuted, and maintained in a flourishing condition. The whole country therefore is cultivated by means of large (though not overgrown) farms, which have the advantage of providing work the whole year for all the hands employed upon them, and no labour is lost. Lasting improvements can only be effected upon large farms.

The consequence of this system is, that agriculture is nowhere carried on in such perfection, and maintained in so flourishing a condition, as in England. Nowhere are there so many cattle, and consequently so much manure produced. Scarcely a third of the population in England is employed in agriculture; but not a tenth part has any property in the soil, or even a house.

The second principle is represented by France. It was first regularly constituted and consolidated there in consequence of a terrible Revolution. The principle is this:—Agriculture is a free-trade employment, and therefore all the land must be divisible; every man must be able to acquire it; in other words, the land must be a commodity, and pass like coin from hand to hand. It is in consequence subdivided into innumerable small properties. The number of landed estates in England may be considered to amount to 400,000, and consequently there should, in proportion to the geographical extent of France, be about 1,400,000 in the latter country; but in 1831 there were not less than 10,404,121, consequently twenty-six times the number. More than two-thirds of the population are engaged in agriculture. I will introduce an anecdote regarding the consequences

of this, related by the English traveller Arthur Young. He met upon the road in France a peasant, who was carrying four fowls. On being asked where he was going, the peasant answered, to the town four leagues distant, in order to sell his hens. Young then asked how much he expected to receive for them. *Answer.* Perhaps twenty-four sous. *Question.* How much wages he received when working with anybody? *A.* Twenty-four sous also. *Q.* Why then did not he rather remain at home, where he could still earn twenty-four sous, and keep, or even eat, his fowls? *A.* He received twenty-four sous wages when he worked, but he could find no work. In his village everybody had a house, garden, and plot of ground, which employed them for little more than a quarter of the year, they had very little other employment, and nobody required the assistance of other labourers.

This anecdote affords us a glance into the condition of France. Agriculture does not employ the people sufficiently, when they can find no other occupation. A great loss of labour thus ensues Agriculture on so small a scale yields also too small a profit for any important or lasting improvements to be effected Garden or spade husbandry may flourish, but not agriculture; cattle are wanting, and consequently manure, the basis of all progress. Arthur Young says therefore, very justly, —In France the good soil is excellently cultivated, the middling seldom, the bad not at all. If we compare France with England, we shall find that, notwithstanding its average superior soil, it cannot vie with the latter in agriculture. Nearly half the cultivated land in England is devoted to the support of the cattle, whereas in France hardly a tenth part is thus used The great importance

of this large number of cattle to the cultivation of the land is manifest: the subsistence of the people consists, in England one-half of animal food, in France of only one-fourth. According to the Ministerial Report of 1812, hardly nineteen pounds of meat per head could be reckoned as the yearly food of the country population in France; but in England it is rated at not less than two hundred and twenty pounds.

Germany stands intermediate between England and France. It has neither the system of complete fixity of tenure and indivisibility which prevails in landed property in England, nor the opposite system which prevails in France. The larger estates here are mostly indivisible, partly by law and partly by custom. In the case of small properties the system varies in different places: in some districts they are as free and divisible as in France, in others they are only divisible among the inhabitants of the parish, in others, again, one part is divisible, another consists of indivisible peasants' properties, and another still (though rarely) is all indivisible. Ancient custom, together with the different principles of government in the various countries, the nature of the soil, the difference of cultivation, and the natural and gradually constituted interests of the people, have called forth and formed this state of things, which, on the whole, may be considered a favourable one. Agriculture in general does not stand so high in Germany as in England, but much higher than in France.

The third principle is represented by Russia. France has the principle of divisibility of the soil: Russia goes much further; it divides it constantly. France represents the principle of free competition, and considers all the land as a commodity which every one can acquire

with money: Russia gives the right to every one of her sons to participate in the usufruct of the land, in perfect equality in each Commune. In France the land is the private property of the individual: in Russia it is the property of the people, and their microcosm the Commune, the individual having only a right to the usufruct in common with all the rest. That agriculture cannot attain so high a degree under this system as in England, or even in Germany, must be allowed; but in our opinion it might attain the degree which it has reached in France, if some other conditions of social progress were fulfilled, and certain obstacles removed, as we have shown above.

In considering the social condition of Russia, which we have glanced at rather than examined in detail, we cannot fail to be struck with the remarkable points of comparison which it offers to the dreams of some of the modern political sects, particularly the St Simonians and Communists The social state however which they imagine to be the highest development of the human race, can never be established upon the bases of their doctrines, because these are unchristian, untrue, and atheistical; it would be to build upon sand, and anarchy would be the certain consequence of the attempt. But I deny that such an order of things, apart from the principles upon which these sectaries would erect it, is in itself unchristian and unreasonable, and therefore impossible: the present condition of Russia is a proof, that a political and social State and a Christian monarchy may coexist with such institutions.

The St. Simonians would abolish all private property in land, and the right of inheriting it, substituting only a life interest in its place. In Russia this arrangement

actually exists. Among the people, individuals have usually no property in land, not even a certain and fixed occupation; they have only a claim to the usufruct; there can therefore be no inheritance.* The principles however which lie at the base of this social condition are different from those upon which the St. Simonians would establish their modern polity: they are completely national, and adapted to a Christian monarchy.

According to St. Simon, the land belongs to the Spirit of Humanity, as the God of the earth. Every man is a temporary emanation from this Deity; and therefore, so long as he exists as an individual in the world, and has not yet flowed back into the universal spirit, he has a right to a certain amount of what the earth produces. This right however is wholly personal; he cannot bequeath it to his children, for these, like all past and future generations, are emanations, and have merely a personal, not an inherited, claim to a portion of the earth's produce.

The Russians, on the other hand, say that the earth belongs to the Creator, and has been granted by Him to Adam and his descendants. Successive generations inherited the possession; and as their numbers increased they occupied a greater extent of the earth's surface, which they shared under the Divine guidance in the world's history. The country now called Russia fell to

* To this it may be objected, that nearly half the cultivated land is in the hereditary possession of the nobles. The popular traditions however express a different conviction. The serf says, "I belong to my master, but the land is annexed to me, for my master can neither sell nor inherit me without the land" Russian statesmen also regard the serfs as servants of the soil, which must provide for their maintenance: if a master remove a serf from the land, he must maintain him in some other way. The fact too is, that the land is divided in the serf Communes upon the same principle as in the free and Crown Communes.

the progenitor of the Russians, and his descendants, remaining united under the head of their race, and thus constituting a people, spread over the territory which has thus by the providence of God become their property. The disposal of it, as in a family, belongs to the father, the head of the race, the Czar: an individual has a right to share in it only so long as he lives in unity with the Czar and his people. The soil is the joint property of the national family, and the father or Czar has the sole disposal of it, and distributes it among the families into which the nation has in the course of time been divided. A joint occupancy of the whole could only exist while the people led a nomadic life: when they became settled, a portion was assigned to each family, which occupied its share under a separate head. The right of the family thus arose in a manner quite analogous to that of the nation. The property is a family property, belonging equally but undivided to all the members of the family,—the father having the disposal and distribution of the produce If a member insists on a division, he receives his portion, but loses all claim upon the joint possession; he is paid off and excluded, and thenceforth constitutes a new family. The families thus remained for many generations under their respective heads, and became family Communes: hence arose the communal rights.

The Commune is still considered in law to form a family. If a stranger comes to reside in a village, he is adopted. Every member has an equal claim upon the joint and undivided communal property; the distribution of the produce rests with the fathers, the "Whiteheads," or the Starosta (Elder). A member cannot possess private property in the land, and therefore cannot

bequeath it; but his sons, by virtue of their birth into the family, have an immediate right to a share in the joint property and its usufruct.

According to St. Simon, the individual, as an emanation from the God of the earth, has a joint right to the possessions of the whole earth. With the Russian people, the individual, as a son of the Czar, as a Russian, and member of the Commune, has a joint right to Russia, which has been granted by God to the Russian people, and particularly to the property of the family or Commune to which he belongs

I refrain from any further comparison in detail; but, as I have already done, shall notice such other points of comparison as they may occur

Russia has thus nothing to fear from the revolutionary tendencies which threaten the rest of Europe. Its own internal healthy organization protects it against pauperism, and the doctrines of communism and socialism. In the other modern states, pauperism and proletarianism are the festering sores to which the present condition of society has given birth. Can they be healed? The communistic doctors propose, as a preliminary step, the destruction of the present organization, as new buildings can best be erected upon a *tabula rasa*. But death never produces life. One thing however is certain, if these people succeed in carrying out their schemes, the result will be not a political but a social revolution, a war against all property, and complete anarchy. Will new states then be constituted, and upon what basis, moral and social? Who can raise the veil of the future? and what course will Russia then take? A Russian proverb says, "I sit upon the shore, and wait for the wind!"

After this long digression, which seemed necessary for the complete understanding of the internal relations and constitution of Russia, I return to my narrative.

The peasants in this part of the Government of Yaroslaf practise the simple three-course husbandry. From the end of June to the beginning of August the winter-field is supplied with manure, which frequently lies four to six weeks before it is ploughed in. The land is then broken up with the heavy plough, and harrowed; the winter corn is sown, and the soil afterwards turned over with the light fork-plough (*sokha*). The summer-field is not ploughed again in the autumn by the peasants, but this occurs sometimes on estates where a better system of cultivation has been introduced. The summer seed-time is over by the middle of May. In the field-labour an almost military order prevails. On the same day, at the same hour, the peasants all proceed to their ploughing, etc., and return home in the same manner: this regularity is not compulsory, but arises spontaneously from their social and imitative disposition: the influence of communal life is everywhere manifest.

In the township of Velikoye Selo the wealthiest of the inhabitants are linen-manufacturers; agriculture is left to the poor, and is in a very rude state. In order to retain the stubble-fields for pasturage as long as possible, as well as on account of the short summer and the inferior breed of horses, the land is ploughed only once,—immediately after manuring and before sowing. Complaints are made that the meadows are either too dry, or marshy and sour; but neither drainage nor irrigation has been attempted, although the soil presents no difficulties. If the proprietors of the estates, including the Crown, were to unite for the purpose of forming a combined system

of irrigation, they would find it to be an improvement which even in this country would be decidedly remunerative: the expense would be small, and the advantage great and enduring; the stock of cattle would increase, and agriculture be thereby improved. At the present time hay is comparatively dearer than other agricultural products; its price this year (1843) was forty copeks a pood (£1. 2*s*. 6*d*. a ton), but in years of scarcity it is as much as a hundred and twenty copeks The rearing of cattle and sheep is but little attended to, and the horned cattle are inferior. The horses of the peasants are small, but the landowners and richer class of peasants possess a larger and stronger breed, which sell at from £8 to £10 each. At M. Karnovitch's we saw two capital stallions, bred by himself. The peasants frequently buy horses in the spring, and, for want of winter fodder, sell them after the harvest to the carriers and drivers (*Yemstchiks*), who require them chiefly in winter.

A considerable quantity of hemp and flax is grown in these districts; but, in consequence of the increased cultivation of the latter in the Government of Vologda, its price here has fallen as much as one-third. Potatoes have only been introduced about five years among the peasants, as they considered the cultivation of them sinful; these people are now however becoming accustomed to them, and on the nobles' estates they are even used as food for cattle.

The forests are not under any regular management: those belonging to proprietors who live upon their estates are, to some extent, protected; but in the villages which pay *obrok* they are given up to the unrestrained use of the peasants, who cut down the trees recklessly, and a scarcity of wood begins already to be felt. This

is also the case on the Crown estates; and the Minister of Domains is now making an attempt to establish some means of protecting the forests.

May 10.—We went early this morning, with our excellent host, to pay a visit to the pope of the village, who had invited us to take coffee with him. I afterwards frequently visited village popes, and found their houses generally mean and dirty, often more so than those of the peasants, their wives and children too, from their dirty appearance and vulgar manners, produced a peculiarly disagreeable impression. Here all was different: the house was neat and comfortable, and exhibited an almost Dutch cleanliness The parlour, with its well-scoured floor and good windows, contained old-fashioned but substantial European furniture, the walls, made of logs laid one upon another and jointed together, were without paper or plaster, but smoothly polished, almost like wainscot, which gave to the place a warm and comfortable appearance. In the room hung portraits of the pope's father, who had also been the priest of this village, and of his mother, taken at different periods of their lives, at twenty-five, and again at sixty years of age. In one corner was the usual picture of the Virgin, with a lamp burning before it, and against the wall there was a small collection of books, comprising works on divinity and church history, a few French books, and a Russian translation of Klopstock's 'Messiah.' The expression of the pope's features indicated shrewdness, refinement, and good feeling: and his curly and parted hair, and long violet silk robe, reaching to the ankles, gave him quite a dignified appearance, reminding one of a learned Benedictine. He had also received a superior education, and understood French very well, but had learnt it only

from the grammar and dictionary, as a dead language; he could read and translate it easily and correctly, but was quite ignorant of the pronunciation. If we read French out of a book, or spoke to him in that language, he did not understand a word, nor did we understand him when he spoke to us. His name was Nikolai Ivanovitch Rosof, and he had been many years curate of this place,—a widower for twenty years, and beloved and revered as a father by the whole Commune. There was something touching in the quiet satisfaction he found in his unassuming but useful life. Peace seemed to rest upon this humble dwelling, and the kindly servant of God who inhabited it.

On our return we observed a number of children going toward our host's house, and, on inquiry, we found that he had established a school in it for the children of his domestics and peasants. He was too modest to mention this before, and we learnt it only at the moment of our departure. There were about twenty children, of both sexes, from seven to thirteen years of age. The pope, and the blind son of one of the peasants, educated by him, gave instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic. My companion, Herr von S——, examined the children, and they could read even his somewhat difficult handwriting. Upon the walls hung several maps, which M. Karnovitch said he had placed there to see whether any of the children would of their own accord ask for information about them: this had occurred several times, and when he found that a desire for knowledge was excited, he provided further instruction

Our host afterwards accompanied us to another estate belonging to him, Talitza, where he had established large linen bleaching-works, which already began to be of

some importance. In the preceding year about 70,000 arshines of linen had been bleached. We saw some tablecloths, brought from Moscow, and a very fine piece of linen from Velikoye Selo, the price of which was four roubles an arshine (4*s.* 6*d.* a yard), and the quality little inferior to good Dutch linen. Generally speaking the linen manufactured by the peasants is said to be firmer than that which comes from Velikoye Selo, where the ordinary manufacturing system with purchased yarn prevails to a greater extent Two German superintendents from Bielefeld, in Westphalia, had the management of this bleaching establishment. The wages given to the soapers, who have the hardest part of the work (soaping usually seventy arshines a day), are two and a half copeks the arshine, or 1*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d* daily.

Here we took leave of our kind host, to whom we were indebted for so much information, and returned to Yaroslaf.

On the morning of the 19th of May, accompanied by the President of Domains, we set off on a visit to the celebrated commercial city of Ribinsk, on the Volga. About ten o'clock we arrived at the town of Romanof Borisoglebsk, a well-known Commune of smiths. The inhabitants are nearly all of this trade, and also manufacture steam-boilers. On the other side of the Volga lies the village of Borisoglebsk, a wealthy Commune of curriers. In the town we visited a manufactory of horsehair-cloth: the workmen were serfs, and paid an *obrok* of sixty roubles (£2. 15*s.*) a year; they earned, according to their ability, from 8*d.* to 1*s.* 4*d.* a day.

We afterwards passed through Manievskoi, where I made some inquiries relative to the division of the land, and was informed that in this Commune the re-allotment

takes place only at the Revision. If a family dies out, or leaves the place (which is not an unusual circumstance in districts near the Volga), the share reverts to the Commune, by whom it is let out until a new division is necessary. When the head of a family dies, and the children wish to separate, the household is broken up; the eldest son receives the house, on payment of a sum of money; each of the daughters receives one-fourteenth of the property, the widow one-seventh, and the remainder is equally divided among the sons. These separations of families however are always regarded as misfortunes.

A PEASANT'S HOUSE, AT ROMANOF

In the villages at which we stopped we were much annoyed by beggars. On the private estates begging is not openly practised, being forbidden by the proprietors, who consider it disgraceful for their serfs to beg; but in the Crown Communes it is, like all other trades in Russia, freely permitted. There are entire villages, and even wealthy ones, the inhabitants of which live by begging; each has his beggar costume, and in spring they set out on their travels, one or more from every family, divide

the country into districts, meet at appointed places to make arrangements, and return home in the autumn, to spend the money during the winter with their families.

Ribinsk is fifty-four miles from Yaroslaf, and is the centre of the internal trade of Russia. All the various products brought by the Volga and its tributary streams, and destined for St. Petersburg, have here to be re-embarked in smaller vessels, to be sent on by the canals. These commodities arrive here in 1700 or 1800 large vessels, and are re-laden upon 6000 barges and boats, and thus sent on to St. Petersburg; the value of the commodities is said to amount to forty or fifty million roubles. Before the formation of the canals which unite St. Petersburg with the Volga, Ribinsk was an insignificant *sloboda*, or township, whose inhabitants paid an *obrok* either in fish or money. When it rose to the rank of a city the *obrok* was remitted, and the inhabitants now pay only the usual poll-tax to the Crown, in addition to the town rates, which amount to 50,000 or 60,000 roubles. At the present time it contains more than six hundred merchants, of the three guilds. The retail trade is carried on by the small Burghers (Meshtchane) and the Raznotchintzi, a class between the burghers and peasants. The latter generally carry on trade in the name of some merchant In order to be enrolled in one of the merchant guilds, it is only necessary to make a declaration, and engage to pay the taxes imposed by the Government upon the different classes. A merchant of the first guild pays about £400 (2500 silver roubles) a year; one of the second guild, £88 (550 roubles), and one of the third guild £32 (200 roubles). The guilds have different privileges; only those of the first guild are allowed to engage in foreign trade, and to enter into contracts of

unlimited amount; those of the second guild can only engage in contracts to the extent of 50,000 roubles.

The next morning we made the acquaintance of a wealthy merchant, who was said to possess several million roubles: he was a genuine Russian, with a beard and parted hair, and a long blue kaftan. His house however was luxuriously furnished in the European style. The son, who was married, was elegantly dressed in the modern fashion, with smoothly shaven chin, but not half so good-looking as the old man. The latter presented me with a small work, written by himself, on Rybinsk and its commerce, full of unreliable statistics, but containing some useful information. We went with him to the newly-built Exchange, but found very few persons there. Our elder friend informed us that the genuine Russian merchants could not accustom themselves to this new arrangement: the talking and bustle, he said, were uncongenial to their quiet, silent, and observant disposition; they still transacted all their most important business at the *Traktir* (*restaurant*), where they met to drink tea, and settle their affairs quietly and privately. We paid a visit to the large *Traktir* near the Exchange, and found the great merchants of the place seated on benches ranged along the walls of the room, stiff and motionless, grave, silent,—sipping their tea, perspiring, and now and then whispering a word to each other. Although more than a hundred were assembled in the room, there was certainly not so much noise as in the taproom of a German beer-house when ten people are collected together. A musical clock (an article which is always to be seen in a Russian *restaurant*) played 'Di tanti palpiti,' and one might have fancied these worthy bearded Russians were speaking thus in a

whisper not to mar the effect of such delicious music. It is said that when business is unusually brisk, fifty pounds of tea are consumed in this place daily.

From the *Traktir* we went to see the shipping on the Volga, which is here as broad as the Elbe at Magdeburg. Although it was yet early in the season, there was a complete forest of masts. In summer the craft of various kinds are so numerous, that a person may pass from vessel to vessel, on planks, from one bank to another. The Belozersk boats, called *karbassi*, are distinguished by their cleanliness and elegance of form. In others we admired the peculiar and pretty arabesque carving on the outside, executed by the sailors in their leisure hours with their axe, assisted by a common pocket-knife or small chisel: these are the only tools they ever use. The taste for ornament is very prevalent among the Great Russians, and indicates a high capacity for civilization. In all the boats we visited we found Bibles, histories of saints, and prayer-books in the old Slavonic language; a sailor gave me one of the latter, containing manuscript prayers We were told that these sailors were Raskolniki (ancient believers), who can only read and perfectly understand the old Slavonic, but not the modern printed Russian. We heard a boatman's song from a vessel passing up the river: the voice was clear, soft, and mellow; the air plaintive and melancholy, and in a minor key. On the opposite bank were a number of storehouses and sheds, for the reception of the merchandise: they were constructed merely of spars, logs, and posts, the roofs and covering of the walls being formed of bast matting. A number of men were employed in carpentry. We saw a young man cut out with his axe, merely measuring it by his eye, an hexa-

gonal hole six inches in width and depth. When he had finished, we examined it, and found all the sides exactly equal, and the angles correct; it was a perfectly regular, mathematical figure, which none of us could have drawn without rule and compass. Another lad who had made several incorrect attempts in cutting, seeing us smile, said ironically, "Ay, the Crown grindstones are always bad!"

At the *Traktir*, where we dined, a kind of guitar hung upon the wall, called a *torban*, with twenty-seven to thirty-six strings; there was no one present who could play it.

The resident population of Ribinsk is only about 6000, but in summer the number is increased to 130,000 by the people who come hither on business; it is said however that the female population never exceeds 2500. What a singular state of things, and how difficult for us West Europeans to understand! The majority of this great concourse consists of hired labourers, who are attracted hither and find employment in the shipping and commerce. Among these is an interesting class called *Burlaki*, whose occupation is to tow the vessels on the river. They are a robust and active race of men, and have formed themselves into communes and *artells*, with leaders, Starostas, and masters, whom they elect; they are mostly from the districts bordering the Volga, but some come as far as from the Government of Riazan. For the journey from Samara to Ribinsk (a distance of 650 miles, but not less than a thousand by the river), a Burlak receives seventy roubles (£3. 3*s*.); for the journey from Nizhni Novgorod (perhaps 460 miles), fifty roubles, or £2. 5*s*. The time in which these distances are performed varies greatly, as accidents frequently happen on the way. the passage from Nizhni Novgorod to Ribinsk occupies from a fortnight to six weeks. A Burlak, when

fortunate, can perform the journey between Samara and Ribinsk three times in the course of a summer; he has then perhaps £3 left; but if, through adverse circumstances, he only makes the trip twice, he generally consumes all he earns. Small boats, provided by the owner, are attached to each barge, and in these the Burlaks make the return voyage to Nizhni Novgorod in three days.

The presence of such an immense assemblage of people, in a place by no means large, frequently causes a temporary rise in the price of provisions; and this, we were told, is often taken advantage of by the merchants, ship-owners, and corn-dealers, to defraud the labourers and poorer classes, by usurious advances of money, etc. Many have expressed a wish for the establishment of depôts, where corn and flour might be obtained at fixed prices, and the hire of labour, both of man and horse, be regulated by the market value of those articles. The Russian police is able to maintain order and prevent or discover crime, but, except perhaps in the capitals, it has hitherto been of little use as a protector of the people

There are some pretty promenades in the town, and we walked about until late in the evening The quay is paved with beautiful slabs of granite, and enclosed with a cast-iron railing in the north of Russia iron and granite are seen everywhere We met many pilots, and were told that they came from the village of Koprino, which is inhabited solely by this class

At about nine o'clock in the evening we left Ribinsk, and arrived at Yaroslaf the following morning On our first journey I remarked that the fields were partly enclosed, and a better system of cultivation prevailed in this district than in any other I had traversed; this is explained by the vicinity of the river. The villages on the road were mostly small, and the houses and farm-

steads stood more apart, and not so much in streets as is usually the case

May 21.—We passed this and part of the following day at Yaroslaf, in company with the Governor and the President of Domains, and visited some of the manufactories, among the rest an old-established one, conducted upon the plan introduced by Peter I The workpeople are paid by the piece for weaving shirt-linen they receive six copeks per arshine (28 inches), and a woman can with ease weave from ten to twelve arshines in a day. For weaving table-linen a man is paid one rouble ten copeks per arshine, and can earn two roubles a day A man who was weaving towelling told us he could produce from four to five arshines, and was paid thirty-four copeks per arshine A bushel of corn costs from tenpence to a shilling, and I believe that, compared with the price of food, the wages of labour are nowhere so high as in Russia It is usual here to mix cotton with the linen.

This factory has a church, a school for the children of the workpeople, a dispensary, and an hospital The proprietors possess retail shops at Yaroslaf, Nizhni Novgorod, and Moscow, the business however has considerably declined, owing to increased competition, the improvements in manipulation and machinery, and the flourishing state of the cotton manufacture, which has led to a depression in the linen-trade throughout the country · to these causes may be added the continual rise of wages, which makes the workpeople seek employment where they can obtain higher remuneration This factory has passed by inheritance into the hands of thirty-three proprietors, and cannot legally be divided : the partners being so numerous, the business, as might be expected, is conducted with little energy.

CHAPTER V

OBSERVATIONS ON THE GOVERNMENT OF YAROSLAF —RACE —MANUFACTURES —AGRICULTURE —LARGE ESTATES —MANUFACTURING COMMUNES —EUROPEAN MANUFACTURING SYSTEM —EFFECTS OF ITS INTRODUCTION —STATISTICS —DEFICIENCY OF CORN —SUPPLY OF LABOUR —TRAVELLING ARTISANS —ARTISAN COMMUNITIES —CONTRACTORS.—RETAIL TRADING.—FAIRS —SALARIES OF OFFICIALS IN THE TOWN OF YAROSLAF.

THE Government of Yaroslaf may be regarded as the nucleus of that portion of the Empire which is inhabited by the Great Russians. The soil, particularly in the northern and north-western districts, is not fertile, and the climate, although clear and healthy, is severe; but the situation, on the banks of the Volga, and traversed by several streams, is favourable, and the inhabitants are acknowledged to be the handsomest and most robust in Great Russia For the study of the condition of the Empire, which I have laid down as the object of my travels, this province is one of the most interesting.

Here, as I have said, is to be found a robust race, with a strongly marked nationality, contending with the rigour of the climate and the poverty of the soil, and therefore from the earliest times devoted to industrial employments; recently they have been dragged into the vortex of the modern manufacturing system. It is

calculated that the soil yields only three times the quantity of seed sown. Its natural infertility might be much improved by manure, and a greater application of industry, but the efforts of a few landowners in this respect have been little imitated, and by the peasants not at all. The reason is obvious. trade and commerce of all kinds pay well, while agriculture yields no profit on the capital and labour spent upon it

We must not apply the same measure here as in judging of the relations of southern and western countries, such as France, England, and Central Germany. In these northern districts agriculture, irrespective of the fertility of the soil, costs more labour than in the south, and yields therefore a smaller net profit. The most important part of agriculture, the cultivation of the ground and reaping of the crop, is spread over a much longer period in these southern districts, and consequently, in regard to the labour employed, is much cheaper than here. This labour is, for instance, at Orléans, Mainz, and in the countries on the Danube, spread over seven months; whilst here, on account of the short summer, it has to be concluded in four months For the work therefore which can be performed in the former on ground of a certain extent and fertility with four men and four horses, seven men and seven horses are here required. Suppose I possess an estate at Mainz of six hundred acres of arable land and meadows, I should require for its cultivation four teams of horses, eight men and six women-servants, and perhaps one thousand five hundred days' work from independent day-labourers. The expenses incurred for the labour of men and beasts would thus amount to £510, which being deducted from the gross returns upon the estate (£1240), would leave a

clear net revenue of £730. But in the case of an estate of equal size and fertility north of the Volga, supposing the average prices of agricultural products and all other circumstances were the same, its cultivation would require, merely on account of the climate, about seven teams of horses, fourteen men, ten women, and two thousand one hundred days' work from independent day-labourers, and the net revenue would only amount to £380, instead of £730 This disproportion would be adjusted, if in winter, when the labours of the field are concluded, the animals and more expensive kinds of labour could be disposed of, the expense would be the same, whether four teams of horses had to be maintained seven months, or seven teams four months But this is scarcely possible in a single case, and never in a whole district Many kinds of agricultural labour, too, can be carried on during the winter in the south, which are impossible in the north. If we consider also the relatively low prices of agricultural products, the distance from markets, the scanty population, and consequent high price of labour,—likewise that the German and French horses are much stronger and more enduring, and that the Russian labourers cannot be compared with the Germans,—it is manifest that the greatest part of the above net revenue will be absorbed. We have also assumed that the estate at Yaroslaf possesses land of equal fertility with that in the plains of Mainz; but the latter would yield six to seven times, whereas the one at Yaroslaf would hardly yield three times, the seed.

It is clear therefore that, if an estate in Yaroslaf were offered to any one, on condition that he should manage and cultivate it in the same manner as in Central Europe, he would refuse it. Not only would he derive no

advantage and receive no income from it, but he would lose a considerable sum of money every year.

Thus in these northern districts agriculture cannot be pursued on large estates as a profitable speculation: nor can it be abandoned, for it is absolutely necessary, and in an inland country alone supplies the means of subsistence for man and beast.

Under present circumstances I should say, that large proprietary farms can only exist in these districts in two ways; either as *corvée* establishments, where the landowner has not himself to maintain labourers, etc. (in other words, to pay none of the farming expenses), or as ordinary farms with hired workmen and cattle, but united with manufacturing industry, by means of which the labour not required for agriculture might be constantly and profitably employed.

That there should be a certain number of large agricultural establishments in these districts I consider absolutely necessary. Without them no progress in agriculture (which is more needed in Russia than is generally acknowledged) can be imagined. But if the existence of these large estates is necessary for the improvement of agriculture, and the consequent welfare of the people, serfage cannot yet be abolished, it may however be regulated by law, with fixed amounts of labour and limitation of the landowners' power, such as the ukase of September 2nd contemplated

In some parts of Europe, and also of Russia, a peasant cannot hesitate to bestow his labour upon the land, because there is no other way in which he can employ it. in such a case he cannot speak of loss, however much labour he may expend, the smallest advantage is better than none, and the case mentioned by Arthur Young

then occurs. But in the Government of Yaroslaf the labour of the peasant has a high pecuniary value, in consequence of the flourishing state of the manufactures.

Agricultural operations can only be carried on in the four summer months: during this period all the labour is employed, but in the remaining eight months, as far as regards agriculture, it is completely at rest. The consequence has been, from the earliest times, a remarkable development of manufacturing industry, as well in the country as the towns The situation has always been favourable: we find that even in the Middle Ages there was a flourishing trade; and this has been enormously augmented since St. Petersburg was made the principal commercial city of the Empire By the comprehensive plan of Peter I. St. Petersburg was brought into connection with the Volga and all its tributary streams by means of three admirable systems of canals. These canals enter the Volga at Ribinsk; and, as it is necessary to reship all the goods into the canal boats, this formerly insignificant place has become the largest *entrepôt* in the Empire, and the centre of industry for the Government of Yaroslaf

This industry was originally applied only to the raw produce of the district, which was converted into manufactures and carried to market by the inhabitants and producers in the eight winter months, during which agriculture left them at leisure. This industrial tendency sprang chiefly from the natural disposition of the people: they are brisk, lively, active, full of talent for invention and imitation, acquisitive, and fond of trading.* But the im-

* That the genius of the people is the chief cause of their commercial activity is evident from the fact, that the Finnish races—the Tchuvash and Tcheremiss—although dwelling on the Volga and mingling with the Russians, are still without trade.

pulse was greatly strengthened by the institution of serfage. The majority of the serfs in this Government have always been *obrok* and not *corvée* peasants; the interest of the masters themselves led to this arrangement even in early times, as it was extremely convenient for the indolent nobles living in the towns. This circumstance gave an extraordinary stimulus to manufacturing industry. Agriculture yielded only a bare subsistence, but no profit, and money had to be procured for the payment of the *obrok*. The raw products fetched low prices, but all manufactured articles high ones (a fact which still holds good throughout Russia, and must always be kept in view). Thus these raw products were converted into commodities; and carpenters, wheelwrights, makers of wooden shoes, bast-weavers, tar-boilers, boat-builders, spinners and weavers of linen and sailcloth, ropemakers, saddlers, curriers, and shoemakers, brought to market their various articles in wood, hemp, flax, and leather. These artisans however did not live scattered amongst the population, working only for the supply of the immediate wants of a neighbourhood. they worked together as in a factory, and produced articles for the markets; and in this way the remarkable spirit of association, which I have so often alluded to, was developed, grounded upon the organization of the Russian Communes.

In other countries those persons devote themselves to a particular occupation who have a taste or an aptitude for it in Russia it is understood that everybody has a taste and a talent for every calling There is indeed much truth in this, for the aptitude Russians display, almost without exception, for all kinds of handicraft, is nearly incredible. In general the wandering Russian tries his hand at various occupations, feeling himself dis-

posed and fitted for them all, and then adopts the one which seems to promise the greatest amount of profit.

The various trades have in this manner mostly formed themselves into separate Communes: for instance, all the inhabitants of one village are shoemakers, those of another are smiths, of a third curriers, etc. This arrangement possesses great advantages. As the Russians are accustomed to live together in large families, often two generations at a time, the division of labour takes place naturally which is so essential to manufacturing industry. The members of the artisan Communes also constantly assist each other with their capital and labour, purchases and sales are transacted in common, and they send their commodities together to the markets and towns, where they have shops for the sale of them they do not form exclusive corporations, like those of the German artisans, but their associations are open to all, and the members are united only by the bonds of communal life. Every one is at liberty to assume a profession, or to give it up, commence another, and enter a Commune where his new occupation is carried on This however is seldom the case, as a change would not often be advantageous, but no restraint is imposed by any of the communal regulations They are voluntary associations of manufacturers, and again remind us of the St Simonian theories

The manufactures, carried on in this manner, yield great advantages to the population, and this Government, to which Nature has shown so little favour, enjoys great prosperity. But if it be asked, whether the arrangements above described have led to any improvement, either in the cultivation of the soil or in the various trades and employments, it must be confessed that there is little cause to boast. The manufactured ar-

ticles are for the most part indifferent in quality, being slightly or carelessly made, and they remain always at the same stage of imperfection. However advantageous the result may be for the artisans, it can give little satisfaction to the public who purchase their articles. Economically however these artisan Communes are of immense importance, for, without material injury to agriculture, the labour which the latter cannot employ is turned to a useful purpose. It appears to me that the Government ought to have done everything to encourage this tendency in the people. it has however neglected it, and taken no interest in the subject; whilst, instead, it has introduced the manufacturing system of Western Europe into the country, fostering and protecting it to the utmost Instead of the peasants being encouraged to improve and develope the national associative industry, the nobles have been induced to become manufacturers, and to establish factories on the foreign plan

With the natural submissiveness and docility of the people, why might not manufactures, such as that of cotton for instance, have been established in some of the Crown villages? Instructors and superintendents from England and Germany would have been necessary, it is true, but these are already to be found in the factories established by the nobles The machinery, and buildings to contain it, might have been erected by the Crown, which, in order to secure the interest on the capital, could have fixed the price of the yarn, and looms might have been given to the people, together with instruction in the use of them. but the trade should then have been left to the old Russian communal associations Much tutoring and compulsory obedience would doubtless have been necessary at first; but, with the versatility and dexterity

so characteristic of the common people of this country, difficulties would speedily have disappeared, and the new manufactures would soon have amalgamated with the old national ones. The remarkable aptitude of the people for all kinds of industrial occupation is shown by the fact, that a great number of the modern manufactories have been established and are conducted by Russian peasants who can neither read nor write, and who are quite self-taught in their business. Some of the largest, most able, and wealthiest manufacturers in Russia belong to this class, such as Gutchkof of Moscow, and Tchukof of St. Petersburg.

To this it is objected, that the manufacturing system of Western Europe is the result of long experience and practice, and the creation of a higher state of civilization than is generally to be found in Russia. Why then, it is said, should not the Russians borrow and appropriate this result of high civilization from their neighbours, since it can be done with so little difficulty, the people possessing many capabilities, particularly the one most needed, the ability to acquire every kind of mechanical skill? Is it not the duty of a Government to appropriate and naturalize whatever is good, wherever found? Does not every nation learn of its neighbours?

In this reasoning there is a point which I dispute· one nation cannot appropriate the civilization of another as a mature growth. Civilization is the result of a long internal development, and cannot be acquired suddenly. The Western nations have been passing through this gradual development for centuries; they have always had the civilization of the ancient world before them, have educated themselves by it as a model, but have by no means adopted it all at once. For many centuries they

have possessed the classical works of antiquity; successive generations have been taught by them; but it is only since they have become equal to the ancients, by their own internal development, that they begin truly to understand and appreciate these works. It must be confessed however that Russia is more favourably situated than the West, and its development will proceed more rapidly. The Russians have not dead teachers, as the West had, but living ones, with whom for centuries they have had direct and active intercourse, and example and constant interchange of ideas educate with infinitely more rapidity than the dead Past. But a nation cannot suddenly attain to a maturity of civilization: for this years of pupillage are indispensable

Civilization consists of two elements,—one universal, the other national. Of the first we have an example in the high degree of culture which has been produced by Christianity, pervading and combining with the ancient civilization, and which has become the common inheritance of the European nations. The second element, national development, is a preparation for the first, and must be different in every country. At the present time Russia possesses the first of these elements. Christianity, the foundation of modern culture, exists there, for more than a century the higher classes have been taught by the other nations, and with regard to them it appears that the higher element of civilization has been attained. Educated Russians have the same cultivation, the same manners and views of life, as the educated classes of other nations; but on that very account they are just as little Russians, as highly cultivated Englishmen are Englishmen, or Germans Germans. Civilization, when it has reached this point, is cosmopolitan. But the attain-

ment of this degree of culture was not the result of one age or generation. When Peter I attempted to transplant into Russia the refinement and knowledge of Western Europe, did he succeed? he could dress his subjects in French court costume, and shave off their beards, but did they become civilized men thereby? Four generations have passed away, the higher classes have been placed under foreign instructors from their childhood, and sent to reside for years in foreign countries; colossal establishments have been founded, to give them the education and training which are customary in the rest of Europe, and a national literature has been gradually formed; but it is only now, after a hundred and thirty years, that the education of these higher classes can be said to be finished.

But for the national cultivation of the people themselves nothing was as yet accomplished. Peter I. and his successors felt that it was first necessary to educate the higher classes, and in them educate the teachers of the people, but until within the last twenty years no steps of any importance were taken to obtain a real foundation for the education of the latter And, as it appears to me, this has been a great advantage for Russia. If the Government had been satisfied with establishing a mere secular education and mechanical discipline, without any deeper religious and moral basis, what a rod they would have made for themselves! The Russian people can only attain a religious and national education by means of the national Church and its clergy; from these alone can any progress proceed. But until recent times the Church has not been summoned, nay has probably been prevented from engaging in this duty, and the clergy are only now beginning to

be instructed in the theological schools in such a manner as to enable them to undertake the instruction of the people.

The lower classes are consequently separated from the higher by a gulf, which is far from being filled up, and cannot be for a long period; what then have they to do with such a state of development and civilization as is implied in the manufacturing system of Western Europe? what real advantage can it procure for them? Is it merely technical, mechanical dexterity and skill which it is sought to bestow upon them? Or are they to be seduced into the acquisition of a taste for the luxuries and fashions of foreign countries? Is it believed that in this way their training can be improved?

Of what use are the fashionable manufactories, in which articles of luxury are produced, in Russia? For whom are these intended? For the higher classes, those who possess actual European culture, or even for those who have acquired the outward elegances of civilization? No, these never purchase or use the produce of Russian manufacture, which can never satisfy the elegant people in the higher class of Russian society, who surround themselves with the fashionable articles of Paris and London manufacture

If the Russian manufactures do not satisfy the demands of the higher civilized society, are they then intended to give merely an outward appearance of modern elegance to the host of imitators in the middle classes, which is only half cultivated, and possesses a mere external polish? Is it necessary that the merchants' wives, inwardly rude and uncultivated, should appear outwardly as elegant ladies, instead of retaining the national dress, and with it the simplicity and poetry of national man-

ners and costume? Or is it necessary that the families of the smaller officials should appear in the glitter of European elegance, indulging in luxury and fashion, and still further tempting the ill-paid Tchinovniks to oppress and harass the people, and to cheat and steal, to which they are already but too much addicted?

In conclusion, I maintain that the introduction of this extended manufacturing system in the modern European form, with certain exceptions, was unnecessary to Russia, and that it exercises an unfavourable influence upon the morality of the middle and moderately wealthy classes.

If, instead of this, the Government had encouraged and exercised some supervision over the natural, already existing, and national Russian associative manufactures, and improved them by introducing the recent inventions in machinery, they would have produced, in the most important manufactures, weaving flax, wool, cotton, and silk, not indeed the elegant products of fashion (which in their greatest perfection they can never attain), but such as are fit and convenient for the mass, the substantial nucleus of the people.

I have already mentioned that this manufacturing system is exercising an immense influence upon the social relations of the lower classes of the people, particularly with regard to serfage, and I shall perhaps speak further upon this subject in another place.

This modern manufacturing system however is now a *fait accompli* in Russia, it is naturalized in all the social relations of the country: whatever therefore might have been objected to its introduction, the only question now is, the best means of giving it an improved, a more national organization, and perhaps partially converting it into the national associative system.

The manufactories established by Peter I. express a just national idea. His desire was to establish his system upon that of serfage. The manufacturer was allowed to employ the labour of the people allotted to the factory; but at the same time he had to provide for their subsistence, clothing, and superintendence in the most extended sense: he was not allowed to dismiss them when they became useless to him, but had to provide for them until their death.

So long as serfage exists, these ideas must be kept in view In the majority of the factories at present, it is no longer the serfs of the manufacturer himself who are employed, but the labourers enter them voluntarily, and are hired at fixed wages If, in addition to this, the burden were imposed upon the manufacturers of organizing their work-people on the plan of a Russian Commune, of undertaking strictly all a master's care and duties,—of providing magazines like the Communes, establishing schools, hospitals, etc ,—if they were permitted to dismiss their workmen only upon certain legal and established grounds, (not, for instance, on account of ill-health, weakness, old-age, etc) many evil consequences, and particularly the demoralization of the workmen, might be prevented. These demands may with justice be made upon the manufacturers, in return for the many and great advantages conferred upon them by the protective duties. The threat of abolishing the latter would easily induce the present manufacturers to subject themselves to these conditions, and they might be imposed upon all future ones before the establishment of their works

That the affair is practicable is evident from the fact, that many manufacturers have already adopted these ideas voluntarily, and carried them into execution.

The large manufactories would be able to bear this burden; the small ones perhaps with difficulty, or not at all; it might even be the cause of their being entirely abandoned By this however the common-weal would suffer no injury. The large manufacturers and the great landowners do not oppress their people; it is the small manufacturers and landlords who do.

I will here give some statistical tables* of the year 1841, of five Circles of the Government of Yaroslaf, —Poshekhon, Mologa, Rybinsk, Myshkin, and Uglitch.

Circles.	No of Villages in 21 sq miles	Av No of Houses in each Village	Av No of Inhab in each Village	Av No of Acres to each Village	Average number of Acres to each Male Inhabitant			
					Arable	Meadow	Good Wood	Bad Wood
Poshekhon	9	13	83	1417	9 31	2 03	9 72	12 62
Mologa	8	16	124	1803	6 07	1 35	9 31	11 14
Rybinsk	21	11	63	634	6 75	90	6 75	1 42
Myshkin	16	15	114	840	8 10	81	25	4 86
Uglitch	15	13	99	940	6 30	·90	2 16	9 45

It is manifest from this that agriculture *cannot maintain* the inhabitants in these districts,—a fact easily proved. In the Circle of Uglitch there are about six acres of arable land to each male inhabitant, 2½ being here reckoned the average grain produce, the calculation stands as follows.

* The details here given are tolerably correct. They are not those collected by the Police and delivered to the higher Authorities (which are in general completely incorrect), but were collected on the spot by Herr Von Lann, who has undertaken topographical works for the General Staff, and worked with greater circumspection and scientific judgement Unfortunately I possess only the Work which relates to the above-mentioned five Circles, whether any other exists upon the five other Circles I know not.

2 acres sown with rye, give, after deducting the seed . . .	7 bushels.
1 acre sown with barley, deducting the seed	3½ ,,
	10½ bushels

The remaining acre is sown with oats for the cattle * 7 bushels of rye give 387 pounds of bread, 3½ bushels of barley give 169 pounds of bread·—total 556 pounds

The principal food of the Russian people consists of bread, potatoes are unknown in most districts; cabbage is the only vegetable which is much used Animal food, milk, and butter are little eaten In the army each soldier receives two pounds and a half of bread daily, beside groats, etc. A healthy Russian peasant cannot subsist without three pounds, in the harvest he eats five pounds, and in White Russia even as much as seven pounds If women, old people, and children are counted, one pound and a half must be reckoned for each individual of the population. A man and woman, according to this calculation, require on an average 1094 pounds of bread in the year. There is always a deficit therefore of 538 pounds of bread for each couple, or of 22,855,000 pounds of bread, or 431,387 bushels of corn, for the whole population of the Circle, which can only be supplied by importations from other districts, and therefore only with the aid of auxiliary occupations and manufacturing profits, to enable the people to purchase these supplies

The slender productiveness of the soil, the facility of procuring the necessary grain from the rich corn districts, the distaste of the Russians for severe agricultural labour, and the easy acquisition of money by the great

* One-third of the arable land, according to this calculation, is supposed to lie fallow —TRANSL.

development of manufacturing industry, have withdrawn the people from the cultivation of the soil It is not only that much of the land, which with an energetic cultivation might be remunerative, still lies waste, but even that part which is under cultivation is worked with little energy and a small supply of manure. How far the labour is withdrawn from agriculture is evident from the following facts There are employed in agriculture in the Circle of—

Mologa, with a population of		39,927 souls, at the utmost		14,500
Rybinsk	,,	31,126	,,	12,500
Myshkin	,,	39,965	,,	13,800
Uglitch	,,	42,371	,,	15,700

And a large number of these people who carry on agriculture are not even inhabitants of these Circles, but strangers, workmen hired from other parts of the Empire! In the western half of the Circle of Uglitch, for instance, out of 9000 people engaged in agriculture, there are only about 5500 natives of the Circle (the proprietors themselves), 2500 are persons who engage for hire in agricultural labour from the neighbouring Government of Tver

I must here mention a circumstance, which shows how in social life generally, but more particularly in Russia, the relations of things are balanced and adjusted.

In the northern districts, Olonetz, Vologda, Archangel, there is a tolerably dense population on the banks of the rivers, whilst in the interior there is little or none. This dense population has naturally little agriculture, at least with regard to the labour required. The greatest production is obtained by burning down portions of the forest, and sowing grain upon the ground, for which little labour is required, whilst a large produce is ob-

tained. The most important employments and the richest sources of production are furnished by the forests · wood for ship-building, logs, and planks are cut and worked, pitch, tar, and turpentine are boiled, and sent down the rivers to Archangel, etc. All these employments occupy the population for the most part in winter, and during the short period of the spring floods, on the other hand, the people have little occupation in summer. Agriculture does not employ them sufficiently, and, as we have said, the population is dense, they therefore proceed in large numbers to the regions further south, and assist the inhabitants in field labour and the harvest for wages The industrial Government of Yaroslaf has always been visited by these migratory workmen, to the great advantage of its inhabitants, but since the establishment of the modern manufactories, in still greater numbers than before

As the native inhabitants of the Government of Yaroslaf can earn more money by their trades and manufactures than by agriculture, they hire these strange workmen for the four summer months at from sixty to eighty roubles (£2 15*s* to £3 13*s*), whilst they themselves earn in the manufactories, together with their board, from ninety to a hundred and ten roubles These aids and adjustments are necessary and advantageous, but by the manufacturing system they have become in some measure complicated and unnatural So long as the question related only to the assistance afforded, the arrangement was advantageous, but the helpers have become the actual masters and heads of houses. The fathers of families and masters of households are labourers in the manufactories throughout the whole year, during the winter the domestic affairs are delivered over exclu-

sively to the women and children; in the spring the workman from Vologda comes and lives as he pleases. This destroys all family life, and chastity and morality are completely ruined.

Formerly the workmen could not be retained in the manufactories at Moscow during the time when the fields were cultivating, and whilst the hay and grain harvest lasted, they all left their work and hastened home, to assist their families in the necessary labour In this way however modern manufactories are not likely to be particularly prosperous; I have therefore heard from manufacturers themselves, that, by lowering very much the wages during the seven winter months, and raising (often doubling) them during the five summer months, they had forced the workmen to remain the whole year.

A very important source of wealth to this Government arises from the circumstance that a large number of the inhabitants travel about for work and wages in other Governments of the Empire

The travelling that takes place in the interior of the Government, which is nearly the size of Hanover, is of great importance; but there is no reliable information as to the number of these wanderers, or the extent of their wanderings. They are not estranged so much from their homes, when they remain within forty to seventy miles from them, as when they live three or four hundred miles distant. In the former case they return home four to six times in the year; in the latter, it is a great thing if they see their homes once annually, and most of them remain several years continuously absent.

In a political point of view this constant mingling, travelling, and living together of the inhabitants of Russia, is a powerful means of strengthening the internal

connection and constant amalgamation of the mass of the people, and the preservation and awakening of national feelings and love of country. Every Russian feels in Archangel as in Odessa, in Kazan as in Kief, completely at home, and always in the Fatherland. On the other hand, it has also great disadvantages Family and home life are disturbed and weakened, and the necessary hands are withdrawn from agriculture. The remark has been made, and it may be considered as a fixed rule in Russia, that he who has once had occasion, no matter from what reason, to abandon agricultural labour, never returns to it. This appears most clearly in the case of the soldiers after their period of service has expired. These have in general no property, and they become anything else,—house-servants, watchmen, shopkeepers, etc , but never peasants as before It is quite different in the case of an agricultural people, like the Germans. Here the soldiers, after their term of service has expired, all turn peasants again , but even when a boy becomes a servant, coachman, etc , and remains ten to twenty years in service, he will always try to marry into a peasant family, and become a peasant once more.

But although the love of home seems in general with the Russians to be merged in that of country, there exists in many districts a great affection for the place of their birth. Peasants who have become merchants, and are rich, and live in a distant town, build themselves a house on their paternal ground, retaining it and their portion in the Commune. They let it perhaps for a trifle, or give it gratuitously to relatives or poor people; thus they pay double taxes, first as merchants in the town, and then as peasants in the village Commune. In the year 1841 a merchant who was a native

of a village here returned from New York: he had been twenty years absent, and had married an Englishwoman; but he had retained his communal right and spot of ground at home The peasants of his native village received the rich respectable man, but particularly his wife, with endless jubilee.

In the rest of Europe also these temporary speculative wanderings have been customary mostly in particular trades and employments, as for instance among the Andalusian water-carriers in Madrid, the Auvergnats and Savoyards in Paris, the *Hollandsganger* from Westphalia (who undertake the labours of the harvest in Holland), the Italian plaster-image-sellers, the dealers in mouse-traps and hackles from the Alps, the tinkers from the Carpathians, the broom-girls from Urpi, all of whom wander over the whole of Europe These however are unusual employments, which are well understood only in the districts where these people live · their number too is not great. But no instances ever occur of workmen in the most usual and common branches of industry (carpenters, masons, tailors, etc), wandering about in search of work and wages The artisan apprentices in Germany travel, but only for a few years, under particular regulations of their guilds and corporations, for their own education, but not to make money

The travelling of the Russians is not confined to a single occupation. The Russian understands almost every employment, he tries all, and fixes on the one which seems to promise the greatest amount of profit. In other parts of Europe there are also restless spirits, to whom home and a regular life appear too quiet and monotonous, and who endeavour in this manner to make their fortune in the world, but they are rare exceptions,

few and isolated cases, whereas in these districts of Russia they form the rule. More than an eighth part of the population of the Government of Yaroslaf are fortune-hunters of this kind, roving about over the whole Empire. The number of these wanderers in the interior of the Government, as we have observed, cannot be ascertained with certainty, the number of those who wander about beyond the Government may be more easily calculated, from the passports issued: several years ago there were between 120,000 and 130,000. Many however return after a few months' absence, or within the year.* The number of those who remain out of the country many years, and often during their whole lives, but still retain their communal rights, and continue inscribed in the Revision lists of their homes, may certainly be calculated at more than 50,000. As an instance of an unusually numerous emigration, I will mention the village of Yonhotst, belonging to Count Sheremetef. There are inscribed in the Commune 9500 male souls, but of these only 2500 reside in the village; all the rest have gone to St Petersburg, Moscow, etc. with passports

These travelling artisans remain together, according to their respective trades, in the large towns, and form artisan Communes When any work is to be done, the cleverest among them assume the office of contractors.

* An arrangement has been made lately, by which those who intend to travel only a few months do not need to take and pay for a passport for a whole year, but receive one for three months (in which a month additional remains uncounted) The landowners take a large number of stamped sheets of paper, and write the passports which are needed It is only when all the papers are used that they take new ones Thus the number who travel in the year can no longer be calculated.

If a house or palace is to be built in St. Petersburg, a contractor or *Podriatchik* is sought; I lay my plans and wishes before him, bargain with him, and at last conclude the contract for a certain sum of money. The Podriatchik then collects his comrades, represents the affair to them, and agrees with them as to their assistance and share of the profit. He then starts, if the undertaking is not a very expensive one, alone, or otherwise with some of his fellow workmen, for his native village, or villages, and begs the money necessary for the undertaking The people of the village, who share in the profit, collect the money in a wonderfully short time, and hand it to the contractor. They merely pledge their word, and all depends upon their mutual truth and fidelity; cases seldom or never occur of their defrauding one another.* After a part of the work is completed, or when it is entirely finished, a portion of the money agreed upon is advanced by the proprietor of the house, or the whole is paid. These contractors are also found in other parts of Europe, but they are *genteel* builders, and belong to the higher, or at least to the richer classes, and receive the profit themselves, paying only daily wages to their workmen, or contracting for separate parts of the work. But here in Russia they are ordinary and uneducated people, who can often neither read nor write, but possess a remarkable technical genius: they do not derive all the profit themselves, but divide it honestly with their comrades,—another phase of practical national life, from which the St. Simonian socialistic dreams appear a possibility, nay even a reality!

* Although the Russians are accused of fraud and deceit in their traffic with each other, still there are occasions and points in which they never defraud, but are true and faithful in the highest degree.

A large number of these young travellers are pedlars, all the Russians having a decided talent for retail trade Perhaps the greater number are carriers, who travel unweariedly from north to south, from east to west, and find themselves everywhere at home. Formerly they went frequently even as far as the Leipzig fair. A considerable number, particularly those from the neighbourhood of Rostof, are gardeners; these are called *Zelenstchiki* (sellers of greens), or *Ogorodniki* (kitchen-gardeners). In Riga, St. Petersburg, and Moscow, they hire land in the neighbourhood of the towns for a summer, cultivate it industriously, and raise kitchen vegetables. They are worthy and industrious people From the estate of Count Momonof and the surrounding country, a large number of persons go to Moscow and St Petersburg as bakers The people from this district are celebrated drivers and isvoshtchiks. The people from Siderof, an estate of the Crown, are creditably known in Moscow under the name of Yaroslavians: they make doors, windows, etc, their work being extremely good and solid; they are also excellent carpenters A large number are engaged in the occupation of *traiteurs* in the towns, and generally begin their career as Russian waiters, such as are found in all the inns.

In the Government of Yaroslaf there is a great number of fairs. As the system which prevails here is different from that in Germany, where in every small place all sorts of artisans are met with, and, as we have shown above, the communal organization prevails among the artisans, every one supplies his wants by purchases at the fairs. The fairs in Russia therefore have a quite different and much greater importance than those in Germany.

According to the tables communicated to me there are in the Government of Yaroslaf thirty-seven large fairs, in which goods of the value of six million silver roubles (£950,000) were in 1842 exposed for sale, of which about two-thirds were sold.

The inhabitants of the town number 31,923, of whom 17,272 are males, and 14,651 females. In point of population it is the fourteenth town in the Empire: this is constituted as follows:—

	Men	Women	Total
1 Ecclesiastical class	359	488	847
2 Nobility and Official class	1211	1195	2406
3 Merchants —*a* Native	535	550	1085
b Strangers	3	5	8
4. Citizens —*a* Native	5821	7397	13,218
b From other towns	167	270	437
5. Foreigners who are not Russian subjects	24	12	36
6. Military —Privates and Cantonists	5054	1002	6056
Discharged	168	111	279
7. Peasants —*a* Crown peasants	385	330	715
b Post peasants	286	312	598
c Appanage peasants	88	27	115
d Serfs —			
1. With some separate trade and occupation in the town	770	240	1010
2 As servants	984	967	1951
3 Allotted to the factories . .	1417	1745	3162
	17,272	14,651	31,923

Of these figures the numbers 1, 3, 4, and 5 are tole-

rably correct; the others are subject to constant fluctuations. The proportion of the female to the male sex is very remarkable; among the clergy it is as four to three. But no husband takes such care of his wife as a Russian pope, for he is not allowed to marry a second time. Among the nobles and merchants the usual proportion prevails. In the case of the citizens the females preponderate in the proportion of nineteen to fifteen: the reason is a perfect mystery to me. That among the military the women should be in a small minority of one to five is natural, it is likewise natural that there should be fewer women among the peasants, as the greater part of the latter are not permanently established in the town, their wives being left in their native villages. Among the factory peasants who constantly live in the town, a preponderance of women is manifest.

The ecclesiastical class constitutes one-fortieth of the whole population,—a large proportion, not usual in the rest of Europe. In the rural districts however this class forms a minimum of the population.

The nobles and officials constitute one-fifteenth of the whole population—likewise an extraordinary proportion. As the nobles live more in the town than the country, there is a much larger number of serfs than (Crown) peasants in the town. Of the latter there are about 1400, whereas of the serfs there are 3000, beside those in the factories, amounting also to 3000.

In the year 1839 there were 105 modern factories, with 7970 workmen.* In the year 1842 there were 158

* The number of workmen in the factories is given erroneously in all the statistical notices it is always much larger The manufacturers are interested in returning as small a number of workmen as possible to the Police authorities

factories, the annual products of which amounted to 2,430,000 silver roubles (£384,750), according to the official statement.

Catherine II. issued regulations for the towns, which introduced modern forms upon the German model, in regard to their constitution and government. Yaroslaf is one of the oldest towns in the Empire; here therefore we may judge how far these new forms have amalgamated with the old Russian municipal constitution.

Throughout this Government serfage is predominant among the peasants In the whole Empire we may consider the proportion of serfs to free people as six to five, whereas in the Government of Yaroslaf it is as eight to three.*

Of artisans of various kinds there are 556 masters, 663 workmen, and 180 apprentices, which for a town of the size of Yaroslaf is a small number But we must consider that in Russia artisan productions are everywhere made for the market wholesale, as we have already described Since the abolition of the Guilds in Germany, this is becoming usual in the large towns there likewise; the clothes warehouses ruin the tailor! Thus do the summit and base of civilization meet. To encourage the Guild artisans, they have been freed from all taxes.

In Yaroslaf there is a considerable trade. Corn, flour, and iron are brought from the south and east, and sent to the north and west, on the other hand wine and colonial products come from St. Petersburg, and are sent to Western Siberia. The great water and land highways cross each other here. The value of the whole trade is estimated at 4,000,000 silver roubles.

* There are about 25,000,000 serfs, and 22,000,000 peasants of the Crown, or free people, in the Russian population of the Empire.—TRANSL.

There are two ecclesiastical schools here, with 1112 pupils, and five secular ones, with 1575 male and 24 female (!) pupils. A M. Demidof has established and richly endowed a Lyceum: the town has in consequence erected a monument to him in one of the squares.

The maintenance of the troops costs the town a considerable sum. Until 1838 they were quartered partly in houses belonging to the town, and partly upon the inhabitants. Billeting in private houses was then abolished, and the troops were quartered at the public expense. To cover this a tax was imposed of one-and-a-half per cent. on house-rent, and twenty-five per cent of the Crown taxes of those who had no house Since then four officers, one pope, and 3245 privates, live in houses belonging to the town; two generals, sixteen staff and twelve inferior officers, with 1764 privates, are quartered at the public charge. The troops passing through the town numbered, on an average of five years, 5520 men annually Their expenses, and all other extraordinary charges for the military, amounted to 25,400 silver roubles In 1839 it was resolved to build barracks, and the town gave a loan for that purpose of 61,400 silver roubles.

In the government of the town, 240 merchants, and 1500 citizens and artisans, have by law a right of voting in the general assemblies; but this right is little used, and rarely more than one-third of the merchants and one-fifteenth of the citizens attend these assemblies. The proprietors of real property belonging to other classes in the town never appear, although this right was granted to them in 1785.

The proportion of the inhabitants who have no right to vote is, among the merchants here, as six to one:

among the citizens as twenty to one. In the chief towns of Circles the proportion is three to one and six to one.

The merchants elect from among themselves thirty-one delegates, the citizens seventy-five, who are obliged to fill the various offices in the government of the town. Beside these there are thirty-nine paid officials in the higher, and 238 in the lower, class of offices: they receive together pay to the amount of 13,500 silver roubles.

In the list of salaries, the small pay which these officers receive is remarkable. The Police Director of Yaroslaf receives a salary of £55, a Police Major of one of the quarters of the town, £27. 10*s*, each officer of a quarter, £12 or £13 in addition to which however they have a free house, together with fire and lights. The secretaries of the tribunals have £32 (in the oral tribunals only £16) The official copyists receive £7 7*s*. to £14. 14*s*. Watchmen and messengers of the tribunals, £4. 10*s*. to £7 The under officers of the police and fire-engine department receive, with provisions and ammunition, 13*s* 8*d* yearly, the common men 7*s* 6*d*. How can honesty, incorruptibility, and faithfulness be expected of an official, who, as Head of the Police in Yaroslaf, must wear a rich uniform, keep his equipage, and has everywhere to appear in a respectable manner, and this in a country where everything beyond the ordinary necessaries of life is exorbitantly dear, and who receives a salary of £55! It can easily be proved that he spends ten times what he receives as salary. When he has no private fortune, and has not the strictest principles of honour and morality, what is the natural, the necessary consequence?

CHAPTER VI.

LEAVE FOR VOLOGDA.—SAMOVAR MANUFACTORY AT DANILOF.—VOLOGDA —EXCURSION TO KUBENSK.—VILLAGE CONSTITUTION —MODEL FARM OF THE APPANAGE PEASANTS.—LEAVE VOLOGDA.—PRINCIPLE OF OLD RUSSIAN COLONIZATION.—FOREST REGION.—THE YEMSTCHIK AND HIS HORSES.—RUSSIAN POPULAR SONGS.—TOTMA.—THE PAINTER VAGENOF.—STATISTICS —AGRICULTURE AND CATTLE-BREEDING.—SCHOOL EDUCATION —ROAD TO USTIUG.—ASPECT AND INTERIOR OF THE TOWN.—THE NORTHERN NIGHT.—WATER EXCURSION TO TROITZA. —VISIT TO THE STAROSTA AT PESTOVO.—COSTUMES.—WHITSUNTIDE AT THE MONASTERY OF TROITZA.—SAINTS IVAN AND STEPHAN.—THE SYRIANES.

In the evening of May the 22nd we left Yaroslaf. From the opposite bank of the Volga we saw for the last time, in the splendour of the setting sun, the many-towered, grandly situated Yaroslaf. The road soon turned into a dark pine-forest, and our tarantases being navigated very slowly through the deep sand, we all gradually fell asleep. We did not awake till the next morning, in the neighbourhood of the town of Danilof. This place has more resemblance to a European town than the majority of towns in Russia. The inhabitants are nearly all coppersmiths, whose chief occupation is the manufacture of the above-described tea-urns, samovars, which have a great sale, extending into the heart of Asia Several of the inhabitants carry on this trade on a large scale, as in a manufactory, and we visited some of their establishments.

We passed through several villages of the Crown, which had an air of great prosperity The genuine peasant houses were frequently under two roofs, the whole internal building constituting only one house. In one part is the summer dwelling, with three large windows; in the other the winter dwelling, with three windows so small that they often contain only one pane of glass, and are scarcely large enough to admit a man's head. The large house-door is here generally arched at the top, as in the German peasants' houses in Lower Saxony and Westphalia. The gate of the courtyard has always a cross beam of wood, and generally two planks form a small roof over this; a man who has not his wooden gate covered is considered by the peasants a bad housekeeper. Occasionally quite modern town houses are met with, on which, according to Russian custom, wooden pillars and balconies are seldom wanting.

We passed through several very pretty villages, among which the station-villages of Levinski and Telatchiyam were remarkable; and further on Pretchistinskaya, one belonging to Messrs. Skulski and Kireyef, in which almost every house is peculiar and handsome Towards midnight we reached Griazovetz, the chief town of the Circle, where a rich merchant entertained us for an hour in his house, arranged in the modern European style, and gave us some tea. On the morning of the 24th of May we arrived, favoured by splendid weather, at Vo-

The inn appeared excessively dirty and forbidding, but we were hospitably received by a merchant, and soon paid the necessary visits to the Governor, the Chief of Domains, the Mayor, etc., and took the opportunity of surveying a little the exterior of the town. It is built

upon a very large space of ground; the extremities being, it is said, a league distant from each other; most of the streets are broad, unpaved, and occupied by Russian log-houses, surrounding large open courts It is only in the centre of the town, round a large square, and the streets immediately branching off from this, that a number of stone buildings are found, erected in the modern style, with the pillars and balconies which are almost universal in Russia The town is void and deserted · it might from its size easily contain 100,000 inhabitants, but there are scarcely 14,500 On the other hand, like all the old towns of Russia, it is full of churches, with innumerable spires and cupolas for every 260 inhabitants there is here a church

Vologda is one of the older class of Russian towns, and existed as early as the twelfth century It belonged to the republic of Novgorod, and in the Middle Ages was one of the chief depôts of the trade carried on between Novgorod and the interior of Asia. In the sixteenth century it had a commercial intercourse with England of considerable importance, and many English lived here At the time when Russia was still without a port in the Baltic, its principal European trade was carried on through Archangel and the White Sea, and its chief depôt was at Vologda Ivan IV. had a predilection for Vologda, and wished to found his capital here, and enter into a closer connection with the West. In 1569 he caused three canals to be dug in the town, the earth taken from which still forms the Tatar Hills, so called because the Tatar prisoners were buried there: he began also to surround them with a stone wall, which was never completed. Even now there is considerable commercial intercourse through this town with China,

although it is not so important as in former times. The rich ticking manufacturer Nikiferof still sends yearly 100,000 arshines of ticking to Kiakhta, the Chinese being very fond of this article.

We dined with the Civil Governor At table were two Polish exiles; and we learnt on this occasion, that, before the conquest of Siberia, this town was the usual place of banishment, and that it is still chosen for those whom it is desirable to place under safe keeping and surveillance, without depriving them of the enjoyments and comforts of modern life.

We resolved the next day to make an excursion into the country. a Major Von Tiesenhausen, who knew it well, offered to accompany us. The object of our journey was to visit the village of Kubensk, on the Kubenskoye Lake, distant eighteen miles from Vologda, which had been described to me at Moscow, by Baron Alexander von Meyendorff, as particularly interesting in connection with my investigations.

The country between Vologda and the Kubenskoye Lake is unusually populous, from every height are seen a number of small villages, generally consisting of only six or ten houses. These villages and their gardens are all surrounded by enclosures, shut in with gates. We met with a very friendly reception in Kubensk from a rich, handsome young peasant, who welcomed us in his large clean house, showing us into a spacious, well-lighted room, the walls of which were of wainscot, and the well-scrubbed floor strewn with fir-tree leaves. The furniture, utensils, and ornaments constituted a singular mixture of old Russian simplicity and modern innovations. In the corner was the picture of the Saint, with a lamp burning before it. To the walls all round the room were

fixed the simple Russian benches, and in addition there were six cane chairs; on one side was a heavy table, together with a modern one, covered with cloth, upon which stood a modern tea-service with porcelain cups. The most singular mixture of pictures was to be seen upon the walls,—several portraits of Russian saints, woodcuts illustrating legends and tales, with explanatory text in verse and prose,—and, in elegant glass frames, engravings of the Emperors Alexander and Nicholas, with one of Napoleon* between them! Our host's name was Rovokat Vasilievitch Ikonikof; he had been several times for a considerable period in St. Petersburg, and had carried on trade there; he even understood some German, and I could make myself intelligible to him. After we had taken a genuine national and excellent breakfast of tea, fish, and *pirogi*, his wife, a real Russian beauty—that is, very stout and ruddy—

* All over the north of Russia I found in every citizen's house in the towns, and also in almost every substantial peasant's house, a portrait of Napoleon. In the picture-shops of the larger towns, in which are all sorts of legends, tales, and fables represented by popular pictures and caricatures—principally woodcuts of genuine Russian work and invention,—Napoleon appears in a thousand forms. No name, no historical figure is better known and more popular with the common Russian than Napoleon. Whilst during the war in Russia deadly hatred inflamed all hearts against him, and he became after his downfall the object of ridicule and irony, he has now become the hero of popular story, a fabulous mythical hero, every trace of hatred has vanished. I found in Moscow one of these contemptuous songs and caricatures, in which he appears as a dancer, and dances with one nation after another The explanatory song relates that Napoleon first danced a Française with much skill and great applause, then an Allemande, then a Polonaise; when he commenced the Anglaise, he began rather to limp then Kutuzof said to him, "We do not understand foreign dancing in Russia, come, dance a Cosaque with me!" At last Kulenkorski (Caulaincourt) said, "This fellow Kutuzof dances too well; there is nothing for us here, we must now dance Gipsy fashion" (striking with the hands upon the heels and soles of the feet).

came, at my request, to be admired by us foreigners, in full national costume. The gown and jacket ("soul-warmer") consisted of beautiful white silk, interwoven with gold: the soul-warmer alone had cost £80!

I afterwards went with our host through a part of the village. Everywhere were large handsome houses, some of which we entered; in all were the same order and cleanliness, the same signs of wealth, the same hospitality and civility In one house we found three brothers, all married and with large families, but all of them unconditionally subject to the oldest brother, as head of the family

There were three churches in the village, of which I only examined two, a summer church, and a winter one which could be heated. The interior of one had some pretty rococo carved work on the ikonostas, and a good copy of the Last Supper by Lionardo da Vinci.

When we again approached our host's house, half the villagers had assembled in the street, and saluted us in a friendly manner. In the room we found assembled the Starosta and White-heads of the village, who expressed themselves ready to give me information concerning anything I might wish to know. The cultivation of the land, which in the neighbourhood is excellent and very fertile, was good, and great industry was perceptible; I was not a little astonished to find the Belgian plough in use here, together with the Russian; Peter I. is said to have introduced it into this district. It is incredible with what clear-sightedness and tact this prince introduced, always in the right place, those improvements in cultivation which were adapted to the circumstances of his country. He had an eye for the smallest object as for the greatest: in every part of

Russia we meet reminiscences of him; but his successors have not understood how to take advantage of the capacity of the people for instruction, or to sow and foster the seeds of real improvement in their internal and domestic economy. It is only now that these things are again beginning to be thought of. Catherine II. did little or nothing in this respect: her arrangements were rather imitations of foreign nations, and aimed more at outward effect. She introduced an evil tendency into the whole administration,—the custom, in every new regulation, of asking, What will Europe say to it?—not, Is the change conformable to the national spirit? is it adapted to Russia, useful and necessary?

Attached to every house here are tolerably large gardens, which remain permanently annexed to the dwellings; whilst in the case of the cultivated land, the Russian division according to male heads prevails, at least in principle, although actual new divisions are avoided as much as possible.

The women in the surrounding places work very industriously with the men, but this is not the case here, except during harvest. The people are unable to supply the labour necessary in summer, and procure assistants from the districts further north; one of these servants receives for the summer months his board and sixty roubles (£2. 15*s.*); a day-labourer with his horse is paid in seed-time 2*s.* 3*d*, in the hay harvest 1*s.* 10*d.*, and without a horse 11*d.* to 2*s.* 3*d.*; the day-labour of a woman during harvest is paid 7*d* to 9*d.*

In winter, as soon as the snow has become hard, the men employ themselves in trade, and the transport of mercantile commodities. But in the spring and harvest also, when there is sufficient water, they carry on

some trade upon the lake, which is connected with the navigable rivers Sukhona, Sheksna, and Dvina. They likewise convey from their own farms grain, vegetables, hides, tallow, and fish (from the Kubenskoye Lake). The vegetables they dispose of mostly in Vologda, but the other articles they convey to the Volga, and even to St. Petersburg, whence they bring back other commodities as return cargo, for their own trade and that of others. The gardens alone are said, by the sale of vegetables, to yield on an average a surplus of £3. 13*s*. to each household. The villagers therefore are generally in easy circumstances, and often very rich, a fortune of 40,000 to 50,000 roubles being not at all unfrequent.

The village has always had considerate landlords, a yearly tribute being levied upon the Commune, not an obrok upon each individual. From 1798 to 1813 the Commune paid annually 4000 roubles (£180); from that time until now, 7000 roubles. At present the proprietress of the land demands 2000 roubles additional, and they were still engaged in negotiating the new contract. This furnishes us in some measure with the means of judging of the increasing prosperity of this place. At the head of the Commune—to which several small adjacent villages pertaining to the same proprietor belong, and which, together with Kubensk, contain about 800 male souls—there is a Starosta, appointed by the landlord, who receives a salary of £22. The Commune elects annually, under the direction of the Starosta, five deputies, and twelve Elders, who constitute with the Starosta the Communal Tribunal, the written business of which is transacted by a Communal clerk, with a salary of £8. 15*s*. The powers of this Tribunal extend over all personal quarrels between the peasants, disputes

about their boundaries, inheritances, etc.; it appoints guardians and trustees when necessary, and makes arrangements between women re-marrying and the children of a first marriage. A widow marrying again constitutes her husband master of the household, and family unity is thereby established.* This Tribunal can inflict a punishment of twenty-four blows with a stick, but of course not regular criminal punishment.

By virtue of an old Imperial privilege there are yearly two great fairs in this village, in which trade may be carried on free of tolls; there is also a weekly fair every Thursday.

After again taking some refreshment we bade adieu to the kind people. Instead of accepting our thanks for their cordial reception of us, they thanked us in the warmest manner for the honour of our visit; and the Starosta and our host embraced and kissed me in the most affectionate manner, saying they trusted we should report nothing but good of them in foreign lands.

On our return to Vologda I stopped in the Crown village of Simonkeyeva, and made inquiries into its condition, in order to compare it with that of the private village, and observe the differences.

This is a small place, containing nineteen houses and about 130 inhabitants. In Kubensk less than six acres of arable land and meadow are reckoned per male soul, whereas there are here about twenty acres to each. A

* Stepfathers love their stepchildren just as much as their own offspring; a Russian stepfather never oppresses, neglects, or defrauds them. In the popular songs there is no word for the stepfather, but the wicked stepmother, the "Matchikha," frequently plays a part in them! Nay, if a stepfather had a son of age by the first marriage, he would become after the father's death the head of the family, and provide for his half-brothers and sisters as if they were his own children.

small forest furnishes the people with firewood: the wood necessary for building they are obliged to buy. The taxes consist of the usual Crown imposts, and do not exceed fifteen roubles per male soul. This village constitutes, with one near it called Prilutzkoye-Selo-Karovnitzkoye, one and the same Real-Commune; that is to say, the two villages have land in common, and there is only a tacit agreement that each inhabitant shall have his share on the side of the village where he lives. With twelve other villages these two constitute a joint Commune, under one Starosta, Tribunal, and government. How small these fourteen villages are, is evident from the fact that together they contain only 857 male souls, therefore about 1730 inhabitants, in 258 houses.

The inhabitants of Simonkeyeva are all stonemasons; they go forth and travel about the country, after the spring field-work is over, in search of employment; at harvest-time they return, and again go away till winter. As soon as the sledge-track in winter is formed, they begin to convey goods for the merchants, whilst some likewise carry on trade on their own account. Those who can get away, and are particularly skilful, go to Moscow and St. Petersburg, remaining there the whole summer. Of these there may be about eighty persons out of the whole fourteen villages; the number is easily ascertained, as they are obliged to have passports: the others, who find work in Vologda and the neighbourhood, need no passports. Those who are absent the whole summer hire a workman, who here receives his living free, and £1. 16*s*. In Vologda these stonemasons, after deducting what they consume, earn from £4. 10*s*. to £5. 10*s*. Those who work in St. Petersburg or Moscow generally bring back only from £3. 3*s*. to £3. 13*s*. Thirty house-

holders in the village have no horses of their own, but each hires a horse for the summer work for about fifteen shillings of the richer peasants, who require in winter more horses for their carrying operations than are necessary in the summer. Respectable and well-to-do peasants here have two horses, and as many as five head of cattle, with ten or twenty sheep, but seldom swine. The horses, after their work, are turned out in the meadows, and receive no other fodder. All the cattle run about free, without any one to look after them, and the fields therefore are enclosed Generally speaking, there is much less wealth here than in Kubensk.

The women are obliged in this and the other villages to work industriously with the men, and I found some women who in winter paint pictures for the churches.

On my return to Vologda, I drove in the evening to the newly-established model-farm of the Appanage peasants, situated about two miles from the town. The Minister Perovski, as Director in the Ministry of Appanages, has established in St Petersburg an agricultural school, which is arranged on a very skilful and sensible plan. Here peasant-boys receive some theoretic instruction; but the chief object is to educate them practically as substantial and skilful agriculturists, the principles of an improved tillage, so far as it is adapted to the districts where their homes are situated, are taught them; but at the same time they are exercised in all kinds of practical works. During their apprenticeship they collect the stock for their future households and farms; breed their own cattle (both for working and other purposes), and themselves feed and tend the animals which they are afterwards to take with them to their farms. They are taught how to make the different kinds of agricultural

and household implements, and are allowed also to take these away with them. Two lads receive together always a sufficient extent of arable land, meadow, pasture, garden, and wood, for two farms, united into one, which are afterwards separated. They then erect farm-buildings, on a well-arranged plan which is prescribed to them; and receive for this purpose, and their establishment, one thousand roubles (£45).

I now drove to one of these peasant model-farms for the Government of Vologda. Having been established only a few years, it was impossible to give any decided opinion as to its stability or effect upon the surrounding country. This farm lies, as I have said, some versts distant from Vologda, isolated, but not far from a small village.. The land under cultivation has been reclaimed from the waste, and is surrounded by a deep ditch. A gate, as is found everywhere here—but a much improved and useful one—keeps out the cattle. From this a straight road, with a ditch on each side, leads to the farm-buildings. On the left of the road the land was already well cultivated; on the right it was still covered with brushwood, which was however partly cut down and collected in heaps for burning One of the peasants was ploughing, with a boy leading the horse; the very light plough turned up the earth, leaving always the space of a foot between the furrows, which was afterwards turned by a heavier plough.

We were received in the house by the elder of the peasants. He had arrived half a year before the other, and had built and arranged the dwelling; this was done judiciously, according to the plan prescribed, and resembled the Westphalian peasant-houses. The second peasant did not arrive until the house was ready; he brought

the stock of cattle, farm and house implements, and furniture, which they had obtained in the Institution at St. Petersburg. In the house everything was very neat and clean, although one of their wives had a baby. In the dwelling-room were some shelves, with about twenty books,—a Bible, a book of Homilies, and several good agricultural writings, mostly translations from the German. In an adjoining room was a complete carpenter's workshop; and a peasant boy who lived near, and was trained by the landlord to this kind of work, was planing some planks, an art with which the Russians are quite unacquainted here. In the garden were some flower-beds and an arbour An improved Russian bath-room was not wanting. The dung was managed as compost, intermixed with several layers of turf. The whole showed that an economical education had been taken *in succum et sanguinem* by these peasants. It must here be observed that, although a general plan was prescribed to them, they had been left quite to themselves to carry it out: everything showed great intelligence. The area is 340 acres in size, but there are only twelve acres fully under cultivation: the soil is good, but clayey. They have followed a six-course system of husbandry The establishment has only existed a few years, but some effect upon the neighbourhood is already perceptible; for instance the cultivation of potatoes is spreading in the adjoining villages.

The next morning, after visiting a celebrated Convent near the town, we inspected a Gymnasium, where the nobility of the Government have erected a boarding-school for two hundred pupils; seventy of them pay yearly the insignificant sum of 400 roubles (£18), the others are kept quite free We also visited the village of Dubrov-

skaya, the entire inhabitants of which are employed in training birds and in the bird trade. There are only eleven houses and families, but each family makes on an average about one hundred roubles yearly by this trade. A bird is sold on the spot for two roubles,—in other places for two and a half to three roubles.

In driving through the fields of some of the small villages (never of the larger ones), I observed that after every five to eight strips of arable land there was always a ridge of turf, like that seen everywhere in central Germany; this is from a foot to eighteen inches broad, and forms the boundary of the two pieces of land On inquiry I found that in these very small villages the yearly division of the land did not exist, or had been given up, but that the ground was allotted once for all, a part to each house. Each portion is divided into as many strips as there are houses in the village, and then this whole portion is parted from the next by the green ridge. This is the only exception to the popular mode of dividing the land I have found, and probably arises from some predominant interest which interferes with it.

In the afternoon of the 26th of May we took our departure from Vologda, and proceeded in the direction of Velıki Ustiug. For the first thirty versts, until we reached the Sukhona, the country retains the character it has around Vologda, of extremely good and careful cultivation: villages, churches, houses, fields and people have a rich and prosperous appearance. At the Sukhona commence those forests, which stretch out hence into immeasurable regions Throughout the whole district as far as Velıki Ustiug the immense forests come down close to the river, on both sides of the Sukhona; but wherever the bank is not too steep, and the soil is fertile,

there lie on either side of the river villages, generally four to six close together. The forest is partially cleared in these places, and the land is excellently cultivated. The whole north of Russia was at one time an interminable unbroken forest, perhaps larger in extent than Spain, France, and Germany together. As in remote antiquity the pastoral tribes (the nomadic Scythians) wandered over the illimitable and barren steppes of South Russia, so did the hunting tribes (the nomadic Tchudes and Fins) rove through the immense forests of North Russia. Between the two extremes were settled from the earliest times on the southern slopes of the Valdai Mountains, Slaavic peoples, who, continually increasing in numbers, and favoured by Providence, grew as Russians into a greater people and state, and sent out colonies like rays to the south and north. I believe it cannot be maintained that the Russians displaced the Finnish tribes in the north of Russia. The former were never nomadic, but were always colonists, following the course of all the rivers as traders, garden-cultivators, as light agriculturists, and fishermen, and settling on their banks. They did not drive away the hunting tribes from the interior, for it was not in their nature or disposition to penetrate inland. Nor were they hostile to these tribes; and it was rather agreeable to the latter that fixed settlements should be formed on the rivers, by means of which they could exchange the produce of their hunting expeditions for other commodities and provisions. Thus the Finnish hunting tribes and the Russian settlers lived together in a peaceable and friendly manner, and still continue to live thus, although the former have very much diminished in number. The Syrianes, who are still pretty numerous, live

as a race of hunters, undisturbed by the Russians. But many of these tribes have gradually languished and become extinct, as we still see constantly in the case of the hunting tribes of America; many have adopted Christianity, and commenced, under its civilizing influence, to settle on the land, and thus gradually become blended with their neighbours the Russian settlers.

Whoever has studied the characteristics of different nationalities, will easily be convinced that the inhabitants of the banks of the North Russian rivers are not Russianized Finns: nor are they pure Slaavs. They are Slaavs, with a considerable mixture of Finnish; and it must be confessed that this mixture has been a fortunate one, for these North Russians are a splendid, undegenerate race of people,—in my opinion, the best and worthiest of all the Russians.

After driving a short time along the right bank of the Sukhona, we passed over to the other side, and the road now followed the left bank. Sometimes we approached the river, sometimes it disappeared from sight; then succeeded splendid forests of pines and birches; again the country became open, and we passed through a series of five or six villages, lying near each other along the river, and rarely containing more than six to eight houses. Some of the larger ones did not display the usual monotonous regularity of the Russian villages, which consist of a long, perfectly straight street; but here the streets formed pretty serpentine windings.

What charming fellows are these Russian Yemstchiks (drivers)!—clever and indefatigable, friendly and civil, childlike and merry, naive and wheedling; how they skip, spring, and run, like quicksilver,—on to the carriage, off the carriage, between the horses, under the

horses, and never awkwardly or roughly, but always lightly and gracefully! The harness of the Russian peasants is wretched: every quarter of an hour something breaks; then the fellow hops like a water-wagtail from the box, and in between the horses, ties a cord here, tightens something there, and in a twinkling is in his seat again, and away he goes at full gallop He keeps up a continual chattering to his four horses harnessed abreast; and he drives at a gallop uphill and downhill, all the while shouting, bawling, scolding, whistling, hissing, and cracking his whip, as if a thousand devils were behind him, and with good cause, for these little Russian horses run admirably, but draw wretchedly ill. If they do not gallop uphill, they will never get up,—to go slowly but steadily, like a German peasant's horse, is impossible. Off they start, but as soon as they observe that there is a heavy weight behind them, they stand stock-still, and there is no help but patience: thus they will remain standing for half an hour motionless and tricky. We had always eight horses before our light tarantases, but were frequently obliged to put the whole eight, first to one and then to the other, in order to reach the top of an inconsiderable hill. However much noise and screaming the Yemstchik uses to urge on his horses, and however furiously and threateningly he cracks his whip over his head, he never lashes the animals, for he is too fond of them, and would rather receive a cuff or a blow himself than hurt them Nor indeed are these wanting

I hired in St Petersburg a man who was a sort of lower official of the Post, called a postilion, who is charged to provide everywhere the necessary post-horses, to pay for them, etc He knew how to make himself respected

by all the Post authorities; and I had therefore never any cause to complain of misconduct, delay, or imposition on their part, like so many other travellers. He was a square-built, resolute, cunning Little Russian, who knew with whom he had to deal. In general he was joyous, cordial, nay even affectionate toward the Yemstchik sitting beside him; they chatted and laughed together in the merriest fashion possible; but when the horses would not go fast enough, or stood still, he cuffed the Yemstchik, to make him lash them again. This succeeded everywhere else, but here, in the northern districts, it was of no avail, let him cuff and beat the good Yemstchik as much as he pleased, the latter would never lash his dear little horses At last the postilion snatched the whip out of his hand, and whipped them himself, the Yemstchik looking on sorrowfully, and remonstrating with him. The cuffing and beating of the Yemstchik was moreover merely a good-natured way of getting him to go on, it was done without any anger or ill-will, and was likewise taken in good part. Immediately after they laughed and chatted together just as merrily as before, and on taking leave they often embraced and kissed each other tenderly. I had sometimes the encouraging addresses of the Yemstchik to his horses interpreted to me; they were of the most affectionate description: for instance, he would say to a mare, "Dear little mother, only leave me not this once sticking fast, and you shall have fresh grass and golden corn!"—to a horse, "Good little brother, do me not an injury; think of your reputation, and what the world will say if you stick fast in the mud!" and thus it went on, with endless variations and innumerable affectionate diminutives.

No language is so rich in diminutives, and no one

makes use of them so readily as the common Russian: when the Yemstchik asked of the postilion fire for his pipe, he said, "Dear little brother, give me a little tinder and a little fire for my little pipe!" But what a singular contrast is here,—lively, merry, and gay as is the North Russian, so melancholy is his song! The popular songs are monotonous, and always in the minor key, with a plaintive, long-drawn-out sound at the conclusion. Is it a complaint at the severity and rigidity of the climate, the bald, colourless, northern sky, and the niggardly, pale Mother Nature? The contrast between his inward mind, disposed to joy and pleasure, and the melancholy lovelessness of outward nature, can alone be the cause; for his social position is favourable,—he is free, unrestrained, unoppressed, and well off This melancholy, plaintive tone is intermingled with the whole voice of the people; it is low and soft; and even when they scold and animate their horses, the sharp, elevated voice of anger or passion is never heard, as with the German and Romanic peoples, the soft, plaintive tone is always audible.

We reached the town of Totma, on the Sukhona, about midnight, and, as there was no European hotel, and the Governor at Vologda had previously announced our intention, and recommended us to the care of a merchant in the place, we were accommodated with quarters in his house. The following morning I surveyed the town, with the Master of the Police. It is ancient, and, from its size, the number of its churches and deserted streets (in a large square in the centre of the town we saw cows feeding!), it was evidently at a former period an important and flourishing place In early times, when the principal trade of Novgorod with Asia and China passed through

Vologda, Totma was a very important station for this: there are still remains of it existing, and some merchants live here who take part in the Chinese trade, and have even been in Kiakhta.

The desire for intellectual cultivation appears stronger here than in other districts The peasants frequently give their sons during the winter to the pope to be educated; and although they are not nearly so rich as the peasants of Yaroslaf, they pay from £4 to £4. 15*s.* for the course. There are consequently many more peasants here who can read and write than elsewhere.* The Minister of the Crown Domains has now ordered a school to be established in each of the six Districts of the Circle of Totma, which is conducted by a clergyman. The instruction prescribed consists of reading, writing, religion, Biblical history, and arithmetic on the calculating-board † To each teacher £32 to £40 is allowed as a gratuity. The Minister has claimed the co-operation of

* With the Raskolniks (the Ancient Believers), who are widely spread in the north of Russia, reading and writing are generally familiar, they do not however know the present Russian characters, but only the ancient, the old Slavonic ones In their nunneries, which are concealed from the knowledge of the Government, the nuns are obliged continually to copy the old liturgical and religious books, which they then sell to their fellow-believers I found among these people, who are distinguished by purity of morals, strictness, and great order and cleanliness, frequently single leaves with very beautifully written prayers, some of which were presented to me

† The Russian calculating-board is a piece of wood upon which are drawn half-a-dozen wires Upon each of the wires ten balls are strung, and the first row of balls denotes the tens, the second row the hundreds, the third the thousands, etc In calculating, the balls are slid, when necessary, to one side, and additions or subtractions made. With a little practice the thing appears very feasible, and it is done much faster than our calculation upon paper This calculating-board is said to have been borrowed from the Chinese

the Metropolitan, by requesting the appointment of able clergymen.

We had been very hospitably entertained at Totma, and left the town at noon; and passing over to the right bank of the Sukhona, we continued along it until we arrived opposite Ustiug The character of the country and road was the same as that we had passed over on our way to Totma everywhere along the river we found oases of four to six villages; then the forest re-appears, and comes close down to the river

The villages have a pretty appearance, and unusually handsome houses of peculiar construction and arrangement are occasionally met with I noticed that here in the north of Russia the pole with the starling's nest is no longer seen, which stands close to most of the peasants' houses in the Governments of Moscow, Vladimir, and Yaroslaf In all the villages I saw an extremely simple and light plough, of a very judicious construction

At the third station we stopped a short time, the afternoon was sultry, nevertheless we found the room of a peasant's house which we entered overheated this was the case in all the dwellings we visited Everywhere on the walls hung woodcuts, representing scenes from legends and popular humorous stories To my astonishment ice was brought us, and we were able to make some iced lemonade That the *samovar* was nowhere wanting is a matter of course, but there were also everywhere porcelain cups, and even porcelain plates and dishes!

I sketched another very pretty house, and was getting into the carriage to drive off, when an old dame came up. My companion said to her, "Prostchai, matushka!" (Good-day, mother); she answered, "Prostchai, golubtchik!" (Good-day, little dove). How graceful and pleas-

ing! Would so pretty an expression have fallen from the lips of an old peasant-woman in Germany?

After passing the sixth station the country became very beautiful; valleys ran from the river into the country, and with the high banks constituted a charming, undulating district of hill and hollow. Our tarantases here were smeared with bear's-grease instead of tar!

The high-road from Vologda to Ustiug runs close to the Sukhona If, instead, it had been carried twenty versts distant from the river, through the forests, it would have increased the quantity of land under cultivation: new villages would have arisen on such a road, like those which, from the earliest times, have bordered the river. The construction of new high-roads has everywhere been a great means of extending building and land-culture in Russia.

Whilst stopping at a village close to the Sukhona, we saw on the river's bank boats of a most primitive form, hollowed out of the trunks of trees.

I had often in my youth heard of Russian glass (mica, or talc), and had seen it in mineralogical cabinets; here for the first time I saw small panes of it in the windows of the peasants' houses.

Early in the afternoon of the 28th of May, we reached the banks of the Sukhona, directly opposite the town of Veliki Ustiug. It was in a glorious sunshine, and the view of the town was one of the most imposing I had ever seen The Sukhona is here much broader than the Rhine at Cologne; and the town, with its many hundred spires and gilded cupolas, stretches for more than a league along the bank.

It was different in the interior of the town. Fronting the river was a row of handsome modern houses of several stories, with columns and balconies; but at the back were only broad, unpaved streets, amid gardens and courts, separated by boards and small one-storied Russian log-houses, large squares with cattle grazing in them, and innumerable (some rich and splendid) churches. There are here two cathedrals, twenty-eight parish-churches, perhaps thirty to forty smaller ones, and two convents, with only about 8000 inhabitants! One church may perhaps be reckoned for every 150 persons.

Our intended arrival had been previously announced, and we found quarters in the house of a rich merchant of the First Guild, Ilia Yakovlevitch Gribanof, said to possess about 9,000,000 roubles, who received us very hospitably, and gave up to us the upper story of his handsome house, furnished quite in the modern fashion.

We had some repairs to make in one of our carriages, and took it to a saddler, who was ready to proceed at once to work; but his best workman was drunk, and

lay snoring in a corner of the court. As he could not be awakened by shaking and calling, the saddler coolly took a bucket of water, and threw it over the head of the sleeper, which was perfectly effectual, for he instantly bestirred himself, became sober, and went merrily to work.

We had arranged for the following morning (Whit-Sunday, the 30th of May,) an excursion on the water to the celebrated Monastery of Troitza, situated a league distant from the town; and we remained during the evening at home, having still much to write. I witnessed here for the first time a northern night, in which the twilight and dawn appeared in the sky at the same time, it remained so light that I could read and write in my room without a candle. The sun, in rising and setting in the North, remains apparently an unusually long time on the horizon, when it reaches the edge, it is nearly half an hour before it sinks and disappears In Germany this takes place within five minutes, and in southern countries more speedily; consequently in Russia the twilight lasts much longer, and the dawn begins earlier.

On the 30th of May, at half-past seven o'clock in the morning, we entered a boat which was to take us down the Sukhona to a village on the right bank, and thence to Troitza. It was a glorious morning. The numerous cupolas and spires of the town, many of which were gilded, glistened in the bright sunshine, innumerable bells were ringing in the festival, and, as the stream flowed gently under us, the whole atmosphere was filled with their music.

The Russians like nothing so much as the sound of bells, they do not however ring them in the common way, by swinging, but shake the tongue by means of a

cord, or with the hand. The effect is quite different from the usual one in ringing bells

We landed first on the right bank of the Sukhona, at the small village of Pestovo, and were received by the Starosta, Simeon Timofeievitch Tchukin, and invited in the most hospitable manner to his house. There was an excellent breakfast upon the table, consisting of *pirogi*, veal-cutlets, salmon, fruit tarts, *waffles*, tea, and capital Madeira

The house, in its arrangement, furniture, and utensils, was precisely similar to those of all the other peasants. Our host was rich, but neither he nor his wife and children had departed from the national customs of the peasants here Only the eldest daughter had been educated in the town, she was engaged to be married to a merchant there, and appeared in a dress quite of the modern fashion, not in very good taste.

The usual coat of the men is made of a light grey woollen cloth, which they weave themselves, it is called *armjak*,* and costs when purchased fourteen or fifteen shillings, and lasts ten years. Occasionally brown coats are seen, woven of mohair-yarn, which comes from Siberia, a coat of this kind costs only nine shillings. For holiday dress, the blue kaftan, with the *kushak* (a woollen sash), is not wanting, which costs about £1. 2*s*. Trousers, and an over-shirt made of homespun linen (cot-

* This is said to be a Tatar word, but it is perhaps a corruption of the German words *Jacke* and *Mannsjacke* (jacket) That German, or rather Dutch, reminiscences are found here we have already seen at breakfast, where the favourite Dutch waffles appeared, the waffle-iron too, which I asked to see, is the well-known Dutch one. Finally, there was evidently a similarity in the dress of the women to the peasant dresses of north Holland. The Archangel trade with Holland, and the preference of Peter I. for everything Dutch, may perhaps explain this.

ton ones I did not see here), are worn, which cost, of the best quality, twenty copeks per arshine. The boots, which are only worn by the rich, and by them only on holidays, cost from 4*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* 6*d.* the pair; a pair of women's shoes 1*s* 4*d* The women's cap is richly embroidered with gold and silver by themselves. The greatest display however consists of a large cloth, thrown round the head like a hood, and hanging down to the feet; it is made of the heaviest silk material, richly interwoven with gold and silver flowers and arabesques, in the best rococo taste, and is said often to cost £15.

After breakfast we returned to our boat; our host accompanied us bareheaded, and on taking leave kissed our hand (which is not the custom in other districts of Russia), begging us in the most earnest manner to repeat our visit. We now proceeded down the river to the Monastery of Troitza, situated at the point where the Sukhona joins the Yug, and the two rivers united take the name of the Dvina.

The banks of the rivers rise here about a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet, and the Monastery of Troitza, with its handsome, many-cupola'd church, stands proudly on the highest point. In the earliest times a town called Gleden is said to have stood here, from which the Monastery still bears the name of Gledenski. The situation between these mighty rivers, commanding the view of Ustiug, is magnificent

From all sides the people arrived in crowds upon the height where stand the Monastery and church, each carrying the Whitsuntide palm as an offering in his hand. A more brilliant or prettier sight than they presented I never remember to have seen,—especially the women, probably a thousand in number, enveloped in the above-

described cloths of gold brocade. After Mass the Archimandrite of the Monastery invited us to breakfast, and we were obliged, with superhuman efforts, to undertake this second one, in order not to give offence to the good, hospitable monks. The Archimandrite had but a a few monks with him, the Monastery being in some sort abolished; we were told that only as many are retained here as are absolutely necessary for the service in the celebrated and sacred church; the others have been removed to Archangel, and the funds of the Monastery appropriated to a nunnery at Odessa.

The Archimandrite then conducted us to the hut (still held sacred) of a pious hermit, St. Ivan, and showed us a spring dug by himself, on which the iron drinking-cup still hangs by its chain. He related to us also a legend of St. Stephan, the Apostle of the Syranes: the Saint had forbidden this people in the strictest manner to indulge in eating human flesh, of which they were very fond; and not having obeyed his commands, he had punished the culprits with blindness, since which time the whole tribe have suffered in an extraordinary manner from diseases of the eyes. The good man accompanied us to our boat, bidding us a kind farewell, and thanking us heartily for our visit

On our way back our boatman told us that many of the people hire themselves to work in the vessels which proceed from hence to Archangel, receiving with their board eighteen shillings as monthly wages.

Our kind host in the afternoon sent for some of the Syranes, a large number of whom are always to be found in Ustiug. Those I have seen are a small, thick-set, but powerful race of men, generally with fair hair and blue eyes. I had unfortunately too little time, and

too few opportunities, to collect information in their own country regarding this interesting hunting tribe of the Finnish race, and I therefore give here only what I heard this afternoon from themselves or from people in Ustiug. What interesting information and characteristic traits might be discovered of a people, whose most common saying is, *to die for justice,* who never shut up anything or use locks, theft and cheating being quite unknown among them, and who have in their language no word or expression for *taking leave!*

The Syranes have indeed a fixed settlement, but they have no established agriculture, they burn down or root up the trees, and cultivate corn (but only what is necessary for their immediate wants) in the ashes of the burnt wood. On the other hand, they breed a considerable number of cattle: a man who has only ten cows is considered poor, many have thirty, forty, to fifty head The small rivers of their country have innumerable windings, and these form splendid meadows Beside the neat cattle* they have sheep, but very seldom swine, which are rarely kept in these northern districts, and almost always for the sake of their bristles alone The principal occupation of the Syranes is hunting, in which they perform marvels; they have excellent dogs, a kind of greyhound, with which they may be almost said to live and die.

On the 1st of June, towards evening, we took our departure from Ustiug, accompanied by our kind host† as

* The neat cattle of the Syranes, which are frequently seen in Ustiug, are small, of a brown colour, and without horns.

† We were, as I said, *quartered* upon this rich merchant, he was consequently our involuntary host; but we were received as if we were his oldest and dearest friends, and had been urgently invited to visit him The whole upper story of his stately house was given up to us. Every day at noon and in the evening an elegant dinner and supper were

far as the ferry, in the direction of Nikolsk. The road soon became very lonely, traversing impenetrable primeval forests, which on our left stretched uninterruptedly many thousand miles far into the interior of Siberia. Our next neighbours, right and left, were the bear and the wolf! Now and then we arrived at spots where extensive tracts of the forest were burnt down, this had been done purposely, that the soil might be tilled for some years Such places, where the ground, as far as the eye reached, looked grey and black with the burnt stems of the trees, branchless and leafless, standing up bare against the sky in the dusk of a northern night, had a very spectral appearance.

At intervals we passed through a solitary small village, but twice through well-built and rich-looking ones, the peasants in which we were told occupied the land by *Polovnik* law, an explanation of which will be given at the end of this Chapter.

Once we encountered a horde of Gipsies, with a great

given in our honour, to which those gentlemen from the town were invited whose acquaintance was likely to be interesting to us On taking leave, our host thanked us in the kindest manner for our visit, requested us to repeat it, etc , but the most remarkable circumstance was that his people would accept no drink-money from us, and that he had given to each of our servants, unknown to us, ten silver roubles. In Germany the opposite custom prevails In Hamburg, Frankfurt, or Vienna, if you have acquaintances and good letters of introduction, you may securely calculate upon being invited every day to dinner and supper for a quarter of a year It is a friendly and laudable custom But this hospitality is somewhat expensive to the guest, he would live cheaper in an hotel for it is the custom to give after every dinner, etc the servants of the host drink-money, from two-thirds of a thaler to two thalers There are hospitable houses where the servants receive no wages, in consideration of the drink-money they receive, we might in North Russia likewise have referred our servants to the drink-money *of our hosts*, upon whom we were *quartered*, for their wages!

quantity of baggage. Their leaders were inscribed as merchants of the Third Guild; and were now bringing goods from Siberia to Ustiug, Archangel, Vologda, etc. Gipsy life in Russia has something very mysterious about it, and a careful examination might lead to surprising results and explanations of the history of this singular people.

In the village of Voronina we were obliged to stop several hours, on account of a breakage in our carriage. A rich inhabitant named Gregory Ovashnin received us; he was a sensible man, and gave full and satisfactory replies to all our inquiries One part of the land of the village was Communal, or rather Crown land, and, according to the Russian custom, was divided among the members of the Commune, another part, much larger and lying everywhere in strips in the midst of the former, had always been heritable land,—that is, it belonged originally to nobles and burghers of adjacent towns, and was let out among the peasants of the village according to Polovnik law. The grandfather of our host had cultivated it for the most part under this system, and had grown rich thereby. He had gone to Ustiug, and there become a burgher, thus acquiring the right of possessing heritable land himself. Taking advantage of this, he had in 1811 purchased the land, which was let out in this village according to Polovnik law, and left it to his sons, who again left it to their sons. Our host possessed an eighth part of the whole as his own property, and had besides taken some portions on lease. He would now have had the right of separating from the village and the Crown Commune, and would then have become an independent landed proprietor, as we term it in Western Europe; but in Russia every one who is not noble, or rather who is not

an official or a clergyman, must belong to a Commune, and be included in its sacred bond, otherwise he has no secure position in life. Our host consequently remained in the village Commune; nay, he even made considerable sacrifices for that object: the reason was not clear to us, and he would not explain it. Suffice it, that he had undertaken the payment of the *obrok* for eight souls, and would consequently have had also the right of demanding eight portions of the land of the Commune; but he had given up his claims, and cultivates only his heritable land. He has a large farming establishment, the ground he cultivates being equal in extent to one-third of the whole Commune He has eight hired servants; of these, four remain with him throughout the year, and each receives, beside board, his clothes, or £1. 2*s*. 6*d* in lieu of them, and £3. 8*s* 6*d*. wages. Four servants are engaged for the five summer months only, and receive in addition to their board £2. 5*s*. wages, and their clothes, or £1. 2*s*. 6*d*. Five maids are also kept, who receive, with their living, £1. 12*s*., but no clothes.* Three meals a day are given, the dishes consisting of cabbage-soup (*shtchi*), with animal food, and on holidays fish, with a kind of turnips boiled in *kvas*, called singularly enough *Holandskis*

The cattle of the farm consist of eight horses, twenty-

* These wages are somewhat, though not much, higher than in Westphalia, where the first man-servant, besides his living, receives 24 thalers wages, and a bushel of flax, which may be considered as worth 6 thalers, the other servants receive 18 thalers and half a bushel of flax this gives for the first servant 30 thalers, for the second 21 thalers. But here in North Russia each man-servant receives 31 thalers, 10 silbergroschen The maids in Westphalia receive from 8 to 12 thalers,—here 11 thalers However it was only in this district, situated so far north, and distant from the manufacturing districts, that I found such low wages in the rest of Russia they are much higher

five cows, fifteen sheep, eight swine, and thirty fowls. Ducks and geese I have nowhere seen in this part of Russia. Two-fifths of the land (exclusive of what lies fallow) were sown with winter corn, three-fifths with summer corn. For the winter field they plough twice, and even three times; for the summer field only once. The garden vegetables were leeks, mangel-wurzel, large beans, carrots, peas, turnips, and potatoes.

This farm was very interesting to me, being the first instance I had seen in Russia of one based upon the system of hired men and women servants The proprietor was not a scientific farmer, but a plain sensible peasant; nor did he stand alone in his system of agriculture, for there were many farms of the same kind in the district, and, I was assured, they were in general as flourishing as the one I inspected

In reality our host was not properly a peasant, but an industrious man, who speculated in corn and commodities, and had amassed a fortune of more than a hundred thousand roubles He wore a blue kaftan, and shaved his beard. His hospitality was confined to offering us some tea, with a piece of bad cake and a glass of port-wine; whilst our friend the peasant at Pestovo, near Ustiug, gave us a splendid entertainment and most hearty reception.

The great readiness and frankness with which the Russian peasants explained the minutest details of their domestic affairs was remarkable, and this to perfect strangers, like my companions, whom they saw for the first time, but more particularly to myself, a foreigner, to whom all had to be interpreted. They evidently took a pleasure in making everything clear to the stranger who appeared to take an interest in their affairs But it was

only with the Great Russians that I found this openness and facility,—less so with the Little Russians, and among the foreign populations of Tatars, Caucasians, etc. often quite the contrary.

In the District of Nikolsk, which we traversed from north to south, a custom prevails, of which I never before heard, and which creates a kind of property, or hereditary occupation of the land. Large forests are allotted to the use of the Crown Communes, generally of much greater extent than is required for firewood and building purposes. If a member of the Commune is inclined to burn down the wood in places where there are no large trees, he requests permission of the Commune, which is never refused He thus acquires an hereditary right to the occupation of the land he has cleared, and this right is always acknowledged by the Commune. The Government has long been desirous of putting an end to this custom as an abuse, but of late has preferred regulating and defining it.

In the town of Nikolsk we remained a night with the Head of the District, and received from him some information respecting it, which I give here.

The Circle of Nikolsk is 11,600 square miles in extent, with a population of 83,000, or about seven inhabitants to the square mile But in this extent of country there are 11,030 square miles of forest and waste land. The arable portion consists of only 272,160 acres, the meadows of 93,757, or together about 570 square miles. On the cultivated land there are 150 inhabitants to the square mile. In this Circle accordingly scarcely $\frac{1}{21}$ of the land is cultivated.

Nearly all the peasants belong to the Crown, and there are said to be 39,900 male souls. It is only in

the southern part, on the frontier of the Government of Kostroma, that some nobles are found with about 1140 serfs.

As there are so few nobles in these Circles of Totma, Ustiug, and Nikolsk, electoral rights and the appointment of local officers, the Ispravnik, etc. have not been given to them, and these officials are here appointed by the Government.

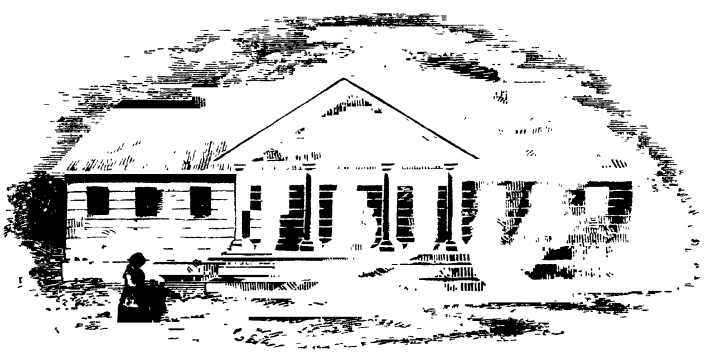
In these wild regions, to which a stranger seldom penetrates, our appearance was a kind of festival to the people. If we stopped for a moment in a village,—which often occurred, as we had frequent breakages to be repaired in our carriages,—the whole village instantly assembled, the men about the carriages, the women, girls, and children crowded closely together, apart from the men, before the door, or upon the staircase of some house. Sometimes, when we changed horses, the peasants put all the horses in the village to our carriages, none wished to be behindhand Thus we had once twenty-eight horses before our two tarantases, upon almost every one sat a boy, and off we went at full gallop

Not far from one village we saw a number of people engaged in pulling down a fence. We were told that an act of justice was being administered. A member of the Commune had presumed to enclose his pasture. The Commune had called upon him to explain his conduct; but instead of appearing he had hidden himself, for fear of the communal stick, which is said to inflict very hard and ignominious blows. The whole Commune had assembled to pull down the unlawful fence. "*Mir polozhil!*" (the Commune has decided), said our drivers. Everywhere we meet the despotic power of the Communes in Russia,—all submit to it.

As we approached the Government of Kostroma the lime began to re-appear, as a forest-tree; and with it the bast-manufacture and weaving of mats in the villages.

In these northern districts we were never accosted by beggars; but this recommenced as soon as we crossed the frontier of the Government of Kostroma, probably because this is a trading country, and begging belongs to the well-organized trades!

At the station of Diakovo horses were not immediately forthcoming, and we stopped opposite the house of the landlord of the estate, who invited us to drink tea with him His name was Peterson, and he was originally of an English family, but now quite Russianized. I give a drawing of his dwelling, as a good specimen of a Rus-



sian noble's country-house It was built of logs,* and had only one story, with a broad flight of steps in front, leading to a vestibule, which rested upon wooden pillars. In the interior all the walls were merely planed, and nowhere was there roughcast, paint, or paper, so that the

* Almost all the houses of the nobles in Russia are built of wood, and rarely without pillars or balconies

bare logs were everywhere seen. The doors had no locks, but only wooden bolts. The furniture combined a mixture of the utmost simplicity and modern elegance. The tables were extremely plain, and made of the wood of the lime and fir-tree, without polish; the chairs were of common wood, but there was a sofa stuffed and covered with leather. On the walls hung an excellent English timepiece, and some engravings and pictures painted by the owner, which displayed considerable talent and artistic skill; on the table stood silver candlesticks. M. Peterson showed us the cheek-bone of an antediluvian animal, probably a mammoth, which he had found in the sand of the river. It was the one half, and measured two and a half feet. A single tooth occupied the whole side of the mouth, and was nine inches long by three and a half broad.

At the next station our postilion cuffed the Yemstchik, but gently, for driving badly; the latter took it ill, and suddenly left the high-road, and drove into the court-yard of a nobleman's house. Here there was a great noise, the noble was the proprietor of the Yemstchik, and took the part of his serf most zealously; he wanted to arrest the postilion. We conciliated the Yemstchik with drink-money, and after a long uproar drove on.

The serfs or peasants belonging to the landowners have more protection and greater security against the oppression, impositions, and maltreatment of the officials, than the peasants of the Crown. By the new arrangements in the department of Domains, these evils have been considerably amended: the Crown peasants begin to feel that they can find protection from the officials of the Domains, and ultimately even from the Minister. In the north, when the peasants send in petitions to the

authorities or their landlords, they always write them in the old Slavonic character, not in the Russian, which they neither like nor know. Peter I. himself invented and used a new alphabet, founded upon the old Slavonic one, which has been adopted by his successors, and used both in printing and writing But although this alphabet has existed a hundred and thirty years, the mass of the people have not yet become accustomed to it. Indeed there exist as yet no popular schools in which this mode of writing is taught to the people, or made obligatory upon them, but the old Slavonic writing has been handed down traditionally among them, one learning it from another.

As soon as we entered the Government of Kostroma we again found the poles with the starlings' nests beside the peasants' houses. The station-village of Balashir Ugori, which we reached in the afternoon of June 4th, is well built. I sketched the house before which we

stopped, and also observed its internal arrangement. There were several buildings adjoining each other, and a low wide shed connected by a kind of staircase with the winter house, next to which stood the summer

house; each building had a separate roof, but they were united internally in a convenient manner. The winter and summer houses contained only stalls and stables in the lower story; in the upper one was the dwelling. The winter house had the *izba* (black room) next the street; behind were the *tchulani* (chambers). The summer house contained the *sarai* (store for provisions), and in front the *gornitza*, or summer room, with large windows Along the gables of the houses on both sides ran borders ornamented with a variety of carved work, which terminated in long planks, and beautiful filigree-work. In the inns the waiters and landlords carry a long narrow napkin, which they present when required to the guests in washing; at the end this cloth is about half a foot wide, worked like lace, and appears pinked with all sorts of arabesques Now these planks with the filigree-work on the gables of the houses look precisely like these napkins, one of which hangs upon the wall in every respectable peasant's house The arabesques are generally worked with red worsted In almost every house too is a high covered water-vessel of copper or tin, fixed, with a cock, and a large bowl under it The mode of washing the hands in Russia is by turning this cock, and letting the water flow over them, or by getting some one to throw it over them; the hands are never immersed in the water. Even the peasants observe this custom strictly; the immersion perhaps appears too much like the Greek baptism, and they may avoid it from a kind of religious fear!

In this peasant's house we met the Ispravnik of the Circle, who was on one of his official journeys. I found some books on the shelves in the room, and asked the Ispravnik how the people here learned to

read. He said that, except the Circle school, there was no other in the district; but that every tolerably prosperous peasant endeavoured to send his son to one of the popes or deacons to learn a little reading. He pays for this instruction eight to ten roubles. The son of the peasant in whose house we were had first learnt to read with a Cantonist, for which he had paid twelve roubles; afterwards also to write, his father paying for this twelve roubles additional. The village consisted of eleven houses, with forty-five male souls, of whom five could read, and three could read and write

We again reached the Volga on the 5th of June at noon, opposite the town of Yurief; and here terminated our travels in the North of Russia, which were almost confined to the Government of Vologda.

The Polovnik system, which has been referred to in this Chapter,* may be briefly explained as follows.

The land is let to a free tenant farmer for a term of years, as in the *Métayer* system in the south of Europe, on condition of his delivering yearly to the landlord half the produce.† The word *Polovnik* is derived from *polovina*, half The number of Polovnik peasants proper (that is, of those who live together in villages) in the three Circles of Ustiug, Solvitchegodsk, and Nikolsk, at the last Revision, was 3920 male souls. I was much surprised to find this custom, which was well known to me in one part of Southern Europe, so high up in the

* See above, p 205

† For further information on the *Métayer* system, the Reader may refer to Mr Mill's work on Political Economy —TRANSL

north of Russia, where I had supposed its existence impossible, both from the nature of the agriculture, soil, climate, and commercial relations of the country. It has generally been supposed that farms of this kind are only adapted to southern grain countries, in which a fertile soil, equability of climate, light work, and rapid interchange of commodities, render so high a rent as one-half of the gross produce possible.

In these districts, as indeed throughout North Russia, there is no native resident nobility. Those who live here belong for the most part to the official class, and come and go, but do not become settled. In the towns—for instance Ustiug—there have been from of old some families belonging to the nobles, but they possess no land with serfs living upon it: they however, as well as a number of citizens in the towns, own large districts and entire villages as their own property, without the right of cultivating them by serfs, but only according to Polovnik law—that is, in the manner of the Italian and *Métayer* system—by letting them to peasant farmers for the half or a certain part of the produce. The contracts are for six to twenty years. Each party is free at the conclusion of the contract or a year's notice, to dissolve the relation. The contract is extremely simple in form: the parties appear before the Circle Court, and cause to be inscribed in the Polovnik books, which are kept there, this declaration:—"Mr. W—— has granted to the peasants N. N. N. the village of A. and the land annexed to it, according to Polovnik law, for six, ten, or twenty years."

I found somewhat different opinions expressed as to the advantages of the system, according to the Circle in which it prevailed In the Circle of Ustiug the opinion

was very favourable: I was informed that it was extremely advantageous for both parties, and therefore lasting: it is a fixed legal relation. That this is not the case with all the other relations of the peasantry in Russia is the greatest social defect of the country. The landowner, as well as the Polovnik, knows his duties precisely, and to fulfil them is for the advantage of both parties. The peasant is always protected by his landlord against the caprice and oppressions of others; he is freed by him from much care, having his Crown taxes paid, and being maintained in years of scarcity. But in case of dissatisfaction arising between them, it is by no means an indissoluble connection. The conclusion of the contract, a notice, or mutual agreement may dissolve it; but this hardly ever occurs, and it descends from generation to generation. The peasant leaves unwillingly the spot which has become his home, and the landowner is equally unwilling to lose worthy and industrious tenants. The relation too is manifestly very advantageous to the latter; and this kind of rent appears so high for this northern country, that it is difficult to understand at first how the peasant can exist: it is evident that the half of the produce which remains to him is barely sufficient to provide food for himself, his family, and cattle. But the nature of the climate, agriculture, and national habits sufficiently explain this. During seven or eight months all agricultural labour is at a stand, and the Polovnik can spend this time in satisfying his domestic wants, and in earning money. He regards his home as a convenient point from which to organize his undertakings: he carries on trade like all the other Russian peasants; speculates, hunts, and trades in skins, acts as a carrier, etc. Thus these people are generally well off,

and a great many of them are rich,—more so than the Crown peasants, although the tax or *obrok* of the latter is infinitely lower than the value of half the produce. The outward appearance of wealth too is found more generally among them than the Crown peasants; they have less cause to avoid it than the latter, who are more exposed to the extortions of the officials, or at least were so before the introduction of the recent Domainal arrangements.

The security of his position has given the Polovnik peasant a superior moral bearing; he is of a more solid character, and more to be relied on in business; he is honest, and his morals are simple and pure.

The opinion I heard expressed regarding this Polovnik custom in the Circle of Nikolsk was less favourable; the peasants there are afraid of it, thinking that the written contracts might lead to a kind of serfage during their lives, ending perhaps in a heritable one Whether the behaviour of any of the landowners had given occasion to this fear, I could not learn, the consequence however has been a great diminution in the number of the Polovniks in this Circle Those who abandon their old relations are either adopted into the Crown villages, or settle in the interior of the forests, but they generally remain in the former, and content themselves with their small share of the Crown land.

The history of the origin of this custom is very obscure, and I have not been able completely to elucidate it. It may be considered a remnant of the agricultural system which formerly prevailed in Russia, where the great mass of the landowners let the land to free peasants for a portion of the produce, as here in the north, or on the *corvée* system, as in the central and southern

districts, or for a corn or even money rent (*obrok*).* The abolition of the power of moving from place to place, under the Czar Boris Godunof, and the ascription of the peasantry to the landowners in the Revisions under Peter I, have greatly changed the original nature of these relations, and led to the development of the present one.

Polovnik law has always been regarded as favourable to the cultivation of the land in these districts, and Peter I. was convinced of the advantages of the institution. Various ukases have been issued for its regulation,—the last one by the Minister of the Interior, December 1st, 1827.

* *Obrok* is said to be derived from the word *obrekat*, to devote, signifying what is devoted or settled.

PEASANTS OF YAROSLAF AND VOLOGDA.

CHAPTER VII.

YURIEVETZ —APPANAGE VILLAGE OF DIAKONSKI.—PEOPLE'S SCHOOL.—ARTISAN SCHOOL.—PEASANTS' HOUSES —ARRIVAL AT NIZHNI NOVGOROD.—THE GOVERNOR —IMPERIAL PALACE —THE GULIANIE.—POPULAR AMUSEMENTS AND SONGS.—RUSSIAN COSTUMES —ABUNDANCE OF PEARLS —A PROVINCIAL THEATRE —SUPERSTITION.—EXCURSION TO ARZAMAS —VISIT TO A CONVENT —NATIVE ARTISTS —MANUFACTURES. —VILLAGE OF VIZENA AND ITS ASSOCIATION OF SHOEMAKERS —VILLAGE AND TAXING ARRANGEMENTS —RETURN TO NIZHNI NOVGOROD. —VISIT TO THE PRISONS.—BENEVOLENCE TO THE PRISONERS.—THE BURLAKS.

YURIEVETZ, like all the towns on the Volga, stands on the high right bank, it is very prettily situated, and, from its numerous spires and cupolas, has the aspect of a large city, although in reality it is only a moderate-sized chief town of a Circle. We left it on the morning of the 6th of June. The road to Nizhni Novgorod runs along the right bank of the Volga, lined with double rows of birch-trees on either side.

At about eight o'clock we reached the station of Diakonski, a small village, containing only nine farms, belonging to the Appanage estates of the Imperial family. This, with a number of neighbouring villages, constitutes an Appanage District, the Golova of which lives here; he went with us round the village, and kindly showed us all the arrangements.

We first visited the school, where one of the village

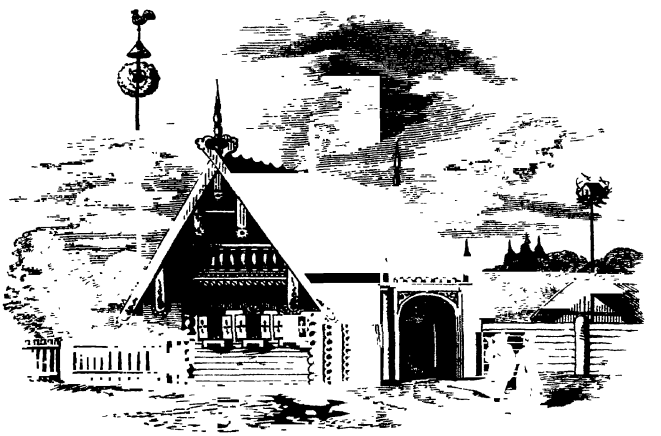
popes was giving instruction to the children. The peasant boys all read and wrote very well, and calculated rapidly upon the Russian counting-board the little exercises which I gave them. Beside this, they receive religious instruction in Biblical history. Three hours of instruction were given every day, and the pope receives for this 500 roubles (£22) annually out of the funds of the Ministry of the Appanages.

We next went to the School of Industry, founded by this Ministry. Here from twelve to eighteen boys, chosen from the better class of peasants, are taught various trades, among which they have their choice, whether to be carpenters, smiths, curriers, hat-makers, or felt sock manufacturers, and so on, they are maintained three years free of expense, and then receive for a few years their board and lodging, together with £2. 8*s*. wages. We saw some very well-made furniture and iron utensils, with a hat shop, the proceeds of which go to the school; considerable additional funds however are required to maintain it.

The Commune possesses a public store, to which each head of a family is obliged to make a small contribution. A sixteenth part of the land is set apart as communal land, and cultivated free of expense by the members of the Commune, under the direction of the Starosta, the seed being supplied from the store. Some of the inhabitants ply as burlaks upon the Volga, receiving passports, for which they pay fifteen silver copeks (6*d*.) a month.

In all the villages through which we passed we found charming decorations on the houses, consisting of carved and pinked work; the gables were prettily ornamented, and I sketched one of them in Lukurki, the second sta-

tion from Yurievetz. Although decorated in an unusually handsome manner, the houses here are in general not by any means so large and spacious as those in the northern part of the Government of Vologda; the *sarai* is not placed ten feet above the ground, nor do you ascend to it, as in the Circle of Ustiug.



Late in the evening we arrived on the bank of the Oka, opposite Nizhni Novgorod, were conveyed across the river, and found lodgings in a tolerably good inn, in the upper part of the town

The morning of the 7th of June was passed in paying visits. I made the acquaintance of the Head of Police of the town, Count Stenbock, who undertook, with the utmost politeness, to show me all that was interesting in this remarkable place. We then paid a visit to the Governor, M. Buturlin, with whom we dined. He had long been Adjutant of the Emperor Alexander, and was present with him in the campaigns in Germany and France. He is an accomplished and well-informed man,

with polished manners, and a calm and elevated turn of thinking. He belongs to a family the members of which are intimately connected with the history of Russia, and are often named in it; a slight colouring of the old Boyar element was still perceptible in him.

In the most ancient of the large towns of Russia, the former residences of the princes, is always found a Kremlin, or castle, fortified and standing upon a commanding elevation, as in Novgorod, Vladimir, and Kazan. A fortress of this kind, surrounded by high walls, exists in Nizhni Novgorod, upon the height at the foot of which the Oka falls into the Volga Here is a newly-built Imperial palace, from the windows of which there is a splendid view of the two streams at their point of junction, the town, and several villages lying on the river's banks. But behind this beautiful foreground an immense, flat, wooded plain shuts in the horizon This is the general character of scenery in Russia · in the foreground are pretty, often picturesque, and even idyllic views; but the background is boundless, flat, and wild, the cultivated country forming a mere oasis

After dinner I drove with Count Stenbock to the Gulianie. This is a large open space south-west of the town, upon the bank of the Oka, which is two hundred feet high,—a meadow without tree or bush. Here the people assemble in the afternoon once every week when the weather is fine, and amuse themselves until evening. It was a picturesque sight, and well adapted for the study of popular costumes, character, manners, and customs. There were rows of tents and huts, made of the branches of trees, with food and drink. Over small fires, made in holes in the ground, the well-known Russian pies (*pirogi*) were everywhere cooking. These and

the other eatables were carried about for sale by active young boys upon boards, which they balanced on their heads. Everywhere the people stood or lay in stationary groups, but the sexes were always separated; each group constituted a sort of separate Commune for the time being, in accordance with the fundamental principle of the Russian popular character,—an organic association, with its elected leader, Starosta, or master. Spectators only, belonging to the middle and higher classes, and not participators in the proceedings, promenaded about; the common Russian never promenades In many of the groups of men we heard singing; among the women I never heard a song. The leader of the group commenced alone, in a monotonous plaintive note; the chorus answering, or repeating the concluding words. On one spot a circle of soldiers had assembled. The first singer stood in the middle with a tambourine; the songs were sung by several voices, and executed with great precision In the comic songs a complete theatrical display is made: the leading singer addresses the circle, singing, the latter replies; the leader rejoins, jumps and gesticulates with the greatest vivacity, and with a decided turn for mimicry. I have never seen this except in the Italian *grimaciers*, but they, although often inimitable singly, seldom constitute a connected whole, like that we saw here—a play in which all equally take part.

In loitering about, and watching the groups of people going and coming, I had an opportunity of observing the popular costumes; it is curious how little variety in this respect there is in Russia. The dress of the men among the Great Russians, except in a few particulars, as for instance the covering for the head, is the same;

the dress of the women also, although more varied, is still composed in the same manner, and has the same character throughout Great Russia In Germany every district, frequently a cluster of villages, has its own peculiar dress,—or rather had, for this begins to change with the advance of modern civilization There are more than a dozen principal differences among the old races, the Frieslanders, the Westphalians in the sandy district, the Westphalians in the mountains, the Lower Saxons, the Hessthuringians, the Franconians, Swabians, Bavarians, the Alpine race, etc Again in these countries there is also a number of minor divisions, each of which bears indeed the general character of the principal race, but exhibits an endless variety in form, colour, and decoration. In this way we find several hundred different popular costumes in Germany, in Great Russia, which is more than six times the size of Germany, there is only one, with perhaps not more than some dozen slight variations Germany has also such a number of different dialects that the various peoples who live far apart do not understand each other. In Russia there is only one language, the same for the educated classes and the common people, but likewise only one dialect, with very slight differences in single words, accents, and intonations Thus Great Russia presents the most homogeneous mass of people in Europe There is consequently little development of provincial and individual character, a general uniformity, and little freshness and poetry of life; but, on the other hand, we find a basis for great political power.

What masses of pearls and precious stones must have been collected, and still be collecting, in Russia! All the women whom I met here, even the poorest fisherwomen,

had at least three or four strings of real pearls round their necks,—the richer ones ten or twelve, and often the diadem-shaped cap covered with pearls. At the marriages of the merchants, their wives appear bestrewn with pearls and precious stones; ornaments of the value of 100,000 roubles (£4500) are considered a small matter.

I heard there was a theatre in the town, and that in the evening a Russian national piece was to be performed. Being curious to learn the state of the modern theatre in the interior of Russia, I drove with Count Stenbock to it. The house had the usual arrangement of boxes, pit, etc A Russian opera, entitled 'Askoldova,' was performed, composed by Verstovski As far as I could judge, the subject appeared confused there is an attempt at a revolution against the Czar, in order to place a petty prince of Yaroslaf upon the throne, who however refuses to join the conspiracy, feeling happy in the love of a poor fisher-girl, but his sweetheart is torn from him by one of the Boyars, his favourite servant however discovers the place where she is kept prisoner, and forms a plan for liberating her he disguises himself as a story-teller, and assembles all the villagers before the castle of the Boyar; he then sings some popular songs and tales, and relates an interesting history of the abduction of the girl, which rivets the attention of the spectators, during his singing and reciting, the sentry approaches and listens, and is at length so engrossed by it that the Prince meanwhile succeeds in liberating and carrying off his beloved: the Boyar is now in a furious passion, and goes to a *Babushka* (witch), to discover by magic where the girl is: a scene of conjuration and witchcraft ensues, and at last all ends in a satisfactory manner.

The music in parts recalled various operas, particu-

larly 'Der Freischütz' and 'La Sonnambula'; but the songs were all founded upon national melodies, and really charming. The players acted not amiss,—two of them, with the story-teller, excellently. The woman was a remarkable singer,—the tenor and bass very good. The mimicry and gesticulations of the story-teller were genuinely national; and this was the most interesting part of the piece, for the same thing is not seen in this connection in other countries and theatres, each people having its peculiar drolls.

It was a curious fact that the actors and singers, male and female, were all serfs The prima-donna, who was much applauded, was a fisher-girl and serf. The actors who played the czar, princes, and heroes, and who must consequently have had a certain amount of education, were serfs What endless contrasts must this have produced in their feelings! They doubtless paid, from the profit arising from the exercise of this the freest of all arts, *obrok* to their lords, as in the case of the commonest handicraft. Indeed in St Petersburg and Moscow it sometimes happens that even the priestesses of the Venus Vulgivaga, to the disgrace of their lord, are obliged to pay *obrok* to him. The theatre in Nizhni Novgorod came into existence in the following way: many years ago a rich bachelor landed proprietor built a theatre upon his estate, selected some of his serfs, educated them as musicians and actors, and had plays and operas performed by them. He afterwards went to Novgorod, and built a theatre there, to which he invited his friends and acquaintances Subsequently he ruined himself by extravagance, began to take entrance-money, and at length became the director of his own Company. After his death another person took his place, and even

now an impoverished landed proprietor is at the head of the undertaking.

Although the people played well, considering that it was a provincial theatre, and a favourite opera was performed, the house was empty. Beside ourselves, in all eight persons, there were not twenty people in the boxes and pit,—in the inferior places not ten. It is said to be always thus empty, and evidently a taste for theatricals has not yet spread among the Russian people. The Lessee could not live did he not take, during the four weeks of the great Fair, from 24,000 to 30,000 silver roubles (£3800 to £4700). During the Fair the theatre is crowded every night, but then the performance takes place in a spacious theatre in the large square of the market-place, the one in the town being much too small, and at too great a distance That the Russian people have no taste for this kind of amusement is also evident from the high amount of the entrance-money: a place in the boxes is 11*s* (3½ silver roubles); stalls, 3*s* 2*d*, pit boxes, 2*s*., second tier, 1*s* 3*d*, pit, 9*d*, gallery, 6*d* During the remainder of the year the Lessee keeps the house open merely that his Company may not get out of practice; he scarcely clears the expense of lighting and music

The next morning I paid several visits. In the house of a German, on whom I called, a petty robbery had taken place a short time before; and I heard the method of catching a thief on such occasions, which had immediately succeeded in the present case The mistress of the house had sent for a Babushka (an old woman reputed to be skilled in witchcraft); and, as soon as she came, all the domestics were assembled in a room, and told that, if the thief were among them and confessed,

he would be liberated with a small punishment, but that otherwise the Babushka would soon find out the culprit Before she commenced her manœuvres the culprit confessed and begged for pardon. The manœuvre practised is as follows. the Babushka takes a piece of bread and makes of it as many little balls as there are persons present, she then places a vessel with water before her, and makes all the people stand in a semicircle around. Then she takes one of the balls, looks fixedly at the first person, and says. "Ivan Ivanof, if you are guilty, this ball will fall to the bottom, as your soul will fall into hell!" The balls of the innocent ought to swim, and those of the guilty to sink to the bottom, but no common Russian ever allows it to go so far that the ball with his name is thrown into the water; it is therefore not easy to prove this kind of witchcraft I am of opinion, without having any belief in the witchcraft of the Babushka, that the method is an excellent one for discovering the thief

I had resolved to make an excursion into the interior of the Government, to the town of Arzamas The Governor was kind enough to give me his Adjutant as companion and interpreter,—an active, accomplished man, who had a perfect knowledge of the German language We started on the 8th of June, towards evening, and the following morning reached Arzamas, about seventy miles distant from Nizhni Novgorod The Minister of Police, a Georgian by birth, who had married a German from Livonia and spoke German fluently, received us very hospitably in his own house

Arzamas is the chief town of a Circle, and a place of some importance. I obtained from my host the following statistical information regarding it. The town contains

4390 male and 4602 female inhabitants, with seventy-eight stone and 1399 wooden houses, thirty-four churches and two chapels: consequently there are 265 inhabitants to each church, and every forty-fourth building is a church. There are also two monasteries here, one with eighty, and the other with thirty monks, and two nunneries, one with 500, the other with 150 nuns. Including the secular priests and their families, there may be from 1400 to 1500 persons belonging to the ecclesiastical profession, —about one-seventh part of the population. What Catholic town of Italy or Spain, even in former days, could be compared in this respect with this one in Russia? There are thirty-four manufactories in the town, among which are nineteen important leather ones, excellent Russia leather is made here. I visited with my host a nunnery near the town, called the Alexeievski Convent, the arrangements of which are different from those of other Russian convents; it has a great reputation.

We proceeded along a high wall to a large gate, through which we were conducted into the courts of the Convent It is so extensive as to have almost the aspect of a small town. The wall surrounding it is about six hundred yards in extent, and in the interior are fifty-six stone and twenty-five wooden buildings, among which are three churches, one for summer, another for winter, and a church for the sick, an hospital, a store, various sheds, barns, a bake-house, brewery, washhouse, mill, etc.

At the door of the Convent we were received by the Superior, a lady seventy-two years of age, with a pleasing countenance, fine eye, and dignified deportment. She is the daughter of a sergeant in the Guards at St. Petersburg, and has been here seventy years; the first Superior, who was also the daughter of a sergeant, and

a relative of hers, received her into it when an orphan two years old, and educated her, and she has remained ever since without leaving the Convent. As she understood neither German nor French, the lady second in rank to her, Madame de Pakudin, joined us,—a woman of distinguished manners, who spoke French fluently

We passed through some long, dark, and not very clean passages near the church, when the stewardess welcomed us with bread and *kvas* We then surveyed the churches. The summer church is built in the usual Russian style, but the winter or warm one is an edifice of three stories. In the lowest story are magazines, and here the old and infirm nuns bake bread, a light kind of work which suits them; there is likewise a bakehouse for the general supply of the Convent. The second story contains an entire domestic establishment, with a large kitchen for a part of the Sisters, of whom there are more than five hundred In the third story is a church, which can be heated, but having more the character of a large hall, not being of the usual height The churches have been built by masons and carpenters, but the internal arrangement, the altars, carving and gilding, and the saints' pictures, have all been executed by the nuns. Everything has an appearance of great industry, neatness, and cleanliness. The new gilding is superintended by an Englishwoman, who has joined the Russo-Greek Church and entered this Convent. She and a German nun were pointed out to me, but the latter made no reply when I addressed her in her own language. It is against the rules of the Convent to speak any other language than Russian; Madame de Pakudin only made an exception in favour of us foreigners by speaking French.

It being about eleven o'clock we entered the Refectory,

where a large number of the nuns were just sitting down to dinner. Their mode of life is severe; they never eat meat, but bread, vegetables, and farinaceous dishes, prepared with oil,—on Wednesdays and Fridays only once in twenty-four hours, on the other days twice. On Fridays and Sundays fish is allowed.

The nuns are extremely industrious. As women, girls, and widows (whose husbands have gone to the wars or disappeared, and who leave the Convent again as soon as the latter re-appear) belonging to every class of society enter the Convent, of the most dissimilar capacities and education, the Superior forms small companies or *artells* of five to ten nuns, who are placed together in one cell, under a superintendent (*Starshaya*, eldest) appointed by the Superior. To these artells different kinds of employment are appointed, there being no gradations of rank arising from the previous condition of the nuns

The Superior conducted us into her own apartment, furnished with all the requirements of a nun,—a desk for praying, a number of saints' pictures, and portraits of the former Superiors of the Convent, but (so deeply has European fashion penetrated, even into the nunneries) the room was carpeted, and had modern furniture, a sofa, easy-chairs, etc , things which are never found in Roman Catholic convents.

Of the nunneries in Russia still less can be said than of the monasteries. Innocence, virtue, and piety may have prevailed among some members of them, but on the whole neither the secular nor the church history of Russia has anything very favourable to relate of them.

I have nowhere heard it asserted that the monks and nuns were sunk in voluptuousness and luxury. whether this was the case in former times I know not Since

Catherine II. confiscated the conventual property, the inmates of the monasteries and convents have had such slender means of subsistence that every kind of luxury is necessarily excluded, indeed they could not exist at all without other means of subsistence,—derived in the case of the monks from the offerings and presents of pious people and those who assume the monastic life,—in that of the nuns, from the proceeds of their labour and mendicity; begging nuns being found, to the public scandal, upon all the roads.

The confiscation of the ecclesiastical property created little sensation in Russia, no murmurs or dissatisfaction appeared on the part of the people,—a sure sign that monachism, in the state in which it then was, excited little love or respect.

All the efforts which have been made to reform the monastic life, and to infuse more vigour into the convents, have proceeded from the civil Government, although with the consent of the bishops, and partly with their co-operation But this Institution at Arzamas is a sign of vitality in the heart of the Russian Church, and, although of no great importance in itself, still as an indication of life it is interesting and worthy of consideration. This Society has sprung entirely from the wants and piety of individuals, without any direction or assistance from the Government. An old deserted convent gave occasion and shelter to it, but the Sisters are not properly nuns, at least not according to the rules hitherto recognized in Russia The chief difference however is the following The nuns proper still retain something of the character of anchorites. there is little internal cohesion among them in the convents, each living generally by herself, or together with one other, she fre-

quently maintains herself, and has her own private fortune; obedience to the Superior is little observed, and there is not much confinement; labour and activity are no part of their vocation, but are only practised for gain

In the Convent at Arzamas, on the contrary, obedience to the Superior is unconditional, and observed in the strictest manner. Perfect community prevails, both in living and working; all private possession is entirely forbidden. Close confinement is practised; work and activity are a part of the nuns' duties. The vows taken are valid only during the residence of the nuns in the Convent, which they are at liberty to quit at any time, there is however scarcely ever an instance of this, unless in the case of women finding their husbands who had disappeared

This Institution has existed for upwards of seventy years, without possessing any endowment, without any public acknowledgment or assured protection,—a society of more than five hundred women! They have frequently invited the notice of the Government, but hitherto in vain. The Emperor, Synod, Bishop, and Governor are all well inclined towards and speak favourably of them, but the institution is not intercalated in the regular acknowledged forms, the laws hitherto in force do not apply to them, and a new law would have to be enacted, here arise doubts and difficulties. They have been called upon to declare themselves regular nuns; but this they cannot do, as they would thereby destroy their peculiar individuality. The Government have cause to rejoice that such elements of life exist in the Church, but the Empire is too large, too extended, these things are lost sight of, and the great importance of such vigorous life-germs in particular cases are too little recognized.

Beside this Convent at Arzamas, there are said to be three smaller ones of the same kind in this Government, —a sign that the institution finds strong sympathy among the people, and supplies a want felt. They are found nowhere else in the Empire.

After leaving the Convent we visited some of the churches. The Cathedral was commenced in 1812, and completed in 1841. It is a hundred and seventy feet in length and breadth, and was built by the merchants after the model of the Isaac's Church in St. Petersburg. Korinski was the architect, and it cost 800,000 silver roubles,—a sign of the wealth of the merchants here The paintings are by native artists,—those of the Ikonostas in the Russian Church style, the others are copies of West-European pictures. The frescoes are copies, in the style of Rubens, and very well executed. I visited the artist, Osip Semionovitch Serebrakof, a serf of Colonel Bezabrasof of Moscow. Two of his sons were likewise painters, and one of them had studied in the Academy of Painting in St. Petersburg. He had probably brought home with him sketches of West-European pictures, from which those in the churches were painted, for the old man was a simple peasant, executing only pictures of saints in the Russian style, but the drawing of these was correct, the colours bright, and the expression interesting, displaying a mixture of the usual types recognized by the Church, with Russian national physiognomies. I purchased one of these pictures, representing six figures of Russian Saints, well grouped and prettily painted with a kind of miniature brush, for the low price of twenty-five roubles. The old man, with his two sons, paid to his lord a yearly *obrok* of 350 roubles (£16).

The eldest son had painted in the costume of this part

of the country the portrait of a beautiful peasant-girl; he sold the first copy of it in St Petersburg to an Englishman for a hundred guineas, the second we saw here. In the afternoon we drove to the village of Vizena, belonging to Prince Soltikof, situated close to the gate of Arzamas, and known throughout Russia for its extensive manufactory and sale of boots and shoes. The manager of the estate, who had been there twelve years, M Alexei Sergeievitch Tarkhof, received us in the most friendly manner, and exerted himself to show and explain to us everything. As is always the case in Russia, we were first conducted to the church. It was built by an ancestor of the present Prince, in the Italian style; it contains some good pictures, which one of the Princes Soltikof, who was ambassador at several Courts, had collected and bequeathed to it Among the rest, we saw a well-painted Magdalen, by a French artist, the head of which was the portrait of the celebrated La Vallière! The piety of the Russian people however did not address itself to these modern pictures from Western Europe, but preferred an old Russian Madonna, a copy of the Virgin at Kazan, which was bestrewn with pearls and precious stones.

The village of Vizena is well built, and contains several stone houses, which, if pillars and balconies are an evidence, might be called palaces.

At the last Revision there were 1820 souls in the village Commune. I have remarked that the majority of the inhabitants form an association of boot and shoemakers. There are also six glue and two wax-light manufactories, and eight large ones in which carpets and felt boots are prepared from cow and horse hair, a branch of industry carried on in many of the houses as a subsidiary occupation At the Fair of Nizhni Novgorod a

quantity of these, valued at 50,000 roubles (£2250), are sold, and in smaller fairs in the vicinity an additional quantity amounting to 10,000 or 20,000 roubles. About five hundred members of the Commune are always absent with passports; they wander about in search of work as far as Saratof, Astrakhan, Uralsk, and even into the interior of Siberia. Some remain away ten or fifteen years, others establish themselves permanently in various towns, never returning to their homes; they do not however cease to belong to the Commune, but pay their taxes here, and retain their houses, gardens, and communal rights, which they let out or deliver over to some other person.

Two hundred of the inhabitants proceed every year to the Fair at Nizhni Novgorod, and remain there two months, working and selling the goods belonging to the villagers. There is a great disparity of wealth among the inhabitants Formerly there was more wealth than at present, two peasants possessing each above 500,000 roubles; but there are even still fifteen houses whose trade receipts amount to between 20,000 and 50,000 roubles

The Prince has imposed a certain tax upon the inhabitants, and leaves it to the Commune to divide this among them They have elected one White-head for every hundred souls,* who taxes the members of the Com-

* It is curious that in Russia, in all public and private legal relations, the custom is to count by *souls* In the rest of Europe we count by heads, or men and women,—in short, the physical predominates, but in Russia, where the mechanical state flourishes and serfdom prevails, they count, in a spiritual manner, according to *souls*; but at the same time, like the Mohammedans, they assume that only the men, not the women, have or are souls! so that a noblewoman, who herself is not a soul, may possess many souls!

mune according to their means, the richer ones paying for so many souls.

The manager, Tarkhof, conducted us into the house of a peasant (one of the wax-light manufacturers), on the exterior of whose house balconies and pillars were not wanting, and in the interior black stuffed sofas and chairs, tables, carpets and window-curtains, and above all a musical clock. But all this modern tinsel is merely for appearance: the proprietor is a genuine bearded Russian in a blue kaftan; his wife a Matushka, in the peasant dress, with the "soul-warmer" bordered with fur; the children all in the dress of the country. They do not dwell in the modern part of the house, but in the wing attached to it, built of logs, in an *izba* (black room), not dissimilar to an ordinary peasant's room. We were hospitably entertained with tea, cakes, a variety of meats, and champagne; and when I expressed a wish to hear some of the people's songs, and to see their Sunday dress, a chorus of men was formed in less than a quarter of an hour in the next room, who sang beautifully. The songs were of a popular character, but of a bold composition, with modulations and characteristic ornaments.

A young girl then appeared in her Sunday dress, the same whose portrait we had seen at the artist's at Arzamas She had an expression of youth, a freshness and loveliness, innocence and piety, which were quite enchanting; it was Eve in Paradise before the Fall. And not only the expression of her face, but also her words and answers testified to the same gentleness and innocence. After asking her about the various parts of her dress, which she explained to me, and admiring it, I told her she was one of the loveliest creatures I had ever seen; she replied, "I am but the daughter of poor peasant people,

who have not yet been emancipated." What a plaintive reply to my flattering address! What is beauty without freedom, exposed to the caprice of a master? My companion the Adjutant made her a present of a small ring; she blushed deeply, and said, "I am a poor girl, and can give you nothing in return, but I will pray for you, that the Mother of God may bless you."

RUSSIAN PEASANTS AT ARZAMAS

Returning to the town I took a short walk with my kind host, and it came out in the course of our conversation that we had been comrades during the war in 1813 and 1814, and must even have seen one another, having been at the head-quarters of General Tchernitchef at the same time. Thirty years had since passed; fate had separated us two thousand miles, and still we were destined to meet again, never to see each other more.

In the streets of Arzamas I remarked a kind of goose nearly as large as a swan, and was informed that these birds are of a very pugnacious temper, and can be excited to furious fights, on which bets are laid, in the same manner as at cock-fights in England.

In the evening I seated myself beside the Adjutant in the carriage, and the following morning at seven o'clock we again reached the neighbourhood of Nizhni Novgorod. Two miles from the town I observed tents pitched, a few hundred paces from the road; on inquiry, I was told it was a regiment which was always encamped here in the summer I alighted from the carriage, to take them unawares, having already often seen Russian regiments on parade, and prepared for the visit of a stranger. I found however here exemplary order prevailing; breakfast was preparing, and the food was good and abundant. We sauntered about among the streets of tents, at first alone, but gradually several officers joined us. One spot was set apart for gymnastic exercises, and I observed, to my surprise, the entire and well-known apparatus used in Germany for that purpose.

After changing my dress in Nizhni Novgorod I drove with my travelling companion to Count Stenbock, and begged him to allow me to visit the prisons there He and Colonel Pokhotin conducted us to them, and we found extensive stone buildings, with several courts, the whole surrounded by a high wall. These prisons were not very full, as the previous day a large number of convicts had left for Siberia. They contain two classes of prisoners, and constitute one of two principal depôts of convicts sentenced to Siberia, the other is Kazan Those who are banished to Siberia assemble here, and when there is a sufficient number, one or two hundred, they are sent away under an escort: this generally occurs once a week. But these prisons are also used for persons who are detained for trial, charged with criminal and police offences. The buildings have nothing formidable in their aspect; the ceilings are high, sufficient

light is admitted, and everywhere there are stoves for heating them in winter. They were built in the time of the Empress Catherine II., and are ill adapted for prisons. There are many large rooms, but only a few small cells; in each of the former from ten to twenty-five prisoners were shut up together, selected in some measure according to the nature of the offences they had committed: in one were murderers and incendiaries, in another thieves, and so on Even those already under sentence of transportation to Siberia are not strictly separated from those who are still to be tried: they are at liberty to communicate with and address each other. It is therefore impossible to prevent or check conspiracies, which must add infinitely to the difficulties of all regular criminal proceedings But here the authorities have not to do with the refined scoundrels of Western Europe, who often know the laws, with their quibbles and ambiguities, as well as the judges.

In each room, when more than three or four prisoners are assembled, a Starosta is immediately appointed, and it is wonderful what order he maintains, and the obedience shown to him, thus in every social relation the principle of the Russian Communes appears in life and activity.

The food was the same for all the prisoners: twice a day they receive *shtchi* or groats, then animal food or fish with two pounds and a half of bread, all in abundance and good, as I convinced myself by tasting it.

In front of the prison was a waggon with all kinds of provisions, which had been sent in from the country by wedding parties for the prisoners. A good Matushka (mother), a stout peasant-woman, also stood before the door with an immense sack, full of white bread and

meat for the same purpose. Nothing interests the Russian peasantry so much as these people: at all times and on all occasions alms and presents flow in to them. No marriage, baptism, or festivity takes place, in which all who take part do not according to their ability aid the contributions for the prisoners. In the gaol here they are quite unable to consume the provisions brought them; a part is sold, and clothes are purchased with the money for those who are banished to Siberia. None of these offerings are ever purloined, even by the under-officials and servants of the prison; that would be considered a heinous crime The benevolence of the people too would soon cease, if they knew that the prisoners did not receive what they sent them. The fact of these abundant provisions being delivered at the prison-door, which I myself saw, sufficiently convinced me of the mild treatment of the prisoners here,—far more than anything related to me; for the endeavour to show me as a foreigner the best side of everything was evident.

As my tarantas had become unfit for travelling, and could not be quickly repaired, I decided upon proceeding from Nizhni by water down the Volga to Kazan, and purchasing a new carriage in that city, which is the real emporium of these vehicles. I went with my companion to the bank of the river, to make an agreement with a boatman; we were immediately surrounded by a crowd of these people, offering their services with noisy screams; but no sooner had we selected one, than all the rest became silent, standing in a circle round us, and watching our negotiation. We could not agree with the first boatman, and broke off with him; then the former cries immediately recommenced, and loud offers of service were repeated, until we chose another man to bargain with,

upon which the same respectful, observant quietness was resumed. There is a remarkable politeness and urbanity in the common people of Russia. The crowd that surrounded us consisted chiefly of Burlaks, engaged in all connected with the navigation of the Volga. They are an interesting race of men, who, as before remarked, have peculiar customs I was informed here that the Burlaks are generally the peasants of private proprietors, rarely belonging to the Crown.

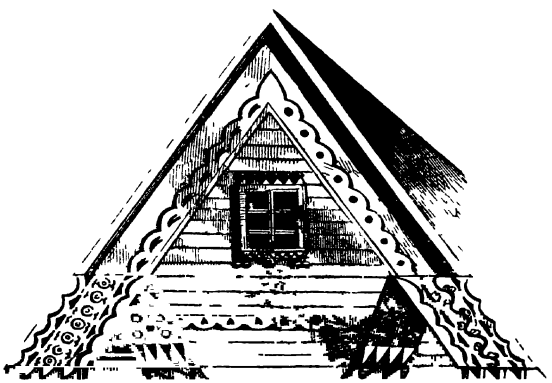
The different modes of taxing the peasants have very important consequences The Crown does not regard the disparity of property, or the differences of mental and physical capacity, talent and skill, but imposes the same amount of *obrok* upon all It does not interfere with their trades or callings, and does not tax these The Crown peasants are in this respect perfectly free; they can carry on any trade they please, the Crown forces them into none, but it trains them to none. They consequently only follow those callings which hold out the prospect of large earnings, with the smallest trouble and labour, avoiding all hard work and arduous employments The private masters measure the capabilities of their people, and impose the tax accordingly: they train their serfs for certain occupations, and oblige them to adopt those which, according to their strength and capacity, promise the largest amount of profit If a man is healthy and strong, they force him to undergo hard labour; if he is weak, they impose a lighter kind of work The strongest Crown peasants become kalatchi-carriers, pedlars, etc, whereas with the private serfs these are only the occupations of the weak and infirm The Crown taxes the individual uniformly, and not the capacities and callings of its peasants, the private proprietor taxes

his serfs unequally, imposing the tax upon their capacities and callings.

The Crown taxes the soul,—the private proprietor the tiaglo: this makes a vast difference. The Russian peasants would seldom voluntarily undertake the severe labour of Burlaks, and therefore it is that so few Crown peasants are found among them. The private proprietor drives the superfluous population of his villages into this occupation, or indirectly obliges them to adopt it by the high tax he imposes upon them; if this compulsion were not used, and this high tax not imposed, there would be no more Burlaks, or only at enormous wages, and the most important and necessary of all occupations for the interior of Russia, the navigation of the Volga, would cease, and with it the whole commercial life of the country: incalculable results might be the consequence

The Burlaks in the boat we hired for the passage to Kazan were serfs of Prince Gagarin, and came from a village thirty versts distant from Arzamas. This place, the population of which is 480 souls, has not sufficient ground, there being scarcely four acres of arable land and meadow to each person The wood of the village is all cut down, and the peasants are now obliged to buy firewood, each household paying from ten to fifteen roubles. As the land cannot maintain them, they are driven to seek a living elsewhere; the majority of the able-bodied men leave the village every spring, and return in winter. About 150 seek employment as Burlaks upon the Volga, and, after deducting what they consume in provisions, earn as much as a hundred roubles each (£4. 11*s.*) During this time the women, old men, and children remain at home, cultivate the land, and manage the housekeeping; but those who have not a sufficient

number of people at home, hire a servant, who receives forty-five roubles wages. The Commune has to pay the proprietor fifty roubles *obrok* for each tiaglo. It thus appears that, in innumerable cases, the *obrok* is not a tax imposed for the use of the land, but a tax upon the labour and occupations of the people



GABLE OF A HOUSE AT LUKURKI (P 221)

CHAPTER VIII.

NIZHNI NOVGOROD —VISIT TO A CHURCH OF THE YEDINOVERTZI.— RUSSIAN SECTS.—THE MORELSTCHIKI, SKOPTZI, KHLISTOVSTCHINA, BEZSLOVESTNIE, AND SUBOTNIKI.—SECTS ARISING FROM THE SCHISM UNDER THE PATRIARCH NIKON —THE STAROVERTZI, THEIR CHARACTER AND IMPORTANCE —RELIGIOUS DISCUSSION IN THE KREMLIN.— THREE SECTIONS OF OLD BELIEVERS —THEIR DOCTRINES AND WORSHIP —THEIR HOSPITAL AT MOSCOW —SECTS SINCE PETER I —THE MOLOKANE AND THEIR DOCTRINES —THE DUKHOBORTZI AND THEIR DOCTRINES.—VISIT TO THEM ON THE MALOTCHNAYA — VILLAGE OF TERPENIE

On our return from the Volga we passed a church belonging to the Sect of the Yedinovertzi (Like-believers), the doors of which were open, a child was being baptized. We entered, when the christening was over, we made the acquaintance of the pope, who, as my questions showed that I was interested in their religious affairs, offered to visit me the same day, and give me all the information I desired. He came immediately after dinner, with another pope, belonging to the same Sect. They answered indeed all my questions, but in so reserved and ambiguous a manner, that I was not sure whether cunning or ignorance prompted their replies; it was probably a mixture of both; however they gave me a ground for further inquiries.

This is on the whole a very obscure subject of investigation. Little or nothing can be gathered from the

clergy of the national Church, or from the officials, partly from their being afraid to speak, and partly because they know nothing of the circumstances, as all the sectaries here have a great interest in keeping their affairs as secret as possible. But as the national character and life, the social and political institutions of a country, can never be rightly apprehended without its religious condition being understood, I have in my travels everywhere endeavoured to collect information on this point; and, although I can by no means profess to give anything like complete information regarding it, still I know more on the subject than most other foreigners, or even the majority of the Russians themselves, the officials and Government authorities not excepted. In some other places I found opportunities of approaching several of the most strictly prohibited Sects, winning their confidence, and even being present at their secret worship. I will here give a short *résumé*, reserving a more detailed account for a work which I intend to devote to the religious condition of Russia.

Christianity spread in Russia from the ninth century, and the country became attached to the Eastern Church, the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Although the Gnostic heresies were indeed past, still Gnostic ideas have always prevailed in the East, the Crusaders brought them to the West, and we still find them even among the Mohammedans.

The internal history of the Russian Church has never yet been brought to light, when therefore I express an opinion that Gnostic ideas were introduced into Russia in the Middle Ages, I cannot demonstrate this by actual proof, I can only show that undeniable traces of Gnostic conceptions exist among some of the religious Sects; but

whether they came so early direct from the East, or (which is improbable) were introduced from the West subsequent to the end of the seventh century, I am unable to decide.

The Russians are not inclined to philosophical subtleties, like the contemplative peoples of the East; we cannot therefore expect to find among them fully developed systems We meet generally only isolated ideas, which lead to the most frightful fanaticism. The Dukhobortzi are the only exception.

I shall first mention the Sect of the Morelstchiki,—self-immolators, wholly or partially The doctrines of the first class of this Sect are quite obscure it is only occasionally that some horrible fact comes to light, which reveals their continued existence, this occurs nearly every year, and in all parts of the Empire, but particularly in the north, in Siberia, the Government of Saratof, and elsewhere A large and deep hole is dug in the earth, with peculiar and solemn ceremonies, and is surrounded with straw, wood, and other inflammable materials, then a small congregation of these fanatics—twenty, thirty, fifty, or a hundred—leap into the hole together, set fire to the fuel on all sides, with the accompaniment of wild songs, and burn themselves to death with stoical indifference. Sometimes they will assemble in a house, which they have previously surrounded with heaps of straw, and then set fire to it. The neighbours collect around, but no one interferes, for the act is considered sacred, and these fanatics are receiving the baptism of fire. The authorities and police hear nothing of the affair until long after it has taken place, and it is too late to interfere.*

* The early travellers, Pallas, Gmelin, Georgi, Lepuchin, etc all relate these facts I was told that some years ago a small congregation

What the ideas are which have given rise to this Sect is not ascertained; the expression "baptism by fire" is a mere isolated symbol, leading however to the inference that some obscure secret and fanatical doctrine exists among them. That there must be a secret Sect, with peculiar doctrines and a system, is certain, as the above-mentioned occurrences are repeated almost every year under precisely similar circumstances, in the most different and widely distant parts of the Empire, and it is ascertained that this has been the case for more than a century.

The second class of these fanatics are those who mutilate their own bodies, the Skoptzi (eunuchs) It is not quite clear whether, like Origen, they rely upon a few passages of the Bible, they believe it to have been tampered with and interpolated, and that the true Gospel was in their exclusive possession, but was hidden in the wall of the cupola of the Church of St Andrew at St Petersburg, by Peter III, who was one of themselves, nay their head, and a new emanation of Christ The mutilation of these fanatics appears to have no connection whatever with their theological system, if we can associate that term with isolated and confused doctrines and ideas They teach that in the beginning God the Father was alone and indivisible, that He made the world, and revealed Himself in different ways, in Christ as the Son, who however was only *ispolnen blagodati*,

of this Sect assembled on the estate of M Gurief, on the left bank of the Volga, and agreed to sacrifice one another After certain preliminaries they put their dreadful resolution into execution thirty-six of them were already murdered, when the desire of life awoke in a young woman, and she fled to a neighbouring village The people repaired to the scene of action, and found two of the murderers still alive, but forty-seven people killed The murderers who were taken received the knout, but exulted at every stroke at the martyrdom they were undergoing

consecrated by God and pervaded by His Spirit, who spoke from the inspiration of God, but was not God himself. But they hold that the Deity reveals himself at all times in his true children, the Skoptzi * Christ, they say, never died, but wanders constantly upon earth, without sex, under one form or another,—at present as Peter III., who, they maintain, was not put to death in the way recorded in history (a soldier who resembled him being buried in his place), but fled to Irkutsk, and since then all salvation is to come from the East! He will soon come and sound the large bell of the Uspenski Sobor (Church of the Ascension) in the Kremlin at Moscow, that his true disciples, the Skoptzi, may hear it in every part of the world and assemble round him; then will commence the everlasting empire of the Skoptzi in all the glory of the world

This Sect does not believe in the resurrection of the body; they recognize no sanctity of the Sunday. They have a sort of mysterious communion in a kind of bread, which is consecrated by being put into the grave of one of their mystical personages, and of which each of them eats a morsel on the first day in Easter, the only holiday in the year. They generally assemble in the night between Saturday and Sunday, and go through all kinds of strange secret ceremonies.

These people call themselves *Korablik*, a word which signifies a small frail bark rocking upon the waves. In their meetings they sing in unison and recitative. a spe-

* It is manifest that the principal doctrines of the German rationalistic theologians and philosophers have not sprung up isolated merely in modern Protestantism, even wild, uncultivated, half mad fanatics have conceived them, without ever having heard of German theologians. We leave to the belligerent parties the decision as to whether this fact conduces to the confirmation and honour or disgrace of their doctrines.

cimen of one of their songs I give translated; whilst they were singing it, I did not understand the words, but their shrill voices, dismal fervour, and wild enthusiasm made an indelible and painful impression upon me.

SONG OF THE SKOPTZI

Hold fast, ye mariners,
Let not the ship perish in the storm!
The Holy Spirit is with us!
Fear not the breakers, fear not the storm!
Our Father and Christ is with us!
His mother Akulina Ivanovna is with us!
He will come! He will appear!
He will sound the great bell of Uspenski!
He will collect all the true Believers together!
He will plant masts that will not fall!
He will set sails that will not rend!
He will give us a rudder that will steer us safely!
He is near us, He is with us!
He casts his anchor in a safe harbour!
We are landed, we are landed!
The Holy Spirit is with us!
The Holy Spirit is among us!
The Holy Spirit is in us!

The members of this Sect have secret signs by which they recognize each other. one of these consists in laying a red cloth upon the right knee, and striking it with the right hand. The portrait of Peter III. is found everywhere among them; he is invariably painted bareheaded, with a short black beard, in a blue kaftan, trimmed with black fur from top to bottom upon his right knee also lies a red cloth, on which rests the right hand.

The Skoptzi are very numerous A large portion of the jewellers and goldsmiths in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Riga, Odessa, etc belong to this Sect. They are very zealous in making converts to their doctrines, and in

performing the operation alluded to upon their disciples. They seek converts most frequently among the soldiers, and pay large sums for one, often several thousand roubles. Whoever has added twelve disciples to the Sect, attains thereby the rank of an Apostle,—a dignity the significance of which I could not ascertain In some Governments, for instance in that of Orel, there are whole village Communes of this Sect Outwardly, and at the first glance, the abnormal state of these people is not perceptible: the households, wives, children, etc, are all orderly arranged The members of the Sect actually marry, and it is only when they have a son that they subject themselves to the operation most of the children however are said to spring from men and young lads in the neighbourhood That however makes no difference, the Skoptzi live very peaceably with their wives, and provide for their children like real fathers

There are from two to three thousand Skoptzi known to the officials, and under the observation of the police, in reality however there exist more than ten times that number As they have the control of large property, the police can generally discover their money, although not their persons

A Sect which in doctrine seems to approach near to the Skoptzi (who acknowledge them as their brethren and predecessors), is the Khlistovstchina, the self-scourgers or mortifiers. As they are considered harmless, and are not prosecuted, we might expect to find most easily among them some information respecting their philosophical and theological doctrines, but as yet no one has taken the trouble to investigate these aberrations of the human mind, which are psychologically so remarkable.*

* For more than a century foreigners have been settled in various

Nothing certain is known of their doctrines and belief. At their meetings, which take place in rooms where no pictures are permitted, they jump about in circles and flagellate themselves. A vessel containing water stands in the middle, and at intervals they wet their heads with this or drink the water out of their hands, until at last they fall down from fatigue * Then convulsions often take place, when the spirit moves them, and they begin to prophesy.

Among the Khlistovstchina, and occasionally the Skoptzi, individuals are found who, to mortify the flesh, wear shirts-of-mail or horse-hair shirts upon their bare skin. I saw one man—and I was told there are many—who wore upon his breast a cross, and on his back a picture, both of metal, the meaning of which I did not understand, they were suspended from a leathern strap round

parts of Russia, especially Germans, men belonging to the educated classes,—physicians, chemists, tutors, professors, Lutheran preachers, etc In every town some are to be found, but as yet no one has devoted himself to an earnest and impartial study of the nature, position, the theology and attainments, together with the various Sects, of the Russian Church This reproach may be addressed more particularly to the Lutheran clergy But these gentry, when they do devote themselves to learned matters, enter into German theological disputes, take up the party of the Rationalists or the Pietists, but look down with self-satisfied pride upon the progress and affairs as well as the Sects of the Russian Church, which however is manifestly destined in the immediate future to play an important part in the world's history

* On one day in the year the men, after this mad jumping and stamping, sink down about midnight upon benches, which are placed around, and the women fall under the benches, suddenly all the lights are extinguished, and horrible orgies commence They call this *svalni grekh*, —sins committed in running round together A secretary of mine in Moscow, who had opportunities of being acquainted with members of the Sect, said that they and the Skoptzi were intimately connected, and recruited from each other mutually, he described the Khlisti or Khlistovstchina as by no means the harmless people I have above stated, but as an extremely cruel Sect Among other things, he related

the neck, and united by two small chains under the arms: they had penetrated through the skin.

A Sect of whose doctrines and even external ceremonies nothing is known, are the Bezslovestnie—the dumb. When any one joins them, he suddenly becomes dumb, and from that moment nothing can force a syllable from his lips. The Government has striven in vain to obtain information regarding them, and some officials have in their zeal gone so far as to persecute these poor wretches in various ways, but in vain. A Governor-General of Siberia named Pestel, in the time of Catherine II., ordered them to be tortured in the most horrible manner, the soles of their feet to be tickled, and burning sealing-wax dropped upon their bodies, but they did not utter a sound.

In addition to these Sects, who subject themselves to

that on Easter night the Skoptzi and Khlisti all assemble for a great solemnity, the worship of the Mother of God A virgin fifteen years of age, whom they have induced to act the part by tempting promises, is bound and placed in a tub of warm water some old women come and first make a large incision in the left breast, then cut it off, and stanch the blood in a wonderfully short time During the operation a mystical picture of the Holy Spirit is put into the victim's hand, in order that she may be absorbed in regarding it The breast which has been removed is laid upon a plate, and cut into small pieces, which are eaten by all the members of the Sect present; the girl in the tub is then raised upon an altar which stands near, and the whole congregation dance wildly round it, singing at the same time,—

Po phasakhom!	Up and dance!
Po gorakhom!	Up and jump!
Na Sionskuyu Goru!	Toward Sion's hill!

The jumping grows madder and wilder, at last all the lights are suddenly extinguished, and the horrible orgies above described commence. My secretary had become acquainted with several of these girls, who were always afterwards regarded as sacred, and said that at the age of nineteen or twenty they looked quite like women of fifty or sixty They died generally before their thirtieth year. one of them however had married and had two children

a voluntary martyrdom, there appear to be others, embracing certain mystical doctrines or conceptions, one for instance which is called the Sect of the Beatified Redeemer. In my description of the Monastery of Troitza I mentioned the legend of the likeness of Christ. According to the Latin Church, it is the countenance of the suffering Redeemer which is represented on the kerchief; but the Eastern Church maintains it to be the portrait of the beatified Redeemer, as he ascended to heaven. The latter picture constitutes the central point of the worship of this Sect; all other pictures are forbidden, and the initiated even abstain from any other worship. During their devotions their thoughts are supposed to be absorbed in the contemplation of this mysterious picture, and themselves to be in a state of the greatest ecstasy and heavenly bliss This however is all that I have been able to learn of the Sect.

I have heard the names of several others of this kind; but have not been able to obtain any information respecting their doctrines.*

There is a curious Sect called the Subotniki (Sabbatarians), which, according to Karamzin, arose at Novgorod in 1470, a Jew from Kief named Zacharias having persuaded some priests that the law of Moses was alone divine. The Sect increased considerably, in spite of various persecutions, one of which (in 1503) was carried on against them with fire and sword; and even now their numbers, particularly in Siberia, are said to be increasing very much. They are unacquainted with Hebrew, but

* Archbishop Dimitri, of Rostof, wrote a book upon the Russian Sects in the beginning of the eighteenth century, in the Russian language, he is said to make mention of about two hundred different Sects, which are however for the most part extinct, although many new ones have since made their appearance

use the Slavonic translation of the Old Testament. They expect an earthly Messiah, but, like the Sadducees, do not believe in the resurrection of the body; they practise many cabalistic arts, and are therefore secretly regarded as necromancers and sorcerers.*

A second class of Sects sprang from the schism in the Church in the seventeenth century.

The translation of the Holy Scriptures into the ancient Slavonic language by Saints Cyril and Methodius, is, in the opinion of competent judges, excellent. It accompanied the introduction of Christianity into Russia, with the liturgical books of the Eastern Church. Civilization and knowledge began at that time to flourish in the monasteries, as is proved by the religious and liturgical manuscripts down to the end of the thirteenth century, which are beautifully and correctly written. But under the rule of the Mongols all learning and mental culture disappeared. the clergy and monks no longer understood the Church language, and many mistakes and errors crept into the liturgical writings. In almost all the small Principalities peculiar customs, ceremonies, and religious usages sprang up, together with versions of the Holy Scriptures which contained perfect nonsense or decided error. When the Grand Duchy of Moscow restored the unity of Russia, and the establishment of the Patriarchate reduced all ecclesiastical matters to a state of more decision and preciseness, these errors and abuses appeared in a prominent form. The Patriarchs, at the instigation of the Czars, began earnestly to contemplate their eradica-

* A manuscript exists, written by a monk in the sixteenth century against this Sect, it is said to show, in a surprising manner, how zealously at that time the scholastic philosophy and the study of Aristotle were cultivated in the Russian convents.

tion, purifying the liturgical books, and restoring the original text. But the Patriarchs themselves and their schools were not free from error, even Philareth, the Romanof, from ignorance retaining much, and recognizing manifest interpolations.

The Patriarch Nikon was the first who went radically to work; he sent learned monks to Mount Athos, to consult the most ancient manuscripts, and produced, after long preparatory labours, the restored text and the amended liturgical books, which in 1659 he ordered to be generally introduced, annulling those previously in use.* But the Patriarch soon encountered a powerful opposition Instead of acknowledging that he had only restored in the Liturgy what was most ancient and correct, and in common use throughout the Eastern Church, many priests, followed by a crowd of fanatics, accused him of seeking to introduce innovations, and inclining to the Poles, the Roman Catholics, etc Others alleged that Luther had in like manner declared that he merely restored primitive Christianity, whilst overthrowing everything, and abolishing the Mass, five Sacraments, etc. As the Eastern Church recognizes no higher independent authority who could decide the dispute, agreement soon became impossible, and the schism increased The very essence of the Eastern Church is a reverence for tradition; and it is impossible to justify to the mass of the people the slightest alteration in the most unimportant ceremonies. Every the smallest ornament in the architecture of the churches having descended to them from

* The Liturgy was printed, and it was thenceforth forbidden to use a written one The Starovertzi have hitherto had only written ones, and condemn every printed copy New copies are continually transcribed in their nunneries

their forefathers, no one has a right to alter it or abolish anything, but is bound to transmit all unchanged to future generations. The hierarchy in the Eastern Church only regulates and conducts the worship, but neither controls nor interprets the dogmatic or ceremonial part.*

* The reproach is often heard in Europe, and (although only among a small faction) in Russia likewise, that in Russia the State has brought the Church completely under subjection, and has robbed her of all internal progress The Russian, as a Catholic Church, cannot exist without a centre, an external direction. The rest of the Catholic world finds this in the Pope—an incalculable advantage, arising from his independent position, and his elevation above all nationalities, and enabling him to exercise towards every nation and every state a certain uniform equity and justice Russia has not this advantage In former times the Patriarch of Constantinople was supposed to occupy a similar position with regard to Russia, but he was himself too dependent for Russia to regard him otherwise than with mistrust, in filling the chair of the Metropolitan of Moscow, which was a privilege of his, this frequently appeared. He was too dependent upon the Greek Emperor, and political intrigues and machinations were therefore to be feared Afterwards, when he became subjected to Turkish rule, his position was too much lowered to allow of his being regarded as the true head of the Church Thus the Russian Patriarchate in Moscow was constituted But it was properly called into being by the State alone, it did not arise out of the necessary, internal development of the Church, and therefore did not strike deep root either in it or in the nation. But a purely national Patriarchate of this kind would gradually have led, from its very nature, to the greatest intolerance and persecution,—to the most exclusive separation of the Church, the People, and lastly of the State This was felt by Peter I, and therefore, instead of the Patriarch, he instituted a *Concilium perpetuum* (the Synod), reserving to himself and the State an entire control over the external affairs of the Church,—the dogmatic part remaining untouched It must be acknowledged by all unprejudiced persons that this has been a great advantage to Russia in her whole internal development. Since that time the Government has always interceded as mediator between the Church and the People. Placed at the head of a hundred nations, with the most various religions and kinds of worship, it has exercised for a long time past a toleration and moderation which have laid the basis of the welfare of all. Nevertheless the Russian Church has not suffered by this, but unquestionably progresses steadily and uniformly in her internal development.

Nikon was perfectly right in his views and efforts, and the other Patriarchs approved his undertaking; nevertheless he would not have succeeded with the mass, if the civil power, which had a still greater interest in the complete uniformity of the ceremonial than the Patriarch himself, had not lent its assistance This showed what a powerless position the Patriarchate occupied, and what slender root it had struck among the people, this too alone explains the facility with which Peter I afterwards succeeded in abolishing the Patriarchate, and completely concentrating the unity of the State and Church in his own person, although previously the civil power had always controlled the external relations of the Church.

The schism which began under Nikon only assumed a decided character and form subsequent to the time of Peter I.; it has not remained restricted to a mere ecclesiastical form, but has assumed a political character.

I had a long conversation with a Raskolnik, who possessed a certain amount of education and more than usual acuteness, he treated me with great confidence, a German friend, to whom he was much attached, having introduced me to him, and acting as interpreter between us. He made use of this remarkable expression: "It was not Nikon who separated us so completely from our other Russian brethren, but Peter I effected this, by the Western tendencies he introduced, of which the order to cut off the beard was only an outward sign"

In another place the deepest hatred was expressed by the people against the memory of Peter I. They showed me on the walls portraits of Raskolniks whom he was said to have tortured and put to death. One sect of Raskolniks calls him Antichrist; they assert that with him commenced the dominion of Antichrist over the world, since

which period there have been no real bishops and priests, this being the night before the coming of our Lord, in which therefore no Sacraments are any longer necessary, except Baptism, which every believing father of a family can administer. Is it not written in the Bible, they say, that Antichrist would change the times and seasons; and did not Peter I. transpose the New Year from the 1st of September to the 1st of January? Did he not abolish the designation of time from the beginning of the world, and adopt that of the Latin heretics, who count the years from the birth of Christ? Is it not written that Antichrist will demand gold and payment from the dead, and did not Peter I introduce this custom in the Revisions? It was perfect blasphemy to tax the soul—the immortal breath of God—instead of worldly possessions!

In the time of Peter I the Starovertzi* were not persecuted When it was discovered that they were deeply implicated in the insurrection of the Streletzes, he imposed a double poll-tax upon them, which however afterwards fell into desuetude. From Catherine's time attempts were made to reconcile them with the Church; and the Emperors Alexander and Nicholas endeavoured to bring about a union in an amicable manner: every main point was conceded to them, and their deviations from the Liturgy and the customs of the Church were declared to be not heretical, they were allowed expressly to adhere to these, and received the name of Yedinovertzi (Like-believers), it was demanded only that they should allow their priests, whose education and training were not in any way to be interfered with, to be conse-

* Ancient Believers,—the usual name, Raskolniki (that is, Heretics), is improperly applied to them

crated as priests by Bishops of the Church, and even this consecration was to take place according to their own ancient customs.

The result however has been of small moment; comparatively few congregations have joined the Russian national Church, and even these keep aloof from it as much as possible. The laity too regard their priests with suspicion, they are afraid lest the Bishops who have consecrated may exercise an undue influence over them. The majority of the Starovertzi prefer using the services of fugitive priests of the national Church, who have been deposed for some offence and fled, or who have gone over to them for worldly advantages, which they often hold out to them in liberal measure. Formerly, convents of Starovertzi are said to have existed deep in the forests of the North, in which bishops of their persuasion still lived, but they were discovered and abolished, and all their inhabitants carried away, their bishops, from whom they could receive consecrated priests, have all long been dead they at present employ, as I have said, fugitives.

The Starovertzi exercise over Russia and its Government a mysterious and powerful influence. In every question of legislation, of Church affairs, or of internal politics, in all reforms and proposed alterations, people ask themselves in the first place, What will the Starovertzi say? The latter are the incarnation of the old Russian element, representing the principle of stability, or rather immobility. They virtually regulate and decide how far changes may be carried out Whoever would study the peculiarities of the Great Russian people must do so among the Starovertzi; and this is for a foreigner not so difficult as might be supposed. The

genuine Russian is by nature social and confiding, particularly to strangers, differing widely in this respect from the Germans, English, and Dutch, who are in general reserved, silent, and even mistrustful toward foreigners. The Russian more resembles the French; he feels extremely flattered if a foreigner shows an interest in him, in his condition, or in his national manners and customs. Although I was unacquainted with the language, and had to converse with these people through an interpreter, they not only answered frankly and with confidence my inquiries as to their family relations, the affairs of the Communes, their relations to their proprietors, etc., but anxiously showed me everything without suspicion,—the arrangements of their dwellings, their mode of agriculture, and so forth; their wives or daughters dressed themselves in their Sunday clothes, sang their national songs, and related tales: in short, with sufficient time and a knowledge of the language, I should have had more facilities for observation than would have been possible among any other people

The Starovertzi are in general much more simple, moral, sober, and more to be relied on, than the other Russian peasants; indeed we may say that the nearer the latter approach the Starovertzi in manners, dress, and habits, the better they become: on the other hand, when the Russian peasant becomes Europeanized, cuts off his beard, lays aside his dress, and builds a modern house, let no one trust him,—he has then, as a general rule, become a rogue!

The Starovertzi have a certain amount of education, and are in this respect much superior to the other Russians. The majority of them can read and write, although they usually know only the old Slavonic letters,

and regard the modern Russian writing as heretical.* They are all well acquainted with the Bible, and know it almost by heart; they are fond of exercising their understanding in theological subtleties, and I can produce some examples of this which show the dialectical skill of these peasants.

In conversation with the Staroveretz above mentioned I expressed my opinion that it was quite proper and becoming for them to adhere to the custom of their fathers, and abstain from cutting off their beards, which had a manly and handsome appearance; adding, that I would certainly not shave my own beard were it not opposed to the custom of my country to let it grow; nevertheless I could find no sin in this. On my expressing a wish to hear his views upon the subject, he answered:—

Art thou a Christian?

I Certainly.

Peas. Dost thou believe that Christ is the Son of God, and that we must all do what he has commanded?

I Undoubtedly.

Peas. Dost thou believe that the Bible, and particularly the Four Gospels are actually the Word of God, and that we are bound to do and observe what Christ has therein commanded?

I. Most certainly.

* In the nunneries of the Starovertzi, of which some still exist in the forests of the North, the nuns employ themselves in copying their liturgical and religious books, and these are almost all well and beautifully written But in these convents very dissolute manners are said to exist I was informed that in a certain convent on a lake in the Government of Olonetz, monks and nuns live without shame together, and that the children born are frequently drowned Every few years the Ispravnik of the place (the police) comes, and announces his intention of having the lake examined, a great uproar then takes place, and sums of money are collected and given to induce him to forgo his intention.

Peas. Does not Christ say, "I am come not to abolish the law, but to fulfil it"? Is not the law of which he speaks the law of Moses? Does not Christ often refer to the law, and command us to obey it?

I could only reply in the affirmative to these and similar questions

Peas. Is it not clear from the New Testament that whatever in the law of Moses has not been expressly abolished by Christ continues binding upon Christians?

I. Assuredly it appears so

Peas. But the Ten Commandments incontestably belong to those laws which are retained, and it stands written in the nineteenth chapter of the Book of Leviticus, where the Ten Commandments are expounded, "Ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard"

I knew not what to reply to this, and was at the end of my Latin

Peas We have thus the direct command of the Bible in our favour, but we have also the tradition of the Church Our fathers and forefathers have always worn beards, and ever since we Russians became Christians we have been taught from generation to generation that this was the law The portraits of Christ and the Saints, which the Church orders us to reverence, and whose example we are to follow, always represent them with their beards

I was completely driven out of the field, and I assured the worthy man that on my return to my own country I would make public his convincing arguments for the retention of the beard; adding, that I had the more hope of finding acceptance for them, as the younger generation, "Young Europe," not excepting the most exclusive

fashionables, had for some years past been cultivating the beard extravagantly, and might perhaps have already become Starovertzi without knowing it! In confirmation of this idea, I observed that they were engaged in all kinds of secret affairs, which were not regarded with favour by the Governments, and that their beards were considered a strong evidence and outward sign of their participation in those machinations.

A second conversation which took place I wrote down almost *verbatim* from the account given me by one of the parties, it furnishes, together with all the attendant circumstances, a deep glance into the character and manners of the Russian people

From ancient times it has been the custom in Moscow for the people to assemble in large numbers every morning during the week after Easter in the Kremlin, in the square before the celebrated cathedral called Uspenski Sobor (Cathedral of the Ascension) to hold religious discussions and disputations. The people alone are present, neither the clergy, officials, or nobles share in the proceedings The police take no notice of these meetings, and are never seen at them, their presence is indeed quite unnecessary, as the greatest quiet and order prevail, and no excesses ever occur, the people themselves maintain order, and even punish any word spoken too loudly.

On the one side assemble the retainers of the orthodox Church, and opposite to them the Raskolniks of all Sects, particularly the Starovertzi, of every different shade. Various groups are formed, in each of which disputants are found, who defend or attack some religious proposition. The discussion is carried on with the greatest courtesy and harmony, they take off their hats, bow low to their opponents, and beg to be allowed

to answer their positions or questions. No one interrupts another during his speech. The discussion is at the same time carried on with the most logical acuteness: if one stops short, or can go no further, immediately another of those standing behind steps forward to assist him, or to continue the discussion himself. If any one grows violent and ejaculates loudly, or even only says "That is not true," his friends immediately caution him, saying, "*Pashla na da i niet*" (Yes and no prove nothing), and if he does not become quiet they drag him back into the crowd

The higher or educated classes formerly took little notice of this interesting popular custom; but within the last ten years the study of the national life has increased in Russia, as indeed throughout Europe. At Easter, 1841, five young men of the higher classes agreed among themselves to attend this singular disputation · they were among the most highly gifted men in Moscow,—one M. C——, a distinguished poet, endowed with great eloquence. They dressed themselves in the national manner, and went to the Kremlin, to observe the proceedings, and, if opportunity offered, to take part in them. They found a dense crowd of people assembled, and pressed forward to get near the speakers in the centre. C—— soon joined in the discussion. At first he was not noticed, perhaps, from his appearing to be an obtruder, he was looked down upon, but once, when a champion of the orthodox Church hesitated, he came to his assistance with arguments so much to the point, that all listened attentively, and gradually relinquished to him and his companions the direction of the discussion. On the side of the sectaries one of the most powerful debaters then arose, he was a Staroveretz of

the Pomorane or Bezpopovstchina (Priestless) Sect, with a fine expressive head and splendid long white beard. The discussion had reached the following point.

Raskolnik. There is no outward Church. Christ taught that his disciples were the Churches, but these fled from the persecutions into the mountains and forests, and could a stone church do that?

C. Brother, thou misquotest the Bible: it is not said, Ye (disciples) are the Churches, but the Church; the Apostle says, whoever does not listen to the Church, whoever does not obey the Church, etc. It is thus the united body of believers and bishops in the House of God which is called the Church

Rask. (passing to another subject.) But the Sacraments,—how can they be administered and received, seeing that it is written, "Whoever is in sin receives in the Sacrament everlasting death"? But when is a man without sin? immediately after confession he sins again, and then he partakes of the Lord's Supper! There is only one moment when man is free from sin,—the moment of death; but then the guardian angel administers the Sacrament to him invisibly.

C. How, brother? Christ ordained the Sacrament really and actually: he says, "Eat and drink; this is my body and my blood." Christ says also, "I am the God of the living!" but thou wouldst make him a God of the dead. The bishops and priests he appointed to administer the Sacrament

Rask. What wouldst thou have with bishops? they are but men, sinners like ourselves; strip the vestments from them, and they in no way differ from us.

C. Thou sayest truly, they are men. The Czar also is but a man, and still thou obeyest him. Nevertheless

it is not him whom thou obeyest, but the office and power which reside in him. Thus is it with the bishops and priests: the Church speaks through them.

Rask Thou speakest always of the Church, but where is she when we are in misfortune and sorrow? When I am on a desert island, or in the land of the heathen, I am beyond her reach: I know her not.

C. Thou knowest not the Church, brother, but she knows thee · she prays every day in every Mass for thee Thus art thou with her in spirit, however far removed in body.

Rask (after an interval, going to another point) What sayst thou of the Cross? There is only one, but you make the sign of the Cross differently from Christ. Only look at all the old pictures of him: he joins the thumb, little finger, and ring-finger, and raises the other fingers to give the blessing, but you unite the three first fingers when you make the sign of the Cross *

C. The sign of the Cross with which Christ blessed us is the only one that bestowed a benediction, and he

* I must here mention a conversation which a Catholic friend of mine had with a Staroveretz My friend had asked him whether he knew that in ancient times all Christians, even the forefathers of the Starovertzi, regarded the Pope in Rome as the supreme head of Christendom He answered that he had heard so, but at the same time that there was once a Pope of the name of Formosus, who first introduced the custom of making the sign of the Cross with the three first fingers; that then all true believers had abandoned him, regarding him as a heretic, and no longer acknowledging him as the head of the Church, that after the death of Formosus they dug up his body and cut off his fingers What a singular legend, and how wonderfully are traditions propagated and preserved! Baronius, for instance, also relates that in the ninth century Pope Stephen VI. actually ordered his predecessor Formosus to be disinterred and beheaded. Baronius indeed does not say that he ordered his fingers to be cut off, but it is very possible.

alone can make it; consequently the bishops and priests also make it when they pronounce the benediction in his name, for it is then the hand of God which blesses the people through them. But we are all sinful men, and cannot bless ourselves, in sign of this, we cross ourselves with the three fingers, and thus pray to the Trinity to bless us: therefore our bishops and priests, poor sinful men like ourselves, when they cross themselves, do so in like manner with us.

The Raskolnik was evidently at a loss to answer this: he resorted therefore to a personal attack (in which he was sure of the sympathy of all bearded Russians) on his opponents, who were better dressed than the rest of the audience, and wore no beards.

Rask Why do so many of you shave your beards? it is a sin, you disfigure the likeness of God; you throw away what God has caused to grow. Christ wore a beard, so did the Saints, and we ought to be and to become like them.

C To wear a beard, and to abstain from shaving the chin, is good, and I commend it, but to shave it is no sin. Has God a body? Is thy body his likeness? No, thy spirit, thy soul—is it not so?

Rask Yes, but Christ?

C Had Christ a beard when he was a boy? We should be like unto Christ, but which Christ,—the boy who taught in the Temple, or the man who suffered for us? How canst thou demand a corporeal resemblance to Christ? The Mother of God too, and all the holy virgins and women, and indeed all women, are not they also formed in the likeness of God? and yet they have no beards.

Rask But we ought to imitate as far as possible the Saints, and they have all beards.

C. St. George has none,—look at the portraits of him.

Rask. He was a warrior, and may have been obliged to obey the orders of his superiors.

C. St. Lawrence also had no beard.

Rask Yes, he had.

C. No.

Rask. Yes; but there is no use in further argument, *Pashla na da i niet;* books must settle that point. However thou hast spoken rationally and well, let us now break off.

C. Farewell, but listen all of you to this: when Christ was crucified, his persecutors rent his garments and divided them among themselves,—was that right?

Rask. No.

C. But ye, brethren, ye Starovertzi do this every day. Ye do more: the Church is not the garment of Christ,—it is his body, his bride,—and ye rend it asunder!

M. C—— and his companions now saluted the assembly and withdrew; the whole crowd of orthodox Russians followed them to the great square in front of the Kremlin, and one of them came forward and said to M. C——, "How well thou hast spoken! come again as often as thou canst, and help us: and now give us all the Easter kiss of peace." Some of those present drew one of his companions aside, and said, "Brother, tell us who is he that has spoken so admirably?"—"He is a nobleman, and we are all noblemen," was the reply. Then they exclaimed in astonishment, "What! a nobleman, and he knows all this!"

The Great Russians have a lively, gay, merry temperament,—they are restless and light-hearted; but the gayest and liveliest of them all is the Cossack. The

Little Russians are contemplative, imaginative, with a tendency to melancholy, gentle, and slow in all their movements. It might be imagined that the Staroverist tendency, the serious, speculative, reserved disposition of sectarianism, must necessarily have taken root among the Little Russians; but, on the contrary, not a trace of it is to be found among them. The Starovertzi who live among the Little Russians, for instance in some villages between Kief and Tchernigof, are all Great Russians; they are unable however to convert any of the Little Russians, whilst among their own body sectarianism is constantly on the increase. It is most widely diffused however among the merry, stirring Cossacks.

The religious Sects in Russia are found in the greatest numbers in Siberia, the Ural and northern districts, the Government of Saratof, and among all the Cossack races. They had for a long time a kind of centre on the Great Irgiz, in the Government of Saratof: here were four large Staroverist convents, which were recruited from the so-called fugitives, deserters from the army, convicts escaped from Siberia, and priests who had been exiled for their offences. In the year 1838 some troops were despatched who destroyed these nests, and sent all their inhabitants to Siberia

The Starovertzi are only found among the peasants, and the merchants and manufacturers who have sprung from the peasant class; they have nowhere spread among the nobility They are entirely destitute of learned men or real theologians; their doctrines and opinions are only preserved traditionally in their nunneries;* their liturgi-

* I have only heard of one book composed by them, in which they endeavoured to defend their tenets; it was directed against a Bishop of Nizhni Novgorod in the time of Catherine II., and they caused it to be printed.

cal books are copied, but I have not been able to learn that any new books have been composed among them for a century past.

The orthodox Russian Church has not yet been able to overcome the Starovertzi, nor will it ever effect this until it has itself made greater progress than hitherto, and the clergy attend more to the spiritual welfare of the people and their duty in the pulpit The Archbishop Inokenti of Kharkof, an excellent preacher, has brought back several thousand Starovertzi to the Church.

But that which the Church has as yet failed to effect, is being gradually accomplished by modern European cultivation and equalization. The Starovertzi in the large cities,—Moscow, St Petersburg, and Riga,—merchants and manufacturers who have grown rich, only remain true to their Sect for the first generation, the next cut off their beards, throw off the kaftan, and put on coats, and with the old customs and dress their religious opinions also disappear. It cannot however be asserted that they are then distinguished for morality and true cultivation

Among the Starovertzi we can trace the original national ideas of the Russians with regard to the relations of the different peoples The Old Russians know properly only three nations. Themselves and all their kindred races, Servians, Poles, Bohemians, etc, they call Slovenie (people who speak, who understand each other). All the Western races they call Nyemtzi (the silent or dumb), as Nyemtzi Germanskie (Germans), Nyemtzi Anglitchane (English), etc. All the Eastern peoples are called by them Busurmani (Mussulmans). They do not even recognize the Western peoples as Christians, considering them as not truly baptized, not having been im-

mersed in the water. This until the time of Peter I. was the universal belief in Russia; the majority of the Starovertzi do not even recognize the baptism of the orthodox Church, but baptize again.

The following anecdote exhibits an instance of their old-fashioned national ideas. One of this Sect, who refuse an oath, is taken as a recruit: when called upon to swear fidelity to his colours he refuses. "Why will you not?" "My religion forbids me," is the reply; "but even were it allowed, I would not take the oath to him whom you call Emperor, I would only do so to the real, the White Czar. Our books and pictures contain his true likeness, with the crown upon his head, the sceptre and imperial globe in his hands, and clothed in a long gold robe; but this Emperor wears a hat and a uniform, has a sword at his side like any common soldier, he is like one of ourselves, but he is not the true Czar." The requirement of the oath was afterwards given up in the case of these people

There are three principal divisions of these Sects, which have sprung one from another; the last has however again separated into innumerable smaller sects.

1. The Yedinovertzi, or Blagoslovennie (Like-believers, or Blessed). The first name was given them by the Government and the Russian Church; the second they have themselves assumed. There is no material variance between them and the orthodox Russian Church; all the differences relate to ceremonies and symbolical usages. They make the sign of the Cross differently. The Starovertzi consider shaving the beard a sin, but the ordinary orthodox Russian believes this too in his heart. Tobacco-smoking they also regard as sinful, according to the text, "Not what goeth into the mouth

defileth a man, but what cometh out of it." To drink coffee or tea is also sinful. The potato is a production of the Devil, they teach that the fruit with which the serpent tempted Eve, and she Adam, was a potato, and so on. How such trifles could have caused a schism is hardly conceivable, but the seventeenth century was a time of hair-splitting in religious dogmas, and the contagion spread over the whole of Europe, as the casuistical disputes of the Jesuits and Protestant theologians show.

2. The second division are the Staroobriadtzi, little differing from the former, but they disdain all union with the orthodox Russian Church this Sect is numerous.

3. The third division are the Pomorane (dwellers on the sea), or Bezpopovstchina (the Priestless). These, having no priests, whom they consider unnecessary, have separated into innumerable subdivisions, which are generally called by the names of their leaders, Philip, Theodosius, Abakun,—Filippones, Feodosiani, Abakuni, etc.

In Moscow I became acquainted with the charitable institutions of the Bezpopovstchina sect. A learned man procured me a letter of introduction to one of their Elders; access to them is otherwise not easy. Some friends drove me in their sledge to the place. It was a fine, bright morning, after traversing wide desert fields we arrived in the suburbs of Moscow, which are quite like handsome Russian villages, the houses are only of one story, built of logs, and all with courtyards, separated from the street by planked walls and entrance-gates. Here a curious circumstance occurred to us: we had to drive about for more than an hour before we could find the man to whom our letter was addressed; neither the passers-by nor the street-police would con-

fess to a knowledge of the name of this respectable and wealthy man. It was only when my Russian friend showed the letter, and told from whom it came, that we were conducted to his substantial-looking premises. After reading the letter he welcomed us in the most hospitable manner · he led us first into a kind of chapel, which each of the sectaries has next to his bed-room; it serves also for a sitting-room, but one of the walls is covered with pictures, like the ikonostases of the Russian churches

After breakfast our host conducted us to their hospitals, which appear in the police reports as burial-places In a large open space stood two enormous fortress-like quadrangles · high walls and towers, large arched gateways, above which rose the numerous cupolas of several churches, stood before us The whole had an imposing aspect; the architecture in detail was interesting and very peculiar I was particularly struck by a splendid portal of sandstone, with singular *bas-reliefs*, at the gate of the women's hospital, which had evidently belonged to a much more ancient building in Moscow, perhaps some old palace of the Czar In the interior of the quadrangle were numerous buildings, mostly connected, forming the dwellings of the poor, aged, and sick, with stables, stores, kitchens, etc In the centre of the quadrangle stood two fine churches with numerous cupolas, and containing only an ikonostas, but no altar.

We were first conducted into the madhouse, in which was an office furnished with all the usual appliances,—apparently quite necessary, when it is remembered that in one of these quadrangles there were probably never less than a thousand people! Generally fifty or sixty inmates live together (the sexes being separate) in the

large halls of the dwelling-houses: there is the same number in the sleeping-apartments, each person having his own bed, a straw mattress, with pillow and woollen blanket. An open passage leads from one hall to the other, with small separate cells on each side for great invalids; another passage of the same kind, with cells right and left, runs from this hall into a large oratory; there were about six or eight of these oratories in each quadrangle, beside the two churches in the centre.

The sick, and the very aged and infirm, when they have no means of their own, are maintained and taken care of at the expense of the rest; those able are obliged to work for their living. In general each is bound to be present ten hours every day during the service in the oratories, those only being exempt who are obliged to work: this service continues day and night, and the readers and singers are changed every two hours. in the women's quadrangle they are naturally females. In these establishments about two hundred men and seven or eight hundred women are received. I saw no children. All belong to the Sect, when any poor people not belonging to it ask for relief they are fed, but are not allowed to remain the night.

All the arrangements are more or less crude and incomplete, and cannot be compared in their details with those in well-regulated European hospitals; but we must consider that these establishments, which have a certain grandeur, were founded and completed by people whose cultivation is much below that of the German peasantry, who have received no assistance whatever, not even any instruction from the Government, and have had no intercourse with strangers and better-informed persons of other countries; they have encountered difficulties on

every side, but, relying solely on themselves, they have succeeded in founding an institution which in extent and resources surpasses most private ones of the kind. And who are these people? Russian peasants, without priests, without nobles, without cultivation or European education, full of jealous prejudice against progress in any shape.

The firm and stable organization of these rude masses, which has already lasted so long, without any definite system, theology, nobles, or priesthood, is something marvellous. The remarkably powerful spirit of association, and the unparalleled communal institutions which have sprung from it, alone explain the phenomenon.

The third kind and series of Sects are those which have separated from the Russian Church since the time of Peter I, manifestly through the influence of Western religious ideas, although remains also of older Russian Sects may have joined them whose names have been lost in the new ones.

There are probably many Sects and subdivisions of Sects comprised under the names of Molokane and Dukhobortzi. These have no stable ecclesiastical constitution, and do not even form established associations; but there exists more philosophical and theological system among them than among the other Sects. These systems however are capable of such extension and modifications that many important tenets and opinions prevail in one community, which are not to be found in a neighbouring one; so that perhaps the one will repudiate tenets which the other holds up as articles of its belief.

As we have observed among the Starovertzi the most scrupulous adherence to all that has descended to them

traditionally, or to the (misunderstood) ancient conservative and Catholic element in the Church, so here we see the elements of a reform threatening a dissolution of the fundamental principles of the Church The former are the perfect petrifaction of the external church and ceremonial, the latter their complete volatilization

If we consider the tendency of the chief ideas of these modern Sects, we cannot help anticipating a no very distant internal revolution in the Eastern Church. By the very fact of their existence, tendency, and continuance, they inculcate and teach this proposition —"Christianity, in order to find speedy acceptance with the heathen, was obliged to adopt as sensuous a form of worship as possible, and to introduce stringent alterations in her outward forms, but in the East it thus sank into complete ruin. In the present times however, heathenism having long since disappeared and been forgotten, the Church presents to the believers nothing of the real essence and spirit of Christianity; we who are searching for this do not find in her the satisfaction of our desires; we must therefore separate from her, and give up the whole sensuous part of the worship, in order to discover and awaken the pure spiritual essence of Christianity"

It appears clear that if the Eastern Church does not, and soon, throw off subjection to outward forms, develope her theology, and give that true instruction to the people of which she is undoubtedly capable, she will inevitably lose her influence, opposed as she is by the speculative tendencies of the present time, which are set forth and manifested in these Sects, and deep wounds will be inflicted on her The same fate probably awaits her even in Greece, as soon as modern

cultivation becomes gradually disseminated there; the American missionaries have already laboured actively in anticipation of this. In Russia indeed the Church has still an immensely powerful external position, having become so completely identified with the nationality of the people, and for the most part with the national feelings, that she has almost relinquished her claim to Catholicity, in order to become a national Church with a national form of worship. But what nation can ultimately withstand the advance of modern culture, which spreads unobserved but irresistibly, and of the spiritual influences which are propagated with mad rapidity from nation to nation?

The Roman Catholic Church was in an analogous position in the sixteenth century, but she had an independent (the scholastic) philosophy, a powerful and consistent theology, and high spiritual tendencies; new, vigorous, and effective ecclesiastical institutions, particularly in the monastic life, were developed, and, notwithstanding the secession of a fourth part of her body, she triumphed over the inroads of time on her internal constitution and in all her spiritual efforts and struggles she had a loadstar and an anchor in her *centrum unitatis,* which is still wanting to the Eastern Church. It is not surprising therefore that sectarianism in Russia, which, as we have seen, has occasionally led to frightful atrocities, is repressed as much as possible by the Government.

The time when these Russian Sects arose and assumed a definite form is lost in obscurity: traces of separate doctrines seem to have made their appearance in the beginning of the eighteenth century,* but no complete

* Procopius Lupkin, a common Streletz, taught that the Church had lost the genuine spirit of Christianity, but that he had been appointed

theological systems are to be met with in the first half of it. An investigation however took place in Moscow in 1734, regarding a Sect which had sprung up, believing in a direct inward Divine revelation, and only allowing the Sacraments of Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and Marriage in a spiritual sense; its followers invoked the Holy Spirit dwelling in their members, amidst violent jumping and leaping, after which they frequently fell into convulsions and a state of ecstasy, prophesied, etc. I imagine these people belonged to the older Sects described above; but their doctrines, which were not theologically developed, doubtless prepared the ground upon which the Molokane and Dukhobortzi, with the assistance of West-European ideas and doctrines, have built their system. The Molokane are probably the older Sect of the two, the Dukhobortzi have either sprung directly from them, or their doctrines have been suggested by those of the Molokane No connection however exists between them, but, on the contrary, when living near each other, they are continually at enmity.

The political influence of the Starovertzi in Russia is known to be of great importance, which is not at all the case with these Sects; but, as I said before, they possess a contagious spiritual influence. I have collected a great mass of information respecting them, and intend

to awaken it again He was condemned to death in 1710. Before that time a Silesian of the name of Kulman, who had come to Russia, preached in 1684 the doctrine of Jacob Bohme he was burnt. In the beginning of the eighteenth century Calvinistic doctrines were disseminated among the Streltzi by Dimitri Tvaritenef, which rejected at least the outward ceremonies, but said nothing of inward revelation. These doctrines were judged and rejected in the last ecclesiastical Assembly held in Russia in 1714. Ideas and vestiges of all this may have remained, and may have facilitated the formation of these Sects.

to describe them and all the other Sects in my work upon the Russian Church; a few general remarks, and some particulars which I have learnt from personal observation, will suffice here.

Beside my own experience, and what the German Mennonite, John Kornies, in the Government of Taurida (one of the most interesting men I became acquainted with in Russia, and for many years a near neighbour of the most numerous Molokane and Dukhobortzi colonies), communicated to me, I have derived information from several Confessions of Faith set forth by the Sects themselves, partly in the possession of M. Kornies, and partly contained in an examination and description of the Sect of the Dukhobortzi, by Professor Orestes Novitzki, published in a theological journal entitled 'Opuiti' (Essays).* I may remark that in following the written authorities, I have copied them almost literally: these extracts are indicated by inverted commas.†

Hitherto none of the educated classes have been found among these Sects no Russian clergyman has ever gone over to them, or become their leader. they consist of ordinary Russian peasants. Among hundreds of them not one can read: among thousands not one can write. With the exception perhaps of two very rare books,‡ they have none containing an account of their doctrines; everything is traditional; even the above-mentioned Confessions of Faith were drawn up, not for their own in-

* Kief, 1832, Part 2

† There exists also a Latin Commentary, De Duchaborcis (Edward Lenz, Dorpat, 1829) I have not been able to procure it

‡ The above-mentioned little book by Orestes Novitzki, which contains the fullest account of all their tenets, is of late very much sought after by themselves. Cases have occurred of Communes paying 500 to 550 silver roubles for a copy of it.

struction or use, but to justify themselves to the Government, or to persons who, like Kornies, are favourably inclined to them. The more wonderful therefore is the acuteness of intellect and force of imagination which they manifest, testifying to the great intellectual gifts that still lie dormant in the Russian common people.

The Sect of the Molokane proper is not numerous. Their theological system is neither fully formed nor firmly established: indeed they are themselves not completely agreed about their doctrines, and very frequently the more zealous Molokane go over to the Dukhobortzi, who are likewise not quite agreed, but mostly carry out their tenets to their utmost consequences.

The Molokane first appeared about the middle of the eighteenth century, in the Government of Tambof. The people called them Molokane (Milk-consumers), because they took milk on holidays; they named themselves "Istinie Christiane" (true spiritual Christians). Not long afterwards they were discovered in the Government of Kharkof. Shortly after the Seven Years' War there lived in the village of Okhotch, in this Government, a foreigner (according to some accounts a Prussian officer) who had learnt Russian, and did not wish to return home: he acquired the confidence and affection of the people in a remarkable manner, was their friend, adviser, and helper in every difficulty, and their umpire when differences arose among them. He soon became their religious teacher also. A basis for his projects he seems to have found ready prepared for him: a Sect already existed, which he joined, otherwise the Russian clergy would not have allowed him to go quietly to work; he had no house or establishment of his own, but went from one neighbour to another, and in the evening assembled his

followers round him, and read and expounded the Bible to them; this continued until the end of his life. Whether or no he was a Quaker, as some suppose, cannot be ascertained, as even his name has not been preserved; but it appears certain that the reduction of the tenets of the Sect into something like a consistent system originated with him.

In the course of my journey I found members of this Sect in the Government of Taurida, on the river Malotchnaya, between the Mennonite colonies and the Nogai Tatars. About three thousand of them were established in three villages, called Novo-Vasilıekova, Astrakhanka, and Novo-Spask. The villages were pretty; the people looked comfortable, and were well-behaved, and I heard them praised as worthy and sober, although with a tinge of cunning and reserve Agriculture and cattle-breeding flourish among them.

I obtained a confession of faith composed by these people themselves: its principal contents were as follows. They believe in the Bible as the Word of God, and the unity of God in three Persons. "This triune God, dependent upon no one, and created by no one, but existing of Himself, contains the causes of all created beings; He is eternal, unsearchable, and an invisible Spirit God dwells in an untroubled world; He knows all, sees all, and governs all; everything is full of Him. We believe that this triune God, by a word of his mouth, created the heavens and the earth out of nothing, as well as all spirits without flesh, and likewise the visible world, with all the creatures that inhabit it." In the beginning everything created by God was good and perfect, a part of the spirits fell through pride; Adam was created after the likeness of God, but only

his soul, not his body. "This created immortal soul in in Adam was endowed with heavenly reason and purity, and a clear knowledge of God; Adam knew not evil; he had a holy freedom, in which he strove to imitate God the sole Creator."—The confession then describes the Fall, loss of the likeness of God, banishment from Paradise into the earth, which was cursed; compassion of God and promise of a Redeemer of the seed of woman, who "would tread upon the head of the Serpent, and restore to him the likeness of God which he had lost," etc.

Much of this confession of faith is perfectly Catholic, though occasionally peculiar in its form and mode of expression: the morality is severe, the doctrine orthodox; but in treating of the Sacraments, we find in it the spiritualistic views manifested in later Protestantism.

The Sacrament of Baptism.—"Paul says, Christ did not send me to baptize, but to preach: we therefore understand by the Sacrament of Baptism, not the earthly water, but the spiritual cleansing of our souls from sin, in faith, and the destruction of the old Adam within us, with all his works, that we may become clothed anew with a true and perfect life."

In the same way they speak of the six other Sacraments, as for instance in the case of the Lord's Supper:—"Man lives not by bread, but by the eternal Word of God." In that of Confession: "We hold by Paul: Confess your sins one to another, and pray for one another; anything further we do not allow." Of the consecration of priests they say: "We have a bishop and high-priest in the person of Christ alone, who has called us all alike. But, according to the appointment of the Apostles, we have chosen from among ourselves right-thinking men, called Elders, who lead a God-fearing life,

and employ themselves in expounding the Word of God, and supplying our spiritual wants, whom we reverence and obey according to the direction of the holy Apostle Peter."

It is manifest that the West-European spiritualistic views of the Sacraments have penetrated hither; we find even the marked Protestant forms of expression, "killing the old Adam," etc., which can never have grown up indigenously on the Russian soil. But on the other hand it is evident that the whole has been erected on the basis of the Eastern Catholic Church: here are still the seven Sacraments, whilst the Quakers, who sprang from the previously existing Protestantism, acknowledge the reception of only two spiritual Sacraments.

In conclusion this Sect explain their idea of a Church, which they acknowledge to be no more than an assembly of right-believing people, according to the words of Christ, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them" They do not approve of stone or wooden churches: "Solomon built himself a house, but the Almighty dwells not in temples made by the hand of man." Of prayer they say, "We pray to and adore our Heavenly Father, our God, with heartfelt emotion, to all eternity, and bend the knee, as in his time Christ also prayed and bent the knee." With regard to prayers for others and for the dead they are altogether silent. The conclusion of the whole Creed has completely an old Protestant sound, and looks almost like a translation from the German: "Beside the Holy Sacraments, we accept the Word of God and inward faith as our guides. We do not consider ourselves as not sinful or holy, but work out our salvation with fear and trembling, in the hope of attain-

ing it solely and alone through belief in Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, and the fulfilment of the commands of the Lord; we have no power of ourselves to effect this, but obtain it only through living faith in our Intercessor and Redeemer Jesus Christ."

Singularly enough, I found among these Molokane a translation of the writings of Jung Stilling! and I was told that those in which he speaks of a Millennium had a peculiar interest for them, they applied these to themselves, as the elect who should reign with Christ Apparently in accordance with this, in the year 1833, a certain Terenti Beliyoref declared himself to be a prophet, preaching repentance to the Molokane, and announcing to them that at the end of two years and a half the dawn of the Millennium would appear. He commanded them to abandon all labour and business, except what was absolutely necessary, and to devote all their time to singing and prayer; being asked who he was, he replied, the Prophet Elias, who preceded the coming of our Lord, and that his coadjutor Enoch was at the same time in the West, likewise preaching repentance. he even appointed a day when he should re-ascend to Heaven before their eyes The day of his ascension arrived, and several thousand Molokane assembled from various parts of Russia Terenti appeared in a carriage, and ordered them all to kneel down and pray; but at the conclusion, when he was about to soar aloft with outstretched arms, the wretched fanatic fell into the midst of the surrounding crowd, and injured a woman. A great uproar ensued; the Molokane, who had sobered down, accused him of being an impostor, bound him, and carried him before the judge. Nevertheless he steadfastly adhered to his declaration that he was really the prophet Elias,

in proof of which he appealed to his bonds. In prison he had time for reflection, and soon quite forgot that he was Elias; nevertheless, after his liberation, he continued to preach the Millennium until the day of his death. He left behind him a considerable number of followers, who were in the habit of assembling for several days and nights together, which they spent in praying and singing; some often pretended to be inspired, stamping upon the ground, making hideous noises, falling down in convulsions, and prophesying. They introduced community of goods among themselves; but after a few years, with the permission of the Government, they emigrated to Georgia, where, within view of the majestic Ararat, they united with the Wurtemberg Lutherans, who are likewise expecting the Millennium.

The Molokane on the Malotchnaya are accused of applying the text in Numbers, chap. xxxv , ver. 6, to themselves, and regarding their three villages as a secure asylum, a place of refuge and concealment to runaways and criminals; coiners of base money, forgers of passports, fugitive monks, etc., have been discovered among them, and a search is in consequence occasionally made.

In general the Molokane are peaceful and quiet, though sometimes fanaticism breaks out. In the district of Nikolaief, shortly before I was in the Government of Saratof, a Molokanin during a procession rushed into the midst of it, seized the picture of the Saint, threw it down, and trampled it underfoot: after their first consternation the people overpowered him, and instantly put him to death.

Even among the Molokane obscure traditions existed of the wonderful exploits of a Western hero. When Napoleon set out on his march to Russia, they believed

they recognized in him the lion of the valley of Jehoshaphat, described in their old Psalms, who was destined to overthrow the false Emperor, and restore the throne of the White Czar. The Molokane in the Government of Tambof appointed a deputation from their body to go clothed in white and present an address to him. These people in 1812 made their way southwards through Little Russia and Poland as far as the Vistula, where they were made prisoners: one of them escaped, and arrived safely among his own people; the rest were never heard of again.

If the Molokane must be regarded as a Christian Sect, the same cannot be said of the Dukhobortzi, at least in their extreme doctrines. It would lead too far to attempt to give here a full description of these: they constitute a complete theological and mystic-philosophical system, replete with grand ideas and of great consistency Beside their public assemblies and usual ceremonies they have also mysteries, accompanied by horrible ceremonies and orgies, the nature of which is kept profoundly secret. Even those who in recent times have gone over from the Sect on the Malotchnaya to the Church observe a careful silence on this subject, although their behaviour when questioned regarding these secrets, and the accidental expressions which fall from them, clearly indicate their existence. All or nearly all know of them, but few participate in them.

It does not appear that the Dukhobortzi have ever had a common head. The various Communes are frequently at variance; but everywhere leaders arise among them, who soon acquire an absolute control over their neighbours, and secure perfect obedience.

The most interesting man of this Sect of whom we

have any knowledge is J. Kapustin. I heard much respecting him from the Mennonites on the Malotchnaya, his nearest neighbours. Complete obscurity veils his birth, name, and early life: when he began to disseminate his views among the Molokane, it caused a schism in their body; and as about that time the majority of the Dukhobortzi in the Government of Tambof emigrated to the Malotchniya Vodi, in the Government of Taurida, he and his followers accompanied them and settled there

In the year 1801 the remainder of the Dukhobortzi in the village of Nikolsk (Government of Ekaterinoslaf), consisting of thirty families, settled, with the permission of the Emperor Alexander, on the Malotchnaya; and as this small colony, being free from all hostile attacks and oppression, rapidly increased and flourished, the Dukhobortzi came from all quarters of the Empire, and settled here, with the permission of the Government

Kapustin's distinguished personal and natural qualities, his genius and eloquence, soon gained him the supremacy of authority and command · all subjected themselves willingly to him, and he ruled like a king, or rather a prophet He expounded the tenets of the Dukhobortzi in a manner to turn them to his own peculiar profit and advantage. He attached peculiar importance to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which was already known among them: he also taught that Christ is born again in every believer, that God is in every one, for when the Word became flesh it became this for all time, like everything divine, that is, man in the world, but each human soul, at least as long as the created world exists, remains a distinct individual Now when God descended into the individuality of Jesus as Christ, He sought out the purest and most perfect man

that ever existed, and the soul of Jesus was the purest and most perfect of all human souls. God, since the time when He first revealed himself in Jesus, has always remained in the human race, and dwells and reveals himself in every believer. But the individual soul of Jesus, where has it been? By virtue of the law of the transmigration of souls, it must necessarily have animated another human body! Jesus himself said, "I am with you always, until the end of the world." Thus the soul of Jesus, favoured by God above all human souls, had from generation to generation continually animated new bodies; and by virtue of its higher qualities, and the peculiar and absolute command of God, it had invariably retained a remembrance of its previous condition. Every man therefore in whom it resided knew that the soul of Jesus was in him In the first centuries after Christ this was so universally acknowledged among believers, that every one recognized the new Jesus, who was the guide and ruler of Christendom, and decided all disputes respecting the Faith The Jesus thus always born again was called Pope False popes however soon obtained possession of the throne of Jesus, but the true Jesus had only retained a small band of believers about him, as he predicted in the New Testament, "Many are called, but few are chosen." These believers are the Dukhobortzi, among whom Jesus constantly dwells, his soul animating one of them. "Thus Sylvan Kolisnikof at Nikolsk," said Kapustin, "whom many of the older among you knew, was Jesus; but now, as truly as the heaven is above me and the earth under my feet, I am the true Jesus Christ, your Lord! fall down therefore on your knees and worship me!" And they all fell on their knees and worshiped him.

The Dukhobortzi settled on the Malotchnıya Vodı ın nine villages, to whıch they gave the significant names of Terpenıe (Patience), Bogdanovka (the Gıft of God), Troitchatka (the Trinity), Novospaskaya (the New Salvation), etc Kapustın took up hıs resıdence at Terpenie, and from hence governed all the rest In the year 1833 about four thousand Dukhobortzı were lıvıng there.

Kapustın ıntroduced a complete communıty of goods among the people. The fields were worked ın common, the harvest dıvided among themı all, and storehouses were erected to provide agaınst years of dearth; all kinds of industrıal occupatıons were followed, and the colony was making vısıble progress

About the year 1814 Kapustın underwent a legal examination for proselytızıng, and was thrown ınto prıson, beıng soon however lıberated on baıl. Hıs subsequent history ıs mysterıous and dark ıt was saıd that he not long after dıed, and was buried. the authorities, wıshıng to convınce themselves of this, ordered the grave to be opened, and found a man in ıt wıth a long red beard, whereas Kapustin had brown haır and always shaved off hıs beard · the face and figure were no longer recognizable Kapustın's wıfe had been lıvıng for some tıme on an island at the mouth of the Malotchnaya, a league distant from Terpenıe, near the Sea of Azof. The persons of most consıderation among the Dukhobortzi soon took passports to Luyan, ostensıbly to purchase horses; but the authorıtıes grew suspıcıous, and ordered an ınvestigation to be made on the spot where the woman lived, but nothing was dıscovered. It was not until a long time after, when Kapustin was really dead, that about the year 1820 the younger Kornies dıscovered a cave in which he had passed the last years of his life.

I have myself seen it: a small fissure, probably closed at one time by a door, leads from the bank by a zigzag passage into a kind of chamber in the rock, in which stood a bedstead and a stove; light was admitted into the cave by a wooden tube running out into the open air and concealed by bushes.

After the death of Kapustin the office of Christ passed to his son: he is said to have assured his people that the soul of Christ had the power of uniting itself with any human body it pleased, and that it would establish itself in the body of his son. In order to exempt the latter from service in the army Kapustin sent his wife when pregnant to the house of her father, Kalmikof, that she might there give birth to the child: after that event he married her anew; and the child, which was regarded as illegitimate, was called Larion Kalmikof. This Larion was about fifteen years old when his father died the Dukhobortzi, in order to obtain issue from him as soon as possible, assigned him, when scarcely sixteen years old, six young girls one after another: but the spirit of the father did not dwell in him: he addicted himself to drinking, order was lost among the Dukhobortzi, and the community of goods was destroyed He died in 1841 at Akhaltzik, in the Caucasian provinces, leaving behind him two children under age, one of whom the Dukhobortzi expect will in his thirtieth year manifest himself as Christ.

On the dissolution of order among them the despotism of the leaders and Elders increased Kapustin had assembled a council of thirty Elders about him, of whom twelve acted as Apostles, after his death these, under his weak son, had absolute command. But too many had been initiated into the secret mysteries, and suspicion, mistrust, and denunciation arose: they feared discovery.

The Council of Elders constituted itself a terrible inquisitional tribunal. The principle, "Whoso denies his God shall perish by the sword," was interpreted according to their caprice; the house of justice was called *Rai i muka*, paradise and torture; the place of execution was on the island at the mouth of the Malotchnaya. A mere suspicion of treachery, or of an intention to go over to the Russian Church, was punished with torture and death. Within a few years about two hundred people disappeared, leaving scarcely a trace behind, an investigation by the authorities, too late to prevent the mischief, revealed a frightful state of things. bodies were found buried alive, and many mutilated. The investigation, which was commenced in 1834, terminated in 1839: the Emperor decided that the whole body of the Dukhobortzi on the Malotchnaya should be transported to the Caucasian Provinces, there to be parcelled out and placed under strict surveillance, those only who were willing to join the Russian Church being permitted to remain. The order was communicated to these people by the Governor-General, Count Woronzof. I give a literal translation of it.

"From the Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia,—to the Inhabitants of the village of Ephranovka, called Dukhobortzi.

"*Proclamation.*

"All acts injurious to our Orthodox Church, or which disturb the public peace, are forbidden by our national laws; and any violation of these laws is visited with severe punishment But these laws were made by the power appointed by God to that effect; from Him they derive their sacred origin, and it is the duty of all and every one to obey them, and punctually to fulfil them; so

that whoever opposes this power rebels against the appointment of God himself.

"Ye, Dukhobortzi, have fallen away from the doctrines which the Orthodox Church has held throughout all ages; and, from perverted notions and ignorance, constituting a peculiar belief among yourselves, ye have disturbed the peace of the Church, and by your unlawful proceedings have violated public order. As enemies of the Government and its ordinances, ye have long since deserved reproof and punishment But the Emperor Alexander, who is now with God, from a desire of converting you by kindness, patience, and love, in his generosity not only overlooked your guilt and remitted the punishment which awaited you, but ordered that all of you who were scattered and living in darkness should be collected into one community, and moreover that a considerable extent of land should be given to you In return for all these marks of his favour he required only one thing, —that you should live in peace and quiet, and abstain from interfering with the ordinances of the State. But what fruits has this paternal care produced? Scarcely were you settled upon the land allotted to you, when in the name of your religion, and by the command of your pretended teachers, you put men to death, treating them cruelly, harbouring deserters from the army, concealing crimes committed by your brethren, and everywhere opposing disobedience and contempt to the Government. These things, contrary to all the laws of God and man, many of your brethren knew, and, instead of giving intelligence of them to the Government, they endeavoured to conceal them; many are still in custody for this conduct, awaiting the just punishment of their misdeeds.

"Your offences are thus all discovered, and the blood

which has been shed in secret and in the light of day calls aloud for vengeance The favour of God's Anointed, which has hitherto shielded and protected you, ye have yourselves forfeited,—by your crimes ye have broken the conditions upon which it was vouchsafed. Your acts, which spring from your belief and interrupt the public peace, have exhausted the patience of the Government; public order demands that ye should no longer be endured here, but should be removed to a place where the means shall be taken from you of injuring your neighbours. Your actions have at length drawn upon them the supreme attention of the Emperor. Now learn his will —

"His Imperial Majesty orders all those who belong to your persuasion to emigrate to the Caucasus. At the same time our master the Emperor grants you the following marks of his favour —

"1. As compensation for the land which you at present hold from the Crown, other lands will be given to you in the Georgian-Imiretian Government, in the Circle of Akhaltzik. At the same time it is announced to you that henceforth all those of your persuasion who emigrate to the Caucasus are not exempt from service in the army.

"2. It is permitted to the emigrants to sell their movable property, or to take it with them.

"3. For the fixed property, houses and gardens, compensation will be given according to the valuation of a Commission, which will be appointed for the purpose.

"4 Lands which belong to the emigrants in fee may be sold or surrendered to the Crown for a certain price, but on this condition, that if these lands are not sold or surrendered to the Crown at the time appointed for

the emigration, which is fixed for the middle of May of this year, 1841, the emigrants to whom they belong will not be permitted to remain longer in their present habitations.

"At the same time his Imperial Majesty has been pleased to command it to be announced to you, that those among you who, acknowledging their error, are willing to be converted to the true faith, to return into the bosom of the Orthodox Church, our common Mother, and to conform to her doctrines, which are founded upon the Word of the Redeemer and the Apostle, may remain in their dwellings and in possession of the lands belonging and granted to them by the Crown, and that especial protection and favour shall invariably be shown to them

"In order to make known this the will of our most gracious Master, I send to you your Civil Governor, the State-Councillor Muromtzof, and the Collegiate Councillor Klutcharef I exhort and pray you to take what I have said into your earnest consideration, and to return me an answer containing your determination.

"(Signed,) Governor-General of New Russia and Bessarabia,

"COUNT WORONZOF"

"Odessa, January 26, 1841.

In consequence of this announcement, those who were most implicated, together with their families, in all eight hundred individuals, were in 1841 transplanted to the Caucasus, Larion Kalmikof with his family being of the number. In 1842 eight hundred more were transported, and in 1843 nine hundred. Some preferred going over to the Russian Church, and remaining in their former

homes; many also have since returned from their new home, where they feel wretched enough, declaring their conversion to the Church. That this conversion is only pretended is more than probable: if the Government indeed were to establish schools, and send hither pious and active clergymen, an honourable conversion of the uneducated mass might be effected; otherwise the Church will certainly receive no converts but a crowd of hypocrites.

Before proceeding to describe my visit to these people, I will relate an anecdote which was told me by J. Kornies. In the year 1816 two Quakers were in Russia,—Allan from England, and Grillet from Pennsylvania. A belief had arisen that the Dukhobortzi held the same religious principles as the Quakers. The Emperor Alexander, to whom these two worthy men were introduced, encouraged them to investigate the matter, and they in consequence went to the Malotchnaya: the Director of the Mennonite colony, State-Councillor Contenius, accompanied them, and arranged a kind of religious colloquy between them and some of the best-informed Dukhobortzi. Kapustin was then dead or in concealment. The conversation was of course carried on by interpreters, and lasted half a day: it was conducted on the part of the Dukhobortzi by a clever and eloquent man named Grishki The Dukhobortzi spoke in an evasive and ambiguous manner, in which art they have great dexterity; but the Englishmen kept firmly to the point, and at length the Dukhobortzi could elude their questions no longer. When to the peremptory interrogation, "Do you believe in Christ, the only begotten Son of God, the second Person in the Trinity?" they replied, "We believe that Christ was a good man, and nothing more,"

Allan covered his eyes with his hands, and exclaimed, "Darkness!" The two Englishmen then immediately took their departure.

I took advantage of my sojourn among the Mennonites on the Malotchnaya to become personally acquainted with the Dukhobortzi, under the guidance of J. Kornies, the Mennonite.

On the 7th of August, 1843, we drove to the Dukhobortzi village of Bogdanovka, and were hospitably received by one of its chief inhabitants, whom Kornies knew well. A great number of them soon collected in and around the house of our host. The exterior of the village, the arrangements of the courtyard and dwelling, and the dress of the people, differed little from those in the surrounding Russian villages; but the whole had an appearance of greater wealth, order, and cleanliness; and in walking through the village and looking at the children, and afterwards at the inhabitants collected in the house and courtyard of our host, I was struck with the remarkably handsome forms both of the men and women, and the health and strength they displayed.*

The interior of the peasant's house which I entered was quite the same as all the rest in this district; the absence of a portrait of the Saint in one corner of the room struck me, as this is invariably seen in an ordinary

* No wonder! the Dukhobortzi put to death, without hesitation, all deformed and delicate children They say, "The soul, being the likeness of God, must dwell in a worthy, noble, and vigorous body,—if we find it in a weak and poor one, we are bound to free it from its ignoble prison, it then chooses for itself, according to the law of the transmigration of souls, another and a better body. This is held to be no murder, for the child is not yet a man, and has no consciousness! It is otherwise when a grown person becomes weak or deformed, then his death is a murder" How consistent is this doctrine, but what a horrible consistency!

peasant's house. The conversation soon turned to religious subjects; and although, from being interpreted to me, the connection and niceties of the language were necessarily lost, I could not but admire the readiness, facility of expression, and adroitness of the two principal disputants, one a white-bearded old man, and the other an active young fellow of thirty-two. Whenever they spoke of the higher and dangerous doctrines of their Sect, it was in an equivocal and ambiguous manner, and with such a multitude of fantastic expressions as would have done honour to a sophist gifted with the most acute dialectic powers. Unfortunately I could not in their presence note down anything in my pocket-book, fearing to excite their suspicion; and I can therefore only allude to the general effect: it was the most singular mixture of sublime thoughts, with a material and gross application of them to the affairs of every-day life, possible to conceive, showing how easily the highest spiritual mysticism may grow into atheism: the self-deification of these people was on the point of entirely destroying the idea of the Divinity Good and evil, virtue and vice, resolved themselves merely into the conception of the *I* and the *Not I;* for the Dukhoboretz is God, and cannot sin; but the Non-Dukhoboretz is the radically wicked,—all that he does, even what appears to be good, is sin.*

After this colloquy, which lasted a long time, we visited several houses, to cast a glance at their domestic and family life. Kornies drew my attention to the loose connection existing between parents and children,—a ne-

* It would be a gracious and humane task for the Russian Government to endeavour to unite these people with the Church. Good schools should be established, and active and intelligent clergymen sent among them. Russia should consider this subject earnestly; she little suspects what dangers threaten her from these tendencies

cessary result of their principles and doctrine. The act of generation and of being born is supposed to constitute no tie of relationship; the soul, the image of God, recognizes not any earthly father or mother; the body springs from matter as a whole; it is the child of the earth, with the body of the mother, which bore it for a time, it stands in no nearer relationship than the seed with the plant from which we pluck it. It is indifferent to the soul in what prison, or body, it is confined There is only one father, the totality of God, who lives in every individual; and one mother, universal matter or nature, the Earth The Dukhobortzi therefore never call their parents "father" and "mother," but only "old man" and "old woman." In the same way a father and mother call their children, not *mine*, but *ours* (the Commune's): the men call their wives "sisters."

Natural sympathies and instincts however are stronger than dogmas Thus I both heard and saw that the deep and affectionate veneration of children for their parents, the tender love of parents for their children, which prevail universally among the Russians, appeared here likewise almost everywhere in the family life of the Dukhobortzi, the outward signs of the relationship only being avoided.

On the 28th of July I drove with Kornies to the village of Terpenie, so long the residence of Kapustin. Accompanied by a Dukhoboretz, who had gone over to the Church, we entered the house of Kapustin: it was empty and deserted; the doors and windows stood open, and the wind whistled in every corner. The house consisted of two stories, the upper of which had a small gallery along one side, where on certain days, when all the people were assembled below, Kapustin appeared; then

they all fell down upon their knees and worshiped him. But here also was that horrible tribunal, "the place of torture and paradise." Every spot, room, and partition is said to have had its peculiar use and name; but the Dukhoboretz who accompanied us, and whom Kornies questioned, at first gave evasive answers, and then observed a gloomy silence. Below was a large dark hall, without windows, which is said to have been the place where the mysteries were celebrated, and where Kapustin and his intimate associates gave themselves up to the most frightful orgies.

It was a beautiful morning, but nevertheless the whole place, in its silent and deserted condition, with the three spectral-looking statues in the courtyard, and its dark and ghastly reminiscences, made a truly fearful impression upon me.

Kapustin had, in his whole nature and position, manifestly a great resemblance to John of Leyden, the Anabaptist King in Munster. The religious principles of the Baptists too, in their origin, if not in their present state, bear an incontestable resemblance to those of the Dukhobortzi. It is however very remarkable that this man, who, according to our modern ideas, was merely an uncultivated Russian peasant, should have been able to create a complete theocratic state, comprising four thousand persons,—a Platonic Utopia, founded upon religious, Christian, and Gnostic principles, and to maintain it for so many years.

CHAPTER IX.

LEAVE NIZHNI —SECOND VISIT TO THE CAMP —CANTONIST CHILDREN —THE MASHINA ON THE VOLGA —KOSMODEMIANSK.—TCHEREMISS VILLAGE —TCHEREMISS FARMSTEAD —PEOPLE OF THE TCHEREMISS —DRESS.—DWELLINGS.—INSTITUTIONS.—CHARACTER.—RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS AND IDEAS —EXILES ON THEIR WAY TO SIBERIA —COLONIZATION IN SIBERIA —THE GOLD-WASHINGS —THE TCHUVASH —CHARACTERISTICS, RELIGION AND SUPERSTITION.—ARRIVAL AT KAZAN.

On the evening of July the 12th we embarked in a boat on the Volga near the Petchersk Convent, visiting before we started the camp of a regiment of carabineers, posted about half a league from Nizhni, and composed of so-called Cantonists

All the children of soldiers in Russia belong to the Crown; they are educated, maintained, and clothed at the public charge; and all who are not disqualified are obliged to become soldiers. They constitute an hereditary soldier-class, and are brought up in cadet-houses, being from childhood instructed in all the corporeal exercises, fencing, military training, and gymnastics; also in reading, writing, arithmetic, drawing, etc. Those who display intellectual superiority may receive a higher kind of education. They constitute several regiments, in which the boys of ten to twelve years of age form peculiar divisions. The regiment we here visited was composed of these sons of soldiers, who are called Cantonist

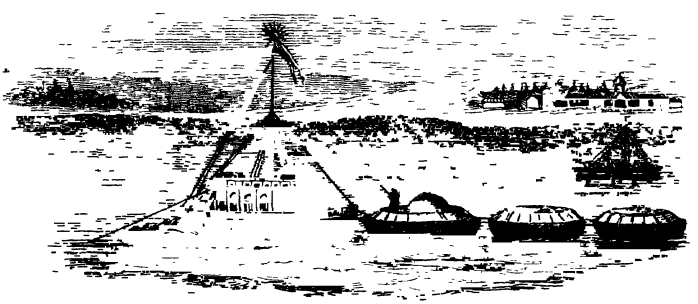
children, or Cantonists; one of the Majors commanding a battalion of the regiment had himself been a Cantonist child, and had risen by his own merit. That these people, who are exercised from their seventh year in all kinds of military exercises, should have attained unusual dexterity, was natural, but they surpassed everything I had hitherto seen. After we had walked through the lines of tents, groups of singers formed; they placed themselves in a circle, in the centre of which was the leader, who in the dramatic or comic songs acted the clown, harlequin, buffoon, and play-actor. They sang national songs, and with wonderful precision. In the middle of one the Colonel who accompanied us desired us to hold our watches in our hands, and then gave a signal to sound an alarm, in an instant the chorus of singers dispersed, and all rushed to the huts for their arms; and whilst we walked leisurely to the parade-ground in front of the camp, several already passed us fully equipped; within one minute and a half the whole regiment was formed The exercises which now commenced were executed with admirable precision

The night we spent on board the boat on the Volga was bright and clear, although anything but pleasant for us, the flies annoyed us so much that it was impossible to sleep. There is no means of guarding against their innumerable bloodthirsty swarms.

We passed the two following days and nights on the river. The right bank is everywhere fifty to one hundred and fifty feet high, the left quite flat, with immense meadows and morasses, and the background shut in by forests. In the right bank, which is generally precipitous, are innumerable small deep holes, the dwellings of swallows. In the long rock-walls of the South Cau-

casian countries and the Crimea are also innumerable holes, which have been cut into them and lead to caves, the dwellings of prehistoric peoples. The human Troglodytes appear to have adopted the swallows' mode of living.

The Volga is very animated: we everywhere met *Mashinas*, or vessels worked by a wheel, which is moved by horses instead of steam. These are used as tugs, and proceed up the river,—the unwieldy precursors of future steamers. An anchor attached to a long and strong rope is sent on before in a small boat, and heaved into the stream; and the vessel is then tugged up to the anchor by the rope, which is wound upon a wheel on the deck of the vessel, driven by horses, of which there are often sixty in one boat. When the vessel approaches the anchor, another is sent on and heaved into the stream, and thus it proceeds slowly on its course. The Mashina often tows five or six heavily-laden vessels up the Volga.



The wind was all the time against us, the boat too lightly laden, and the steersman unfit for his duty; the defensive war we carried on with millions of flies held out no hope of victory, until our patience could endure it no

longer, and we landed in the afternoon of June 15th, at Kosmodemiansk, the chief town of the Circle.

Twenty or thirty years ago there was great insecurity on the Volga, robberies and murders being very common, but perfect safety now prevails. The police arrangements among so many different peoples, languages, and at such distances, which afford ample security in Russia, must be excellent, but they are still a mystery to me.

At Kosmodemiansk we were kindly received by M. Fenenko, the local Chief of the Imperial Domains, a man of an active mind and inclined to the study of national character. The settlements of a Finnish race, the Tcheremiss, commence in this District M. Fenenko has instituted inquiries into their national peculiarities and manners, and has collected popular songs, legends, and tales, certainly worthy of being published.

The Finnish, or, as the Russians call it, the Tchudish race, is undoubtedly the aboriginal people of the whole North of Europe, as well as of a part of Northern Asia; its earliest settlements probably extended far into the interior of Germany, and into Poland and Russia as far as the Steppes. The German and Slavonic peoples have gradually driven them further northward, and many branches of them have perished and disappeared; the rest, with the exception of the Fins Proper, the Esthonians, and perhaps the Syranes, are near extinction or incorporation with foreign nations, particularly the Russians; although this has taken place quite of itself, without the interference of the Government, in the natural course of history, as in the case of the aborigines of North America. The more necessary therefore is it for science to note such national traits as are still preserved, before they entirely disappear. The wife of the State-councillor

and physician Von Fuchs, in Kazan, passed a considerable time among the interesting peoples of the Tcheremiss and Tchuvash, and studied their manners and customs . her letters to her husband were published by him in 1840 in the Russian language.* M. Fenenko also intended to publish his collections and observations.

We drove the same day with M. Fenenko to the Tcheremiss village of Kulikalovo, distant about twenty versts from Kosmodemiansk The settlements of this people give the country a peculiar aspect and character. Russians live here also, but only on the banks of the Volga and the small rivers flowing into it The Tcheremiss villages all lie in the interior of the country, in the small valleys among the hills, whilst the farm-houses of the Russians stand in rows, those of the Tcheremiss are thrown together in irregular masses, and no regular streets are found in the villages. In a Russian village seldom is a tree, bush, or hedge to be seen , and the aspect of the whole, with its grey houses and roofs, on an open spot, without trees and surrounded by pine-forests, produces a melancholy impression upon the mind.

In the Tcheremiss villages cheerful groups of limes, beeches, and oaks, with flourishing fruit-trees, are everywhere seen , the grey roofs peep through the green foliage, and the eye is not offended by the monotonous regularity of straight lines and streets.

We were hospitably received in the large farm-house of a rich Tcheremiss named Rodivanof Yurief. The Tcheremiss are of middle stature, but active and strongly built ; their faces are broad, generally with a snub nose, and the hair and beard of a brilliant black, particularly

* A notice and some extracts from the book are to be found in Ermann's Archiv, 1841, part 2 (Berlin, Reimer)

in the children. Brown hair is rare, and I did not see a single case of blonde The women are small and ugly, and the ugliness is increased by their dress. The Tcheremiss never mix with other races. marriages with Russians and Tatars scarcely ever occur, and very seldom with their neighbours the Tchuvash The dress of the men has become considerably Russianized, that of the women consists of a white woollen kaftan (*mezhar*), with a black band They weave and prepare the cloth themselves, and value the coat at six or seven roubles

The name Tcheremiss was given to them by the Russians; they have always called themselves *Mere*, *Mari* (Men). They obstinately resisted the Russian rule, and held out the longest when Kazan was conquered. They are said in former times to have been nomadic, but have now all adopted a settled life, and (those at least whom I visited) devote themselves industriously to agriculture.

The family relation is not so stable as with the Russians. The position of the women has an Oriental character, and the man purchases his wife They have generally adopted the Russian communal division of the land. In the villages which I saw here all the field-labour is performed in common: the whole village, young and old, man and wife, proceed together to the farming operations, and labour night and day until the work is finished, at seed-time, haymaking, and harvest. The harvest too is equally divided upon the fields among the different households, and not the fields themselves in the first instance.

The Tcheremiss profess for the most part adherence to the Russian Church, although they are still half heathens. Few know the Russian language, and they obstinately resist being taught to read and write it. The

parents of a peasant-boy whom M. Fenenko had taken under his care (in pursuance of a Ministerial order for the education of communal clerks), had offered him a hundred roubles to leave the lad at home unschooled.

During the corn-blossom, a period of about three weeks, the Tcheremiss do no work, considering it sinful; they only weed the ground. At the end of this time there is a great holiday, and they all proceed (even when Christians) into the wood to the spots where sacrifices took place of old, and offer up cows, sheep, and fowls. These must first be purchased, but no bargaining is allowed,—that would be sinful.*

According to them the evil gods stand opposed to the good ones; at the head of the former is Shaitan (Satan), whose real Tcheremiss name is Yo. He dwells in the West, and is particularly dangerous at the dinner hour. They believe in a life after death, which on the whole

* Georgi in his work on Russia has described this festival. I myself heard much, and Frau von Fuchs gives a full account of it. she says that this is the highest festival of the heathenish Tcheremiss, dedicated to Yum, Yuma, or the highest God, and therefore called Yumon Bairan, and also Shurem. After the animals have been slaughtered, and various ceremonies performed by the priests, they all fall down upon their knees, touch the ground several times with their faces, and repeat aloud a prayer containing eighteen requests, as follows —

1. To him who has sacrificed to God, may God grant health and happiness!

2 To the children who have been born into the world, may he give an abundance of money, bread, bees, and cattle!

3. May he cause the bees to swarm at the new year, and provide honey in abundance!

4. May he bless our pursuit of birds and game!

5. May he give us an abundance of gold and silver!

6. Let us, O God, receive threefold the value for our goods!

7. Grant that we become possessed of all the treasures which are in the earth, and in the whole world!

8. Enable us to pay the Imperial taxes!

9 When the spring comes, let the three kinds of cattle out in the

is merely a continuance of the present life, with a kind of retribution; they expect to live in future happily or unhappily according as they have been good or wicked here: bad men after death become evil spirits, and return and torment the living.

We drove in the afternoon through several Tcheremiss villages, and again reached the great road to Kazan and Siberia. In a valley we crossed a small river, and immediately afterwards came to a Russian village.

In the afternoon we arrived at the first of those belonging to the Tchuvash, who here border on the Tcheremiss, and stopped at the station of Stari-fundir. This is intended for the convicts on their way to Siberia, and it so happened that immediately after us a batch of them arrived, to pass the night here. Coming unexpectedly, and taking the authorities by surprise, we were able to collect information, and make our observations on the

three ways, and protect them from the deep mud, from bears, wolves, and thieves!

10. Let our barren cows bear calves!

11. Let the lean cows grow fat by having calves!

12. Let us sell the barren cows with one hand, and with the other take hold of the money!

13 Send us, O God, a true-hearted friend!

14. When we travel to a distance, protect us from wicked men, bad diseases, stupid people, bad judges and slanderous tongues!

15. As the hop is elastic and full, so bless us with happiness and understanding!

16. As the light burns clear, so let us live, and grant us health!

17. As the wax settles down into a uniform level, so grant us the happiness to live constantly!

18. Grant that he who asks may receive!

After this prayer the priest puts the head, heart, and liver of his beast into a bowl, and offers it as a sacrifice to his divinity, with a prayer before the fire; then they eat, and again begin to pray; thus it lasts three days and three nights without sleep. They then throw what they have not consumed, together with the bones and entrails of the beasts, into the fire, which is kept continually burning.

treatment of the convicts. The station-houses have large, well-guarded courtyards, in which are several spacious, clean, and well-aired halls, the doors and windows being open; along the walls were benches, with thin but fresh layers of straw upon them, the sleeping-places for the prisoners, in the kitchen were large cauldrons, containing *shtchi* and groats, not badly cooked.

The column of prisoners arrived, chained in couples, and each carrying a bundle; the women were not bound, many of them voluntarily accompanying their husbands. A few waggons carried the sick and aged, with the provisions: the column consisted of 136 persons, and two degraded staff-officers were said to be among them. After placing themselves in rank and file, and the roll had been called, they lay down in the court in groups, and the scene became very animated. I cannot say they looked dejected. the Russian is by nature heedless of circumstances, and soon reconciles himself to what is inevitable.

Until they have passed Kazan the prisoners are pretty well off The daily march, fifteen to twenty-five versts, is not immoderately fatiguing, and the station-houses are good They suffer no want of anything, for the benevolence of the Russian people to them is inexhaustible. everywhere they are entertained and presented with gifts: a number of women, and waggon-loads of provisions and clothes, await them at the station-houses, as was the case at the one where we stopped But in contrast to this generosity of the common people to the convicts, without distinction or inquiry as to whence they come or to what people they belong, the Tcheremiss and Tchuvash never give them anything. Even when any of their own countrymen are among the prisoners they rarely offer them provisions without requiring something in return.

We were told that in former times about sixty thousand convicts passed annually through Kazan, but at present the number probably does not exceed ten thousand. Formerly scarcely one-third arrived at the place of their destination, the rest dying on the road; afterwards about one-half were lost; but now the loss is said never to exceed twenty-five, and seldom even fifteen per cent. As far as the Siberian frontier their fatigues are not great, the people's kindness everywhere assisting and smoothing the way for them But afterwards in those desert countries this relief ceases, the superintendence of the station-houses is insufficient, and a pestilential atmosphere, attended by infectious diseases, is generated by the crowding together of so many people In addition to this, they have to encounter the severe climate and discomforts of the weather, the journey takes three-quarters of a year, and consequently always falls in a part of the Siberian winter: even the best will on the part of the Government could not prevent these sufferings and dangers. Resting-places should be appointed in the west of Siberia, in which the convicts might be collected and pass the first winter, so that two years instead of one would be given them to reach the place of their destination

These destinations are various: the worst malefactors are sent to the mines at Nertchinsk, in the Government of Irkutsk, 4200 miles distant from Moscow. The loss of the convicts here in former times was frightful: it is said that once having descended the shafts they never saw the light of day again. At a later period they always revisited it after three weeks; and the Emperor Nicholas very much ameliorated their lot, ordering that the convicts should only work eight hours daily during the six week-days, and spend the remainder of the time in their

houses. The fate of those banished to the Siberian towns is not severe, if they receive assistance from their relatives. In fact there is considerable luxury in these places, and nowhere is more champagne drunk.

The convicts sent out as colonists are mostly transported to the districts of Southern Siberia, which are described by all who have seen them as truly paradisiacal.* The country is romantically beautiful, the soil incredibly fertile, the climate very healthy; the cold indeed is severe in winter, but with a perpetually clear sky, and nowhere are there so many vigorous old people. The peasants, descended from the early convicts, are all well off, some of them very rich: they require only industry, good behaviour, and exertion for a few years, to acquire a substantial position Their whole outward condition is from the first favourable · as soon as they arrive in Siberia, their past life not only lies like a dream behind them, but is legally and politically completely at an end: their crime is forgotten, no one dares to remind them of it or to term them convicts; both in the public official reports and in conversation they are only called "the unfortunate" They are perfectly free people, serfdom being forbidden by the law The self-government of the Communes prevails there in the most extended form; nowhere are the people less tormented by avaricious and dishonest officials, and for this reason, that their number is small

In Siberia the ancient, simple, and noble patriarchal manners still prevail; and in this respect it is still the veritable old Russia in the best sense of the term: there is the greatest hospitality and mutual goodwill. All impartial travellers and eye-witnesses confirm this descrip-

* Peculiarly fortunate are those who are settled in the province of Omsk, where all the southern fruits,—grapes, apricots, peaches, etc.—grow

tion; but for some years past the moral condition of the people has been threatened with destruction, from the consequences attending the abundance of gold. The ancient tales of the country in the north-east, where griffins watch over uncountable heaps of gold, are no fables. The eastern slopes of all the mountains from the Ural to Kamtchatka form valleys of rich auriferous alluvial sand, and incredible riches are accumulated in particular spots. The yield in 1843, according to the official accounts, gave nearly 1300 poods, or 46,800 lbs. of gold, but 70,000 lbs. might easily have been collected; that is, double the quantity obtained at that time from all the other mines in the world. Hitherto it is only the gold washed down by the floods that has been found, but where lies the mass of ore from which it has been separated? Do the old griffins still watch over it, keeping it for a future and more fortunate generation? For some years past innumerable adventurers in search of gold have swarmed in Siberia; but they find none to assist them, nor any means of subsistence; consequently on the more favoured spots the price of labour and food is enormously high, whilst in these districts the climate prevents work for more than three months in the year. The wages of labour have sometimes been as high as fifteen silver roubles (£2. 8*s*.) a day. Hence the colonists, instead of devoting themselves to the substantial occupation of agriculture, so favourable to the maintenance of morality, run after this treacherous allurement of gold-digging, the demoralization arising from which is rapidly extending.

Hitherto gold-digging has been almost a free trade. Each person receives a written permission to dig, and is obliged to deliver the gold to the authorities, who pay him its value in cash, after deducting from ten to fifteen

per cent. What effect this superfluity of gold may have upon its value in the world at large, and particularly in Russia, it is impossible to foresee. It will soon become a political necessity for the Government to take the affair into its own hands, and exercise a strict control over it.

The condition of the Siberian convicts, when arrived and settled in the country, is certainly favourable. The severity of their punishment consists in the loss of home, the disruption of early family ties and connection with the place of their birth, and the endless dangers and difficulties of the long journey.

We now surveyed the Tchuvash village: its position was similar to that of the Tcheremiss one, and it was formed in like manner of small groups of irregularly placed houses. The Tchuvash, according to recent researches, belong to quite a different national family from the Tcheremiss; the latter being connected with the Finnish, and the former considered a branch of the Turco-Tatar race; their form and features, and above all their language, are said to indicate this. In their mode of living, manners, and dress, however, as well as in their character and religion, they do not resemble their neighbours and former rulers, the Kazan Tatars, but rather the Tcheremiss, with whom however they do not often intermarry.

Frau von Fuchs relates a curious circumstance, that in a village inhabited by Russians and surrounded by Tchuvash, which belonged to her brother, the Russians had almost entirely given up their national manners and customs, and had adopted everything from the Tchuvash; they even spoke more Tchuvash than Russian. The following observation however, in the Russian Journal of the Ministry of the Interior (1838), is in general true:—

"The description of the present condition of the Votiaks,

Mordvins, Tcheremiss, etc. is the last document of their history, for their physiognomy is beginning to disappear; everywhere the Russian settlements are swallowing up the Finnish element." All the Tcheremiss are free people, and the Tchuvash also, with the exception of 2703 individuals (1838). There is not a trace in either people of an indigenous national nobility I give the numbers of these Tribes from the work of the statist Köppen (1838), which are in general to be relied on.

Tcheremiss: in all about 155,000 individuals of this tribe, which in former times was very numerous, and widely extended toward the west.

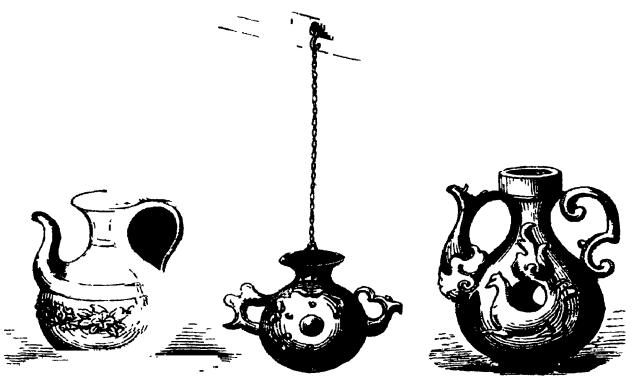
Tchuvash: about 183,000 individuals. Both these Peoples live only in villages, never in large towns, whereas the Tatars are fond of the suburbs and particular quarters of the Russian towns Both Peoples, it is said, were nomadic before they became agriculturists.

After passing some other Tchuvash villages, the country about thirty to forty versts distant from Kazan assumed a different character. We had hitherto traversed an elevated plain, with occasional undulations, but we now came to a hilly country, long ridges, with single detached peaks, never exceeding five to six hundred feet in height, formed broad and narrow valleys. Large Russian villages again occurred, with badly thatched straw roofs. In the fields I saw occasionally groups of women employed in weeding, which indicated industry in the cultivation of the land. At length we reached the heights of the Volga, which here makes a bend, and changes its course from a west-and-east to a north-and-south direction. The carriage drove rapidly down the slope, and we soon found ourselves on the bank of the majestic river.

Anything more wretched than the arrangements of the

Russian ferry-boats is nowhere to be found. Instead of driving in at the end of the boat, the horses are taken out, and the carriage with immense exertion brought in over the side, and placed across it. The same labour is required when it is taken out at the opposite side of the river. We found this inconvenient system on all the rivers except the Don, where we came to a ferry kept by German colonists, the mode being here adopted which is usual throughout Europe, of driving in at the end.

On the 17th of June, about noon, we reached the Kazanka, and had now the gloriously situated old Tatar city before us. After being detained for an hour by a tedious passage across the river, and over execrable swampy roads, we arrived in Kazan, and took up our quarters at an inn kept by a German.



TCHEREMISS POTTERY

CHAPTER X.

KAZAN. — CONFLAGRATION IN 1842. — STATE-COUNCILLOR VON FUCHS. — MIGRATION OF VERMIN. — THE UNIVERSITY. — RUSSIAN SWITZERLAND — THE TATARS — DIVINE SERVICE OF THE TATARS. — HOUSE OF TWO TATAR MERCHANTS. — HOUSEHOLD ARRANGEMENTS. — DRESS. — PHYSICAL CONFORMATION OF THE TATARS — INTELLECTUAL FACULTIES. — CHARACTER AND MODE OF LIFE — CAPACITY FOR CIVILIZATION, AND POLITICAL IMPORTANCE — THEIR CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY. — PUNISHMENT OF THE KNOUT. — ITS ABOLITION. — PRODUCTIONS OF THE SOIL. — CLIMATE — TATAR VILLAGE OF YEPAN ASHINO. — POSITION OF WOMEN. — VILLAGE ARRANGEMENTS

KAZAN still lay for the most part in ruins; a great fire the year before had reduced the vast city to ashes. All the arrangements for extinguishing fires are good in Russia, especially in Moscow and St. Petersburg. The latter city, with its stone houses and broad streets, ought to have less to fear from fires than any other. Of 4500 houses in Kazan only about 500 were built of stone; the rest were log-houses. The streets, with few exceptions, were unpaved; but according to the custom in Russian towns, instead of *trottoirs*, fir-planks, resting upon wooden blocks about half a foot high, ran along the houses on either side the street for pedestrians. These planks soon ignited, the flames running along them through all the streets, and setting fire to many places simultaneously.

More than a year had elapsed since the fire had oc-

curred, but when I saw it the town was only beginning to rise slowly from its ashes. On such emergencies a great want of money is felt by the large towns in the interior of Russia, arising from the high rate of interest, which is nowhere less than eight or ten per cent. Immediately after the fire the Emperor ordered several millions to be advanced for a certain number of years, without interest, to those who wished to rebuild their houses; but I was told that the inhabitants availed themselves very little of this assistance, as the guarantees and securities required offered insuperable obstacles, and rendered this aid quite illusory.

Bureaucratic forms and ceremonies are nowhere so annoying as in Russia, but here they have not sprung from over-refinement and cultivation, and the complications of modern corruption. Manners in Russia are in general rude, but healthy and sound, and consequently the social relations are simple, and not complicated. The unhappy spirit of imitation has introduced West-European forms, and thereby produced serious obstructions to all kinds of business.

We paid the necessary visits to the Governor, the President of Domains and Appanages, the Head of Police, etc., surveyed the town and its environs, and I went the same evening to the State-councillor von Fuchs, to whom I had a letter of introduction. He was born on the Rhine, but had lived many years in Russia, devoting himself entirely to his own department of science, and having beautiful collections of natural history: he was of an original character, open and frank, an acute observer, and hospitable in the highest degree. During my sojourn in Kazan I was principally in his society, and am greatly indebted to his kindness for the information I received.

His wife I have already mentioned, as the lady who has written an interesting book upon the Tcheremiss. She had also become acquainted, under peculiarly favourable circumstances, with many of the different kinds of Russian sectaries (Raskolniks), and had lived for some time among them: she has also written a book upon them, but the Censorship will not permit it to be published.

Herr von Fuchs related some curious facts in natural history, particularly respecting the migrations and gradual spread of several kinds of vermin; for instance the *Tarakani*, a small kind of beetle (*Blatta*), which are an endless torment in Russian houses, have proceeded gradually from China to the Volga. About the year 1765 they appeared on the Don, among the Cossacks just returned from the Seven Years' War, who, under the impression that they had brought these new and troublesome guests from Germany, called them *Prussaki*. Since then they have travelled continually further west, and gradually spread over Russia; they are said to have already approached close to the old Polish frontier, and we may therefore expect that in about thirty years this pest will reach Germany. Fuchs also recollects an enormous swarm of rats coming suddenly in the year 1817 up the banks of the Volga, and in four years destroying all the native rats and mice in Kazan, but in turn they have themselves become a terrible pest, the cats being unable to master them. These too advanced westwards, and are said to have already reached Nizhni Novgorod; they are found in Persia, and appear to have come thither from the Caspian Sea, they have a dirty yellow appearance, with a black stripe down the back, and are almost as large again as the ordinary rat. In the year 1819 or 1820, a very small species of ant (called by Eversman

and Fuchs *Formica fatalis*), which was probably brought from Astrakhan with the orange-trees, suddenly appeared and multiplied in Kazan; this has likewise become a great plague.

The University stands upon a solitary hill. The principal parts of this building, the library, collections of natural history, observatory, etc., were spared by the fire.*

We spent the evening with the Governor, at his country-seat, situated in the so-called Russian Switzerland. The heights extending to the north-east of the town descend toward the Kazanka, to deeply wooded valleys, which present very picturesque scenery.

At the Governor's *soirée* several members of the nobility belonging to this Government, with their families, were present. Few probably were of old Russian blood, the majority being descendants of Tatar Murzas. Their physiognomy, hair, and eyes clearly indicated this, but their clothes and manners quite accorded with the modern levelling system. Here, on the Asiatic frontier, external cultivation is completely European, and the people speak almost more French than Russian in their families: it was entirely different forty years ago.

On the 19th of June, a Friday, we wished to attend the Mohammedan service. A police-officer, a Tatar and Mohammedan, but dressed in uniform and with shaven beard, called for us. In the vestibule of the mosque all the shoes of the Tatars were standing in rows, the faithful always entering barefooted. We of course saw nothing but the outward signs of prayer; these consisted

* When the University was first founded, the professors were all Germans In the year 1810 there were fourteen Germans and one Russian. in 1815 there were only eight German professors At present there are very few, the majority being Russians, and some Poles.

in the people throwing themselves frequently upon the ground, at the same time raising the palms of both hands to their head, so that the thumb touched the upper edge of the ear The person praying then fell on his knees, and in Oriental fashion sat upon his feet turned inwards, from this position he threw himself upon his hands, and struck his forehead on the ground, at the same time the lips of many moved, apparently uttering the well-known form of prayer, "God is great!" This silent prostration, in deep devotion, hope, and repentance, of people who feel themselves one in the unity of their faith, has a really elevating effect upon every unprejudiced mind

From hence we drove with the officer to two substantial Tatar merchants, brothers, who dwelt in the same house I wished to see a genuine national household, but this no longer exists, at least in Kazan, as the people here too are already affected by European cultivation The furniture of the rooms into which we were conducted was quite European,—a sofa instead of a divan, stools, tables, and glass cases, with some pretty Chinese porcelain, and two mirrors on the walls,—all in the same taste as might have been found among us twenty or thirty years ago. A fine porcelain vase, of peculiar form, stood upon a side-table In one of the glass cases was a stone bowl, inscribed with texts from the Koran A part of the floor was covered with a very beautiful dark-coloured Persian carpet

We were allowed also to glance at the adjoining sleeping-apartment A bench six feet in breadth, serving as the common sleeping-place of all the family, ran along the whole front of the room, cushions, coverlets, mattresses, and feather-beds were heaped up in a corner, nearly to

the ceiling; the Tatars being very fond of lying softly, and covering themselves up with feather-beds like the North Germans. The internal arrangement of the house we could not examine closely, as the women, who are not allowed to be seen, were in them Inquisitive, like all Eve's daughters, they rushed in their veils several times past the open doors, but did not come nearer

The dress of the rich Tatars here consists of a round cap (*kollabush*), fitting closely to their shaven crown, generally embroidered prettily, and often richly, with gold Wide white cotton trousers (*shtanni*) are worn with coloured morocco boots, without soles, over which are drawn slippers with low heels (*bashmaki*), or overshoes of common leather, these boots are rarely taken off, even in the house, and they are almost like stockings The shirt (*kulmiak*) is generally of linen, and leaves the throat open and bare, over this is worn a kind of coat or jacket (*arshaluk*), usually of striped silk, bound in front with ribbons, reaching to the knee, and girded with a *kushak* (girdle or shawl), over this is a wide, open, and long flowing robe, like our dressing-gowns,—rarely black, like that of the Polish Jews, but generally of bright colours This is the costume of the rich Tatar merchants The peasants, drivers, and artisans wear above their simple, unadorned little cap, a pointed felt hat without a brim; and instead of the open, wide robe, a long coloured embroidered shirt round the neck and arms, like the Circassians, and generally blue linen trousers, with cloths and felt shoes upon their feet. A turban is only worn upon solemn occasions: this is formed by putting a high pointed felt cap above the other one, and winding a fine white woollen or cotton shawl over this, so that the point of the cap protrudes In the mosque we remarked only a single green turban

The Tatars are among the most hospitable peoples of the Russian Empire, and we were received in the kindest manner by the two brothers. We saw no servants in the house; our hosts themselves and the son of one of them waited on us. It was about half-past eleven o'clock. The breakfast served to us consisted principally of fresh and dried fruits and sweetmeats; then came excellent tea in glasses, with orange-peel in it, and at the conclusion a fine melon: there was neither bread nor cakes. By our resolute way of eating and drinking we quite won the hearts of these worthy people, which they indicated to us in Tatar fashion, by presenting their hands, holding us with them both

The Tatars in Kazan live mostly together, in a separate quarter of the town. Formerly the ruling people, they have been driven into the suburbs, whilst the town proper is inhabited by Russians They are traders rather than artisans; among them are merchants of all the guilds.

The Kazan Tatars belong, both mentally and physically, to the nobler races of mankind; they are a mixed people, and possess high mental qualities, but Mohammedanism only permits their development in a limited degree. The ancient Bulgarian and Mongol population has been completely merged in the Tatar. The aspect of the Tatars clearly indicates their consanguinity with the Mongols: Herberstein describes them as half Mongols. I frequently found the peculiar oblique position of the long eyes, but nothing Mongolian in the rest of the features. The face is oval, the eyes black and animated, the nose noble and curved, the mouth of a refined expression, the teeth excellent, the complexion that of the Caucasian race, white and red They are of middle stature, slenderly formed, rarely stout, all their move-

ments are active, graceful, and often dignified: the women are small, and disfigured by paint. Their schools are good, and nearly all the people can read, write, and count upon the Russian calculating-board, they have also some literature,* and the Koran is zealously studied by them There are some higher schools, in which Arabic and Persian are taught The Moollahs are educated for the most part in Gargali, nine miles from Orenburg, where there is a celebrated Tatar school, many go also to Bokhara, which they esteem a place of great learning. Numerous relations exist between them and Bokhara, as well with regard to trade as religion, the Russian Government has endeavoured to stop the latter, by constituting a Mohammedan central point in spiritual affairs at Ufa, and the appointment of a Mufti, to whom is assigned the spiritual jurisdiction over all the Mohammedans of the Empire

The character of the Tatars is amiable; they are sociable, honourable, friendly, confiding, orderly, and cleanly The old antipathy to, and mistrust of, the Russians still prevail, but to the Government they are loyal and obedient. To strangers, and particularly Germans, they are frank, hearty, and hospitable; in their families they are affectionate, and they educate their children well Their life is generally speaking moral, and the Moollahs exercise so severe a censorship, as to refuse honourable burial in the case of notorious crimes,—a punishment for which the Tatars entertain the greatest dread

* The Tatar language occupies the same place in the East as the French in the West. Eastwards from Persia to China, westwards throughout all the Turkish countries, and even in Tunis, any one can make himself understood by means of it The wandering Armenian poets and *improvvisatori*, who sing their long heroic stories in Persia and Asia Minor, compose them all in the Tatar language

The Tatars in Kazan trade chiefly in Tatar manufactures: those in leather are celebrated: the Kazan boots are excellent, we saw some handsomely embroidered with gold and silver, a pair of which cost on the spot sixty-five roubles The Tatar peasants are very industrious, and excellent bee-keepers They are nearly all personally free, there being only a few Murzas (native princely families) to whom the Czar Ivan Vasilievitch presented villages; the inhabitants of these are serfs, but this serfage is said to be practically of a very mild and limited character. They live principally upon animal food, avoiding pork, which is forbidden by the Koran; horseflesh is considered by the common Tatars the choicest food. They are very fond of honey, and make good mead from it The higher classes drink much tea; and a large proportion of the tea-trade being in their hands, the best sorts are found among them

I heard some Tatar songs, which sounded strange enough, and very unmelodious · the matter and expression however are poetical. The verses always form, as is frequently the case among the Eastern peoples, a parallelism of thought, such as continually occurs in the Old Testament —

> "The girdle of red silk is the ornament of the loins
> The handsome youth is the ornament of the village"

We dined with Herr von Fuchs. The company was composed of very mixed elements. a College-councillor, Simeonof, who had made the voyage round the world with Kotzebue and Krusenstern, a Persian professor of Oriental languages in the University, and a Tatar Moollah, who was said to be very learned, were the most distinguished members of the party The Persian Mirza Khasim Beg had a splendid oriental head, he had be-

come a Protestant, and was desirous of studying the German language, in order to institute comparisons with the Persian.

As I was looking after dinner at a picture which hung upon the wall, Herr von Fuchs told me it was the *obraz* of his little daughter. If a newly-born child appears very delicate, the Russians have it measured by the pope, and a picture of it and its two guardian angels painted, which must be exactly the same size as the child; this picture is supposed to possess a salutary influence, and is preserved with care through life. Here it was the picture of St. Sophia, with her three daughters, Faith, Love, and Hope. Immediately after birth the child is blessed by the pope, and called by the name which it is to bear, the baptism takes place at a later period. This must always be attended by the pope and his deacon, and two persons as godfather and godmother. Several godfathers and godmothers may be invited, but only in pairs, the parents of the child however cannot be present

On my expressing a wish to possess some Russian Saints' pictures, Herr von Fuchs asked his domestic, a serf, if he knew where they could be purchased The latter immediately corrected him by replying, that they were not sold, but only exchanged; on which his master courteously begged his pardon for using the improper expression. Much politeness and urbanity prevail in all the social relations of Russia

In the conversation of Herr von Fuchs with his little daughter and wife, I had an opportunity of remarking the richness of the Russian language in diminutives: from Sophia come Sofinka, Sonitchka, Sonka; from Maria they have Masha, Mashinka, Marusha, Marushinka. Aug-

mentatives also frequently occur. thus the word *dom* (house) is diminished in *domik, domotchik, domishka, domok,* but also augmented in *domina, domishtche.*

The following morning I walked round the Tatar city, which has more the appearance of an unpaved village. I counted eight mosques. In their predilection for flowers the Tatars offer a remarkable contrast to the Russians; before the small windows of the most wretched cottages flowerpots are to be seen. This, although a slight mark of a capacity for education, deserves consideration. I am persuaded that if this intellectual and amiable Tatar race were converted to Christianity, it might not only become one of the most civilized nations, but spread Christianity and civilization throughout Asia Both would be gradually introduced, not only among the other Tatar races, who to the number of several millions inhabit Central Asia, but also among the Mongol tribes, who from the earliest times have been connected with the Tatars in various ways

The Russian Government has for a long time endeavoured to convert the Tatars to Christianity, but the attempts have been impeded by the national antipathy of the latter, whilst the incapacity of the majority of the Russian clergy for the office of missionaries is another serious cause of failure. The most pressing want in Russia is a higher moral and spiritual education of the clergy, as well for the cultivation of the Russians themselves, as for the introduction of Christianity and civilization among the other peoples of the Empire. The Tatars in Kazan are at present superior to the Russians around them in a spiritual and moral point of view, and they will never feel disposed to accept Christianity until it exhibits its innate moral and spiritual

superiority, and the germs of the higher civilization which dwell in it.

At the instigation of the Government, several of the popes are devoting themselves to the conversion of the Tatars; but the majority of them engage in this task as a business, which holds out worldly rewards and advancement to them They content themselves with demanding of the Tatars three things,—that they shall allow their hair to grow, that they shall leave off eating horseflesh (a promise which, if made, is never kept), and that they shall venerate pictures, and make the sign of the cross they then baptize them It is evident that in this way only the *canaille* are found ready to change, and that the Tatar loses the strictness of the Mussulman, without acquiring the spirit of love and civilization of Christianity

As I was proceeding out of the town towards the bazaar I met a woman guarded by soldiers, who had just undergone the punishment of the knout, she not only walked quite briskly, but no traces of agitation or tears were apparent in her look She had murdered her own child I was informed that the Court had expressed the opinion, that the murder of a person's own child is not so heinous an offence as that of a stranger's When a mother kills her own offspring, the motives which can overcome her maternal love, and lead to such an act, must be all-powerful; a momentary fit of insanity can alone explain it Thus was the punishment of this unhappy child-murderess so mild, both in the sentence and execution

The use of the knout has become very rare: it can never be awarded by the Police, but only by the Criminal Courts Formerly two to three hundred blows were

permitted, afterwards ninety were the maximum. It is also decreed that for every blow unjustly inflicted two hundred silver roubles shall be paid to the innocent person, the Courts therefore are very careful not to award too severe a punishment

The criminal laws of Russia are less sanguinary than the French and English. The abuse of punishment in Russia lies elsewhere. it is not the punishments awarded by the higher Courts, but those inflicted by the Police, which are censurable The knout however is an improper punishment, because the infliction of it depends upon the caprice and adroitness of the executioner; he can if he pleases kill a man with three blows: it has therefore been nearly abolished of late

The bazaar interested me, from the different peoples represented in it,—Russians, Tatars, Tcheremiss, Tchuvash, Votiaks, Mordvins, etc. There was much noise and running about, and many stout, ugly women, and good-looking men

The remainder of the day I spent in the country. The land here belongs to the "black soil," which has been deposited between the slopes of the southern Ural and the Carpathians, upon more than 400,000 square miles, and consists of the richest *humus* In all kinds of grain the harvest produces generally ten and twelve-fold. The climate, notwithstanding that Kazan is situated in about the same latitude as Memel, is cold and raw, in winter quicksilver freezes, and ice and snow last almost without intermission from November until March. The Volga breaks up in the middle of April, and the spring then begins

On the morning of the 22nd I visited, with the Head of the Police, the Convent of the Virgin at Kazan. It

was founded in 1579; and its revenues, arising from various sources (500 roubles from the remnant of its old property, 3000 silver roubles received from the Crown, and other sums derived from alms and the produce of the labour of the nuns) must be great, and the management good Fifty-two nuns are maintained, and these have established an orphan school, in which the daughters of deceased popes are boarded, clothed, and educated. This idea, if judiciously carried out, might be of the greatest advantage to Russia. The education of the people can only be accomplished by the clergy, who themselves stand much in need of education Much has recently been effected for the instruction of the monks and popes in the seminaries; but of what use is this, whilst the whole basis — the early education in their parents' houses—is so wretched? The children of the popes must first be educated by their mothers, who consequently must be educated too At present the wives of the popes have no more cultivation than ordinary peasant-women As popes can only marry popes' daughters, institutions should be everywhere established for training the latter as good housewives and mothers. This might easily be effected by converting the nunneries into such institutions, but a reform of conventual life itself would first be necessary The practicability of the idea is proved in this Convent at Kazan, but its execution is very defective. The daughters of the popes are not trained in useful labour, to qualify them for good house-wives, but they only occupy themselves with the finest kinds of work. The confined atmosphere of the rooms and spare diet have an injurious effect upon their health. many look pale, and nearly all delicate; thus they are with difficulty married out of the Convent Ci-

tizens and peasants find these delicate girls, who are unaccustomed to work, useless in their households; popes rarely choose them, as they cannot bring the usual portion with them;* it is only the lower class of church servants, deacons, etc. who occasionally marry them.

I drove the same day to the Tatar village of Yepan Ashino, where we received quarters in a large Tatar peasant-house This was divided into two parts, the right half is the dwelling of the men (our host lived with four of his brothers), the left that of the women and children. It bore much resemblance to Russian arrangements: whether the Russians borrowed of the Tatars, or the latter of the former, cannot be determined. In the rooms the stoves were Russian, the sleeping-benches Tatar; the *samovur* and tea-glasses were not wanting; we found also porcelain cups and plates, tables and chairs of European form, and a watch from the Black Forest. Over the door was written "God is great." Everything in the house was very clean

The outward appearance of the place differed little from that of the surrounding Russian villages, consisting of several broad streets, along which the farmhouses are ranged side by side. The poles with baskets for the birds'-nests, called *sirsuik*, were erected at almost every house · this is probably a Tatar custom, adopted by the Russians. Before all the windows were flowerpots. The village consists of eighty houses and 246 souls. The

* The customary portion which the pope requires of his bride is as follows —1. the long priest's stick with a silver knob, which costs about 12 roubles, 2. the round and broad priest's hat, which also costs about 10–12 roubles, 3. a complete bed, costing 40 roubles; 4. twelve new shirts and twelve pocket-handkerchiefs 5 the *riza*, or long silk robe of the pope, which costs 40–50 roubles, and 300–500 roubles in money

Russian division of the land, according to the number of souls, prevails; the pasture and woods are in common. Wood for burning is had for nothing,—wood for building the people have to buy.

The Tatars are said to have peculiar arrangements in their villages, which they keep secret from the Russian authorities and strangers. The head of the village is not called Starshina (the Elder), but *Vuiborni* (the Chosen). The women in this village walked about freely and unveiled, and went to their work without any fear of us strangers.

In the Tatar villages the men have rarely more than one wife; in the towns, particularly among the rich merchants, bigamy frequently occurs, but to have more than two wives is very rare The women are sold, and the *kalim* paid for them, which even in the case of peasants frequently amounts to five hundred roubles. If the man puts away his wife for adultery, the *kalim* must be paid back to him; but if he cannot prove the adultery, he does not receive it back.

In the Russian villages the men and women bow and curtsey when any one meets them, but in the Tatar villages no one bows

This place had no school, although one is frequently found in the Tatar villages. These schools are maintained by the voluntary payments of the people, and are under the charge of the Moollahs They are founded upon the system of mutual instruction, as in many Oriental countries, the Jesuits discovered this method among the Hindoos, and introduced it into many of their schools. The system of Bell and Lancaster is no modern invention!

CHAPTER XI

LEAVE KAZAN — PEASANT HOUSES — HERR VON PIRCH — NATIONAL CHARACTER — AGRICULTURE — RUINS OF BOLGHARI — M MOLOSTOF — FARMING ARRANGEMENTS — SIMBIRSK — LARGE VILLAGES — TCHUVASH VILLAGE — ISTHMUS OF THE VOLGA — WINDMILLS — CHAIN TRADE — SAMARA — THE MORDVINS — KURGANI — PADOVKA — FUEL — BASHKIRS — NIKOLAIEVSK — COLONIZATION — KUSHUM — RUSSIAN RECEPTION — SELZO MAYANIA — GERMAN COLONIES — DIVISION OF — THE LAND — ORLOVSKOI. — KATHARINENSTADT — GRAIN TRADE — LITTLE RUSSIANS — SALT IN THE YELTON LAKE — A COSSACK — GOVERNMENT OF SARATOF — FORMER INHABITANTS — NEW COLONIZATION — ROBBER HORDES — INCREASE OF THE POPULATION. — AGRICULTURE — FISHING — POPULATION

KAZAN was the most easterly point I reached upon my journey it was formerly considered, and foreign geographers still consider it, as belonging to Asia The Government of Kazan is regarded in Russia as the most easterly one of European Russia

I left this city on June the 22nd, and continued on the left bank of the Volga, until we arrived opposite to Simbirsk. The first Russian villages I passed were distinguished from those I had previously seen, being all completely enclosed by high hedges, with an entrance-gate shaped like a gibbet

We passed a fine broad river, the Kama, which falls into the Volga. At the next station the greater part of the village was burnt down

The arrangement of the dwellings here was very simple. The house was divided into halves: in one a bench ran round the room, six feet broad on one side, and used as a sleeping-place, as in the Tatar villages. We occasionally observed pretty carved work on the roofs and windows, but only among the Russians, not the Tatars. The white napkins which hung at the door in every peasant's room were quilted at the ends with red thread.

We stopped to dine in a wretched little town called Spask, and in the afternoon, after driving through a fertile district, reached the estate of General von Pirch, Krasnaya Sloboda

Herr von Pirch, a German by birth, who entered the Russian service at an early period of life, had married a Russian lady, and through her had become a wealthy landed proprietor He was now a zealous Russian patriot, had become quite familiarized with the national character, and lived on a remarkably good footing with his peasants. He was a man of talent and of thundering eloquence: his experience was important to me, and his rhapsodical observations upon the national character, mode of life, and system of agriculture, were frequently striking. I will give here some of his observations, with a few anecdotes of his life,—more characteristic than detailed descriptions.

"The orders which the master himself gives must be unalterable, not an iota of them can be relinquished, let him beware therefore of giving too many orders himself!"*

"When one of my peasants asks assistance from me, I give it instantly; and I then inquire strictly whether

* A maxim expressed by a native Russian, M Karnovitch, agrees completely with this

the assistance was really necessary or not: if it was not, I punish him severely. Since the peasants have become aware of this, I am never applied to without a real and inevitable necessity."

Many years ago, when Herr von Pirch entered into possession of the estate, he ordered all his peasants to be assembled, and addressed them in the following speech —

"You people, listen attentively to what I am going to say to you, and impress it upon your minds, and never forget it, for I will not repeat it a second time I am thirty-eight years, seven months, nine days, and eleven hours old · whoever among you all is only an hour older, to him and his reasonable representations I will always listen; but whoever is only a minute younger, and ventures to open his lips to interrupt me, or to oppose me in anything whatever, all trace of him will vanish from my village in four-and-twenty hours I am your master, and my master is the Emperor The Emperor can issue his commands to me, and I must obey him, but he issues no commands to you. I am the Emperor upon my estate; I am your God in this world, and I have to answer for you to the God above, but do not bend before me, but look me in the face, for I am a man like you. A horse must first be combed ten times with the iron currycomb before he can be rubbed with the soft brush I shall have to currycomb you lustily, and who knows whether I shall ever come to the brush? God purifies the air with thunder and lightning; in my village I will purify with thunder and fire whenever I think necessary."

The principles here expressed he had soon an opportunity of applying practically He had projected a road

to the estate of his father-in-law, which was to shorten the distance of thirty-two versts one-half, but part of it had to be made over very marshy ground The works were commenced, and the people represented to him the impossibility of giving firmness to the soil He himself rode to the place, but sank with his horse up to the belly, and they had some difficulty in extricating him. An old white-bearded peasant laughed at this sight, and let fall some strong expressions. Herr von Pirch turned to him and said, "You know that I listen and show respect to all who are older than myself; I forgive your audacity, but I give you my word, as your master, that this day three years I will drive over this spot with six horses, and if I fail, so surely as God gave me life, I will give you leave to spit in my face."

One year, two years passed, and then came an unusually severe winter. Herr von Pirch was now able to cut into the morass with pickaxe and hatchet, making deep trenches, and by throwing in sand he actually succeeded in making a dry road On the day when the three years were expired he gave a feast upon the spot. When the merry-making was at its height, he suddenly drove up in a carriage with six horses, and delivered a thundering oration from the box, which I have unfortunately not retained, as in repeating it he fell into a full flow of eloquence and declamation. I only remember that it was the most extraordinary mixture of texts from the Bible, pithy popular proverbs, with oaths and abusive epithets, possible to be conceived. Thenceforth however his authority among his own people, as well as throughout the district, was established. his will was now law. Nevertheless we heard only good spoken of him; he provided for all his people in the most paternal manner, and

was feared, but also greatly beloved, by them. In the late years of severe dearth, when the price of grain rose enormously, he sold none, but maintained his peasants from his stores, to prevent the necessity of their selling their cattle and stock, and thus being ruined. In the winter, when at Kazan, a deputation of his peasants unexpectedly waited on him, and declared that it was injurious to the honour of the estate for so large a property to send no corn to market to be sold, and that it was also against their conscience to allow themselves to be maintained by their master alone, with the grain which at present would yield him so large a profit: the winter would soon be at an end, the next year's corn would spring up, and it mattered not if they starved a little for the present: they begged him therefore to sell the corn.

Herr von Pirch conducted us round his whole establishment. The house was modern, two stories high, and furnished with considerable elegance, with a well-kept courtyard, enclosed by an iron railing; on the other side of it was a considerable park.

In front of the dwelling was a large village, built with military regularity and uniformity. A straight and broad street divides it in halves, each of which is intersected by straight bye-streets. Five peasants' houses constitute a square, and its inhabitants form a section of labourers, assorted with reference to the work they have to perform. Herr von Pirch, knowing the strong family feelings of the Russians, keeps an account in a book of the relationship of his peasants; he arranges that the near relatives live together as much as possible, in the same section; mutual assistance in danger and difficulty, as well as in the work upon the estate, is thereby secured.

He established this regular system, with difficulty and at considerable expense, during the first twelve years of his residence here, by completely rebuilding the village; the houses are good, and there is a well in the yard of nearly every one. The people appear to be well off.

There were 458 males in the village. Somewhat more than three-fourths of the land is assigned to the peasants for their maintenance. Herr von Pirch has not left the division to the Commune, as is usual, but has given to each peasant two dessetinas (5½ acres) in each field.

The system of agriculture here is very simple . the land belongs to the "black soil," and is so fertile as scarcely to require manure, cows are only kept for their milk. The entire husbandry of the country is devoted to the cultivation of corn; Herr von Pirch himself kept only eight cows upon his farm, which contains 1620 acres of arable land The plough is a kind of hook without iron, the harrow, fir-branches twisted together The soil is little more than scratched, the plough penetrating only three inches deep The corn is cut with the sickle, dried in the open air, and badly threshed, after being ground by windmills, of which there is an extraordinary number, it is put into bast sacks and sent to market

On the following morning, June 24th, we left Herr von Pirch. Instead of allowing his peasants to supply us with horses, as they were bound to do, he gave us his own, to save theirs. At about eight o'clock we reached the village of Bolghari, twelve versts distant, near which are the celebrated ruins of the capital of the ancient Bulgarian empire.

The real name of this capital of the Bulgarians, which was destroyed by the Mongols and Tatars, is Briakhimof: it must have been a strong city, being entirely sur-

rounded by a rampart and deep fosse. The present Russian village lies beyond the circuit of, but close to, the former town; at the end of it stands the church, which was at one time a conventual one, called Uspenski, hardly two hundred paces distant from a Mohammedan minaret, in a state of perfect preservation. These ruins have been described by travellers, Lepechin, Pallas, and Erdmann. Peter I. ordered them to be preserved, and they are undoubtedly among the most remarkable in Russia, but at present nothing is done to maintain them The tombs of the Mohammedan saints buried here are much venerated by the Kazan Tatars, I met a party of pilgrims going to offer up prayers at the graves.

The powerful and civilized Bulgarian people who founded this important city have quite disappeared, and the Russians, Tatars, Tchuvash, etc. have taken their place, all trace of their physiognomy, customs, and language is lost The Bulgarians belonged to the Ugrian race; they were numerous and powerful, had brought other nations under subjection, and formed an organized state, with an extensive trade, and possessing no inconsiderable degree of civilization, nevertheless they have vanished, without leaving a trace behind, while peoples of no importance, such as the Tchuvash, Tcheremiss, Mordvins, have been preserved,—one of the riddles in the world's history!

We ascended the lofty minaret, which commands an extensive view over boundless forests Many travellers had written their names upon the walls, and among others was that of Alexander von Humboldt, who had come hither from Kazan with Herr von Fuchs.

From hence we drove to Triozero, a large estate be-

longing to the three brothers Molostof. This family is said to have been of Tatar princely origin, but has long been Russianized. The oldest brother, a General and a distinguished man, was at Pyrmont at the same time with me in 1817, and had remained in Germany until 1838, as Adjutant to the Duke of Würtemberg. All his children were born there; he had a German governess and servants, and more German was spoken in his family than any other language. We had much music, and it was striking to hear German popular songs on what might be considered Asiatic ground.

The *corvée* system prevails generally in the agriculture of this district,—a consequence of the fertile soil and easy transport and sale of the agricultural produce by means of the Volga. In the less fertile Governments, which possess indifferent means of communication, and have therefore a poor sale for their produce, the landlords are glad to deliver over the land to the peasants, and place them upon obrok, nay the peasants in those districts could not even pay the obrok, unless manufacturing industry furnished them with the means which agriculture alone does not supply. Here this is different: in good years and with high prices, the value of the year's harvest amounts to 150, and even 250 roubles on each dessetina of land (£2. 10*s* to £4. 14*s* per acre). The landlord therefore has the ground cultivated for himself, retaining one-third, sometimes two-sevenths, or one-fourth of the arable part, and giving up the rest to his peasants, who are obliged to perform three days' *corvée* labour every week for him. The youngest M. Molostof said that, if all the landlord gave to the peasant in land, cattle, wood, seed-corn, etc. were calculated in money, it would certainly amount to the value of four roubles

every working-day. We found the village well-built, but not with such military regularity as that of General Pirch; it was also divided into sections.

The land in the possession of the proprietor consisted of more than eight thousand acres of the richest soil. The simple three-course system of tillage prevails: in winter rye is grown, in summer wheat and oats: as there is no superfluous wood here, the forest is protected, and even some enclosures are seen.

We proceeded on our journey at midnight, but were stopped at a village called Benyeva, from difficulty in procuring horses The dress of the women in this district is distinguished by being bound below instead of above the bosom. About noon we reached the Volga, opposite to Simbirsk, and crossed to the opposite bank. I only stayed here until the following morning, as the Governor was absent The town, with its broad streets and large open squares, leaves a dull and desolate impression upon the mind.

We took the road to Samara, along the right bank of the Volga The villages here begin to be large, containing generally three or four thousand inhabitants. The land under cultivation lies sometimes fifteen, twenty, or twenty-five versts distant from the villages, and agriculture assumes quite a nomadic character When the season arrives, all the inhabitants proceed with their cattle to these distant fields, erect huts or tents, cultivate the ground, and then return home As the land is never manured, there are only two periods in the year, seed-time and harvest, when this migration is necessary.

Three things may have contributed to create these large villages,—the mutual protection thereby afforded, the social disposition of the Russians, and the scarcity of

springs. Agriculture however suffers much from their existence, and one chief cause of their creation having disappeared, the nomadic robbers, I would recommend to the Government a plan by which these large villages might be converted into small ones. It may be calculated that every village in Russia is entirely or partially burnt down once in thirty years; if therefore it were ordered, that after every fire the persons whose houses were burnt, or some of them, should not be allowed to rebuild upon their old ground, but upon other parts of the land, there would probably in less than thirty years be three times as many villages as at present.

We now approached the isthmus, several miles in extent, formed by the Volga On its summit are points from which the majestic river is seen on both sides. The country here is charming; the hills bordering the Volga rise into small mountains, and even rocky scenery is not wanting At the foot of this isthmus stands a beautiful country-house of M Davidof, close to the handsome village of Ufolie Pretty park-like grounds, a large nursery-garden, and a fine herd of cattle belonging to the village, indicated wealth and cultivation.

Everywhere we had remarked a countless number of windmills, and were told that the whole traffic passing down the Volga consists of flour, the corn being ground here, and sent in bast sacks to Astrakhan. None goes up the Volga, but only grain, which is ground into flour in the Governments of Tver and Novgorod, and part of it sent through the canals to St. Petersburg. The price of a tchetvert of white Turkish wheat in Samara at that time was sixteen roubles (£1 a quarter). The conveyance to Ribinsk costs about three and a half to four roubles, but the price there at present is twenty-two

roubles, from which the profit of the merchants may be easily ascertained.

On the morning of the 27th of June we again reached the Volga, and crossed the river to Samara, but only remained there to dine Of late years this has become one of the most important trading-places on the Volga; the fortune of some of the merchants amounts to millions; the principal articles of commerce are corn and tallow.

We continued our journey on the left bank of the Volga, which is here two miles broad. The farm-houses nearest Samara are enclosed by pretty wickerwork fences. The road passed enormous slaughtering farms, where tallow is produced, the first we had seen. The smell, which extended for three or four miles around, was intolerable.

The country on the flat bank of the Volga assumes here a completely altered character,—immense plains, with slight undulations, consisting partly of beautiful cultivated ground, but chiefly of the most luxuriant grass, mingled with innumerable flowers and tall weeds. The soil is the richest black *humus* it is possible to conceive I saw here again the heavy, deep-cutting wheeled plough. Nowhere is manure employed; from the want of wood, the dung is frequently kneaded, dried in square pieces, and used as fuel. it gives more warmth, and burns better than turf, which it resembles.

The village of Voskresenskoye, twelve versts distant from Samara, belongs to the Countess Novosiliof, who possesses twenty thousand peasants,—six thousand of whom live in this district, under one management. The people are uncommonly handsome.

Late in the evening we reached Kammenoi-brod, a village inhabited by Mordvins: it was the first time I

had seen people of this nation. The Mordvins are the most southern branch of the ancient Fins, or Tchudes, who formerly inhabited the whole north of Europe; they numbered in 1843 about 424,000 individuals, at present nearly half a million. They have not the obstinacy or firmness of character of the Tcheremiss, Tchuvash, Tatars, etc., and have already become almost Russianized.

On the 28th of July we passed in a splendid summer morning through a district of country which was still quite an uncultivated steppe. What innumerable flowers! but not of many species, and growing always in patches,—whole fields of red, yellow, or blue flowers. In the north of Russia the vegetation springs up into a forest; every fallow field, every uncultivated spot is covered with wood in a few years. Here, in the Steppes, nature shoots up into grass and flowers; and what a luxuriant growth! Plants which with us are at the utmost two feet tall, here rise higher than the head. Nowhere did we see any forest, only occasionally a few bushes and stunted oaks. We also noticed here the first *Kurgani*, or sepulchral mounds

We stopped for some hours in the large Domain village of Padovka. The people were friendly and civil. Whilst breakfasting under the shadow of one of the houses, the White-heads of the village assembled around us; the children played about in the road, a thing I had seldom before observed; they were handsome, fair-haired little fellows.

The only occupation here is agriculture. There are not sufficient people for the harvest work, and labourers are therefore hired from the hilly side of the Volga. During hay-time, when work is often pressing and sufficient assistance not easily obtained, wages rise from

eighty copeks to two roubles, with board. In the corn-harvest a contract is made with the labourers : for cutting, binding, etc. an area of sixteen thousand square yards, eight to twenty roubles are paid, according to the season,—the earlier the cheaper.

The principal food of the peasants consists of wheaten bread and mutton, with a kind of vermicelli soup, dishes made of milk, and cabbage. They have three or four meals a day.

In the afternoon of the same day we arrived at the Circle-town of Nikolaievsk. The Head of the Circle showed us a map of it, beautifully drawn by a peasant-boy, a Cantonist, who had been three years at the Circle school in the neighbouring town of Volgsk. What a talent for imitation these Russian peasant-lads possess!

I will give here some general observations upon this part of the country, which I received from the officer above-mentioned The whole of it, extending from Samara to Saratof, and even lower down the river, was formerly a Steppe, but with a very fertile soil. The nomadic Bashkirs and Kirghiz, who roamed in the district further east, rarely came hither in search of pasture. A tract above Saratof on both sides of the Volga was first colonized; in 1763 Catherine II. invited German colonists to settle here. It was found that the soil on the flat side of the Volga, particularly in the low grounds and along the rivers and brooks, was of extraordinary fertility. The black *humus* lies nearly everywhere a yard deep, often more, upon a substratum of clay and calcareous marl. Wheat and other grain in bad years yield fivefold, in ordinary years ninefold, in good years fourteenfold. Many proprietors and other persons in the central and northern districts, petitioned for grants of land, for the purpose of

colonizing them; these were at first too lavishly bestowed, and a great emigration commenced from the interior of Russia toward these districts, the landowners sending all their superfluous people here. The affair, which in its consequences was of the greatest importance, was at first entirely neglected by the Governor. The landowners made no preparations, and settled too many people on the same spot; the places chosen had often bad water, and were unhealthy; the different climate, the new and unaccustomed diet, the great hardships they underwent, and their few resources, caused many of the colonies to fail, and thousands of the colonists perished. At a later period, and after many misfortunes, they proceeded more carefully, and the Government itself began to settle peasants of the Domains and Appanages here.

Those who have been established for some years, and have outlived the first bad ones, prosper, and it may be considered that all the older colonists are well off At present the whole district from Samara, fifty versts inland down the Volga, is completely colonized; but the country beyond, to a distance of a hundred miles from the river (the so-called Bashkir country, which is quite as fertile), still awaits colonization. A nomadic system of agriculture is pursued here. the people in the country already colonized hire this land of the Crown, and proceed in the Spring frequently a distance of seventy to a hundred versts, in large numbers, to cultivate it, returning home until the harvest, when they again migrate to cut down and thresh out the crops, bringing the corn home with them, and leaving the straw behind; this kind of farming is in fact found in the villages themselves: the summer-field system alone prevails, there being no winter-field at all. Summer

wheat is sown four years successively on the same ground, which is then left in pasture for five to seven years. Occasionally active Domain officers oblige the colonists to adopt a regular three-field system of farming, and in this way the people are said to succeed best. The crops are wonderful; in good years they yield sometimes a net profit of two hundred roubles the acre; but often three to four years of total failure occur, which not only ruin the farmers and destroy the cattle, but lead to frightful famine.

As the people have no other branch of industry, and only a few months of light fieldwork during the summer —in a single season often becoming suddenly rich,—the usual consequences ensue, the greatest carelessness, and a lazy, luxurious, and thoughtless kind of life. They spend everything during the good years, and have no cattle, and frequently no seed, in the bad ones; they then fall into the hands of money-lenders, Russian and German tradespeople in the colonies. A supervision of the entire economy of the people, down to the smallest details, would be a real public benefit, and they should be trained as good practical agriculturists before being emancipated: this is evident in many of the Appanage villages here, which are more under supervision, the whole condition of the people being superior to the Domain villages in this district. These remarks however hold good only of this part of the country, not generally of other parts of Russia.

We left Nikolaievsk in the afternoon. I saw here, for the first time, the large fat-tailed Kirghiz sheep. We met considerable droves of horses, under the charge of mounted herdsmen, and at Saratof I saw oxen driven in the same way.

On the morning of the 29th of June we arrived at the Great Irgiz, opposite the village of Kushum. The whole Commune assembled on the opposite bank, and, after we had crossed, welcomed us in Oriental and old Russian fashion with bread and salt. Had I possessed Fortunatus' cap, I should have wished to transport the whole assembly to some centre of European civilization. What handsome, vigorous-looking people! their faces full of character, and with an expression of intelligence much above their cultivation, but indicating what they may and will become, with time, opportunity, and judicious guidance, if increased earnestness and a better acquaintance with their national peculiarities be applied to their education What clear, sparkling eyes I observed even in grey-headed old men! a dozen Apostles' heads might have been found among them. The women are generally much less handsome, but they appear to lose their good looks only after having attained maturity. The girls of nine to twelve years of age had great beauty. Among the fifty-six adult men whom I counted around me, only one had black hair and beard, eight had brown hair, and all the rest, with the children, were fair-haired After being entertained by the good people in the most hospitable manner, we proceeded on our journey

In the next village we again observed the paramount influence of the principles of the Russian communal institutions. This place was called Selzo Mayania. A Prince Viazemski had brought the people from the Government of Riazan, and settled them here in the beginning of the present century. The village, to which 18,900 acres of land of average quality belonged, was mortgaged; the Prince became insolvent, and on its being publicly offered for sale, the peasants bought it

for 129,000 roubles (£5900), and at the same time purchased their own freedom. Instead however of dividing the land in perpetuity as private property among themselves, in proportion to the share of the purchase-money contributed by each, they held by the Russian communal division, according to the number of souls. I found here a peculiarity which I had not before noticed: the people (adhering steadily to a system of three-field farming) divide the fallow-ground every year, so that each has the use of the same land for only two years, from this the transition would not be difficult to the ancient Slavonic division, in which the harvest was always divided upon the ground,—a custom still existing in some Communes in Servia and Bosnia

In the afternoon of the 29th of June we reached the first German colony, Schafhausen Before entering the village we recognized the German atmosphere by the dress of some women returning from the fields knitting. I never saw Russian women knit,—at least never whilst walking in the open air. The majority of the Russian peasantry wear no stockings, but swathe their feet in pieces of cloth. The trees planted before the houses in the village, and the well-kept gardens surrounded by hedges, indicated German customs.

The plan of the farmhouses was German, but the architecture resembled the Russian, with small columns, galleries, and verandahs. The interior of the houses presented a mixture of German and Russian, in one corner of the room hung the Russian Saint's picture, although the inhabitants were Lutherans. The furniture, beds, house and kitchen utensils, and the dress of the people, were German. The original colonists came from all parts of Germany, each bringing his peculiar style of dress,

manners, and customs. These varieties became all intermixed here, but eventually uniform manners and customs have been established, it is only in those villages where the first colonists came from the same district that some peculiarities have been retained. This fragment of Germany on the banks of the Volga, and frontier of Asia, produces a curious impression upon the mind; it is not an isolated, languishing colony, but a flourishing country, with more than 100,000 inhabitants, all exhibiting a completely German physiognomy.

We remained in this village long enough only to change horses. Here however the difference of the two nationalities appeared in some slight but striking characteristics We had no longer the clever, polite, and cunning Russian Yemstchik, who at every word he spoke took off his cap to us, and whose horses carried us at a gallop from one village to another, but instead the clumsy German postilion, seated upon the box at his ease, and always considering with himself whether to take the pipe out of his mouth to answer our questions. To urge the horses into a gallop was quite out of the question; he spared them, and was contented with a comfortable trot. On the other hand, his harness was substantial; everything held fast, and he was not obliged continually to stop, and jump down to tie a cord here, or lengthen one there, like the Russian Yemstchik. We drove in a few hours from Schafhausen through Glaris, Zurich, Solothurn (curious sounds on the Volga!), to Paninskoi, where we passed the night.

Paninskoi is probably the oldest German colony: it was founded in 1765. The first settlers came mostly from the Rhine and Westphalia: the Rhenish dialect became the predominant one. The colonists settled a

the wild steppe about a verst distant from the Volga. At first each settler appropriated as much of the unoccupied land as he could cultivate; but when the population increased, they voluntarily introduced the Russian division of the land The food of the people is for the most part the same as in Germany. The wages of men-servants, amount to a hundred roubles (£4. 11*s.*), with their board and lodging, the pay of women to fifty roubles. Day wages vary from eighty copeks to one rouble twenty-five copeks, rising in the harvest-time to three roubles, which includes the food The people in this village are Roman Catholics.

From this place we drove to a rich village called Orlovskoi. The cultivation I saw in passing was tolerable, certainly better than the surrounding Russian, but it could not be considered as a model. The tobacco alone showed careful management. These German colonists devote themselves more to trade and commercial speculations than to agriculture, and the Russians who live around them often complain, that, instead of being their teachers in agriculture, cattle-breeding, and handicraft, they rush into trade and speculations, and interfere with the branches of industry to which they are most inclined I found therefore among the Russians everywhere great animosity and envy of the German colonists on the Volga.

We left our German countrymen on the morning of the 1st of July, and at about eight o'clock reached the village of Pakrovska, opposite to Saratof, inhabited by Little Russians. I may here observe that the German colonists display a warm attachment to the Imperial family: they mentioned affectionately the visit of the Grand Duke, heir to the throne, who, when here some

years ago, had spoken kindly with them, and inquired minutely about their affairs.

We remained an hour in the village of Pakrovska, the first inhabited by Little Russians I had seen. I shall hereafter have occasion to describe the character and peculiarities of this interesting people, and will only mention here what struck me on my first superficial acquaintance with them.

South-eastern Russia possesses an immense abundance of salt. All the lakes are salt, and the majority of the rivers and brooks contain salt-water. If a hole is dug in the steppe, you come upon salt-water. One of the largest deposits of salt perhaps in the world is the Yelton or Elton Lake (in Kalmuk, Alton-Nor,—the Golden Lake); the salt in it has long served to supply a part of Russia with this indispensable article; but the conveyance of it was formerly badly regulated, insecure, and uncertain. Catherine II. remedied this evil. two roads were constructed from the Yelton Lake to the Volga, as experience had shown that the conveyance of the salt was best effected by oxen, Catherine by an ukase ordered the transport of Little Russian colonists from the Governments of Poltava, Kharkof, and Tchernigof, with their excellent cattle, to the left bank of the Volga, for that purpose. These Little Russian colonists have retained all their national peculiarities, their language, manners, customs, mode of living, and dress, and rarely mingle with the other races around them.

The construction and arrangement of the houses is different from those of the Great Russians. The latter are built of round beams laid one upon another, which in the German colonies are smoothly polished externally

and internally; but the dwellings here are of framework, filled up with stone or wickerwork. The whole house, both outside and inside, is carefully whitewashed. In the German colonies locks and latches are seen on the doors, but here there are only wooden bolts.

The Little Russians are fond of ornamenting the walls of their apartments with pictures. Beside several portraits of Saints, which are always seen hanging in the front rooms, are others of Russian Czars, and many of the older Zaporogian Cossack Hetmans. There is frequently also the portrait of an old Cossack, whose name is not given, which artists from the painter villages always copy anew for them, and is often not badly executed. The portrait displays the character and dress of a genuine Little Russian Cossack: the whole head is shaved, excepting a tail left upon the crown, which is plaited and falls over the left eye; in the mouth is the pipe (*liülka*), from which rises the curling smoke. On his knee lies the national instrument, the Pandora; in the right hand he holds a full glass, behind him, stuck in the ground, is his lance, and beside it his red cap; at his feet lies a dagger, and leaning against a tree is his Turkish firelock; his horse stands near; on a branch hangs his cartridge-box, powder-horn, and travelling-pouch, together with a bow, quiver, and arrows. The picture is encircled by an inscription in verse.

The Little Russian is meditative; he loves to ponder over the antecedents of his nation, and revels in the recollection of the deeds of his ancestors. If you ask him what he is, he replies proudly and joyously, "A Cossack!" —the title of honour among his people.

The inhabitants of Pakrovska were originally settled here, as I have said, to convey salt from the Yelton Lake;

but they have been released from this obligation. The population has increased, and the Government sells the salt upon the spot, leaving its conveyance to competition. The usual corn-tax is now imposed upon the inhabitants of Pakrovska instead of this obligation. They have twenty-one acres of land per soul, and find employment in weaving beautiful foot-carpets, which are in great request.

From Pakrovska we drove two miles to the bank of the Volga, opposite to Saratof, the situation of which is splendid. The town does not stand, like most of those on the Volga, upon a high bank, but in a valley or hollow. The aspect of the whole district has some resemblance to parts of Germany, as for instance Hoxter on the Weser, but on a colossal scale, the Volga being here more than two miles broad.

Saratof is a large and ancient city, with many hundred towers and cupolas; it existed as early as the time of Ivan Vasilievitch, and stood originally on the left bank of the river; but being exposed to the constant attacks of the Kalmuk and Kirghiz hordes, who more than once surprised, plundered, and set fire to it, it was rebuilt after one of these attacks, in 1591, upon the right bank, and fortified with walls and trenches. This however did not prevent its being afterwards taken, in 1671, by the notorious robber of the Volga, the Cossack Stenka Razin, a short time after his sack of Astrakhan. Pugatchef also took it in 1774, and put all the authorities to the sword.

The city is said to contain at the present time about sixty thousand inhabitants; but all our statements of the population of Russian towns can only be given on hearsay, as not only are the statistical accounts generally very unreliable, but they can never be quite correct, even

with the greatest care on the part of the police authorities who collect them. The constant arrival and departure of the nobles with their retainers, as well as of the labourers, causes such a fluctuation in the population, that, as we noticed at Rybinsk, it may amount in summer to twenty times what it is in winter.

Its excellent situation is sufficient to make Saratof a place of commercial importance. It is said to contain three thousand merchants of the different guilds, and sixteen thousand small traders. As a Commune, Saratof is one of the richest in Russia. Peter, who recognized its favourable situation, bestowed upon it 230,000 dessetinas (621,000 acres) of land,—a right royal gift! There is no city in Europe possessing a property of 970 square miles. But at that time the land in this district had no value; the city authorities entirely neglected their territory, and any one who chose, private persons, Crown peasants, and colonists, took possession of it as a *res nullius*; a large part of the soil was also squandered and sold at ridiculous prices Recently, since the land has acquired a real value, order has been introduced into its management At the Revision it appeared that only 153,900 acres of the Imperial gift remained in possession of the city, but this was still immense, extending over two hundred and forty square miles. At present 4000 dessetinas (10,800 acres) of the land lying nearest to the city are divided into a hundred and twenty shares, and let to farmers, who have converted it into gardens and small summer-farms, paying for it four roubles per dessetina (1*s*. 4*d*. per acre). Much more of it is let to citizens, neighbouring landed proprietors, and German colonists. Upwards of 100,000 roubles of rent are said to accrue from this source. The city expenses are small, and it has already accumulated

a capital of four million roubles; its total income is said to amount to 350,000 roubles, and its total expenditure to only 240,000, so that a large communal property must here be accumulated.

With such wealth a foreigner is naturally surprised to see hardly any pavement in the streets. We were very sensible of the want of this, as much rain had fallen for several days . it was almost impossible to proceed on foot, and even carriages nearly stuck fast. The large squares, with handsome churches and surrounded by palaces, the broad streets with rows of European houses, terminating in side-streets full of small Russian log-houses,—the crowds of elegant equipages and officers, with Great Russian telegas, Little Russian ox-teams, Cossacks, Tchuvash, Mordvins, Kalmuks, Bashkirs, etc. altogether formed a picturesque and singular scene, Europe and Asia mingled together.

I found the President of Domains, M. Bodisko, who had formerly served in the fleet, a well-informed man. He has collected a large number of antiquities of the Government, and showed us a variety of coins and ornaments which had been found in the supposed ruins of Sarai, the capital of the Khan of the Golden Horde.

Batu Khan, the Grand Khan of the Golden Horde, who ruled over the half of two hemispheres, founded in the thirteenth century a powerful city, Sarai, and fixed his residence there. He and his successors built palaces of fabulous magnificence. Princes, among others the Grand Dukes of Russia, were obliged to come and bend the knee before their lord and swear fealty to him; they laid their disputes before the Grand Khan, who decided them, and gave them permission to continue their rule. At the present day it cannot even be ascertained with

certainty where this powerful capital of a dominion extending, some four or five hundred years ago, over a world, was situated!

On the evening of the 2nd of July we left Saratof, and took the road to Penza; before however continuing the description of my journey, I will give a few general observations upon the Government of Saratof.

The Government of Saratof is divided by the Volga into two parts, of which the one lying on the left bank is much the largest. In the common Russian language, the country to the south of the Volga is called the Lowland (*Nizovui Krai*), and with some reason The whole immense district lying to the north of the Caspian, the Caucasus, and the Sea of Azof, appears to have been at one time overflowed, the Black Sea and the Caspian forming one sea. A great number of lakes, the morasses, and majority of the rivers have not only salt-water, but salt sea-water, everywhere entire strata of shell-fish are found. The discovery of an anchor in the marl, not far from the Yelton Lake, is indeed no proof of that part of the country having been once under water, as the time when the sea covered this country doubtless preceded all navigation.

The left bank of the Volga is intersected by the spurs of the Ural, partly in the form of ranges of hills, and partly as elevated plains or steppes (Yablonovui Syrt). To the south commence the salt steppes; most of the rivers here have salt, and sometimes bitter salt-water, as the name of the small river Solenogorkaya indicates.

The country on the right bank of the Volga appears to have been about a century ago a mere steppe; but

the Russian population gradually pressed forward and colonized it, and it is now everywhere, although not richly, cultivated. large continuous steppes no longer exist The Russians appear to have been the first settled cultivators here; not only the small places, but also the ruins have Russian names

It is otherwise on the left bank of the Volga. Here it is evident that the whole district from Kazan to Astrakhan was not only overrun by nomadic hordes, but that along the Volga and most of the rivers the country was cultivated, and had a not inconsiderable population at the time of the Mongol rule. This is evident not merely from the ruins of cities (the whole district on the Akhtuba, where Sarai stood, for eighty-five versts, is covered with ruins), but the names of nearly all denote that the Tatars had fixed settlements here

When the Mongol-Tatar empire was dissolved, the cities were destroyed, and the Tatar settlers were no longer able to defend themselves against the attacks of the robber Kirghiz and Bashkir hordes, they abandoned the country, and only here and there a ruin or dilapidated mosque bore witness to their former existence. The steppe relapsed into its deathlike stillness, traversed only at certain periods by nomadic hordes.

Thus for centuries this fine fertile country lay uncultivated, almost untrodden by the foot of man. Eagles and kites soared above it, and in the autumn came flights of bustards. Only a few mysterious roads traverse it, extending from the Volga over the Great Irgiz and the small river Sakmikovka, and then losing themselves in the endless Steppes, where they have never yet been explored Deep furrows are dug in the earth, and their ridges have long been overgrown with spikenard, being

now seldom traversed. These are the so-called Orphan roads. Offenders and persons flying from persecution, discontented people, and dissenters from the national church, either obliged to leave their country or voluntary exiles, followed these roads, to which they gave this melancholy name, over the Ural to China, bidding an eternal adieu to their Russian fatherland.

Catherine II. conceived the idea of re-peopling this fertile and well-situated district. She brought hither a great number of Germans, intending them to be the centre and nucleus of a large colonization. Within ten years (from 1765 to 1775) these colonies were consolidated, and covered a district of seventy to a hundred versts in extent * When their success had proved the correctness of the principle, a Russian colonization commenced from the interior: proprietors, to whom land was allotted, brought their superfluous people here, and many Crown peasants, with thousands of other persons, arrived yearly in search of a new home.

At first all the colonies were much exposed to the attacks of the nomadic hordes of the Steppe. Bashkirs and Kalmuks prowled about, and, after the latter had departed, the still wilder Kirghiz succeeded The old men in the German colonies relate many stories of their robberies, telling how the colonists were obliged to keep constant watch from the church-steeples, how they went to work in the fields armed, a peasant always keeping a look-out from one of the tumuli, and how often bloody battles ensued. On the whole the Germans were superior

* The German colonies have been of great use to Russia in these countries. Cotton manufactures first flourished among them, and they introduced improvements in all kinds of iron-work, they established well-constructed mills, by means of which the important and extensive trade in flour to Astrakhan and Novo-Tcherkask has been developed.

in the use of their arms, as well as in order and determination.

The Russian villages further advanced along the rivers of the Steppe fared worse. These were often plundered, and the inhabitants who escaped death were carried away and sold in China and Bokhara. An interesting story was related to us of a young girl from the village of Mostof, on the Great Irgiz. When hardly fourteen years old she was taken with her three sisters by the Kirghiz; for some months they wandered about with these people, who in the course of their nomadic march approached the frontier of China. The girls were strictly watched and bound, and in vain mourned their lost home and mother. The Kalmuks had once a festival, and when toward night they were all lying drunk in their tents, the youngest girl succeeded in burning the cord by which she was bound and liberating herself. She awakened her elder sisters, unbound them, and asked them to fly with her, but they had not the courage. "Whither shall we flee?" said they, "into the steppe, to be re-captured tomorrow, and murdered?" But the youngest exclaimed, "Then I will fly alone, for here I shall die of grief and longing!" She fled, and continued her flight for several days and nights; but the morsel of bread she had taken with her had long been consumed; pressing hunger and thirst attacked her; she ate the grass, and sucked the dew from its blades. At last, in the end of August, she reached the banks of the Yaik (Ural), where she found brambles and water. But how was she to cross the wide rushing stream? She plaited a kind of boat of the tall and strong reeds on the bank, spread out her clothes in it, and prepared to float across; but the rapid current snatched it away. She then, with incredible patience and difficulty, con-

structed a second, and actually succeeded in reaching the other bank. Here she met some Cossacks fishing, who received her affectionately, clothed her, and appeased her hunger; but her longing to rejoin her mother impelled her away again. The Steppe between the Yaik and the Great Irgiz still lay before her, overrun by nomads: here too she only ventured to travel by night, directing her course by the stars, concealing herself during the day, and sleeping among the tall grass of the Steppe. At last she reached her home, to the extreme joy of the whole village. Here she died in 1740, in the seventieth year of her age. She received at different times accounts of her sisters, who both lived in China, where they married.

These nomadic peoples, before whom Europe once trembled, and who established a world's empire on the Volga, became dissolved in the course of time into robber-bands, and their descendants have now sunk into miserable horse- and cattle-stealers.

The population here is increasing rapidly: in the three Circles of Nikolaief, Novo-Uzensk, and Tzaref, it amounted at the seventh Revision to 177,300 souls,—at the eighth to 262,563. This however is more the consequence of immigration than of an increase of births. The worst evil which threatens the people is the want of wood. The rapid spread of the population makes the want of land perceptible; according to the law, fifteen dessetinas (forty acres) should be allotted to each soul, but there are rarely more than eight. We have already seen that the large villages are the cause of this, rather than any want of tolerable land.

One great source of wealth and the means of subsistence are the fisheries. Nearly all the rivers and lakes

are plentifully supplied with the best kinds of fish,—carp, perch, trout, pike, and even sturgeon. Those rivers only that have bitter salt-water, like the Tchishe, have no fish. Some villages have rivers in which fish to the value of 15,000 roubles yearly are taken. Leopoldof mentions the case of a merchant who took in the Akhtuba, at one haul, sixteen thousand poods (57,600 lbs.)!

The settled population of the Government consists chiefly of Great Russians, Little Russians, Germans, Tatars (who have immigrated hither from Kazan), and Mordvins from Penza. In Yaruslan are some colonies of Nogai Tatars, for whom the Government has built houses and provided agricultural implements, etc. They cultivate corn, and have a good breed of cattle; but they must still have strong nomadic propensities, as they are constantly watched by Cossacks, who maintain order and discipline among them.

CHAPTER XII

PENZA —SERF BARBER —SOLEVKA —TATAR VILLAGE OF MUSALIN.—TATARS BOUND TO MILITARY DUTY —LANDOWNERS AND SERFS —RUSSIAN LAW COURTS —TATAR AND RUSSIAN VILLAGES —RUSSIAN PEASANT HOUSES AND COSTUMES —TAMBOF.—OLD WALLS —TRANSITION TO THE SOUTH RUSSIAN CHARACTER.—KOZLOF.—LIPETSK.—THE ODNODVORTZI AND PETTY NOBILITY —BREEDING HORSES ON THE BITIUG —CARPET MANUFACTORY —THE STUD AT PADDI —THE ROSTOPSHIN STUD.—GRENOVNA —STUD OF THE COUNTESS ORLOF —ARABIANS —EXTRAORDINARY HOSPITALITY —VORONEZH —THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL —REMARKS ON SIBERIA —THE GOVERNMENT OF TAMBOF —MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

We left Saratof on the evening of the 2nd of July (Old Style), in the midst of a storm, and, passing through a rich country, reached Penza on the morning of July the 4th This town is prettily situated on a hill, commanding from almost every point a fine open view over a rich plain, with here and there wooded hills, water alone is wanting to make it extremely beautiful

We established ourselves in an inn, the landlord of which was a German I asked for a barber: a young man, elegantly dressed in the modern fashion, entered, and did my business perfectly. He was a Russian peasant-lad, his master had sent him, in his thirteenth year, to a barber to be educated, and for three years had paid this man 350 roubles (£16) for instruction and board When fully educated, the lad was put upon obrok,

and for the last two years was obliged to pay his master 175 roubles. The fellow however was well satisfied, he paid the obrok easily from his large earnings, enjoyed protection, played the exquisite, went to the theatre, and was a consummate fool.

On the 7th of July we left Penza, and proceeded in the direction of Tambof, reaching Solevka, the estate of a family named Hovrin, at about eleven o'clock. I had a letter of introduction to the lady of the house, and we were received very kindly: they were highly cultivated people. M. Hovrin was a *connoisseur* artist; he painted with unusual skill, and had sketched some fine Italian landscapes from nature. The ladies, mother and daughter, were very beautiful, and had all the cultivation and elegant manners of the best society The family had passed a long time in Italy, France, and Germany, and had only lately returned to their estate, as was evident from the neglected condition of the fine park. The house consisted of old and new buildings, without the monotonous regularity generally found in Russia, some parts of it were charming, particularly the apartments of the young lady. It was a log-house, constructed of beams placed one upon another, the walls were merely planed and polished, and looked like wainscot. The rooms were furnished in the most elegant manner, with a small handsome bookcase, porcelain vases full of beautiful flowers, carpets, etc.; nothing could be more charming.

The park extended along the high bank of a small river. Here I saw for the first time what I had occasion to remark all the way to Voronezh: more than one half of the splendid oaks in this park, upwards of a hundred years old, had been frozen, some entirely, some in the tops and branches.

The third station was at Sintzoka, a village belonging to M. Vsevolodski, new and regularly built. The street is straight; the houses stand in a row, at equal distances, and are quite different from the ordinary Russian ones, being of brick and tiled. The landlord had them all built on the same plan, imposing upon each householder a debt of three hundred roubles (£13. 15*s.*), of which they are obliged to pay off twenty-one roubles yearly. Those who cannot pay in money undertake a number of *corvées*, beside the three days imposed by law; that is to say, they work two days a week in the spring or harvest, when field-labour has either not commenced, or is already terminated. This work consists in cutting wood and conveying it to a distillery three versts distant. It appeared to me to constitute a contract, such as was contemplated in the Ukase of April 2nd, 1842, but it was not so. The peasants have not acquired an actual property in the houses, by undertaking the payment of the debt of three hundred roubles; but these, and everything belonging to the people, and themselves as serfs, are still the landlord's as before. A foreigner therefore does not readily understand the state of the case. Why did the landlord advance the three hundred roubles? Why did not he at once compel the peasants to build the houses, or to produce the money? This is not against the law, but is contrary to Russian custom. The landed proprietor cannot arbitrarily impose the payment of a sum of money upon his people, but must do this in an indirect way. Everywhere may be traced a desire to see serfage regulated, and it will soon be necessary for the Government to interfere.

The people in this village are well off; they have plenty of excellent land, which requires no manure. This

is indeed a burden to them, as they do not require it for fuel, having plenty of wood. Wheat is not grown here, but only rye, which is sown so thickly that the produce is reckoned at two tchetverts per dessetina (4¾ bushels per acre): it yields tenfold. The proprietor has reserved a third of the land to himself, which is cultivated by the Commune by statute labour At present the cultivation of four acres of the proprietor's land falls upon each tiaglo.

In the morning of the 8th of July we reached the large Tatar village of Musalin, situated in a district containing 728 inhabitants, principally Tatars The people received us kindly; the Head of the Commune and a Moollah spoke Russian, and answered all our inquiries The constrained and half hostile attitude of the Tatars and Russians toward each other was seen in the information they gave us, so that the facts related received a certain colouring

The Tatars here, and throughout the district, are Yesashnie Tatars, which means bound to military service Peter I., by a deed that still exists, gave permission to a Tatar Murza (noble) named Yaruslan to settle with his people here, and take possession of as much land as he required. Yaruslan established himself, with fifty-four warriors, took fifty dessetinas (135 acres) for himself, and gave to thirty-two of his people the same quantity of land each; but to each of the remaining twenty-two he gave only thirty. This difference in their possessions appears to have had its origin, not in their military rank, but in their different military duties The land given to the inhabitants was not held on the Russian principle of re-division, but was private heritable property. The sons, on the death of their father, cast lots for the paternal house;

the land they divided *in naturâ*, and those who required them built new houses for themselves. The greatest difference therefore prevails in these villages in the tenure of landed property.

Beside the old estates of these original warlike settlers, the villagers possess nearly four thousand acres of land, which they divide on the Russian principle, about five acres and a half being allotted to each soul. The estates of some other Tatar Murzas bordered on this district, who possessed Russian serfs, by whom the land was cultivated. When the Russian law was promulgated, prohibiting persons not Christians from having Christian serfs, the Murzas preferred giving up their property in the serfs to abandoning their faith. It might be imagined that they would now have dismissed the peasants, who were no longer their serfs, and have cultivated the land themselves, or caused it to be cultivated by Tatars; but the old traditional persuasion of the Russian serfs prevailed, which says, "I belong to my lord, but the land belongs to me,—it is like part of myself; I have grown up on it, and it is not to be separated from me!" The peasants remained fixed upon the land, and the Murzas were obliged to give up their property in both. The former remained for some years free, but were bestowed in the reign of Catherine II. upon a General Shepelof, who, it is said, did not bring them to acknowledge him as their lord without some soft military persuasion. In return for their obstinacy, he settled the majority on other estates, replacing them by people taken from those estates in much larger numbers than before, but he gave to the substitutes the same share of soil as their predecessors, by seizing upon the boundary-land of his neighbours, the Yesashnie Tatars, who, in addition to the cultivated land

bestowed upon each family, had extensive tracts of meadow. But the Tatars went to law with his descendants, and have already succeeded in winning back a part of the land in question, which they reckon at thirty thousand acres, and they are still engaged in legal proceedings in the town of Tchembar concerning another part. The dismissed Murzas too, who at present live in this village, and are not outwardly different from the common Tatars, have laid claim, with more or less success, to their former land, and are still engaged in legal proceedings regarding it. What has been acquired in this way has been appropriated by the inhabitants of the village as a commune, who now divide it upon the Russian principle, according to the number of souls.

Formerly the Tatars never resorted to the Russian law-courts, but a great change has taken place of late years. The Russian courts have no great reputation for honesty and love of justice; are we to suppose then that the court at Tchembar, to whose jurisdiction this Tatar District belongs, is advantageously distinguished from the rest? It would appear so; the Tatars frequently bring their complaints before it, whereas in former days they were almost exclusively decided by their own Moollahs. The latter at present only decide matrimonial disputes, and occasionally cases of disputed succession; but if these are very intricate, they are referred to the courts.

After remaining some hours we left our good hospitable Tatars, and drove to the Circle-town of Tchembar. The Tatar are distinguished from the Russian villages at the first glance, less by the style of the buildings than by their position. They consist of masses of houses and steadings scattered about without any regularity, whereas the Russian villages always form straight streets.

The mean construction of the peasant-houses, their confined and poor appearance, strike the traveller in contrast to the large houses in the Government of Vologda. Building material is wanting, and the South Russian, although well off in this district, has no desire for a spacious and convenient dwelling.

The dress, especially of the women, changes here. Red cloth is often wound round their heads, and their gowns are bound under the bosom and form waists. We met some very handsome women The men wear their white linen shirts girt above the hips, embroidered in various colours on the sleeves and borders

We passed through the large Sheremetief village of Poim, containing 2300 male inhabitants and entire streets of splendid houses, stone palaces, with pillars, balconies, and iron roofs A large trade is carried on in cattle and tallow. M. Sheremetief, the richest landowner in Russia, prides himself on possessing wealthy serfs, many having a fortune of several million roubles In the Circle of Birutchin he has a village called Alexeievsk, which is said to contain 32,000 souls Here are peasants who have purchased in his name (in their own, according to the Russian laws, they cannot do this,) estates with six or seven hundred peasant serfs upon them, without his interfering in the slightest degree, or taking more from them in taxes than he does from the rest of his people. He rarely gives to any one his freedom, nor do the majority desire it, as he affords them greater protection than they were accustomed until lately to receive from the authorities. Some, to whom for particular reasons their freedom was of importance, have willingly paid from 80,000 to 100,000 roubles to obtain it M. Sheremetief possesses also the Manchester of Russia, the vil-

lage of Ivanovo; this place alone employs more than 42,000 persons in its cotton factories, which yield annually about 900,000 pieces of cotton cloth, of the value of 23,400,000 roubles (£1,072,000). He has never oppressed his people, and takes less from them than the Crown does from its peasants; but I cannot say that some of his officials do not indulge in many kinds of exaction, and we heard that the rich inhabitants in his villages were very oppressive to the poor ones.

We next passed through a village belonging to Count Uvarof None of the houses indicated any extraordinary wealth, but there was a greater appearance of a substantial equality: the people looked like industrious peasants. Count Uvarof has twelve villages in one district, with 5000 souls and 102,600 acres of arable land. In this rich tract the income arising from a tiaglo is reckoned at two hundred roubles On the flat side of the Volga three hundred souls are said to yield a revenue of 80,000 to 100,000 roubles.

In the morning of July 9th we arrived at Tambof, but remained there only a few hours, the Governor being absent. I made the acquaintance of the Vice-Governor, M. Zamaitin, and some merchants. The latter frequently hire large tracts of land, at a distance of thirty to eighty versts from this place, for a year, cultivate it with labourers, to whom money-wages are paid, sow it with millet, and often obtain a tenfold harvest.

At three o'clock I left Tambof for Lipetsk, stopping for some hours at the first station, the village of Vizgegarah, to collect information. This place stands upon the frontier-line which separated the ancient Grand-Dukedom of Moscow from the Tatars. Some versts distant from it the road ran along a high wall with deep ditches,

which, we were informed, extended a distance of five to six hundred versts from Tzaritzin on the Volga to Usman, and served as a defence against the Tatars. Our driver told us that ten versts distant was the site of the ancient castle of a Czar, and that the wall had been erected against the Circassians,—tradition thus substituting one name for another. The fear of the Tatars has long been extinct among the Russians, but every one has heard of the Circassians

The Grand Dukes formerly settled people on this frontier-line, whom they bound to military service, for the protection of the wall. these were the ancestors of the inhabitants of the village of Vizgegarah. They told us there were twelve of these villages, with 7000 male souls, in the District of Zagorst, "all Odnodvortzi, of genuine noble Cossack blood." Formerly they never mingled or married with the surrounding peoples, and they seldom do so even now. How innate is the feeling of aristocracy in all nations! The privileges and deeds of settlement of these villagers are preserved in the Court of Domains at Tambof. They pay only the capitation-tax, but no obrok, as the land is their own property, this is the only difference between them and the other Russian peasantry They divide the land on the principle of the Russian Communes, according to the number of souls. They call themselves Odnodvortzi, but differ materially from the latter: the Odnodvortzi (single farmers) in the north of Russia live upon detached farms, the land being their own; they are not associated in Communes, and do not divide the land.

These peasants, calling themselves Odnodvortzi, are free in every respect,—not merely personally free like the peasants of the Crown, but free also from the landlord's

dues and service, as is the case with a great number of people in Russia. All the Cossacks belong to this class.

The whole country here assumes a different character. In the villages, trees grow before all the houses, generally willows, which are also planted along the high-roads; the hedges are frequently made of plaited willow rods; even the walls of the houses, with the exception of the dwelling-room, are mostly constructed in this way. The stalls are generally open sheds, with wickerwork walls, like the Tatar *aūslıks*. I saw no hedges; when the fences were not of the kind I have described, they were of dung and earth. The houses generally stand with their side toward the street, the entrance being in the middle. in the lower part are stables, the peasants living above, as in North Russia A staircase leads up to the house-door, but this constitutes a kind of verandah (*perron, krıltzo*), or balcony, either open or covered, on which are some trees, and where the family spend nearly all their time in summer. Tables and chairs stand here, the neighbours assemble, and the young people sing. the whole scene has a cheerful and southern aspect.

We passed through the town of Kozlof, and on the 10th of July reached Lipetsk, where we were received in the house of a merchant. There is a mineral spring here, which Peter I. is said to have discovered when visiting the iron foundries. The place was in consequence for a short time much visited, but it soon declined, and is at present only the resort of the officials and nobles of the neighbourhood * The Bath-director gave us a dinner, and in the evening there was a ball. What would He-

* The prohibition of games of hazard gave the death-blow to all the watering-places in Russia.

rodotus' Scythians say, were they to leave their solitary mounds on the Steppe, and witness these scenes in the land where they once dwelt!

Iron of good quality is abundant here, but it is no longer worked, from want of wood, traces of coal however are visible

We were told that many Odnodvortzi live in this district The majority are of the class described above, but others are said to have sprung from nobles degraded by Peter I because they refused to serve the State. Members of the most distinguished families in Russia, for instance the Galitzin, are found among them: they are reduced to the condition of peasants, but some have still serfs of their own There is no difference in rank between the Odnodvortzi and the peasants of the Crown, every one of whom, or any liberated noble serf, may inscribe himself among the Odnodvortzi when he acquires land of his own.

From this mention of the Odnodvortzi I am led to speak of the petty nobility, of whom there is a large number in this Government. Many villages are divided among ten to fifteen nobles, some possessing only two tiaglos! Nearly all are deeply in debt. Formerly the Bank advanced only 250 roubles on each soul, but since the marriage of the Crown Prince it may advance 300; the consequence has been a still greater amount of debt. It is very desirable that the Crown should gradually purchase these small possessions, with the serfs belonging to them, for the petty nobility are the real curse of the country and oppressors of their serfs.*

* It has been remarked that purchases and sales were formerly founded upon the number of souls, and these alone were sold, but now it is generally so many dessetinas of land, with the peasants who work

Early in the morning of the 12th of July I took my departure from Lipetsk, in company with M. Pavlof. I had decided upon paying a visit to the interesting farm of M. Bunin, an uncle of that gentleman, and seeing the celebrated Studs on the Bitiug, and I therefore left the direct road to Voronezh. We drove through magnificent corn-fields: the dyers' weed, woad, grew wild by the roadside. Summer wheat and buckwheat only grow at Penza, and rye is the prevailing crop at Tambof, but wheat also comes up very strongly in the latter place in the winter-field, and further south becomes the predominant crop.

Along the course of the Bitiug are the most important establishments for breeding horses in Russia. Not only the magnificent Studs of the Countess Orlof, and Counts Rostopshin, Orlof, etc, are situated here, but nearly every landowner has more or less of a stud, and even the peasants breed horses extensively the latter often sell them for 600 or 700 roubles (£32) on the spot. These horses are distinguished from the North Russian breed by their great strength and endurance. Whilst the usual small Russian horse will draw about twenty poods, these horses may be relied on to draw one hundred and seventy poods (fifty-four cwt.) on tolerably good roads.

Most of the peasants in the neighbourhood of Lipetsk are placed upon *corvée;* but some, for instance those of Prince Galitzin, pay obrok (fifty roubles) · these are generally very rich.

upon it, that are sold,—a sign that the value of the land is now considered; whereas formerly it was only the labour of the serfs that had any value. In such sales the soul is valued at four to five hundred roubles, and five to six dessetinas are assigned to the soul

In the forenoon we reached Selo-Marfino, the estate of the united families of Bunin and Pavlof,—an agreeable patriarchal society. No dictatorial authority appeared, but great concord and order prevailed; the reverence all the younger members of the family displayed for old M. Bunin showed him to be the head of the family. He was married, but had no children; Madame Pavlova, his sister, had five or six children. M. Bunin and M. Pavlof were scientifically educated men. A polite demeanour and European manners prevailed throughout the family. That they were rich was evident, and an air of comfort was visible in the house, but not the slightest luxury or extravagance. It was a genuine Russian noble's residence, of one story, built of logs fitting into each other, roomy and comfortably furnished. In a German house it is considered necessary that all the principal rooms should open upon a lobby or passage, but not so in Russia. The principal door, which is generally double, leads directly either into a roomy apartment or small hall, all the rooms communicate with each other, and five or six are often traversed to reach a seventh. This arrangement springs from the nature of Russian family life. In the hall, or anteroom, dwell the men-servants, there being few females, and these a foreigner never sees; there are no chairs, and rarely a table; broad benches run along the walls in the manner of divans. The master of the house has usually a room appropriated to his own use, and the lady also reserves one for herself. The majority of the apartments, excepting the bedrooms, are occupied by the family in common, and all the doors are left open. In the north of Russia, during winter, the house is heated from top to bottom, the hall and staircase in-

cluded. The Russians understand the art of providing against the severity of winter, and certainly nothing can be more comfortable in this respect than the houses in Moscow and St. Petersburg.

This mode of inhabiting the whole house in common, by all the members of the family, is typical, like so much in the Russian national life, of the spirit of the people, of the commune and family,—equality and community under heads or elders

The peasants of M. Bunin are rich; they are placed upon the *corvée* system, but M Bunin has regulated this in the strictest manner. They are obliged to labour three days, but the work is precisely specified and described to each tiaglo, for instance, the ploughing of half a dessetina corresponds to one day's *corvée*, the mowing of half a large dessetina of rye, or half a small one of oats or hay, the same. But the people are industrious, the work is speedily accomplished, and they generally finish their day's labour by noon, and gain one of the three days for themselves, so that, instead of three, they in fact only perform two days' *corvée* work in the week. The landlord and his people both benefit by this.

If the Government in Russia should succeed in establishing the *corvée* system upon a precise and stable footing, this would at present be more desirable than the abolition of serfage. To banish unlimited and arbitrary caprice in the relation of master to servant, and to impose legal and effectual restraints, which should awaken a sense of right in all classes of society, is the one great thing needed.

In the afternoon we visited M. Bunin's stud, consisting of a hundred brood-mares; the pure race of Orlof trotters are bred here, and we saw some fine horses

among them. I was anxious to collect information regarding the breeding of horses among the peasants along the river Bıtiug. These horses are known and celebrated in Russia by the name of Bitiugi; they are not large, seldom above fifteen hands high; the head is somewhat ram-shaped, the chest unusually broad, as in the Belgian and French dray-horses, the croup is sloping, the back long, the colour generally sorrel or roan. Their strength, endurance, and speed ın trotting are immense; a good Bıtiug will draw 140 poods up a tolerably steep ascent, and upon a level road 180 poods (nearly three tons), a distance of sixty, seventy, or eighty versts, wıth one feed, is nothing to these horses, and we were told of one case in which a fine animal went 120 versts (eighty miles) in fifteen hours, without baiting at all on the road. The horses cost, upon the spot, £13 to £18. If they are not worked too young, before they have completed their fourth year, they last to a great age, twenty-five or twenty-six years

We drank tea wıth the family of our host in the garden, which was better laid out and cultivated, with beautiful flowers and shrubs, than I had yet seen ın any Russıan noble's grounds We then drove some miles to the estate of M. Philippof, a son-in-law of M Pavlof, who received us very kindly. I was struck by findıng carpets in all the rooms, and was told they were woven by the female servants and peasant-women, under the directıon of the lady of the house. Many of these small domestıc manufactories, under the direction of the ladies, are found in the Governıment of Tambof. I remarked here, as elsewhere generally, that musıc is much less cultivated by the Russian than by the German ladies; on the other hand, the former have a great love for drawing and paintıng.

Early the next day we continued our journey. I noticed for the first time large flocks of bustards; they are said to afford excellent sport. It was a fine morning, and the Bitiug, which we crossed several times by bridges, afforded some charming views; the country is undulating, with pretty woods and thickets.

At Paddi, Count Alexei Orlof was engaged in building a new stud-house, calculated to contain five hundred mares; the façade of the principal structure was about six hundred yards long. The buildings were of brick, for which twelve roubles a hundred were paid on the spot.

We stopped at the village of Barshova The houses stand all in irregular masses, not in straight streets, and the transition to the South Russian character is manifest in their arrangement and construction. The dwelling-house alone is built of logs, the outhouses are of wickerwork The former consists of the summer room (*seni*), the walls of which are commonly plaited, and the *izba*, with the usual divisions for sleeping-places. The house has generally its side toward the street.

Nearly every peasant here keeps a whole year's crop in his yard, "against the *tchorni den*" (the black day, or famine). We noticed that the gardens were industriously cultivated, and had excellent fruit, with a profusion of flowers, a sign of advancing civilization.

The summer dress of the men consists merely of wide white trowsers, with a white linen shirt over them, girt round the waist. The women wear a white shift and dark striped petticoat.

At about ten o'clock we arrived at the Stud of Count Rostopshin. The director, an Englishman, was absent at the time, and we therefore strolled about for awhile. The

exterior has an imposing aspect, characterized by sumptuousness, order, and cleanliness. The château and park, the farm-buildings and stables, with their bright green roofs, are constructed in a judicious manner, and abundantly provided with every requisite; the village pertaining to them contained about three thousand male souls. There are 94,500 acres of cultivated land attached to the establishment, of which the landlord has about 13,000 under the plough. This year about five thousand bushels of wheat and four thousand of rye were sown The cultivation of the estate is independent of, and unconnected with, the Stud; the latter consists at present of 320 animals, of which about one hundred are brood-mares,* the number was formerly nearly double this After having undergone some training, forty four-year-old horses, stallions and mares, are usually sold every year We were told at the neighbouring Orlof Stud that the Rostopshin one yielded no real profit; nay, that the proprietor was a loser by it. The sale of forty horses, which in this remote district fetched low prices, was far from covering the high wages of the men, the keep of the horses, etc. The establishment of the Stud was a noble amusement of the late Count Rostopshin,—a patriotic attempt to show what it was possible to effect in this department in Russia. The present proprietor had no taste for this, and was a spendthrift, and his ruin might almost be foretold. The establishment was in a very unsound state, and would probably soon be abandoned, to the great loss of the country, as a valuable race of horses was bred here.

* Nearly all the notices of these Studs were collected and written by my travelling companion, Herr von S——, of Riga, a zealous amateur in horseflesh

After an hour the Director of the Stud appeared, a small, lanky, shrivelled Englishman, a genuine offshoot of the Jockey Club, in a grey *habit Français à cheval*, with yellow leather gaiters. He conducted us round his empire: unfortunately the horses had been already ridden that morning, and we had to content ourselves with merely seeing them led out. The excuses of the Director, that the horses had not been groomed, looked like a boast on his part, when we observed and felt the smooth and glossy coats of these noble animals. We were first shown the young four-year-old mares, which were to be sold in the autumn; they were carefully placed against the white wall, to be seen to the best advantage· an Englishman of this class understands his business, and never loses sight of it. The prices put upon these animals varied from £32 to £68, —ridiculously low, for horses of the highest breeding, which would fetch twice, three, and even four times as much anywhere else in Europe. According to the statement of our Englishman, they are of the purest Arabian blood, and have for a long time been bred in, without the race degenerating, and without its being necessary to mix them with the original blood: on the contrary, indeed, experiments of this kind had resulted unfavourably. The strength and beauty of the breed is wonderful The Director said that, at a race, a Rostopshin stallion had run six times round the course of six versts, and did not perspire immoderately at the end of it, whereas all the other horses were out of breath and covered with foam. The strength of these horses is evident, in spite of their slight make; every muscle is fine, slender, and delicate; the croup is enormously strong, the tail rises at every movement like a flag in the air;

and the small delicate head, fine soft ears, straight clean legs, steep pasterns, and delicate small hoof, are the strongest proof of high breeding. At dinner my companions put the Director in a dilemma, by asking him which were the best horses, the English or the Arabians bred by himself.

From hence we drove to Grenovna, the large estate and excellent Stud of the Countess Orlof. she owns here a district of more than eight hundred square miles, of which she lately presented 108,000 acres to Count Alexei Orlof in St. Petersburg, who has now established this Stud upon it Six thousand peasants live upon the land, of whom forty tiaglos are placed upon obrok (each paying one hundred roubles); the rest perform *corvées*.

We found unfortunately neither the administrator of the estate nor the Director of the Stud, who was a retired colonel, at home. The Stud was established by the father of the present proprietor, towards the end of the last century. The old Count Orlof first began with Danish, then with Friesland mares, which he had covered by English thoroughbred horses; afterwards Persian and Arabian stallions were used. From this has sprung an excellent race of trotters, free from all foreign blood, and which is kept up entirely by breeding in, and is equal, perhaps superior, to the best Dutch trotters.

Of these trotters, two hundred and fifty mares and fourteen stallions constitute the permanent part of the Stud. The proprietor seems jealous of the sole possession of the breed, for no stallions are sold, but only geldings, and mares when they have faults or are worn out. Those set apart for sale (generally about a hundred yearly) fetch high prices on the spot. A horse sells for 3000 to 5000 roubles (£136 to £380); nay, a team

of four post-horses has been sold for 24,000 roubles. Dark brown is the fashionable colour, but there are many greys of all shades. The chief quality of these horses is their extraordinary power of trotting; on an average a good horse will trot a verst in a minute and half,—some in little more than a minute.

Beside these trotters, pure Arabian and English horses are bred in this Stud, as in that of Rostopshin, but no crosses between them The Arabian horses here seemed lighter and weaker than the Rostopshin ones, and were worse fed and much worse groomed than the latter, which may be explained by the fact that the superintendent was not an Englishman. The prices here were higher, the reputation of the Orlof horses being greater. We saw the jewel of the Stud, perhaps the finest horse in Russia, Yashma, a nine-year-old brown stallion

The management of this Stud is conducted in a magnificent style, although not equal to what it was under the old Count Orlof, who took a pride in having the best horses in Russia, and had perhaps the largest private Stud in the world, upon which he spared no expense. In his time it contained 2300 horses, with six hundred grooms; at present the number is reduced to nine hundred horses, and two hundred and fifty grooms Nearly sixty thousand bushels of oats are consumed yearly.

The Stud yields a considerable revenue; the trotters fetch good prices, and the other horses also find a ready market. We were told that the annual sales of horses produced from 600,000 to 700,000 roubles net income.

In accordance with the directions of the proprietor, a fabulous hospitality prevails in both these Studs. Every stranger who visits them, even without introduction, is

received in elegant hotels built expressly for the purpose, by one of the officers of the establishment, and conducted round it; he is entertained in the most elegant manner, without being allowed to make any remuneration, and this as long as he pleases! We were told of some Austrian officers, among others, who had been purchasing horses in the Ukraine, and, hearing of the Orlof Stud, they visited it, remained there three weeks, examined it thoroughly, and all the while amused themselves perfectly The magnificent scale on which this hospitality is displayed may be learnt from the fact, that 23,000 bushels of corn are yearly devoted to the feeding of horses belonging to stranger-guests. We too experienced this hospitality · at the Rostopshin Stud an excellent breakfast, and afterwards a splendid dinner, were served up to us At Grenovna a French cook immediately made his appearance, asked our commands for supper, and handed us a wine-card, on which was of course the never-failing champagne.

We took our departure in the forenoon of the 14th of July for the Circle-town of Bobrof, where the Head of the Police, M. Metzger, a Courlander, received us kindly. We were now on the edge of an extensive Steppe, into which cultivation is striving to penetrate Agriculture here is still for the most part of the migratory kind, as already described. Corn-dealers in the towns hire the steppe-land from some landed proprietor (who has received it as a grant from the Crown, or taken possession of it without any title), or from a Commune, or from Odnodvortzi; they have it cultivated for several years, cut down the crop, and then leave it in search of fresh land, which they farm in like manner. New villages are also established by the landowners, to which they send

their superfluous people from the northern Governments. The cultivation of the Steppe is increasing rapidly, but the population still more so, chiefly by the immigration of colonists.

The Head of the Police told us that eight years before he had bought 700 dessetinas of land in the Steppe, and placed sixteen peasants upon it, these received 300 dessetinas, and gradually brought it into cultivation, the rest of the land being tilled by hired labourers. Eight years ago he gave to each twenty copeks as daily wages, with their living, but he has now to pay 120 copeks (1*s* 1*d*.), so great has been the rise in all daily wages here.

In the night of July 15th we arrived in the ancient town of Voronezh, built, it is said, by the Khazars in the twelfth century, and one of the prettiest of the Government towns, with fine squares, elegant stone houses, wide and paved streets, everything indicated industry and wealth It is one chief centre of the corn and tallow trade, and the nobility of the Government live here and spend much money.

We first visited the Cathedral and Monastery of St Metrophan. This Saint was bishop here early in the previous century, and a personal friend of Peter I.; he had the reputation in his lifetime of being a pious and holy man. In 1832 his grave was opened, and his body found uncorrupted; this is considered a decided sign of sanctity by the Russian people. Crowds streamed to the spot; miracles, it was said, were wrought, and the Synod found it necessary to recognize the sanctity attached to the spot by the people. His tomb has since become a pilgrimage of great resort.

In the Monastery, which contained eighty monks, we

were kindly received by the Arkhierei, and, it being dinner-time, we were invited to partake. A long table was covered with coarse clean linen, the plates and dishes were as bright as a mirror, and there were wooden benches. We sat down with the monks. The meal consisted of *botvinya*, sturgeon-soup, and millet-pap; the preparation was meagre but good, the bread excellent, and *kvas* was handed us to drink no luxury appeared, although the Monastery is rich The Arkhierei regulated the service of the table by striking a bell that hung near him, novices waited upon us The Arkhierei was a tall, handsome man, with an enthusiastic expression; among the monks were some very expressive heads. Beside me sat an old man, with a beautiful white beard and the most benevolent and honest countenance; opposite was a monk, about thirty years of age, rather stout, and with a sallow face, he reminded me of Shakespear's Hamlet, with the noble features, the languid eye, the restless melancholy and indecision Another monk, a lively old man, had been an officer in the army, having served in Germany in 1813–1815, he seemed to understand, but did not speak, German. Before we took our seats a fine chant was sung with great precision by several voices; a plate was then handed round with small pieces of white bread, of which each took one. After dinner the Arkhierei took a small piece of bread baked in a peculiar manner, cut it up, repeated a prayer, and ordered it to be handed round, he then raised a large cup full of *kvas*, which all approached and drank from, and received his blessing. I am ignorant of the meaning of these ceremonies. A second chant, sung by several voices, formed the conclusion. We parted from these friendly monks with hearty thanks.

We drove in our droshkies through the town, and surveyed a house for cadets which was building, and a theatre, just completed, which a rich landowner, M. Talinof, had erected at an expense of £1600: he invited us to dine with him. Our host lived with his brother *en grand seigneur;* a luxuriously furnished mansion, with Persian carpets on all the floors, paintings and statues, a sideboard with a silver service of plate, daily open table, and splendid hospitality, not only indicated great wealth, but long acquaintance with the fashionable world.

Messrs. Talinof are great landed proprietors; they were the first who introduced a better breed of sheep from Silesia into the interior of Russia, and they have also established a manufactory of army cloth, and one of beet-root-sugar.

In the evening I visited the Governor-General, M. Hoven, an active and worthy man, who had resided a long time in Siberia. He described Southern Siberia as one of the finest, most fertile and healthy countries in the world, and said that the Russian population inhabiting it, descendants of convicts and exiles, were distinguished for their worth, morals, and benevolence above all their brethren in Russia. In their seclusion from intercourse with the world, the arrival of a stranger passing through a village is an important event to the inhabitants; they all gather round him with childish curiosity, but also with childish hospitality, vying with each other for the pleasure of receiving him. The people live in well-built houses, have a large stock of implements, cattle, and all the products which the soil affords. Peasants who own a hundred horses, as many cows, and a thousand sheep, are not considered rich, but they have no money; everything which with us is purchased is made

by the peasant himself, or procured from his neighbour by barter.

On the Siberian frontier, on the side of China, there is a mountain which, according to the report of some adventurers, is so prolific in gold and silver as to surpass everything known in the world The frontier here is somewhat undetermined, and Russia, which shows great respect to China and avoids any cause of offence, has hesitated to take possession of this mountain, although the Chinese have shown no intention to lay claim to it. Small bands of Cossacks are said to have penetrated so far, and brought home large quantities of gold.

We left Voronezh on the 16th of July; but, before I proceed with my travels, I will give some observations upon the Governments of Tambof and Voronezh.*

The Government of Tambof contains 24,900 square miles, of this land there were, according to the general measurement of 1784, in round numbers, 7000 square miles of forest, 2600 of meadow, 450 of pasture, and 1300 of wild steppe; the remaining 13,550 square miles were arable land, cultivated by 417,782 male souls, the population of the country at that time There was accordingly rather more than twenty acres of arable land to each soul

At the last Revision, of 1834, fifty years later, the number of peasants had more than doubled, being 850,000 males; but the cultivated land had also increased. A

* These notices are, for the most part, taken verbally from the materials for the Ministerial works, printed in 1839, and communicated to me,—in the present case, from a very instructive Report of M. A Savronof, part i div iii p 8

large part of the steppe and forests had been converted into cultivated land, and its present extent is reckoned at 12,000,000 acres; so that, on an average, fourteen acres is reckoned to each soul. Four-fifths of this land belong to the zone of "black earth," and is so fertile that in general it requires no manure It may be calculated that, in the three abundant years 1834–1836, between eighty and ninety million quarters* of grain were reaped. If from this quantity is deducted, first, the seed for three years of 8,000,000 acres, 13,500,000 quarters; secondly, the maintenance of 1,800,000 people of both sexes, 13,500,000 quarters; thirdly, for brandy-distilling, 750,000 quarters; fourthly, as fodder for cattle of all kinds, 5,250,000 quarters, fifthly, as stores in the magazines of the Communes, 1,000,000 quarters,—these together would amount to 34,000,000 quarters. accordingly there was a surplus in these three harvests of from forty-six to fifty-six million quarters of grain

The grain grown here is chiefly sold in St Petersburg, to which it is transported on the Tzna and Volga, and the system of canals At the different places where ships are laden on the Tzna, there were, in the year 1834, as many as 465, in 1835, 490, in 1836, 560 in all, 1515 vessels laden with grain In each vessel there was room for 3000, or at most 5000, sacks or quarters; consequently the quantity of grain conveyed from the Government of Tambof could not exceed 7,500,000 quarters, but it was much less, as a great quantity from the Governments of Penza and Saratof was likewise embarked at those places on the Tzna Reckoning however that 7,500,000 quarters of grain are sent from the Govern-

* The word Quarter (*Quart*) is probably used here as equivalent to the Russian *Tchetvert* (5¾ bushels) —TRANSL

ment of Tambof by water, that the same quantity is sent by land and sold, and estimating the loss from vermin and rotting at an equal amount,—there would still remain, in the year 1837, from sixteen to twenty million quarters of grain lying in the Government, which were not, and could not be, sold at the time

I have given in full these instructive notices, taken from the tolerably reliable statistical tables, because much may be learnt from them What strikes us, first, is the immense fertility of the soil, compared with the number of people living upon it. What country in the world yields such crops in three good years, that, after satisfying all the material wants of its population, it can maintain them for four or five years longer from the surplus? But what an *embarras de richesses!* The people would be smothered in their abundance, were there not sometimes years of scarcity, which, owing to the climate, occur much more frequently than in other countries The years 1831–1833 were, either in whole or part, years of failure: the Government was able, not only to supply the deficiency from the stores in Tambof, the produce of former years, but also to sell a million quarters of grain, both in the north and south of Russia, at such high prices that landowners, peasants, and speculators became rich, and the price of the land rose fifty per cent.

These fertile Governments could not be exposed to famine, unless four or five years' failure should occur in succession, which has never yet been the case. The landowners and peasants both provide against this I have already mentioned that I everywhere found among the latter a year's crop, and often more, stored up for the *tchorni den*, the "black day." It is otherwise in

the less fertile districts: these are dependent upon importation from the fertile ones. If bad harvests occur in the former several years in succession, the fertile districts, although they have sufficient grain stored up, and may not have suffered from years of dearth with the others, are nevertheless unable to send them a sufficient supply, and there occur then, as was the case in some districts a few years ago, frightful famines, and in their train events of a terrible character. *The true and most active cause of this is the want of means of communication. The greatest requirement of Russia is improved and suitable means of communication.*

Russia,—an immense plain, whose best districts in the interior are at a great distance from the sea, whose navigable rivers are shut up three-fourths of the year, whose high-roads are impassable during the rains, which possesses no paved roads, and in which railways are hardly contemplated,—requires improved means of communication more than any other country. Without these she is a colossal, unwieldy giant, whose hands and feet are tied.

Let Russia turn her eye to America, which has a similar, though somewhat more favourable geographical position; political unity, the energy of a monarchy, is wanting there; only the purely personal, material interests have operated to develope the energy of the people; but what has America done for her means of communication! what extensive paved roads has she constructed, and what an extent of railways has she laid down! Excepting England and Belgium, she has surpassed all other countries; but the necessity was much greater in America, and this she perceived, and has acted accordingly.

If the Government of Tambof, instead of five hundred

vessels upon the Tzna, could have had a thousand laden with grain,—if the roads had been practicable, so that from all sides produce could have been brought to the navigable rivers and by the high-roads,—if exertions had been made to improve the breed of horses,—Tambof would not have needed to have from ten to fifteen million quarters of grain lying unused, like dead stock, and with one-fourth destroyed by vermin and the rot; on the contrary, it might therewith have supported the less fertile, manufacturing, and moneyed Governments of the North.

CHAPTER XIII.

DEPARTURE FROM VORONEZH —DIFFERENCE IN THE COUNTRY AND PEOPLE —KHARKOF —INFLUENCE OF 1812 UPON THE NOBILITY AND THE PROVINCIAL TOWNS —STREETS OF KHARKOF.—SOCIAL LIFE.—CULTIVATION OF GRAIN —DIVISION OF VILLAGES.—CHARACTER OF THE PEASANTRY —UNIVERSITY OF KHARKOF —ARCHBISHOP INOKENTI —GYMNASIUM —MILITARY COLONY OF TCHUGUYEF —GOVERNMENT OF KHARKOF —LITTLE AND GREAT RUSSIAN COLONIZATION —SITUATION, SOIL, AND CLIMATE —AGRICULTURE —HOUSES —DRESS AND FOOD —MARRIAGE CEREMONIES —POPULAR SONGS AND DANCES.—DEPARTURE FROM KHARKOF —EKATERINOSLAF —PALACE AND PARKS OF POTEMKIN —CLOTH MANUFACTORIES —SERFAGE

We left Voronezh at two o'clock on the morning of July 16th, and at daybreak reached the Don, which is here still a narrow stream, we crossed by a badly constructed wooden bridge to the other side. Here the whole character of the country changed, the little town of Staroi Oskol lies very picturesquely in the midst of chalk-fields, which, with the hills and woods along the course of the Oskol, afford the most agreeable views; the villages have a pleasing aspect, the houses are small and insignificant, but carefully whitewashed It is said that the people whitewash their houses outside and inside every month, chalk is to be had in abundance. Here and there were seen detached farmhouses. We were now on the frontier of a different country and another people,

Little Russia, and had entered the territory of the Slobodsk Ukraine. We passed through the two Circle-towns of Korotcha and Belogorod, in the latter of which were some good houses The signification and sound of many names of places are the same among all the Slavonic peoples,—Belgrade in Servia, Belgard in Pomerania, and here Belogorod, and how often does this name occur between the Baltic and Adriatic, the Black and White Seas!

Early the next morning we reached the post-station village of Sheremoshne, and, being detained here, I employed the time in asking some questions of the Starosta and White-heads, which they answered in a friendly and careful manner. About noon we arrived in Kharkof. Catherine II, fifty or sixty years ago, gave to several small places in Russia the high-sounding name of cities; but the Empress had an eye to the situation and natural capabilities of each place, cities, and some of them important ones, have been the result. These first became the residence of the authorities and centre of the Government, trade and commerce soon sprang up, and many of these towns have attained great prosperity and importance The traveller can still recognize three different quarters, and three eras in their rise and progress; in the interior of the Empire, on approaching a Russian town, he does not first pass through the gardens which generally surround it in the German and Romanic parts of Europe, often extending three or four miles along all the roads leading to them, but he comes into a Russian village, the remnant of the old one converted into a town. Here dwell the old peasants, who generally cultivate kitchen-gardens for the supply of vegetables to the town; but these gardens are in the open fields, and not enclosed

with fences. After passing through this village he enters the town of Catherine II. This is built like the suburbs of Moscow, described in the first part of this Work, and consists of long, straight, wide, and unpaved streets, with log-houses and steadings of one story on both sides. Here Russian industry has its head-quarters; here dwell the carriers, drivers, smiths, grain-dealers, here are the houses of entertainment and *kabaks* of the drivers, retail shops, booths, and so on. Afterwards appears the modern European town, with straight and occasionally paved streets, large squares, and palace-like buildings, but generally with little indication of life or movement, except the droshkies, which stand in the squares and at the corners of the streets of all the Government, and even the largest of the Circle, towns The public buildings are the oldest modern ones in this quarter; the private buildings, with few exceptions, have been erected since 1815. These three epochs, in the history of the towns in the interior, closely correspond with the development of social life among the Russian nobility

We have already seen how, before 1812, those members of the nobility who were not in the military or civil service resided, either in the chief towns or in the country. The rich nobles never lived in the country, visiting it only in summer, and their country-houses being scarcely ever provided with the comforts to which European refinement and indulgence had accustomed them; they resided in St. Petersburg, as a court nobility, or in Moscow as *frondeurs*. Those who had not sufficient fortune to live throughout the year in these towns, resided there at least during the winter, or for a certain period, when they had saved money enough for that purpose, and then crept into some corner of the

country to retrench. The petty nobility, formerly not very numerous, and often little more cultivated than their peasants, lived in the same way, and were reduced to a level with the latter.

The catastrophe of 1812 ensued, and those members of the rich or moderately wealthy nobility who lived in Moscow lost their palaces, houses, and furniture, and a large portion of their property; during the first years they had not the means of re-establishing themselves in Moscow, and were compelled to repair to the country; or they were attracted to the public service, which, as it became Europeanized, required a greater number of officials: thus they were scattered over the surface of the immense Empire All whom the wars had led into Western Europe became acquainted with the mode of living there, and sought to transplant this into their native country Many were thus completely impoverished, and *parvenus* from the ranks of the officials occupied their places. Then ensued the immense development of manufacturing industry, which in a great measure originated with the nobility, the larger part of the factories having been established by them. The manufacturing system however required greater energy, industry, care, and knowledge, and more personal superintendence, than the Russian nobles at that time were inclined to bestow

A great revolution has thus gradually taken place in the social condition of the Russian nobility. They live at present more in the country, not yet indeed by any means sufficiently to entitle them to be called a rural aristocracy; still they visit their estates, and take an interest in their cultivation, which is manifest from the fact that the number of peasants placed upon *corvée*

is continually increasing, whilst the payment of obrok, which formerly prevailed throughout Great Russia, has in many places ceased to exist The nobles cannot now remove to such a distance, or for so long a period, from their farming establishments and manufactories, as they did formerly. But, as the social life of towns is indispensable to them, they repair to the neighbouring provincial, especially the Government towns, which have thus acquired a new element. I consider this an important advance in civilization and nationality; thus are the germs laid of a cultivated provincial life, which formerly was wanting in Russia; a middle class may also rise up in time, although as yet there are few symptoms of it. Without placing too high a value upon modern social life, it must be acknowledged that it always exercises more or less influence upon mental cultivation.

These new Russian cities are becoming the centres of national life, the parents of social development, cultivation, and progress, but in the opposite sense from the towns of old Russia. In ancient times the latter were the first points where the people established themselves, from these, like rays from a centre, the settlement and cultivation of the country proceeded, and new Communes sprang from these first ones, like swarms of bees from a hive, settling themselves in the neighbourhood, and always keeping up a connection with the first Commune. The latter was therefore the mother of the others; consequently throughout the Middle Ages the ancient cities were still called thus,—Mother Suzdal, Mother Novgorod, Mother Vladimir, etc. In our day new cities have been created by the Government, as centres and mothers of the country; but so great is the power of authority among the people, a reverence for

which is innate with them, that these created mothers became adopted ones, and afterwards real acknowledged mothers, disseminating life and cultivation around them The Russian people must have a father or mother in all the relations of life, if there is no real father, one may be chosen in the family,—a brother, an uncle, even a perfect stranger: this is the first social link: the Commune elects the Ancient, the *Starik*, who may even be the youngest member of the Commune, the people on an estate regard their landlord as father, and address him, even if only a boy, as *Batiushka* (Little Father), the people cling to the Czar with the strongest attachment, addressing him likewise as *Batiushka*.

Kharkof is one of these new cities: two hundred and fifty years ago a Cossack of this name built here his solitary farmhouse, several others soon settled beside him, and a village arose. Its favourable position caused it to flourish, and in 1780 Catherine II raised it to the rank of a city, and made it the centre of a Government. In 1804 a university was erected here, at present it is one of the handsomest, most important, and promising towns of Southern Russia, with about 30,000 inhabitants, destined perhaps to occupy the same position in reference to Odessa which Moscow does to St. Petersburg. It is elegantly built, and we were told that no house in the modern part of the town was older than thirty years, the more detestable were the streets! We were here on the black *humus* soil, two or three feet deep: dry weather had prevailed for a long time, and the dust in the streets was so intolerable that the houses could not be seen across them. It is said to be still worse after rainy weather; the ground then becomes soft, the feet of the horses and pedestrians, and the wheels

of the carriages, tread it into a morass, and at last it is impossible to cross the street. From six to eight horses are attached to carriages of the lightest description, and some years ago even the carriage of the Empress stuck fast in the middle of the street.

Generally speaking the pavement is bad in Russia; in St. Petersburg great pains are bestowed upon it, and no expense is spared, but in vain The paving-stones are good, but the swampy ground and the frost, which when it disappears leaves it a mass of mud, render the binding and solidity of the stone pavement almost impossible. In the northern Governments the roads and streets are repaired with wood, and along the houses run *trottoirs* made of beams and planks, which at Kazan have contributed not a little to the spread of conflagrations. At Kharkof no stone is found, and wood is scarce and dear; here and there the streets are repaired with dung, which is thrown into the holes when too deep, to give more consistence to the mud. The consequence is that every one, even artisans and shopkeepers, has his carriage. I had never seen any town in which, in comparison to the population, there were more equipages.

A large number of nobles live in Kharkof, but not so rich as those in Voronezh. Germans living here complain of the intellectual dearth which prevails in the society of the place. When a stranger first enters a Russian party here, he fancies himself among cultivated people; their outward *tournure*, the ease of their manners, and the French conversation, appear to indicate the best society; but the external polish soon wears off, and the original emptiness of mind everywhere appears; card-playing and dancing are the only resource. This judgement may be correct enough; but is society any better

in most of the so-called civilized portion of Europe? In German provincial towns it is certainly hollow and empty enough.

We paid a visit to the Department of Domains; the President, M. Mayevski, received us kindly. In the offices of the Domains, in every Government, are found collections of the natural products, geognostic and mineralogical specimens, works of art and manufactures, together with models of the agricultural implements used in the district I received very interesting details concerning the affairs of the Government. the following information may throw some light upon the state of serfage, and confirm what I have said upon the defective means of communication *

In these rich corn-districts the landowners in good years neither sell their own corn, nor allow their peasants to dispose of the supplies which they have stored up. This prevents the markets from being glutted, and prices reduced to a minimum. In years of scarcity landlords and peasants sell their grain, and, although they receive high prices, still it checks the famine: by this means both become rich, and these peasants therefore are generally better off than those of the Crown. The latter, who are under no kind of restraint, with the heedlessness natural to the Russians, usually sell their supplies every year, and thus suffer in seasons of scarcity a want which the Crown and Communal stores are insufficient to meet Now if adequate means of communication were created, and serfage changed into a contract,

* I may also mention that the price of corn, in districts fifty versts distant from each other, appears often to vary more than half, according to the good or bad roads, and the proximity or remoteness of navigable

according to the ukase of 1842, with a rent-charge, and if the *corvée* farms were converted into ordinary farms, worked by hired labourers and paying a money-rent, so that the farmers would be compelled to have always money in hand for the cultivation of their land and to sell their produce every year, an immense revolution would take place in all farming operations, and it is impossible to predict what effects might be produced on the increased cultivation of grain, on prices, and on the revenues of the landlords and peasants, but I have no doubt that, the crisis once past, a solid equilibrium would be established between the corn-trade and the pecuniary condition of the people A hasty abolition of serfage, or even an enforcement of the contract-system, according to the ukase of 1842, without the previous establishment of means of communication, might be considered, at least in these districts, a real calamity

The power given by the law of inheritance of dividing a village among several heirs of the proprietor is, in my opinion, one of the greatest inconveniences in the rural institutions of Russia that most important political element in the constitution of the Empire, the unity of the Village Commune, is thereby destroyed: the fortunes of the nobility are broken up, and a class of poor nobles is created, who necessarily remain uncultivated Experience teaches that these are the true bloodsuckers of the people, that their peasants are the most exposed to oppression; with the breaking up of the peasant Commune, these wretched people have not even this protection to fall back upon, for an entire village Commune always infuses some awe even into a bad landlord I was informed that divisions of the villages were very frequent in these Governments, and that great confusion

arose in consequence The various landowners have strips of land, one here, another there, intermingled, which are cultivated by their peasants, a village, or even single peasants, belonging to a certain proprietor, have the privilege of cutting wood, feeding cattle, and other rights upon neighbouring land, which perhaps formerly belonged to their lord, but has now passed into the possession of another, and so on In short, all the complications in landed property which exist in Western Europe impeding the progress of cultivation, and which are being gradually removed with vast difficulty, trouble, and expense, are found in Russia likewise, and this solely in consequence of these unhappy divisions of the villages, and the exchanges, sales, etc. consequent upon them. They have only made their appearance within the last century and a half, as formerly the Russian nobility was not numerous, and the division of villages was very rare In my opinion this is a matter for the interference of Government, and I believe it would not be difficult. It would not be necessary to change anything in the law of inheritance, but only to forbid for the future these divisions In case of there being several heirs, one of them might take the property at a certain price, and buy up the shares of the others, or if they could not agree, it might be sold *sub hastâ*, and the heirs divide the purchase-money among them. The sale of parts of villages, hitherto undivided, should be forbidden, and in the sale of already existing portions of villages, a right of pre-emption ought to be given to those who already possess the other portions

In general the race of peasants here (Little Russians) are said to be lazy, they follow their oxen to the fields, keeping their slow and measured pace The Great Rus-

sian, on the other hand, goes upon the land with his active little horse, and, although adroit and nimble, does in fact as little hard work as the spirited animal he drives. The Crown peasants are lazier than the private peasants, and the Odnodvortzi the laziest of all; I was told that they paid Great Russians from the neighbouring Governments to assist them in their work, especially during harvest. In the Circle of Starobelsk they pay these labourers, for the whole harvest-work, from one-sixth to one-fifth of the entire crop; in the hay-harvest they are said to receive as much as one-half of the crop in lieu of wages.

We heard the Governor-General in Voronezh much praised here for his straightforward conduct and love of justice: he is very popular, and the peasants of the Crown and the Odnodvortzi in particular have recourse to him on all occasions, and show great confidence in him. But this is said to occasion innumerable claims being preferred by these peasants on neighbouring proprietors, for portions of land which they allege to have been taken from them, and hence arise the most violent legal proceedings. When once a litigious spirit takes possession of the Russian peasantry, it causes more irreconcilable enmities than in any other country, and utterly ruins the people.

I visited the University here, and made the acquaintance of several distinguished professors,—Lunin, Sresniovski, Einbrod, Struve, who had all studied at German universities. The professors receive a salary of five to six thousand roubles, which is certainly very little. Fees are not usually paid by the students, and it is difficult to understand why this custom has not been introduced, as it acts as a great incitement both to teachers and

students, and in Russia the latter are generally well off. Nearly all the professors receive boarders in their houses, and the students are placed under strict discipline. Of the student life peculiar to Germany there is said to be no trace. The more remarkable are the political sentiments manifested wherever the students fancy themselves unobserved and uncontrolled, they are generally of the most destructive character, although literature is strictly watched, and they never hear from the professors the slightest hints of such doctrines and opinions. Foreign influences have undoubtedly contributed mainly to introduce these notions, and one cause may be the French and Swiss who came in large numbers to Russia, and to whose influence on political opinion little attention was formerly paid; and the conspiracies which broke out afterwards under the Emperor Alexander handed them down traditionally to the youth of the country. These doctrines prevail extensively among the students, even in the gymnasia and seminaries, but more particularly in the cadet-houses, the educational institutions of the chief towns, and among the young people in the civil and military service, especially the young officers of the Guards.

I made the acquaintance of Professor Sresniovski, an eminent Slaavist. On my inquiring whether any traces existed of ancient popular tribunals, with a traditional jurisprudence, he informed me that in Little Russia, in the village of Moschne, near Kanilef, in the Government of Kief, there still existed completely organized village-tribunals, where three old men (White-heads) administer justice to all. The Don Cossacks also have regular tribunals, which however only take cognizance of grazing and cattle-breeding affairs.

In the house of the Lutheran clergyman I became acquainted with a Greek priest, an Esthonian by birth, who had gone over to the Russian Church. With him I visited a convent, and afterwards the Archbishop of the place, Inokenti. The latter is one of the most distinguished, learned, and able clergymen of his Church, a celebrated preacher, with a dignified deportment, thoroughly acquainted with German theology, having formerly kept up a literary correspondence with Schleiermacher and Neander. As the salaries of the bishops are small,* and he is very charitable, he would be a poor man did not the profit arising from his writings, which are popular, bring him a considerable income. His impressive sermons have converted a great number of Raskolniks (within a few years 25,000) to the Russian Church.

I next visited the Gymnasium . the arrangement is the same as that in the old schools of the Jesuits, in which the first school was the lowest degree Boys of ten years of age are received into it, who can read and write, and know the elements of arithmetic They have instruction in Latin, German, and French, in the second school is taught geography, in the third history, in the fourth logic, in the fifth natural history, in the sixth philosophy, and the pupils are prepared for the University. Wishing to visit the Military Colonies of the Ukraine, we drove on the 21st of July to the small town of Tchuguyef, the head-quarters of the Staff, distant thirty-five versts from Kharkof. At the fourteenth verst I saw for the first time, upon an artificial hill about thirty feet in

* I heard it asserted that in Russia the clergy of the Orthodox or national Church do not receive so much from the State as the clergy of the Catholics, Protestants, and Mohammedans united together.

height, a *kurgan*, one of those mysterious stone monuments, of which there were formerly many thousands in the Steppes north of the Caucasus and Black Sea; they belong to nations and times with which we are unacquainted.

At about nine o'clock we reached Tchuguyef, which stands upon the steep right bank of the Donetz. Everything here bears the marks of military order, regularity, and cleanliness. We entered the town through a long handsome *allée* of Italian poplars.

Cossacks were already settled in this district in the time of the Czar Ivan Vasilievitch Writings of the years 1638 and 1647 speak of the Czar Alexei; at the same time Tchuguyef and the surrounding Cossack colonies were used as places of banishment for rebellious Streletzes. Unfortunate foreigners were also sent here, and their descendants are still recognizable among the peasantry by their names Thus there are several Russian peasant families bearing the name of Stich, who are said to be descended from a German physician banished by the Czar Alexei. The name Ourke is also frequent among the peasantry here; there is a well-known noble family of that name in Livonia, and, by accident, a General Count d'Ourke was at that very time commandant of the place.

We left the carriage at the neat quarters of the Inspector of the Colony; an Adjutant received us, and conducted us to the residence of the Emperor. This was a charming little country-house, picturesquely situated upon the height above the Donetz, and surrounded by a blooming garden stretching down to the river All the furniture in the house was made by workmen in the colony and soldiers of the workmen's battalion. The

dwelling was well and tastefully finished, and there was an air of perfect comfort. Brigadier-General von Lindgren conducted us round the place. We surveyed the townhall, the chancery, the archives (in which are kept the ancient deeds of gift of the Czars), and a collection of geological specimens from the neighbourhood, among which were specimens of coal; this is probably to be found in large strata not far from hence, which have not been sufficiently examined. Iron ore has also been discovered, containing about thirty per cent. of the metal. Excellent plans and maps were laid before us, mostly drawn by Cantonists and soldiers. A small statistical account of this military colony, with maps of the six Districts, was presented to me, which may be considered a remarkable proof of Russian ability: it was copied in German in the Roman character, without a single error, by a Russian Cantonist, who did not know a word of German.

We then proceeded to the church, which, with its masonry, carpenter-work, carving, gilding, and paintings of the ikonostas, is exclusively the work of Cantonists in the workmen's battalion. We afterwards examined the stables: each troop of forty horses has its separate building, in which are also rooms for the saddles, arms, uniforms, etc. The horses were beautiful; the average price paid for them is 240 roubles. They are purchased at the yearly fairs in the south of Russia, to which nearly thirty thousand horses are sent. After a period of six to eight years they are again discarded. Each regiment has horses of the same colour; those of the one we saw were all greys.

At the extremity of the little town is a village. I entered the first good-looking house, and could not but

admire the order and cleanliness I found. The soldier lives on very good terms with the peasant, his host; he has his own little room, and assists the latter in his farm, when he is not occupied in cleaning his uniform and grooming his horse. We then examined the military depôts, where everything necessary for immediate action in the field stands ready at a moment's notice, and the hospital, consisting of several small buildings: the arrangement was excellent. There were a hundred and forty sick in it, partly soldiers, partly peasants. The large yards and workshops of the workmen's battalion were extremely interesting; all imaginable trades were mingled together,—farriers, armourers, instrument-makers, carpenters, carvers in wood, workers in bronze, saddlers, and even painters, portraits of the Emperor displayed great ability.

In this military colony are four regiments of Hulans, four of Cuirassiers, and four of Hussars from Kherson. To each regiment a certain extent of territory is allotted, varying from two to five hundred square miles. On this land are settled peasants, upon whom the burden is imposed of maintaining these troops instead of the State and Domainal taxes. The regiment is in a manner the lord and proprietor of the peasants and their land.

After this visit to the Military Colony we drove back to Kharkof to dinner, and left in the night for Ekaterinoslaf. Before continuing the account of my travels, I will give a few general notices of the Government of Kharkof

Three hundred years ago the districts which constitute this Government were a mere Steppe, overrun by nomads. In 1780 the name of Ukraine was changed into that of the Government of Kharkof. The internal

and external revolutions have completely altered the character of the country and its inhabitants. The Cossacks and their constitution have disappeared; and, although their descendants still preserve traditions of their origin, they have quite abandoned the Cossack character, and become peaceful agriculturists, in no way distinguished from the other peasants except that the soil is their acknowledged property, for which no obrok is paid. In official papers they are no longer called Cossacks, but Odnodvortzi.

The relative numbers of the peasants in these districts show how much agriculture is the *nervus rerum gerendarum*. In Kharkof and the neighbouring Governments the peasant class constitutes twenty-three out of twenty-four of the whole population The peasants of the Crown, including the Odnodvortzi, preponderate here, three-fifths of the people belong to them, whereas the number of serfs amounts only to two in five.

The increase of the population here is by no means so large as might be expected from the stream of immigration there has been for the last sixty or eighty years. The Census of 1780 gave 796,808, and that of 1838 1,147,128, of both sexes; but the relative numbers of the various classes of the population are quite altered. Formerly more than one-half were free peasants, Odnodvortzi and Cossacks, with land of their own These have rather diminished than increased, but a large number of Crown peasants and serfs have been established among them, who have gradually brought the territory into cultivation.

In consequence of this and other reasons, the direct taxation to the State is very different from what it was. Formerly the peasants who possessed unprivileged land

paid a tax of eighty-five silver copeks (2*s.* 8*d.*), those who had privileged land ninety-five, and the peasants of the landowners sixty silver copeks: at present all classes pay ninety-five silver copeks per male soul But in former times almost the only settlers were Odnodvortzi or Cossacks, and serfs of private proprietors, there were no Crown peasants paying obrok on Crown land: at present there is a large number There are also the indirect taxes, and the difference between the financial receipts of the two periods is very great. In the year 1786 the whole direct taxes paid to the Crown in this Government amounted to 2,037,500 roubles, at present to 5,414,713 roubles No country has so few direct taxes as Russia, there being in reality only one, the poll-tax, amounting to less than three shillings for each male: the obrok is a Domainal, not a State tax

The Government of Kharkof lies high, on the watershed between the Don and Dnieper, and belongs to the region of the black soil Some seams of coal have been discovered; and, if Russia possessed the means of communication, the discovery of coal, which certainly exists in many places, would prove of more importance to the southern provinces than the richest gold-mines.

This Government grows much more grain than it requires: it is transported partly to Kursk and partly to Taganrog. The country is very unfavourably situated for the sale of its grain, being surrounded by districts of equal fertility, and having no water-communication. Almost the only means of using the surplus produce is in the distillation of brandy, and there is consequently a large number of distilleries, in the year 1838 they were numbered in ten Districts at 275 Potatoes are rarely grown; the Starovertzi consider it sinful to eat them,

and that the cholera is a punishment for their introduction.

The Russian manufacturing Communes are of course also found here. In the Circle of Zmiyef there are a few villages in which all the women make clothes; the men sell the produce of their labour in booths at the fairs. Tolerable artisans, carpenters, saddlers, locksmiths, etc., are generally found only on private estates. In the Crown Communes the wholesome coercion exercised by the landowners is wanting, and the Russian needs to be educated for civilization and freedom.

The breeding of sheep is rapidly increasing, in 1838 there were more than 40,000 of a fine breed; thirty years before there was not one. The carpet manufactory suits the taste and character of the Little Russian, he is imaginative, and delights in the bright colours displayed in the flowers and figures on the carpets, as, in like manner, he loves his small white house with the flowers before it, and his bright-coloured clothes

Horses are bred very extensively in this Government the largest number and best Studs are in the Circles of Izium, Zmiyef, and Starobelsk in those of the rich proprietors are reared not merely native, but also Arabian and English horses, and the celebrated Orlof trotters. The Crown also has large Studs, in which are peasants, who, instead of paying obrok, are obliged to work in the stables,—a species of statute-labour.

Fairs, the great means of carrying on trade in a country which has bad means of communication, abound in the Government of Kharkof, there are 288, at which commodities of the value of 80,000,000 roubles are sold.

The peasant farmhouse here has the genuine Little Russian character, and differs materially from that of

Great Russia both in plan and structure, and in the material of which it is built; the villages resemble German ones, having several crooked irregular streets. The house is square, often as broad as it is long, and generally surrounded by farm-buildings. The dwelling usually, but not always, stands with its side toward the street, and the door in the middle: it is not like the Great Russian house, in which the lower story is used as a store and stables, and the upper one as the residence of the family, to which a staircase leads from the outside; but the inmates enter directly from the street into the hall, to the right and left of which are the various rooms, the kitchen being generally separated from the others; whereas with the Great Russians the cooking usually takes place in the dwelling-room, the kitchen-fire and stove being one and the same But the material also of which the houses are constructed is different in Little Russia; where there is sufficient wood, they are built of logs, but this is rarely the case: wickerwork, reeds, and clay are the materials commonly used: a sort of bench runs round the house, which often serves as a flower-bed and has a charming effect.

The peasant-houses in the Government of Kharkof have quite this Little Russian character, although a large part of the population are Great Russians, who elsewhere carry their manners, customs, and mode of living with them For instance, the Great Russian house of the Governments of Moscow or Yaroslaf is always found in the Russian colonies of North America.

Notwithstanding the slight and loose materials of which they are constructed, the Little Russian peasant-houses last as long as those of Great Russia, often longer. The cleanliness, order, and regularity which

prevail in them, and the care which these people display in repairing every small defect (a contrast to the carelessness of the Great Russian) preserves them A Little Russian house of this kind does not cost much. The peasant generally possesses the materials, and he executes the work almost entirely alone with his family; thus the expense in money seldom exceeds twenty-five, scarcely ever a hundred, roubles

The dress of the men here is not so picturesque as that of the Great Russians. It consists generally of a short cloth coat like a jacket, girt round the body with a woollen band, and wide linen or woollen sailors' trousers, reaching half-way down the calf of the leg, boots with high heels, and a fur cap The people in the towns generally wear nankeen or plush clothes.

The women in summer and weekdays wear no regular gown over their shift, but throw a long cloth round the hips, striped in various colours, and bind it round the waist On holidays they usually wear two pieces of woollen cloth of different colours, one of which is fastened in front and the other behind on the belt, with pretty green or black woollen corsets, generally without sleeves, and highly ornamented, in cold weather a kind of dressing-gown is worn over this, and, among the rich and the inhabitants of towns, the fur of hares or foxes: on their feet they wear high-heeled shoes or boots They have necklaces of glass, pearls, and gold, medallions, and coins Young women and girls wear in summer fresh flowers upon their heads, sometimes wreathed upon their brows. When they all appear in church in this holiday attire, it has a beautiful effect. In winter they wear on their heads artificial flowers, made by themselves.

The food of the people consists of rye and wheaten bread, *borshtch*, or soup made of red turnips, with beef and bacon in it (bacon is generally preferred), patties filled with sour milk, flour-dumplings, and a few vegetables. In general the Little Russians prefer salt to acid food: they drink water, or *kvas* made of fruit.

The marriage ceremonies are very peculiar · the bride chooses a number of pretty young girls, who are obliged to be present and officiate, they carry wax-lights, fastened upon small boards, one end of which is cut into the shape of a horse's head, and ornamented with flowers, the lights continue burning until they bring the bride to the house of the young husband, when they are all extinguished

At funerals the church bells are rung, and the dead are carried to the grave with flags flying. There are often no cemeteries, and the bodies are buried in the gardens. In the churchyards in towns the graves are often surmounted by crosses four or five feet in height.

The Little Russians are an imaginative and poetical people, and a number of popular songs, tales, and legends have been preserved among them, the abundance of these is wonderful, and treasures of poetry and history may still lie hidden and unknown here All kinds of charms are used, and witchcraft is practised; manners and customs, perhaps as old as the people themselves, have been retained, some of them probably from heathen times. Thus, for instance, on Kapali or Midsummer Eve (the evening before St John's Day), the young girls, decked with wreaths of flowers and grasses, assemble beside a piece of water, kindle a fire, and pace round it, singing certain songs, and then jump wildly backwards and forwards through the flames. In winter,

as soon as it begins to freeze, the young people and children walk before the windows begging cakes and nuts. On Christmas Eve (called here, as in the Roman Catholic parts of Germany, Holy Evening,) the old men of the village, surrounded by the rest of the people, sing religious hymns before the windows of the houses. In the Spring, boys and girls assemble on the first spots where the snow has disappeared, and sing the so-called Songs of Spring; generally speaking, there are peculiar songs for every season of the year, which are sung in the weekday evenings, when young and old are collected together. During holidays the singing is nearly incessant, with the men however much less than with the women and girls.

There is a singular difference between the national dances of the Great and Little Russians. The former are generally slow, serious, figurative; in dancing these people are so entirely absorbed that they never allow themselves to be disturbed by anything I have often watched them for a long time; but even the stranger in his foreign attire, who had attracted the attention of the whole village, was completely unheeded by the dancers. In contrast however with his slow and musing dance, the Great Russian is light-hearted, daring, lively, and rapid in all his movements. The Little Russian, on the contrary, is meditative, poetical, enthusiastic, slow, and deliberate; but the majority of his dances are brisk and lively, full of life and animation Among the Great Russians the women dance the most,—among the Little Russians the men.

The Little Russians have much talent for the fine arts; they have generally a clear, full voice, and so correct an ear and memory that, without teaching, they learn to

sing and play upon different instruments with great precision and ability. They have also a decided talent for drawing and painting, and, without any instruction, they often perform what seems incredible in these arts. They are extremely pious, and devotedly attached to their Church. I have already mentioned that the doctrines of none of the Sects have ever found acceptance with them.

On the evening of the 21st of July we took our departure from Kharkof, and on awaking in the morning found ourselves in a genuine Steppe country, extending as far as the horizon on every side, and for many hours nothing but steppe—at that time of the year anything but beautiful! The soil was dry, and of a blackish-grey colour, the grass parched, with here and there gigantic weeds, generally in the form of bushes, thistles, and *burian* (the best material for firewood in the Steppe), likewise completely dried up Of trees or forest no trace was to be seen, here and there in the hollows were tall green reeds and willow-bushes. The small rivers glided slowly down between sandy banks The Steppes I saw were everywhere undulating, like the waves of a sea suddenly arrested in their motion.

Towards evening, some stations distant from Ekaterinoslaf, we reached the pretty little Russian village of Gubenikho, where I collected some more monographic information from an old Little Russian; it was quite a pleasure to see how well the old man comprehended our meaning, how well-informed he appeared to be, and how sensibly he answered our inquiries. The village contains 1017 male souls, inhabiting 304 farmhouses. Of the 20,500 acres of land belonging to it, one-fourth is set

aside as pasture; the remainder is divided according to the number of souls; but poverty and wealth, here as everywhere, are both found together. Some of the poorer people have not the means of cultivating their own land, and are obliged to let it to their richer neighbours; the custom is to pay the rent in kind, the owner receiving for new land a fourth of the crop, for land already used the rent, according to circumstances, sinks to one-seventh. The usual food consists of rye or wheaten and sometimes barley bread, millet-pap, mutton, pork, and geese; few vegetables are eaten, and much animal food; the people therefore live quite differently from those in North Russia. Iron here costs from eight to ten roubles the pood; the peasants fetch salt for the most part from the Crimea, paying ninety-four copeks the pood, which, with the carriage, amounts to one rouble thirty-four copeks The dress of the people was the same as has been above described; the young men wore the Little Russian moustache, the older ones the full beard of the Great Russians The men were not good-looking, having very mixed physiognomies, generally snub noses and high cheekbones, the women were prettier, at least plumper and more animated than the men.

Along this entire road, and in fact the whole way from the Bitiug, we saw everywhere solitary houses of entertainment by the roadside, which are never seen in North Russia Innkeeping is not a separate business among the Little Russians; strangers are received in every house in the village, either with or without payment, generally according to their own choice. These lonely houses are only used as stations for the drivers. The posts are nearly all in the hands of Jews, who cheat travellers whenever they can, but I myself never heard com-

plaints on this subject in Russia, thanks to my excellent postilion Timofei. At a distance of ninety-five versts from Ekaterinoslaf, on the right side of the road, stood an immense and singular fortified wall,—perhaps a remnant of the ancient one erected as a barrier against the Tatars, although it appears to be too far south.

We arrived late at night in Ekaterinoslaf, and took up our quarters in a wretched inn. The following morning we proceeded to survey the city, which looks partly like a portion of a great plan not completed, and partly like a town which has fallen from its former greatness. It was destined, under Catherine II, to be the summer residence of the Czars, and stood formerly upon the left bank of the Dnieper; Potemkin removed it to the right, erecting magnificent buildings in it, and it was raised to the rank of a city in the year 1786

We paid our visits to the different officials, and dined with the Governor, an amiable and sensible man, at his table we met a German physician, Dr Sachs, from Gallicia, who after dinner accompanied us round the place. Potemkin's park stretches along the Dnieper, where he built a palace, which in luxury and oriental magnificence surpassed everything then known in Russia When Catherine II died, the Emperor Paul ordered that its entire contents should be disposed of to the highest bidder within twenty-four hours, articles of the value of many million roubles were sold under the auctioneer's hammer for a few thousands, and the most splendid treasures of art have disappeared, no one knows where. The palace and park were granted to the nobles of the Government, the former is partly in ruins. The park is the finest I have seen in Russia, except in the Crimea, stretching along the picturesque and rocky banks of the

Dnieper, and commanding superb views of the opposite shore, which is likewise rocky; between them flows the majestic river, broader than the Rhine. It is however gradually filling up with sand, and becoming so shallow that the navigation is only open for six weeks in the spring Not far from hence are the celebrated Falls of this river, which are a serious hindrance to navigation.

We afterwards visited the large cloth-manufactory of Herr Neumann, a native of Aix-la-Chapelle, who has resided in Russia since 1815. He was for a long time director of many private and Crown manufactories, accumulated a capital of 100,000 roubles, and established a manufactory of his own, which we found in a most flourishing state. He makes annually about 14,000 yards of cloth, of the value of from nine to twelve shillings the yard Herr Neumann gave us the following particulars respecting the wages he pays. Good adult workmen at present receive twenty-seven roubles a month In a good harvest however, when everything is cheap, few workmen are to be met with, and the wages rise to two roubles fifty copeks a day, and with their board (which is abundant) to seven roubles fifty copeks. Girls receive from eighteen to twenty-five copeks, and children fifteen copeks.

This entire district of country is still undergoing rapid development, but the relative positions of landowners and occupiers have not yet been established on a sufficiently permanent footing Every day new settlements are projected; settlers are continually arriving, and many are already established, among whom are found Great and Little Russians, Wallachians, Servians, Albanians, Greeks in great numbers, Tatars, and Germans. Many landed proprietors from the Great Russian Governments send

their serfs here; many of the *Shliakhta* (impoverished Polish nobility) have come from the old Polish districts, and many poor nobles from the Government of Riazan. Those who are settled upon Crown land receive from the Government eight dessetinas, and a hundred silver roubles to assist them in the necessary buildings, together with exemption from taxes for a certain number of years. The land is rising rapidly in value. nine years ago it fetched eight to ten roubles the dessetina; it is now worth from thirty to thirty-five roubles. Some years ago the rent was from ten to fifteen copeks the dessetina, whereas it is now from one rouble to one rouble fifty copeks. One effect of this tide of emigration has been to bring hither a crowd of vagabonds, runaway serfs, etc., to whom the name of Neznayushtchie, or 'Know-nothings,' has been given · in reply to any question respecting their history, birthplace, trade, residence, and so forth, they never make any other answer than "*Ne znayu*" (I know not).

An ukase was some time ago issued, declaring all persons to be serfs of the landowners on whose soil they were settled. This has given rise to much embarrassment: many persons who were perfectly free, and had entered into contracts with the landowners and settled on their land, were suddenly declared serfs. In one instance a poor noble, who had acquired a few dessetinas of land, and settled upon it, having some hundred free settlers as his neighbours, declared that all the land belonged to him, and that consequently these people were his serfs they were unable to prove their right to the soil *justo titulo*, and, as no other proprietor appeared, they were declared to be serfs of this poor nobleman.

CHAPTER XIV.

DEPARTURE FROM EKATERINOSLAF.—THE MENNONITES, THEIR ORIGIN AND SETTLEMENT IN WEST PRUSSIA —THEIR EMIGRATION TO RUSSIA AND SETTLEMENT ON THE DNIEPER —VILLAGE OF KHORTITZ —MENNONITE COLONIES ON THE MALOTCHNAYA —THEIR RELIGIOUS SERVICE —JOHN KORNIES —VISIT TO A NOGAI TATAR VILLAGE —CONSTITUTION OF THE MENNONITES —GERMAN COLONIES ON THE MALOTCHNAYA —POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE MENNONITES —ISTHMUS OF ARABAT —ARRIVAL AT FEODOSIA AND KERTCH

EARLY in the morning of the 23rd we reached the banks of the Dnieper, and were transported across in a German ferry-boat, the carriage was no longer with immense difficulty placed across the boat, but was comfortably driven into one end of it Why the Russians, who are so practical a people, continue their absurd practice, I cannot understand. Some German colonists had charge of this ferry, and we soon reached the colony of Rosenthal, belonging to the great German Mennonite settlement in the Circle of Khortitz. We felt at once transported to the valleys of the Vistula, in West Prussia, so thoroughly German was everything around us: not merely the people, their language, dress, and dwellings, but every plate and vessel, nay even the domestic animals, the dog, cow, and goat, were German. These colonists have even succeeded in giving a German aspect to nature itself throughout the whole district; a land-

scape-painter might very well call the scenery German. The same mode of dividing and cultivating the fields prevails as in Germany; the meadows are enclosed with German hedges. The plan of the villages, and the detached farmhouses, with gardens, plants, vegetables, and above all potatoes, are all German. This was not at all the case with the colony on the Volga, the inhabitants of which had remained Germans only in language, dress, and manners Everything about them had much more of a Russian character, with the addition of German conveniences

This flourishing German settlement, consisting of seventeen villages, was founded solely by Mennonites, who now inhabit them

The Sect of the Mennonites arose at the period of the Reformation in Germany When Luther established the principle that the Scriptures alone are the basis of the Christian faith and doctrine,—thereby rejecting the belief in its living transmission in the bosom of the Church, or tradition, and consequently the authority of the Church, her Pope, Bishops, and Councils,—many of his former disciples protested against the form of belief and doctrine which he laid down, turning the principle of private judgement against himself, and separated from him. The most consistent of these Sectarians, as they were called, were the Anabaptists, so named from their denying the efficacy of Infant Baptism. They maintained that, if tradition and the usages sanctioned by the Church were not to be considered obligatory, then, according to the spirit and letter of the Bible, Infant Baptism could in no way be justified, and must be wholly ineffectual. The words, "He that believeth and is baptized," etc., imply that belief must necessarily precede

the reception of the Sacrament of Baptism. That the baptism of children however is not necessary to their salvation, Christ, they say, himself declares, when he says, "Suffer little children to come unto me," etc., and "Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child shall in no wise enter therein." And this was said of unbaptized children.

These Sectarians were soon subjected to persecution, and there then appeared among them the doctrine of a kingdom of Christ upon earth, of Christian freedom, and so on. In Münster and Westphalia they obtained the mastery over the Lutherans, and actually began to organize what they termed the Kingdom of Christ: they were headed by fanatics, and sanguinary outrages soon obliged the temporal authorities to take measures against them. After a desperate resistance, they were suppressed, and their leaders put to death.

Shortly after these events a clergyman in Friesland, named Simon Menno, espoused the theological system of the Anabaptists, and reconstructed it upon a more spiritual, a milder, and we may say a more Christian basis. He rejected the doctrine of a temporal kingdom of Christ, and in fact established its precise antithesis, the doctrine of complete passivity: he not only declared it wrong to aim at introducing the kingdom of Christ by violence, but taught that this consists in a state of suffering, that it is not only unlawful to use the sword ourselves, but that we must submit passively to the rule of the sword, and bear unresistingly all kinds of affliction and humiliation, injuries, and even death.

Simon Menno, in spite of suffering and persecution, had a numerous body of adherents, particularly in Friesland and Holland As early as 1540 and 1550 perse-

cution drove a large number of them out of these countries into Western Prussia, where they established themselves on the low grounds of the Vistula. The Kings of Poland at first issued several ordinances against them; but the Mennonites subsequently obtained some privileges. The warlike Kings of Prussia were displeased with them for the objection they had, on religious grounds, to become soldiers They were tolerated and protected, but were compelled to purchase their exemption from military service by paying a tax to the cadet-houses, and were not permitted to acquire more land than they already possessed, it being feared that, from their industry and love of order, they might acquire undue extension. Any one however who was willing to waive this religious scruple, and consent to serve in the army, was freed from all these restraints

The strict Mennonites regard agriculture as a religious duty, from which no one is exempted, unless by absolute necessity, according to the words of Scripture, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread" As the difficulty of acquiring land increased greatly, and their numbers likewise, the Mennonites determined that those among them should emigrate who could not find a suitable settlement at home. On payment of a certain tax, and petitioning the Government, they readily obtained permission to emigrate

The first emigration took place in 1783 . whither the Mennonites first directed their steps is uncertain; they probably settled in Russian Poland, where, in the vicinity of Ostroga, a Mennonite colony of two villages still exists. From thence the greater part, joined by many emigrants from West Prussia, repaired to the Dnieper, sixty versts distant from Ekaterinoslaf, where the Government

assigned to the party of emigrants, consisting of 330 families (about 1650 individuals), a tract of land of 32,648 dessetinas (137 square miles). Each family was to receive sixty-five dessetinas (175 acres), the rest of the land to be reserved for new families. The Mennonites were by no means poor; nevertheless the Government advanced the sum of 341,800 silver roubles (£54,830) for their establishment; this entire sum had been paid off in 1842, except 30,000 silver roubles.

The number of colonists inhabiting these seventeen villages in 1813 was 2446, in 1843 they numbered 6376 This rapid increase of the population in thirty years—nearly 160 per cent —is not attributable to the increase of births, but to the arrival of new colonists from West Prussia.

These seventeen villages form a joint Commune, under a common administration, the income from the communal sheep-farm, from the ferry on the Dnieper, and the rent of the brewery and distillery, constitute a revenue in common They have a Communal store, a fire-assurance company, two churches, and in every village a school The Communal House is in the village of Khortitz, the seat of the Communal Council, with its President, assisted by a colonial clerk conversant with German and Russian.

After passing several hours here, we left this Colony, to visit the new Mennonite settlements on the Malotchnaya, which are situated about eighty or ninety versts further north; toward evening we reached one of their villages, named Halbstadt, and were hospitably received by a wealthy Mennonite. The following morning (July 24th), being a Sunday, we drove early to Orlof, the seat of government, about four miles distant, and were

kindly received in a neat farmhouse. Divine service was about to commence, and we entered the church, or rather large hall of prayer: this was entirely destitute of ornament, and had no altar; there were only an elevated *estrade* for the preacher and the benches usual in churches. There was first some old Lutheran music, and then the sermon. The Mennonites have no professed preachers, but the congregation chooses one for the office, which he is obliged to accept; he receives no salary unless very poor and is obliged to relinquish any other avocation. I was the more astonished at the sermon, which was evidently not learnt by heart, nor even prepared, the preacher, in a perfectly natural manner, spoke of our bringing them greetings from their home, of our kind wish to inquire into their mode of life and condition, and our readiness to convey intelligence of them to their native country in conclusion, he invoked the Divine protection on our further travels, calling upon the congregation to join in the prayer The sermon was sensible, logical, and simple, spoken in correct and good German. How had this plain countryman, without any school-instruction, attained such pulpit eloquence, correct in language, and surpassing hundreds of educated preachers whom I have heard? It could only be the power of traditional Christianity, in which the last generation instructed the living one, even among people who otherwise reject the traditions of the Church. None of the Sects which have separated from the Church can free themselves from tradition, which is the very essence of Catholicism.

On our return home, I made the acquaintance of a man who is unquestionably one of the most interesting persons among the Germans in Russia. John Kornies,

a native of West Prussia, when quite young, went with his parents, in the beginning of the present century, to settle on the Malotchnaya; he had received no school instruction, but possessed a clear and ingenuous mind, an earnest character, an acute and practical understanding and loving heart; by his self-education he has unquestionably attained the highest degree of spiritual culture. Yet whilst by his mental superiority, his upright and tried character, he has become one of the most influential men in Southern Russia, he has remained in his family and domestic life, and his whole manner, the simple, plain, and unpretending peasant. The Emperor of Russia might at any time appoint him governor of the country, and he would be in his right place; but he will consent to be nothing but a Mennonite peasant, having promised at his baptism, "according to the duty of a Christian, not to rule, and not to wield the sword." He has no rank or order, being obliged by a religious feeling to refuse both, although better entitled to them than many who are covered with decorations in Russia. In no other country could the influence of his personal character be more manifest than in Russia, where such power is seldom found without the accompaniment of rank and orders. The noble Prince Woronzof would hardly take any step in the internal government of this district without asking the advice of John Kornies

We spent this day in inspecting all the details of the Colony, examining almost every house and farmyard, the agricultural implements, cattle, garden plants, crops, etc. The following day I drove with Herr Kornies to Akeima, a neighbouring Nogai Tatar village, and was not a little astonished to see apparently a perfectly German one on the Mennonite model. Herr Kornies had induced the

Tatars to construct their villages in this manner, assisting them in every way; a great many were already built according to his instructions, and I was informed that he had already settled thus seventeen thousand Tatars. In this village we met a deputation from a large body of Tatars, who had not yet acquired a settlement, and who came to him and said, "Thou art the father of our people, be our father also, and assist us as thou hast assisted the rest!"

The houses in this village were all built with regularity and solid structure, they had chimneys and enclosed courtyards. In front of the house-doors generally stand two poplars, with small flower-beds on each side; in the gardens I noticed a great many fruit-trees, and in the courtyard ploughs, harrows, and carts of Mennonite construction; in one corner was a large quantity of squared pieces of dung, for fuel, carefully piled up.

The master of the farmhouse, a handsome and powerful Tatar, who was the chief man in the village, received Herr Kornies with kindness and respectfully, and conducted us into the house. The arrangement was the same as in the Mennonite dwellings; although the furniture of the kitchen and dwelling-room was not so plentiful and old-fashioned as in the latter, it was not too scanty, there were tables and chairs, kettles and pails, and even a pan for making omelets. On our expressing a wish to see the women in their national costume, our host complied with the request, unbecoming as it was to a Mussulman, he went out, and returned in a quarter of an hour with his three wives arrayed in their best attire; their mouth, as with all Mahommedan women, was carefully concealed They were young, of a small and stout figure, and by no means handsome.

From hence we drove to a large farm belonging to Herr Kornies, which he had established, several thousand dessetinas in extent. The buildings were all new, and of brick; the cattle were very fine, and of the West Prussian stock, with sheep of an improved breed. This farm was superintended by the brother of Herr Kornies.

A stranger cannot fail to be struck by the cordial and brotherly feeling which prevails among the Mennonites; he will not find the ceremonious politeness of the Russian peasants, nor the kissing and embracing in which the latter indulge as soon as the brandy mounts into their heads: they are genuine German peasants, stiff and awkward in their movements, taciturn, and each the ruler of his own little kingdom, but when called upon, ready at a moment to assist and stand by one another.

Nowhere is a more complete equality observable in all that relates to religious institutions than among the Mennonites. Agriculture is with them a religious duty, and no one can be either more or less than a peasant; all trades and handicraft are subordinate, and have reference to agriculture · their ruling officers, and even their preachers, are themselves peasants. This prevailing equality is most clearly manifested in the relation between master and servant; I noticed this particularly between Herr Kornies and the servant who drove us, it appeared more like the relation of a son to his father than of a servant to his master. On my remarking this to Herr Kornies, he replied, "With us it is a rule that every one, even the son of the richest peasant, should live as a servant for a few years with one of the neighbours; service therefore with us does not constitute the occupation of a class, but is one step in life, a school; one of my younger brothers was for some time a servant

with me, and he is now my superintendent We pay our men-servants and girls very high wages—from thirty to seventy silver roubles—and keep this custom up strictly, which is found to bring us no loss. In this way even a poor man has an opportunity of accumulating a small fortune, and here, where there is plenty of fertile waste land, of establishing a small farm and becoming a peasant himself. It is by no means unusual for the daughters even of rich peasants to marry a servant of the house, however poor, provided he is worthy and industrious. My daughters may marry any one, even a servant, if she likes him and he is a good man"

Herr Kornies had only one son and daughter, the latter a pretty girl of eighteen, but as yet unbaptized, and he was said to have amassed a fortune of above a million roubles It is not however to be inferred that disparity of fortune constitutes in all cases no barrier, or that a purse-proud spirit is not found here also occasionally I heard various evils which were said to prevail among the Mennonites in the Circle of Khortitz; but these find no sympathy or response in the public opinions or the customs of the people they are exceptions, not the rule

We dined with Herr Kornies, the dinner consisted of genuine and very palatable household fare everything placed on the table, even the wine, was the produce of his own farm, the dishes and furniture were old-fashioned and substantial His wife and daughter did not dine with us, the former remained in the kitchen, and superintended the cooking, while the daughter waited upon the guests at dinner, according to the old German custom.

On the 26th of July I drove with Herr Kornies to the

other German colonies, which are mostly inhabited by Würtemberg peasants, etc. Neither the order and discipline nor the wealth and comfort which are found among the Mennonites prevail here. These colonies languished for a long period, but they have in some degree revived of late, and in some of the villages there begins to be an appearance of wealth.

I have described in this detailed manner the economical state of the Mennonite colony on the Malotchnaya, as it furnishes the strongest proofs of German industry, love of order, cultivation and morality, and likewise because its importance to Russia has not yet been sufficiently recognized. In no district of Russia is there so high a state of civilization, or of the culture of the soil. The Mennonites may serve as a model, to the Government and people, of what may be effected by industry, morality, and order; and likewise in the cultivation and particularly the planting of the Steppe and the whole of Southern Russia, which is indeed the most important point in the whole internal policy of the country. If entire Southern Russia were cultivated like this district, Moscow and St Petersburg would no longer be the sole centres of the Empire, but their privileges in this respect would be shared by Kharkof, or Ekaterinoslaf and Odessa.

On the 28th of July I bade adieu to these worthy people. Herr Kornies accompanied me as far as Terpenie, where I parted from him, and continued my journey toward the tongue of land which separates the Putrid Sea from the Sea of Azof. We travelled through the night, and reached this point on awaking in the morning.

This slip of land is about fifty miles long. In the direction of the Sea of Azof it forms a sandy down, from

twenty to sixty feet high. On the side of the Putrid Sea it extends in a flat, for the most part marshy, tract of land, terminating on the unsightly shores of this, in part, stinking sea. The isthmus is in many places not more than about a mile, in others scarcely four hundred paces, wide; and the view from the high bank, between the two Seas, whence the traveller descries at a great distance beyond the Putrid Sea the peaks of the mountains in the Crimea, is very remarkable. With the exception of two post-stations, the whole isthmus is one unbroken solitude. Once or twice we met a few camels, accompanied by Tatars on horseback: the traveller here feels himself to be on the borders of Asia.

At about eight o'clock we reached the fortress of Arabat, built by the Turks, at the very termination of the isthmus in the Crimea; it has partially fallen into decay. At the post-station in front of it we met a Jew, who spoke good German Most of the stations in Southern Russia are in the hands of Jews; they all speak German among themselves, having come hither from Poland, but sometimes hardly intelligibly.

The road now turned to the right, and continued for a long distance through a steppe country; from every eminence were seen the blue mountains of the Crimea At length we descried for the first time the Black Sea, and reached Feodosia at about eleven o'clock. Here we remained until the following evening, and then drove to Kertch, where we arrived in the morning of July 31st.

On the 1st of August I embarked on board a steamer for the coast of Mingrelia the account of my travels in the Caucasian provinces I reserve for a separate Work.*

* The Author's Work on 'Transcaucasia,' here alluded to, has since been published in London —TRANSL

I returned to Kertch and Feodosia on the 22nd of September, and shall give a connected account of these towns, after devoting a little space to some remarks on three interesting subjects, for which I had been collecting materials throughout my journey, but had received the most important part from the Mennonites, and particularly from Herr Kornies. The first of these subjects is the Colonization and Colonies of Russia; the second, on the Tumuli of Southern Russia, the Kurgani, and the monuments found upon them (Baba); and the third, on the Nogai Tatars, their manners and peculiarities.

END OF VOLUME I

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