THE

RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

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RUSSIAN EMPIRE,

ITS

PEOPLE, INSTITUTIONS, AND RESOURCES.

BY

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THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

COLONIZATION IN RUSSIA.—COSSACKS OF THE UKRAINE AND DON.—THEIR CONSTITUTION.—COLONIZATION IN SIBERIA.—PRECIOUS METALS.—POPULATION.—COLONIZATION OF FOREIGNERS IN RUSSIA.—ITS COMMENCEMENT UNDER CATHERINE II.—PROPOSAL FOR COLONIZING THE FORESTS IN THE NORTH AND STEPPES IN THE SOUTH.—DESCRIPTION OF THE STEPPES.—AGRICULTURE IN THE STEPPE.—WANT OF WATER AND WOOD.—POLITICAL POSITION AND TENDENCIES OF RUSSIA.

History offers no instance of a people displaying so constant and resolute a tendency to colonization as the Russians, from the earliest times. Proceeding from a comparatively small district, at the foot of the Valdai Mountains, they have gradually during a thousand years spread over a seventh part of the globe. When the German peoples, in the period between the second and fifth centuries, overspread the whole of Europe, their expeditions were in search of conquest; entire nations emigrated, not with a view to colonize peacefully, but to invade and conquer nations already peopled, and despoil them of their ancient landed possessions.

Colonization among the Spaniards and Portuguese also assumed the character of conquest: they went forth as

adventurers in quest of treasure, and settled colonization was a subordinate object. The English at first only established trading colonies on the coasts of the various countries they visited; and it was not until religious troubles and dissensions at home compelled large bodies of men to leave their native country, that this emigration led to the establishment of agricultural colonies, such as Pennsylvania and others, in the interior. In comparatively recent times, undoubtedly, when the most important of Great Britain's colonies, in North America, separated from the mother country, a great and extensive emigration commenced into the interior. This kind of colonization however aims more at assembling people from various parts of the globe, to cultivate a waste territory, than the spread of a people of the same race, nation, and language. This latter character and object colonization has always maintained among the Russians.

The Russian, and especially the Great Russian people, began to colonize from the earliest times, in every direction, without any inducement or encouragement on the part of the Government. Single bands of adventurers proceeded into the boundless plains of Russia, in search of advantageous spots on which to settle and establish a Commune. As soon as the colony increased, it sent forth offshoots, to form new Communes in the surrounding country, who maintained a close connection with the parent colony. In fact this was kept up, after the first bond between these mother and daughter Communes had disappeared, down to the latest times, as a popular memento of their common origin and interests. Mention of the "Mother Novgorod," the "Mother Suzdal," and the "Mother Moscow," are found in all the ancient documents. The united mother and daughter Com-

munes constituted a kind of political union, a Land, or territory. The Land of Nizhni Novgorod, the Land of Suzdal, the Land of Rostof, are still mentioned in documents of the seventeenth century. These colonies generally followed the course of the rivers: we find them as early as the twelfth century on the banks of all the rivers of modern Russia, the Volga, Don, and Dnieper in the South, and the Düna, Sukhona, and Dvina in the North. The interior of the country remained for a long period uninhabited, or was peopled by other races, or overrun by hunting tribes and nomads.

This principle of colonization is deeply rooted in the national character of the Russians: they are the most sociable people I know. The German has an extraordinary affection for his own home: the spot where he was born, the village where he passed his childhood, the wood, field, or hill on which he played, the paternal abode, the land he inherited,—are all so many ties which chain him inseverably to his native home. Not so the Russian: he has little feeling of home, but an extraordinary love of country, a deep attachment to all his kinsfolk and fellow-countrymen. It is not the village where he was born, nor the field which he cultivated in the sweat of his brow, that has the strongest hold on his affections, but his countrymen, his neighbours, and relatives; when in the midst of these, he is happy and contented, however far distant from his home.

This trait of character explains the facility with which colonies have been formed in Russia. In the earliest times of its history, we find isolated settlements spread over nearly the entire country, those boundless plains stretching from the Arctic Ocean to the Caspian, from the Ural Mountains to Hungary. These colonists settled

peaceably among other races, Fins and Scythians, but not in separate families, like the Germans, mingling and amalgamating with foreign peoples, but in closely associated Communes, maintaining their nationality inviolate, whilst they kept up an intimate connection with the rest of the powerful people of the Russians.

This spirit of nationality in the Russians was so strong and invincible, that it gradually supplanted that of the original inhabitants, and completely Russianized them. We observe this even at the present day: the remains of the Finnish races, the Carelians, Ingrians, and Mordvins, are voluntarily becoming more and more Russian, without any external constraint being exercised upon them; and even the most stubborn races, like the Syranes and Tcheremiss, will doubtless eventually share the same fate. The Tatars themselves, when they join the Russian Church, as many noble families among them have done, become perfectly Russianized. Historical investigation abundantly proves that the original inhabitants of those countries were not expelled or destroyed by the Russians, but have gradually intermingled with them, and adopted their language and manners, and thus their nationality has been merged and disappeared in that of the Russians.

The Great Russians, as their whole *habitus* shows, are not an unmixed race, but essentially of Slavonic origin, and have become mingled in the north with Tchudish (Finnish), and in the south with Tatar, Caucasian, and even Mongol races; and it is this very circumstance indeed which gives them that union of qualities, that happy mixture of character, which qualifies them to become a great people.

During the Middle Ages, when the dominion of the Tatars diverted its course from the south, colonization

in Russia proceeded from Novgorod as a centre principally toward the north and north-east, the ancient Biarmaland (Perm). During the last two centuries however it has been directed southward, and has advanced so extensively, that the Steppes, which formerly stretched as far as Tula and Penza, are already more than half cultivated, although possessing in some parts but a scanty population.

The chief part of this colonization radiating from the centre or heart of the country, formerly took place spontaneously: the natural instincts of the people, and the interests of the landowners, developed and extended it, the Government merely granting its permission, and occasionally indicating the direction to be followed, or the district to be peopled, but never organizing or conducting the movement upon a general plan. Previous to the time of Peter I. the Government was not so constituted as to admit of any great administrative interference in this direction; and it was only in a portion of the Cossack settlements that the Government took any active part, at least with regard to the course to be pursued and the selection of territory. Since the time of Peter I. however the Government has itself organized colonies in districts where none previously existed, on the shores of the Black Sea, the Caucasian Line, etc.

Peter I. began to make grants of land, and even of extensive districts, in the newly acquired but unoccupied southern and south-eastern countries, to the grandees of his Court, with a view to obtain the cultivation of this country by their dependants. The same course was pursued to a still greater extent by the succeeding Government, and under Catherine II. indeed in so extravagant a manner as to give rise to great embarrassments. The

Otchet, or *Compte-rendu* of the Minister of the Interior, in 1803,* declares plainly, and complains, that the object of these grants, the cultivation and peopling of the country, was too often lost sight of, that in New Russia the Crown had given away so much territory, that the Government had frequently not sufficient for the colonies it projected and other needful purposes. The land of the greatest fertility, granted in former times to private individuals, remained for many years waste and unoccupied, although the grant of it had been expressly made for the purpose of its being colonized and cultivated. These grants were in consequence very much restricted under the Emperor Alexander, and have now, I believe, almost entirely ceased.

Whilst the Government has for the most part relinquished all control over this great system of colonization, which has silently and uninterruptedly been proceeding for two centuries from the interior toward the outlying districts, only occasionally interfering to check the more prominent difficulties and embarrassments that arose, it has on the other hand bestowed the greatest attention upon some other kinds of colonization, such as the Cossack and Siberian Colonies, and those of immigrant foreigners.

The Cossack Colonization.

The history of the Cossacks presents one of the most interesting phenomena in the whole Slavonic race, constituting in some manner a modern democratic chivalry. I intend to devote a Work specially to this subject, and mention it here only insofar as it is connected with the subject of colonization.

* See Storch's 'Russia under Alexander I.,' vol. vi. p. 35.

The origin of the name, as well as the constitution, of the Cossacks is very obscure; they probably first appeared among the Little Russians. Between Russia and Poland were extensive desert tracts, through which flowed the Dnieper. Here, it appears, were first formed robber-bands, who went forth on all three sides, in quest of plunder, against the Poles, Muscovites, and Crimean Tatars. Their numbers were soon increased by the accession of Little Russians, who felt themselves oppressed under the Polish rule with regard to taxation, service, and religion: they opposed the union of their Church with Rome. The numbers of these predatory bands swelled until they formed a people, and their territory became the border country, the Ukraine. They adopted an extremely free constitution, although they continued outwardly to acknowledge the King of Poland as their sovereign lord. Their active warlike spirit and well-regulated constitution made them become an outpost of Christendom against the Tatars and Turks. They gradually fell off from Poland, and were drawn by religious sympathy toward Moscow. Peter I. effected their complete union with Russia,—a union however which was only consolidated when Catherine II. subjected the whole of Little Russia to her sceptre.

The settlement of the Cossacks in the Ukraine took place quite independently of the direction of any Government, Polish or Russian, and their constitution was founded and developed in the same independent manner: settlements were formed chiefly on the banks of the rivers, particularly the Dnieper, in the islands of which arose the celebrated Republic of the Zaporogian Cossacks.

I have said that these Cossacks of the Ukraine were

the advanced bulwark of Christendom against the Turks and Tatars; but under Catherine II. their political position was quite changed. The Turks had been entirely humbled, and the wars against them were thenceforth to be fought upon Turkish ground, the Tatars of the Crimea having also been completely subjected to the Russian sceptre.

The military constitution of the Cossacks now became unnecessary: their territory was no longer a border-country; but the independent spirit of the Cossacks, their warlike constitution, the geographical position of their country (at that time not very distant from the Polish, Austrian, and Turkish frontiers), the great power and independent position of their Ataman (Hetman), who could at any moment assemble a force of 100,000 men, all conspired to render their political position too exceptional and dangerous for a monarchical state like Russia to tolerate. Catherine II. therefore took advantage of the occurrence of difficulties and disorders arising among them, and in 1775 abolished the entire military and political constitution, and placed them on a level with the rest of the Empire, but allowing them to retain their property, their communal and agricultural institutions, and also the most important of their material privileges. Their last Ataman, Cyril Razumovsky, resigned his marshal's baton. A part of the renowned Zaporogian Setcha was transferred in 1792, under Potemkin's leadership, to the Caucasian frontier, and settled on the Kuban; but another part were so embittered by the dissolution of the Setcha that they revolted, and went over to the Turks, begging the Sultan to grant them a settlement. They were established first on the banks of the Danube, and in 1803 on the shores of the Black Sea, at the mouth

of that river. But in 1828 they refused to fight against their countrymen, the Russians, and besought the Emperor to allow them to return. He ordered a district to be assigned them, near their former brethren, on the Sea of Azof, where they settled, and where they man a flotilla of oared boats, in many respects resembling the Tchernomorski Cossacks, who are likewise known as skilful boatmen. The Cossacks of the Sea of Azof are the best seamen of Southern Russia; they have thirty armed shallops, which are principally used in blockading the coast of the Caucasus: they properly belong to the navy.

The remnant of these Zaporogian Cossacks is said to number about 170,000 heads, who furnish 30,000 troops, regularly organized, forming twelve cavalry and nine infantry regiments, together with three light batteries of horse-artillery, one-third of which serve as a cordon against the Mountaineers of the western Caucasus. By an ukase of 1842 all the Little Russian Cossacks on the Kuban and the Black Sea were similarly organized with the Cossacks of the Don.

About the same time, or not long afterwards, the Cossacks of the Don appeared upon the scene: these however do not belong to the Little Russian, but to the Great Russian race. Emigrants from the neighbourhood of Novgorod are said to have been the first settlers on the Don, with whom were mingled Tatars, natives of the district, prisoners of war, and fugitives. They were afterwards joined by some Little Russians, and numerous Russian serfs who had escaped from their masters. We find among them the same constitution as among the Little Russian Cossacks, and it is doubtful whether they borrowed this one of another, or received it from an

earlier race of Tatar Cossacks. They certainly did not receive it from the Grand Duke of Muscovy, or any other prince. In the beginning moreover they were in no degree dependent upon the former sovereign, but attacked and plundered the Russian as well as the Tatar and even Persian districts, carrying on their robberies chiefly on the Volga, the Don, the Sea of Azof, and the Caspian. They were at that time so little subject to the Grand Duke of Muscovy, that the latter, on complaint being made of them by the Tatar and Persian princes, in 1549, replied that they might themselves put a check upon this pack of robbers, who were no subjects of his. The Czar Ivan Vasilievitch carried on a bloody war against them.

From these two oldest Cossack settlements have sprung all the other existing Cossack colonies. We have mentioned above the fate of the Little Russian Cossacks, and the entire abolition of their constitution.

In the earliest times Cossacks of the Volga sprang from the Cossacks of the Don. In 1577, when Ivan Vasilievitch proceeded to chastise these races for their robberies, one part of them fled, and settled on the river Ural, or Yaik; another portion penetrated, under their leader Yermak, into Siberia, which they conquered in 1581. The latter afterwards made peace with the Czar, and relinquished their conquest to him. Their descendants became the nucleus of the Siberian Cossacks, who have been settled, as a guard against the Kirghiz, Zamoric Kalmuks, etc., on a line 1560 miles in extent, divided into three parts, the Lines of the Ishim, the Irtish, and Kolivan. The head-quarters of their staff is at Tomsk. They are a mixed race, formed of the old Yermak Cossacks and the Tatars, Bashkirs, Kirghiz, and Kal-

muk prisoners of war. In 1797 two thousand Russian soldiers' children were settled among them. In 1812 a number of Polish prisoners were sent to join them, who were so well satisfied that they settled there; and when, in 1814, they received permission to return to their native country, they preferred to remain. They amount probably to 50,000, of whom 8700 men, formed into ten regiments, are constantly in service. They are well off, and pursue agriculture, cattle-breeding, hunting, bee-keeping, and fishing on an extensive scale The Chinese have relinquished to them Lake Nor-sai-san, the fishing of which alone is equal in value to 30,000 roubles a year. Their military service however, which consists in protecting the frontier, is very severe; two thousand men are obliged to be at the various outposts. The Government has organized a part of the Bashkirs, Buriats (one regiment), and Tunguses (four regiments), precisely in the same manner as the Cossacks. Since the completion of this vast organization, the frontiers have been perfectly secure.

Whilst the Cossacks of the Ukraine, the Don, Orenburg, and Ural, formed their settlements without any co-operation or direction from the Government, framing and organizing their own constitution, the Government on the other hand settled and organized the Siberian Cossacks partially, and those occupying the district between the Caspian and Black Sea on the Caucasian Line entirely. Little Russian Cossacks are settled on the western side of the river Kuban, but those on the eastern side toward the Caspian on the river Terek are Great Russians, offshoots of the Cossacks of the Don, and called Grebenski, Mozdoski Cossacks, etc.: they number about 120,000 souls, and furnish seventeen cavalry regiments,

together with a brigade of horse-artillery of three batteries,—in all sixteen thousand effective troops.

The Government has not given to these peoples any new constitution, but has simply retained the ancient popular one, as it existed among the Cossacks of the Ukraine and the Don. The civil constitution of all the Cossacks is founded upon the Russian communal institutions, and this the Government has left intact; at the same time the latter has granted as a privilege, that no Russian noble, not even the Crown, should own land in the Cossack territory. The Crown has only the right of constructing roads, canals, and fortifications. The military constitution likewise has in its main features and principles remained the same as from the first, as it grew up among the people themselves. But the great independence of the Ataman (Hetman), and the Supreme Council of the Cossacks which assisted him, appeared dangerous to a monarchical State, and has consequently been subjected to the control and direction of the Government. Whether the modern military discipline, newly introduced, may not threaten to alter the character of the popular institutions, may be a question. The constitution granted to the Don Cossacks in 1775 forms the basis of all the rest.

The country of the Don Cossacks contains from 600,000 to 700,000 inhabitants. In case of necessity, every Cossack, from fifteen to sixty years of age, is bound to render military service. The usual regular military force, however, consists of fifty-four cavalry regiments, each numbering 1044 men, making a total of 56,376.

The Cossacks are reckoned in round numbers as follows:—

	Heads.	*In Military Service.*
On the Black Sea	125,000	18,000
Great Russian Cossacks on the Caucasian Line	150,000	18,000
Don Cossacks	440,000	66,000
Ural Cossacks	50,000	8,000
Orenburg Cossacks	60,000	10,000
Siberian Cossacks* . . .	50,000	9,000
Total . . .	875,000	129,000

These numbers give some idea of the importance of the Cossacks, although they are not altogether to be relied on; they are probably under the actual number. What other State possesses a light cavalry force of 130,000 well-armed, warlike, and well-disciplined troops?

The Cossacks are a race of free men; neither serfage nor any other dependence upon the land exists among them. The entire territory belongs to the Cossack Commune, and every individual has an equal right to the use of the land, together with the pastures, hunting-grounds, fisheries, etc. The Cossacks pay no taxes to the Government, but in lieu of this they are bound to perform military service. They are divided into three classes:—first, minors (Maloletniye) up to their sixteenth year; second, those on actual service (Sluzhiliye) for a period of twenty-five years, therefore until their forty-second year; third, those released from service (Otstavniye), who remain for five years, or until their forty-seventh year, in the Reserve; after that period they are regarded as wholly released from service and invalided.

Every Cossack is obliged to equip, clothe, and arm himself at his own expense, and to keep his horse. Whilst

* On the Orenburg and Siberian Line, beside the Russian Cossacks, there are likewise the Bashkir and Meshtcherski Cossacks, who, according to Köppen, amount to 212,300 male souls (1838).

on service beyond the frontier of his own country, he receives rations of food and forage, a small amount of pay, and fifteen roubles for a baggage-horse. The artillery ammunition and train are at the charge of the Government.

With a view to facilitate the sale of their produce, a trading Company, consisting of five hundred persons, was established among the Don Cossacks in 1834. Every one joining it is freed from military service, but must pay two hundred roubles to the military chest.

Instead of imposing taxes on the Don Cossacks, the Crown pays to their Government a sum of 21,310 roubles, 20,000 roubles for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in battle, and, in lieu of ten thousand tchetverts of corn, 30,000 roubles, together with 247 poods of gunpowder and 150 poods of lead.

The Siberian Colonization.

Not being able to speak of this branch of colonization from personal observation, nor possessing detailed information respecting it, I shall here give some accounts which were communicated to me, and which I have collected from different sources.

Siberia is a country—or rather one division of the globe—which holds out the promise of a gigantic and incalculable future destiny. When such an assertion is made of the States of North America, it is readily accepted and believed as an indisputable truth. Few persons however would anticipate the same future for Siberia. The very mention of Siberia raises a general feeling of horror: and yet this country, in the great social relations of the world, is not less important than America. No circumstances will exercise a more important influence

upon the destinies of Europe, than its future relations to the great empires and countries of Central Asia, situated between Asia Minor and China. Europe seeks in two directions a key with which to open up these countries. One is held in the East Indies by the English, who have for a long period displayed vast energy in advancing toward Bokhara and Tibet; at the same time that with their right arm they seek to open China, and with their left Persia, by the aid of their fleets. The other key is held by Russia,—this is Siberia. Hitherto but a small beginning has been made to open India from this side. Russia is still too much occupied with her relations to Western Europe, and her internal consolidation, to seek to exercise any great influence on the interior of Asia; still the growth of her industrial and commercial system has recently turned her attention in that direction, and she is beginning to meet England in the markets of Persia on the side of the Caucasus, and in Bokhara and China on that of Siberia.

Russia however, as I have said, is too much occupied in other directions, to be likely for a long period to turn her chief attention to the side of Asia, and the development of the importance of Siberia on a great scale; nevertheless there is one event, the effects of which, if I am not mistaken, will necessarily render Siberia ere very long one of the first objects of attention, not only to Russia, but to the whole civilized world. This is the recent discovery of the enormous quantity of gold in that country. The tales which Herodotus has handed down, of the giants who guard the vast treasures of gold, prove to be no fables; they are a prophecy, which is now in the course of fulfilment, and their very site is accurately indicated by Herodotus as lying in the north-east. But

has not the Slavonic race, from time immemorial, borne in their national arms the symbol of a giant?

The aborigines of this country, the ancient Tchudes, in their time worked gold in Siberia: their mines are still found in every direction. These were abandoned, until the Russians conquered the country, when they were again worked, especially under Peter I. He chiefly employed Swedish prisoners in re-opening the mines, and since that time the latter have been systematically worked, particularly in the Ural and some other districts, as for instance in Nertchinsk.

The entire quantity of gold found in the mines of Siberia and the Ural amounted in 1745 to above sixteen poods (576 pounds). This quantity however is insignificant, compared with what has been found in recent times by gold-washing. In 1830 the Ural yielded 350 poods. Beside the gold discovered in the Ural, private adventurers, who went in great numbers to all parts of Siberia, found it on nearly all the eastern slopes of the range of mountains as far as Kamtchatka, and established gold-washings there. The Government followed their example, but only to a limited extent. In 1828 a small quantity of twenty-five pounds was found; but in the space of four years thirty times that amount was obtained.

In 1843, according to the official statements, there were found the following quantities:—in the Ural, in the Crown works 140 poods, and in private washings 199 poods;—in Siberia, in the Crown works 78 poods, and in private washings 925 poods, or a total of 1342 poods of gold. The quantity which, according to the official accounts, was found in Russia from 1814 to 1842 amounted to more than twenty-five million Friedrichs

d'Or! The yield of gold in 1846 amounted to 1722 poods.*

The actual amount obtained is much larger. Not all the gold found by private adventurers is stated; it would be impossible in Siberia to check this amount. Private individuals, on application, receive districts for the establishment of gold-washings, and are obliged to pay a tax to the Crown, amounting in some places to fifteen, in others to twenty and even twenty-four per cent. on the gross earnings. In 1843 the Crown received about 176 poods, of the value of two million silver roubles, in taxes from private persons. It is however more than probable that many frauds take place in these private washings, and that a large quantity of gold is concealed; added to this, numbers of adventurers are wandering about the deserts of Siberia, in search of gold, without the cognizance of the Government. According to a statement shown me, about two thousand poods of gold were found in 1842 in the Russian Empire, amounting in value to more than thirty million thalers (£4,313,000).

At the present time the quantity of gold found annually in Siberia is double that obtained from all the other mines and gold-washings in the world united.† But beside gold, all the other metals are likewise found in large quantities. The yield of platina in the Ural, which in 1824 was scarcely two poods, amounted in 1838 to nearly 122 poods, an increase of sixty-one fold; the yield of platina is now four or five times as great as that of all the other countries in the world. The produce of silver is also unusually great. Count Demidof is said to

* See the Augsburg 'Allgemeine Zeitung' of February 18, 1847.

† The reader will remember that these accounts were written before the great influx of gold from America and Australia.—TRANSL.

possess a mountain of pure malachite, the copper of which is calculated at a fabulous value.

This enormous yield of the precious metals, particularly of gold, if it increases, which is scarcely doubtful, must exercise an immense influence upon all the relations of the Russian Empire, indeed of the whole world,—an effect unquestionably as great as in former times the opening of the mineral wealth of America.

The Russian Government does not interfere with these adventurous gold-seekers: it has not a sufficient number of educated public servants, together with miners and labourers, to enable it to take the enterprise on a great scale into its own hands: the largest number of officials whom it would be possible to obtain could not trace out and discover the innumerable river-beds and mountain-ravines which contain gold, so rapidly as these greedy adventurers. As soon however as the latter discover the sites which contain gold, the Government immediately becomes acquainted with them. It receives from the tax imposed upon the diggers a clear revenue, without much trouble or deduction; whilst the amount of gold obtained, even by private persons, augments the national wealth.

Siberia contains 4,500,000 square miles, being about twenty times the size of France. Whilst the northern parts of it are situated further north than any part of Europe, the southern portion lies in nearly the same latitude as Bordeaux and Venice; about one-fourth part of the country consequently is comprised in the Temperate Zone. It is however a well-known fact, that the further east we go, the ruder is the climate, and the greater the extremes of heat and cold, although in the same latitude; thus in the southern part of Siberia a cold of 55° to 65° below freezing is not unusual, although through-

out the country the heat in summer often rises to 70° or 80° (Fahr.).

The entire northern coast of Siberia, extending along the shores of the Arctic Ocean for nearly four thousand miles in length, and 130 to 450 miles in breadth, is, as far as we know, a swamp, overgrown with moss and lichens, upon which neither man nor beast could set foot in summer, did not the ground remain perpetually frozen to a depth of several hundred feet, whilst in summer it thaws a little more than a foot deep. These districts are named *Tundras*, a Finnish word, it is said, adopted by the Russians. The isolated dry Tundras are always covered with lichens, and the wet ones with moss. Wahlenberg maintains that the dry lichen-soil is so much heated in summer, that the feet can hardly bear to tread upon it.

Next follows a broad zone, covered only with underwood and dwarf trees. Immense forests succeed to this, which, on the banks of the rivers, are everywhere occupied by settlers, who grow corn, which ripens up to 60° of latitude. At last come vast plains, partly steppe, and partly of fine *humus* soil, which has been deposited at the foot of the gigantic Altai Mountains. This long zone, extending from the Ural to Kamtchatka, situated entirely within the Temperate Zone, the most part very fertile, and 900,000 or 1,000,000 square miles in extent, is quite capable of becoming a well-cultivated and populous country. It is already inhabited by Russians in every direction, although in small numbers.

Western Siberia, as far as is known, is an immense, undulating plain, 1,200,000 square miles in extent, situated between the Polar Sea, the Yenisei, the Altai, and the Ural. In the extreme northern part alone there are

some mountain-chains, of which little is known. Eastern Siberia, in its northern division, has several mountain-chains, which generally extend from north to south, but little is known of these also.

This immense country has more rivers than any other part of the globe; Müller calls them the most colossal group of rivers in the world; four gigantic streams, rising at nearly the same point on the central group of the Altai Mountains, flow at a distance from each other, in the central part of their course, of 2000 to 2500 miles, and at their embouchures on the coasts of the Arctic Ocean again approach to within a distance at the utmost of 1300 miles. In their progress from their sources to the great Polar low grounds of Asia, they receive vast numbers of tributary rivers; the Obi for instance, and its confluent the Irtish, in their course of 2200 miles, receive into them rivers which drain a territory about 1,300,000 square miles in extent. This is the most important of all these fluvial systems.

It is chiefly in these districts, although they are also found throughout Southern Siberia, that traces exist of a large population at a remote period: innumerable tombs, ruins, and remains of ancient cities and fortresses cover the country, the greater part of them belonging to peoples respecting whom history is silent, and quite alien and unintelligible to the races inhabiting the country at the present day. These early peoples must have possessed a certain amount of cultivation, for throughout Siberia, in opening new mines, traces are found of former mining operations long forgotten and abandoned. The present inhabitants name these aborigines of Siberia, Tchudi, Tchudski, Tchudaki, but to what races these names apply cannot be discovered.

When the Russians conquered Siberia they found in it the following races: 1. In the north of Western Siberia dwelt Samoyed and Finnish tribes (Voguls and Ostiaks). 2. To the eastward, near them, were peoples of unknown origin and family; many of these, such as the settled Tchuktches, belong to the North American race, particularly the Esquimaux. Nearly all these tribes, which are not numerous, are migratory hunters and fishers, and are lost in the immense desert wildernesses. They acknowledge their allegiance to the Russian Government by paying a tribute in skins and furs (*yasak*). All these tribes are addicted to the Shamanist or Magian form of religion. 3. The south of Eastern Siberia is inhabited for the most part by only nomadic Mongol races, the Tunguses and Buriats; further westward, and in the most southern part of Western Siberia, mingled with Tatars, are found Kirghiz, Kalmuks, etc. professing Lamanism. 4. Lastly, in Western Siberia we find Turco-Tatar races, Tatars, and Bokharians, all Mohammedans. Of all these peoples, the Tatars alone had a national organization, with Khanates, and under hereditary princes.

Previous to the sixteenth century, when Siberia was conquered by the Cossacks, little was known of that country in Russia. Since that period it has been gradually peopled and colonized by Russians, as far as Kamtchatka; and an emigration has taken place in an opposite direction to all former ones, which had invariably proceeded from east to west,—now, on the contrary, from west to east. There is another marked contrast between the early and recent migrations: whilst the former were impetuous expeditions of conquest, devastating, laying waste, and leaving slight traces behind them but those of

destruction, their object not being to settle permanently upon the country, but to use it merely as a station on the route to further conquests,—recent migrations, on the contrary, have advanced slowly but surely, preserving, instead of destroying, what they found established, settling peaceably upon the land, and spreading Christianity and civilization around. This mode of peaceable conquest, by colonization, has now become established: in all the habitable districts of this vast Empire are found Russian settlers, forming indeed as yet only isolated communities, but gradually extending.

The conquering Cossacks were the first settlers; their descendants have increased greatly in numbers, both among themselves and from immigration. They are scattered in every direction, but form a chief guard on the frontier against predatory incursions; it is long since Siberia has had cause to fear any aggressive war. They perform excellent service, in return for which they have great privileges, and constitute a kind of inferior nobility.

A number of the Crown peasants afterwards settled by degrees in this country, together with many Starovertzi and other Raskolniks, who felt themselves oppressed at home. As late even as the year 1803, an entire village of 102 families, named Petrovsk, in the Caucasian Government, requested permission to emigrate at their own cost to the Government of Irkutsk, on the frontiers of China.

In all her wars Russia has transported a large number of her prisoners to Siberia; thus, after the battle of Poltava, Peter I. sent thither nine thousand Swedes. If the war lasted many years, these prisoners began to colonize, and every facility was given them; a large number

never returned to their homes, preferring to remain in their adopted ones.

The most important feature however in the colonization of Siberia is the settlement of convicts and exiles from Russia. I have not learnt who first conceived the idea of this kind of settlement, or when it commenced;* it sprang up, I believe, without any pre-arranged plan or system, and was gradually regulated as emergencies arose:† it is at present completely and judiciously organized.

I visited in Moscow the prisons on the Sparrow Hills, whence the convicts are sent to Siberia. I can only confirm what Cottrell has said respecting the mildness of their treatment: their food is good, the prisons are lofty, airy, and in winter warm. The chains they carry on their hands and feet during their march are only four pounds' weight; they generally prefer being chained by one foot to the foot of another convict. They journey from eight to twelve miles a day, and the stations are well arranged, as I have already described from my own observation. The convicts condemned to banishment in

* The banishment of offenders to remote and desert countries began at an early period in Russia. Ivan Vasilievitch banished courtiers, boyars, priests, etc. for the most part to Vologda. Then Perm and Viatka became the chief places of exile, and also the Ukraine, as we have seen above. Falk, in his Travels (p. 278), states that the Ukraine Knyaz Zamoilof was the first banished to Tobolsk, in Siberia, in 1688: thirty copeks a day were given him for his maintenance. This kind of banishment was decreed by the personal fiat of the Czar himself, and it still frequently occurs in the case of courtiers, nobles, and officials. It is different with persons who have been condemned by the Courts to exile in Siberia; this probably commenced when the Empress Elizabeth almost entirely abolished punishment by death, between 1751 and 1753.

† The decrees referring to this subject of August 15, 1845, are indicative of great care and beneficence.

Siberia assemble in Moscow, from twenty-six Governments, and a band of them set out twice every week for their destination.

I have before me an official list, printed for the Ministries in the statistical tables which I have before frequently cited, of the numbers of convicts banished to Siberia from 1823 to 1832; from this I give the following particulars: the statements comprise forty-eight European, and two Caucasian Governments. The entire number of exiles to Siberia in these ten years amounted to 72,904 men, and 10,795 women,—in all, 83,699, or on an average about 8000 yearly; but, as the women are allowed to follow their husbands, and husbands their wives, into exile, children even on certain conditions being permitted to accompany them, the average number might be taken at 10,000 a year. The mortality which occurs upon the journey is inevitably very considerable, and many also die before they can become acclimatized and used to the new mode of life: at least one-third of the number may be reckoned as the loss, during the two years' march and the first period of residence in the new country. The actual annual increase therefore in the population of Siberia may be said to amount to 8000 individuals,—probably in the proportion of 6000 men and 2000 women.

The Government has granted the right to the master of removing the serfs from his estate, "for audacious crimes and intolerable conduct," and of delivering them up to the Government for banishment to Siberia; no judicial sentence is required for this purpose, but the master's belief of the commission of the offence imputed is sufficient. The exercise of this arbitrary power however is impeded by such a number of formalities, condi-

tions, expense, and loss of property, that it is seldom practised; the serf must make himself very obnoxious before his master decides upon taking a step so contrary to his real interests.

The serf of a severe master generally regards it rather as a benefit, than a punishment, to be sent to Siberia. Many of the convicts, as I know by personal observation, have turned vagabonds, or committed some slight offence, such as a petty theft, and then taken pains to be apprehended, that they might have the good fortune to be sent to Siberia. In the case just mentioned, the serf has the right of taking his wife and infant children with him;* as soon as they set foot in Siberia, they become free people, and, if industrious, may grow rich in a few years.

That the fact is as I have stated, is evident from the small number of this class of convicts. When it is known that, out of the twenty-four millions of serfs in Russia (which may be taken as their number) only ninety-five men and thirty-three women are annually banished to Siberia by the landowners, the privilege will not be regarded as very dangerous or important; but of course I cannot admit the justice of the law.

The convicts, on arriving in Siberia, are distributed into different districts: the majority are now sent to Eastern Siberia, as the best parts of Western Siberia are already pretty well cultivated. As soon as they cross the frontier of Siberia, they leave behind them all connection with their previous lives, and cease to be regarded as criminals; they are called by the people, in the official language of the authorities, simply *Nestchastniye liudi*, "unfortunate people." They are divided into three

* Russian Code (*Svod*), chap. vi. § 934.

classes:—1. *Katorzhniki*, or great offenders, who are condemned to hard labour, partly in the mines, for life, or for an indeterminate period. 2. *Soslanniye na rabotu*, or convicts condemned to labour for a time before they are settled on the land. 3. *Soslanniye na poselenie*, convicts who are immediately settled on the land; to this class belong vagabonds and others who are sent by the village authorities and the landowners.

The first of these classes, the worst criminals, are considered morally dead, and are sent to the mines of Nertchinsk; their fate was formerly very wretched; on their arrival they were instantly sent down the mines to work, and never again saw the light of day, their subsistence being provided in these underground prisons! At the present time they have to work only eight hours in the mines, being allowed to spend the rest of their time, with the whole of Sunday and holidays, in their own dwellings aboveground. Many of them are followed by their families, and the severity of their punishment is thus considerably mitigated. These criminals must not however be confounded with the class of miners, properly so called: the latter are peasants, settled as colonists in villages near the mines, who work in them for wages.

The second class of convicts are employed by the Government on public works, particularly in the salt-works, limekilns, etc. They receive (at least this was the case in 1804) thirty-six silver roubles a year for their maintenance; but as they require scarcely the half of this money (from the great cheapness of provisions), the surplus is laid by for them; after working for four or six years, if they have conducted themselves well, they are settled upon the land, which is given to them, together

with wood for building; they are however obliged to build houses for themselves. The small capital which has been accumulated is then expended in providing furniture and stock, in which they likewise receive some assistance, such as seed-corn and provisions for the first year.

The third class is exclusively destined for immediate settlement upon the land; they are partly established in the existing villages, and partly in villages built expressly for them. Each receives a house for himself, land, meadows, and wood in the Russian communal proportion, one horse, one cow, two sheep, a plough, harrow, cart, sickle, axe, etc.; and, for seed-corn, nine poods of rye, one pood of barley, one of oats, one of hemp-seed, three years' provisions of a soldier, and one silver copek a day for himself, and, if he has a wife and children, one silver copek for each person For the first three years too he is free of taxes, but after that time he pays the usual Crown taxes. The plan of the villages is prescribed, and is perfectly regular, as is also that of each house. All the colonists, both of the second and third classes, are *glebæ adscripti*; they cannot quit their village without permission for a single night, or change their occupation, and the like. Each new village has a soldier (generally a Cossack) placed over it as the superintendent: he maintains order, exercises the police functions, and decides all petty disputes,—generally with the stick! If actual offences are committed, he arrests the culprits, and sends them to the authorities. This military government however ceases in the succeeding generation, and gives place to the usual Russian administration by an elective Starosta. The experience of a century has proved, that a large proportion of these new colonists very soon become

peaceable, industrious, and orderly people; the second generation of them is well off, and frequently wealthy.

All these colonies are flourishing, and there is a large amount of industry in them. Settlers from all the various districts of Russia assemble here, every one bringing with him the improved methods in agriculture and handicraft which he has learned at home. Thus knowledge is equalized, and there is here much less clinging to old customs than in Russia Proper. Here also all the varieties of national manners and dialects are melted into one, and a new and marked dialect (the Siberian) has been permanently formed. All travellers agree that much industry and worth prevail here, with more general intelligence than in Russia Proper. The morals of the people, notwithstanding their descent from convicts, are simple and correct, marked by strict honesty, and nowhere can a person travel with greater security; in none of the houses is there a lock.* If a wooden bolt is drawn before the door, or a pin is placed upon it, this is considered a sign that the master of the house is not at home, and the dwelling is then closed to every one.

Of late, unhappily, this simplicity of manners and upright character have received a blow from the mania for gold-digging, which is increasing daily. A part of the colonists have begun to give way to this lamentable allurement, and have quitted their solid and honest occupation of ploughmen, in search of the deceitful and unsubstantial acquisition of gold. A large number of the newly arrived convicts (19,000, it was said, in the

* With the exception of those places where the worst criminals are settled, Yakutsk for instance; they are treated too mildly, and allowed too much liberty in going about. (Cottrell, vol. ii p. 53.) Of late some improvement is said to have taken place in this respect.

year 1844), instead of settling as respectable colonists, were seduced by the roving speculators, and attracted to the gold-washings by the immense momentary returns. The direct consequence has been a rapid increase of demoralization.

The entire population of Siberia was reckoned in the year 1838 at 2,656,300 persons, of whom only 886,000 belonged to the 3,250,000 square miles of Eastern Siberia. The whole population consists of 2,198,000 Russians, who are either settled or intended for settlement, and 79,000 resident Tatars, Bokharians, etc., whom the Russians found in the country when they conquered it. The hunting tribes, wandering up and down in the north and north-east, amount to about 95,000 individuals, and the nomadic tribes to 276,000. In the whole country of Siberia there are forty-five towns, containing altogether 143,740 inhabitants.

Those only are called exiles in Siberia who have themselves been sent out of Russia. They remain for life under the supervision of the police, which is severe or mild according as they conduct themselves; their children are not regarded as exiles, and enjoy all the rights of Siberian settlers. There are always from 100,000 to 150,000 exiles.

The soil in the settled part of Siberia is universally good, and in some places extremely fertile. A great part of it is a continuation of the so-called black soil, which we first found in the centre of Russia, and which stretches in a zone of greater or less extent from the Carpathians to the Southern Ocean. The ordinary soil of Siberia yields a return of six to ten times the seed; but particularly fertile districts, such as the southern parts of the Government of Tomsk, yield from fifteen to twenty;

nay, the country near Nertchinsk produces sometimes sixty times the seed. The cultivation of the ground requires very little trouble or care, a small one-horsed plough in most districts hardly scratching the ground; but this is sufficient to procure the most splendid crops; on the best soils no manure can be used. The products which are cultivated are summer-wheat in great quantities, rye, barley, oats, peas, poppies, hemp, and flax. In the northern districts the growth of the crops during the short but hot summer, is remarkably rapid; it is counted by days, as elsewhere by weeks. As the sun in the height of summer hardly ever leaves the horizon, the air and soil do not become cold during the night.

The Siberian Russian is strongly built and of middle size. In the northern districts the type of the Great Russian features is seen everywhere; the people are generally fair-haired and blue-eyed. In the south a strong admixture of Asiatic blood is perceptible,—black hair, small black eyes, prominent cheekbones, and a deep, strong voice. They are of a warm-blooded temperament, and lively in all their movements. The Siberian peasant is always seen armed,—even when ploughing, his gun is slung on his shoulder; he is passionately fond of hunting, and an excellent shot. The women are not pretty, but strongly made; they are extremely industrious, and not only manage the household affairs, but often plough, sow, and reap, when the men are earning a livelihood as drivers. They adhere to the old-fashioned dress, but display in this great extravagance.

Superstition is said to prevail largely among the Siberian Russians, but also much poetry. They have many songs and legends, but as yet no one has made a collec-

tion of these; a great part they brought along with them from their Russian homes, but there is also much native poetry among the people.

The race of Tatars who inhabited the centre and south of Western Siberia before the Russians appeared, are still found there, although in small numbers. The Siberian Tatars are for the most part settled upon the land, and pay the same small taxes as the Crown peasants in that quarter: a few of them are nomads, and pay no taxes; others are organized as Cossacks, performing the same service and enjoying the same privileges as the latter.

These Tatars adhere to their religion and ancient manners, but they have borrowed much from the Russians in their mode of living, and nearly all speak Russian. They are industrious, economical, sober, and generally well off; they have good schools in their villages, and any father of a family who neglected to send his children to school would be universally despised; nearly all of them can read and write, and have a perfect knowledge of the doctrines of the Koran. Printed books exist in the Tatar language.

One branch of the Tatars, the Bokharians, claim to be descended from the purest Turkoman blood. They are traders, but not agriculturists, and are met with everywhere,—in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Riga, Warsaw, and even at the Leipzig Fair: the Bokhara cloths, which they transport from Central Asia and Tibet, are well known; and they hawk European goods throughout all parts of Central Asia.

The Russian Empire possesses considerable colonies of the three peoples who seem to be adapted to the migratory or pedlar trade,—the Jews, Armenians, and Bokharians. This kind of trade is no longer of the same

importance in Western Europe as it was formerly; civilization and rapid and economical means of communication have for the most part superseded its necessity. The Jews therefore have lost much of the importance which they derived from this avocation, although they still play a considerable part as merchants, and have obtained a control over the money-market, which has enormously augmented both their social and political influence. They are only found in the western provinces of the Russian Empire, in the south, and a few in Siberia. In the former Polish provinces of the west they are more numerous than in any other part of the world, and occupy there a very important position. The depraved condition of the whole country, and especially of the peasantry, is attributed to them; but they are a powerful, and for the present indispensable, element in the entire social and political state of the country.

There are no Jews in the heart of the Empire,—they are not tolerated there; the common Russian supplies their place only too well; the want of them however is felt in one respect, as small bankers and money-dealers, a business which, according to experience, is transacted by no class better than by the Jews.

The second people for the migratory trade are the Armenians: their numbers are greater than those of the Jews, and they are spread throughout all Asia and a part of Africa: they are said to be found even frequently in China. This people, scattered over the face of the earth, have an internal constitution which is little known, and a mysterious coherent power. Russia has the immense advantage of possessing the central point of the Armenian Church, Etchmiadzin, and through it a key to Western Asia. Hitherto she has made no use of

this position, but a time will come, if she only remains true to her ancient political principle of religious toleration, protecting the Armenian Church, and retaining the attachment and devotion of the Armenians, which she now possesses in so high a degree.

The third of these peoples are the Tatars, and especially the Bokharian part of them. Bokhara is one of the largest commercial cities in the interior of Asia, and has a great caravan trade with China, Tibet, and Persia. The Bokharians are everywhere indefatigable and skilful merchants; many are settled in the Siberian towns, and by their means Russia has much intercourse with Bokhara and the commercial roads connected with it. The Tatars of Kazan, especially those in Kargala, in whose hands is the Orenburg trade with the Kirghiz, also form a connecting link with the interior of Asia.

Omsk is the point from which Russia seeks to make a road for herself into central Asia, the great Kirghiz Steppe forming no local impediment, as the Kirghiz may almost be regarded as subjects living under the protection of Russia, and are coming every day into closer connection with that Empire. Russian caravans are already conducted by Bokharian merchants, protected for a great distance into the Steppe by Cossack stations, and travelling with perfect safety far into the heart of Asia; a secure Russian mercantile road will soon be established thence to the frontier of Tibet.

The whole trade along the line of Orenburg to the frontier of China is perfectly free and unobstructed, except by the occasional attacks of robbers: on the part of the Russians it is principally carried on by Tatars and Bokharians. This trade is very extensive, and increasing in importance, extending gradually toward the interior

of Asia; Russia has here no rival in its commercial intercourse. The rest of Europe has hardly any idea of its importance to Russia, but how great this is was proved by the unfortunate expedition to Khiva.

It is quite otherwise with the Chinese trade, which is for the moment of no positive advantage to Russia. The Russian Government supports it, having in view the vast relations which may arise from it, and makes a sacrifice in order to raise its neighbour Siberia.

The conquest of Siberia made Russia and China frontier lands. The Cossacks, and the Russian authorities who followed them after their conquest of Siberia, pushed their dominion continually further; and it is a fact, that the Russian rule, as early as the first half of the seventeenth century, extended over nearly the whole of the immense district watered by the river Amur, which flows into the Pacific Ocean. The conquering Cossacks built here (450 miles beyond Nertchinsk) the city of Albasina. These districts formerly did not belong to China, and lay outside of the Great Wall; but the Mantchus conquered China, which then acquired the character of a private empire of the Imperial family. The Mantchus laid claim to the districts on the Amur, and the Chinese sought to expel the Cossacks, who drove them back several times, and at last an army of ten thousand men was sent against them with cannon. The Chinese laid siege to the city of Albasina; the five hundred Cossacks composing the garrison defended themselves desperately, but were at last obliged to surrender: they were conducted to Peking, where their descendants still live. These descendants of the Cossacks have furnished a pretext to the Russian Government for obtaining from the Emperor of China permission to establish

and maintain a Russian convent in that city. Russia has thereby been placed in a more favourable position than any other country for acquiring direct intelligence from China. Nertchinsk, which was founded by the Russians, was also taken by the Chinese, but they gave it up again. In 1688 the Russians sent an embassy to China, to negotiate a peace: this was effected by the assistance of the Jesuits, who at that time had great influence in China, and whom the Chinese had called in as interpreters. The frontier was defined and established: Russia relinquished the dominion of the river Amur, but received back Nertchinsk; the fortress of Selenginsk was appointed as the emporium of the trade between the two empires: this was the Peace of Nertchinsk, in 1689. The settlement of the frontier was not completely carried out, but the trade acquired thenceforth a more regular character, although it was still very insecure, from the robberies and attacks of the nomads. Peter I. also had his eye upon this affair, and recognized its importance; he sent two embassies to China, but died before the second returned. Catherine I. then sent Count Zava Raguzinski to conclude a peace upon the spot; but the Chinese embassy appeared under the protection of a considerable army, and thus a peace very unfavourable to Russia touching the frontier was established in 1729. The frontier-line was drawn exactly as the Treaty of 1689 had stipulated, and in some respects even more disadvantageously; on the other hand, the trade was completely re-established, and settled upon a stable basis, which was then considered the chief point.

In consequence however of the increased development of the resources of Siberia, the importance of the loss of the Amur is now strongly felt, and it is easy to

foresee that no very long period will elapse before it is taken possession of by Russia, either by negotiation or force. What the coasts of the Baltic were to Russia—the source of its vitality and the necessary condition of its civilization—the river Amur and its mouth are to Siberia; nor can that country ever enjoy a permanent and full development of its resources without their possession. If Russia possessed the Amur, a communication by water between St. Petersburg and the Pacific Ocean could be established without much difficulty;* this great idea was conceived by Peter I.; but, not possessing the Amur, he sought a port in Kamtchatka, by which to establish a connection with Japan, India, and America.

The present trade with China may be regarded as founded upon the protective tariff of 1822. The great development of the manufacturing system in Russia, which was excited and maintained by the protective duties, commenced at that period. In this way the importation of foreign commodities for transmission to the market in Kiakhta gradually ceased, and Russian manufactured articles by degrees took their place. I have before me a statement of the trade of the year 1839, of which the following is an abstract. The Russians brought to market, and sold to the Chinese,—

Fur goods of all kinds, to the value of . . .	£111,546
Cloth goods	157,882
Cotton goods	36,906
Leather goods	34,606

* Cottrell (Part I., p. 93) has shown in a plain and intelligible manner that only about four hundred versts of canal would be necessary in order to reach in boats the Pacific Ocean from St. Petersburg (a voyage of eight thousand miles). The land roads in Siberia are said to be universally good on the great thoroughfares.

Linen (particularly the so-called *tcheshuika*) and hempen goods	£8,958
Metal goods	1,794
Mirrors and glasses from Riazan and Orel	1,915
Cattle of all kinds	3,337
Grain of all kinds	2,250
Salt, caviar, fish, meat, butter, honey, syrup, apothecaries' goods	2,510
Total	£361,700

If to this is added what is brought by the natives of Siberia and sold in detail, such as stags' horns, musk, camlet, paper, etc., the value of all the goods sent to market by the Russians may be considered to amount in round numbers to nine million roubles (£412,500).

This trade is simply one of barter, the Chinese bringing their own commodities to market to exchange with those of Russia. The former consist chiefly of tea, principally black tea, and some brick tea, which is used by the Tatars, Kalmuks, Kirghiz, and Siberians. The value of the black and green tea amounts to 8,004,892 roubles (£366,890), that of the brick tea to 387,852 roubles (£17,776). The additional value of the Russian commodities was made up by the Chinese with raw silk, silk-cloth, nankeen (formerly in large, but now insignificant quantities), and all sorts of small ornamental goods.

The preceding figures were taken from a public speech delivered in the Commercial Academy of Moscow in the year 1841, and afterwards printed, having passed the censorship: it expresses emphatic praise of the Chinese trade. It appears to me however to underrate the amount of commodities: that the yearly consumption of tea in Russia should be reckoned at only eight million roubles, appears too low an estimate.

Colonization by immigrant Foreigners.

This is a branch of colonization which was commenced and conducted by the Government on a regular system. The enormous extent of excellent but waste land, and the small and thinly scattered population in all parts of the Empire, naturally suggested the idea to the Government of bringing these deserts into cultivation by inviting colonists from other countries. Ivan Vasilievitch settled there Poles, and invited Germans to Moscow, of which the German Sloboda still affords evidence. Michael Fedorovitch in 1617 brought several thousand inhabitants from Finland and Carelia, and established them between Tver and Moscow. Peter I. settled a great many Swedish prisoners, and in 1705, after the capture of Narva and Dorpat, carried away about six thousand of the inhabitants, and planted them in scattered parties in various parts of the Empire. But Catherine II., immediately after the commencement of her reign, conceived the idea of "peopling with immigrant foreigners the desert and waste lands of the southern provinces of the Empire, and through them of disseminating industry and agricultural science among her subjects," as it is expressed in the Ukase of 1763.

The first great colonization of this kind began soon afterwards at Saratof on the Volga, which I visited, and have already described: it consisted entirely of Germans. These colonies were long in a sickly state, and they would have perished altogether, but for assistance they received in 1801; it is only within the last twenty or thirty years that they have flourished, and at present they are in the most promising condition. The objects of the Ukase of 1763 however have been only partially fulfilled by them.

This formerly waste and desert country has been undoubtedly peopled and cultivated by them, but their agriculture is not first-rate; although superior to that of the Russians, it cannot serve as a model for them. These Germans have disseminated little agricultural science and industry among the surrounding Russians.

The conditions and privileges which Catherine II. granted to these settlers are the same as have been granted to all subsequent colonists, and they constitute a kind of common-law privileges for them throughout the whole of Russia. I will enumerate them here:— 1. Free exercise of their religion, and endowment of their churches by the State; 2. Immunity from military and civil service for ever, 3. Freedom from all taxes for a certain number of years, and afterwards payment of the usual taxes of all the Russian Crown peasants; 4. Self-government in administration and police, under a department of the Government appointed expressly for them: the borrowing of money for the use of the colony forms part of this self-government, under certain restrictions, and with the approval of the authorities of the department before mentioned; 5. Administration of justice among themselves in their own disputes.

The first colonists received their expenses of travelling from their homes to the place of their destination; they were allowed the importation duty-free for once of their effects, to the value of three hundred silver roubles; houses built at the expense of the Crown; provisions and money for the first year, and a large sum as a loan, without interest, for a certain number of years. These last privileges have not been granted to the same extent to all the subsequent colonists.

These German settlements were soon followed by others

in Southern Russia and the Crimea, first of modern Greeks, who had compromised themselves in the war between Russia and Turkey; afterwards of Germans, Swedes, Armenians, Bulgarians, Moldavians, Wallachians and Servians. Finally some other colonies were established of Polish Jews.

In the year 1835, at the last or eighth Revision, the following appeared to be the total number of foreign colonies in Russia, according to official accounts lying before me.

Provinces	Number of the Colonies or Villages.	Population.		
		Males	Females	Total
Bessarabia. .. .	105	38,995	35,478	74,473
Kherson	55	20,796	19,795	40,591
Cis-Caucasia	3	236	245	481
Georgia	7	1,201	1,187	2,388
Ekaterinoslaf . .	47	6,750	6,547	13,297
St. Petersburg .. .	13	1,522	1,513	3,035
Saratof	102	63,717	63,311	127,028
Taurida.	80	12,237	11,323	23,560
Tchernigof .	8	862	890	1,752
Voronezh . . .	1	631	600	1,231
	421	146,947	140,889	287,836

The number of these people may be considered at the present time to amount in round numbers to 330,000.

With regard to the different races of people, colonies have been established and peopled by Bulgarians (60,701) in Bessarabia; in the Government of Kherson also we find 7832 Bulgarians. There are at present altogether from 70,000 to 80,000 Bulgarians, about 6000 Molda-

vians and Wallachians, and 6000 Servians, almost all in Bessarabia and Kherson. There are 1400 Bulgarians also and several thousand modern Greeks in the Government of Taurida. The number of Armenians is unknown, but they probably do not amount to more than a thousand.* In the Government of Kherson there are nine colonies of Jews, with about 7500 inhabitants; four colonies of Swedes, with 800 individuals; all the rest, or more than 230,000 persons, are Germans, from the most various districts,—Switzerland, Baden, Würtemberg, Nassau, the Rhine, and West Prussia.

With respect to religion, there are at present among the 330,000 colonists about 80,000 belonging to the Greek Church, 1000 to the Armenian, 181,000 Protestants, including the Moravians at Sarepta, 21,000 Mennonites, including the Hutter brethren, 40,000 attached to the Roman Catholic Church, and 7500 Jews.

The land which has been allotted to these colonists is very considerable, and more has generally been given to the foreign than to the Russian settlers. I have not official information regarding the entire extent of this territory, but only of that belonging to the South Russian colonies in the Governments of Ekaterinoslaf, Taurida, Kherson, and Bessarabia. The 165,650 inhabitants here of both sexes possessed together a territory of 3,273,500 acres of land fit for use, and 290,970 acres unfit. According to this proportion the 330,000 individuals belonging to the whole of the colonies possess a territory of about 7,200,000 acres, or 11,000 square miles,—larger in extent than the kingdom of Würtem-

* We only speak here of Armenians engaged in agriculture; all the southern cities swarm with trading Armenians, settled in them, their number being reckoned at 70,000.

berg (7500 square miles), but smaller than Belgium (12,500 square miles): the land is for the most part excellent.

What I have said may give some idea of the great importance of these colonies to Russia; nevertheless they have not fulfilled the somewhat exaggerated expectations of the Ukase of Catherine II.; their influence on the progress of agriculture and industry has been less important than had been hoped,—many of them indeed, as for instance the large colonies on the Volga, have hardly produced any effect at all: they have, with regard to agriculture, received more from the Russians than the latter from them. Agriculture is very much behind its condition in Germany; the Mennonites alone form an honourable exception,—their farming is excellent, and they exercise a great influence upon all around them, Russians included, serving as a model to them in their moral bearing, honesty, clear practical understanding, intelligence, and knowledge of all the branches of agriculture. But their greatest merit consists, in my opinion, in the practical proof they have furnished of the possibility of growing wood upon the steppe.

One great value these foreign colonies have for Russia, —a territory of considerable extent, formerly a perfect desert, has been converted by them into a cultivated country; they form oases in the steppes, points from which cultivation may be extended, and in the neighbourhood of which new colonies may increase and prosper.

These colonies have cost Russia a large amount of money, many millions; but this is only advanced as a loan: the colonists are obliged to repay by gradual instalments the sums lent to them, and the Government has only sacrificed a part of the interest.

The majority of the colonies are flourishing; the people, after long years of difficulty and poverty, have gradually become well off, and some of them rich. They have at length found a home in the foreign land, and I cannot say that I met any one who wished to return to Germany, as was frequently the case in the beginning. The Government treats the colonies with great benevolence and care: it has taken no steps, in recent times, to introduce new ones, and it would at present be very cautious in receiving any, but such as should bring agricultural knowledge and experience, industry and capital into the country: were it possible to obtain 100,000 such people as the Mennonites, the Government would spare neither trouble nor expense for that purpose.

A further kind of colonization, on the largest scale, will remain for a long time one of the greatest requirements for the future prosperity of Russia. The whole north as well as the whole south of Russia presents an immense extent of perfectly uninhabited country; we see in both countries a tolerably dense population along all the rivers, the intermediate space being completely uninhabited; but these unpeopled districts, which in the north amount to 420,000 square miles, and in the south to certainly no less, are in the former covered with a thick impenetrable forest, whilst in the latter they form a barren steppe. These districts are not entirely incapable of cultivation and population, and there are doubtless many other parts of Europe of even less fertility which are well cultivated and peopled.

The most northerly parts of European Russia, beyond 65° of north latitude, the country of the Tundras, is undoubtedly not adapted for permanent cultivation and habitation. The soil is rocky, or full of bogs, the bottom

of which is always frozen, and the surface covered with moss and lichens. Samoyeds and Laps alone traverse this country with their reindeer in search of game. To the south of this begins the region of forests; the southern parts of the Government of Archangel and the Governments of Vologda and Olonetz are in fact a continuous primeval forest of immeasurable extent. The nature of the soil is indeed unknown: there are said to be large lakes, marshes, and bogs in the forests, but nevertheless the larger part of the land is probably capable of cultivation; at all events this has been found to be the case wherever the inhabitants have attempted it, and the soil cannot be altogether bad where there are fine trees.

That the Government must have a great interest in increasing the population of these northern Governments is evident. The Crown itself is the proprietor of the greater part of these forests, more than 250,000 square miles in extent. What an immense advantage would it not be for Russia, if a population of six to eight millions of active and industrious people were properly distributed upon this territory, where they might doubtless find a comfortable existence! Experience teaches us that the best population is to be found in the moderately cold districts, and even at present the North Russian is distinguished advantageously from nearly all the other Russian races by his superior character. The timber alone growing in this district is a greater source of wealth than all the gold-washings of Siberia.

The present population in this northern country is crowded together upon the narrow strips on both banks of all the large and small rivers; for centuries it has never extended materially beyond this limit. As early

as the times of the republic of Novgorod we find here a Russian population, and it is probably only on a few small tributary streams that new settlements have been formed in recent times. The skirts of the forests only are explored and peopled: into the interior the woodman's axe never penetrates, and merely a few stragglers in search of game roam through their recesses. How happens this, and that the yearly increasing population does not extend from both banks of the rivers deeper into the country, clearing the forest and establishing new villages? The answer is simple enough, that at the present moment this would be attended by no individual advantage; and unless this is the case, no private person will engage in any enterprise. This remark holds good everywhere, but nowhere more than in Russia.

The Russian, in any undertaking, looks only to an immediate and rapid result; an advantage the attainment of which entails great trouble, labour, or embarrassment, or is remote, is no advantage to him. Even in districts which have little wood, it never occurs to any proprietor to plant trees, for from this his descendants only—not he himself—would reap the benefit; colonization therefore will never extend into the interior of these northern districts spontaneously,—not from the want of a prospect of private advantage, or because the soil is bad or not fertile enough, but because the capital, labour, and time expended upon colonization would yield too small a return. As colonization then is not to be expected here from private enterprise, the question arises, is such a colonization justifiable or advisable to the Government in an economical point of view? From what has been said I think I may affirm that it is. That settlements of this kind are possible is shown by the fact, that a

number of them actually already exist of themselves; and how much easier would it be to establish them, if the Government were to assist them with the means! The only real obstacle which I can perceive consists in the difficulty of finding respectable colonists to undertake it voluntarily. People will not thus leave a milder climate and a more fertile district for the cold north, where the soil is less fertile and great trouble and labour are requisite to cultivate the land at all, so long as they can maintain themselves in the milder climate, or have the prospect of being able to settle in the fertile districts of the south.

I consider the best means of attaining this object would be to employ a portion of the army, after the termination of the first ten years of hard service, in finishing the great preliminary works required, with the prospect of their being settled upon the land with good and suitable allotments. Formerly the Russian soldier, when the period of service was twenty-five years, became completely separated from the people. It was found by experience that even after having served his time he rarely returned to his home, many obstacles standing in the way: he remained in the towns, accepting any petty occupation, becoming a servant, a dvornik, and the like, but hardly ever a peasant again. At present the soldier, after his first ten years of hard service, is placed for the second ten years in the Reserve; he is allowed to return to his home, being only called out once a year, and often only once in two years, for a short period, for exercise: the last five years can scarcely be considered a period of service at all. Now if the soldiers, after the first ten years, instead of being sent home, were employed (undoubtedly severe labour) in clearing and burning down

the wood in the districts intended for the colonies, with the prospect of immediate advantage resulting to themselves by being settled, after a period of six years, as colonists in the places which they had brought into culture by their labour, many political and financial advantages would at once be attained.

Complaint is often made in Russia that the recruiting for the army withdraws so many hands and so much valuable labour from trade and agriculture. In Western Europe an excess of labour already exists; the recruitment therefore does not withdraw it from these branches of industry, but employs a number of idle hands, and is consequently productive only of good. By means of a colonization like that I have mentioned, the Russian soldiers would be restored to agriculture and trade, and this at the best period of their lives, when they are still able to establish good and substantial families. They would make excellent colonists, there being no more capable or useful man in the various relations of life than the disciplined Russian soldier. Although somewhat estranged perhaps, during the ten years of hard service, from agricultural employments, still the six years which they would devote to the preliminary labours of colonization would accustom them again to the work. Service in the army frees a man from serfage, and therefore the number of free families would increase in Russia; as the sons of these soldier-colonists are bound by law to military service, their descendants would form a country militia for the maintenance of order and for emergencies: recruitment in the Empire would not only lose all that is economically injurious, but even everything harsh. Service in the army would constitute a school, a preparatory state, in which the people would

pass through a period of severe discipline and order for their future destination in life.* Were the soldiers in this way given back to agriculture and trade, and families again formed by them, the recruitments, instead of being injurious, might be very much extended, and a much larger number of soldiers levied.

In the same way as colonization appears a necessity for Russia in the north, to raise a substantial and energetic population in that quarter, and to open up and utilize the incalculable treasures of the forests, so does the gradual and complete cultivation and peopling of the Steppe countries in the south seem an equally great political necessity for that country.

The immense plains which extend from China to the Carpathians, a distance of four or five thousand miles, receive from Europeans the general name of the Steppes. We here pass over the Asiatic Steppes, although a part of them in Siberia are under the dominion of Russia, and shall consider only the European Steppes lying between the Ural and the Carpathians, which are scarcely a fifth part of the size of the Asiatic Steppes.

The extent and boundaries of the district which bears the name of the European Steppes, are very uncertain.

* In Prussia the organization of the military service is not at all oppressive, and on the whole is not injurious to the economical relations of the people. It is good for almost every man to serve some years as a soldier: he learns to obey, accustoms himself to punctuality and order; his understanding is developed, his feeling of honour awakened. The subsequent militia service has its inconveniences for agricultural labourers and tradesmen, but the evil is not great. By means of this system Prussia is in a position to bring into the field double the number of troops which Russia can in proportion to its population; and with regard to their efficiency and fighting qualities, the Prussian army is surpassed by none, and costs of all armies the least. Why should not an analogous organization be possible in Russia? I have above indicated how this might be effected.

Popular usage, in addition to the districts indubitably so called, gives the name of Steppe countries also to the southern parts of the Governments of Riazan, Tula, Orel, as well as the Government of Kursk and the northern parts of the Governments of Tambof, Voronezh, Kharkof, and Poltava, notwithstanding that they have for a long period been cultivated and inhabited, and have completely lost the true character of Steppes, if indeed, with such a considerable quantity of wood, they ever had it.

To Herr von Brinken is due the credit of fixing geographically and geologically the limits of the genuine Steppes: he indicates the characteristic signs, and annexes to his Work a small map, upon which the boundaries are marked. According to this they commence in the angle which the Pruth and Danube form with the sea at their efflux into it, extend through Bessarabia at Kishenef, through a corner of Podolia and Kief to Krementchug; they then pass through a small part of the Government of Poltava, and close to and above the town of Kharkof, through the greater part of the Governments of Kharkof and Voronezh into the Government of Tambof; they approach the town of Tambof, cut off more than five-sixths of the Government of Saratof, and thus run towards the Ural or Yaik, which separates the European from the Asiatic Steppes. The Caspian Sea forms the boundary from the mouth of the Yaik to the influx of the Terek; it then extends along the foot of the Caucasus to the Black Sea, the shores of which form the boundary as far as the mouth of the Danube, with the exception of the southern and mountainous part of the Crimea. These lines comprise a country of more than 450,000 square miles.

Geologically the Steppe consists of three divisions or

formations. In the west that of the tertiary limestone appears in Bessarabia, Podolia, and a small part of Kherson. In the north, comprehending the Steppe portions of the Governments of Kharkof, Voronezh, Tambof and a part of the Don country, and the Government of Saratof, the basis is chalk. To the south a granite ridge from the Carpathians breaks through, stretching in a long and broad zone around the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof as far as the Caucasus. To the south-east lies the Mud Steppe, along the Kuban and Terek; and to the east, from the Don as far as the Yaik, the Salt Steppe.*

The three first formations lie considerably higher above the sea-level than the Salt and Mud Steppe. The two latter, according to Pallas, have manifestly been the bottom of the sea, which in ancient times united the Caspian

* Herr von Brinken calculates the magnitude of the Steppes, according to the Governments to which they belong, as follows:—

Governments.	*Extent of Steppes in square miles.*
Astrakhan	82,502
Country on the Don	76,408
Saratof	69,764
Caucasia	54,170
Orenburg	33,856
Kherson	26,936
Ekaterinoslaf	24,376
Voronezh	21,265
Taurida	20,319
Kharkof	10,643
Bessarabia	9,733
Tambof	7,511
Poltava	5,713
Kief	5,544
Podolia	4,930
Total	453,680

The above calculation however is only approximately correct, as the size of the Russian Governments has not yet been sufficiently ascertained.

with the Black Sea, one of the last formations. The first three formations have everywhere a more or less thick and fertile covering of humus. The Mud Steppe is throughout, where it is not a morass, extraordinarily fertile. In the Salt Steppe sand alternates with salt clay; the covering of humus is generally thin, the soil is on the whole not very fertile, but may be improved by cultivation.

The peculiarity of all the Steppes is not the nature of the soil, but the vegetation: whilst in the north of Russia the whole soil becomes covered spontaneously with bushes and trees, the soil of the Steppe breaks out everywhere into grass and weeds, and wood never springs up of itself: the absence of this constitutes the character of the Steppes.

The Salt Steppe, in consequence of its remote geographical position and physical nature, is at this moment, and will be for a long time to come, of little importance to Russia and the civilized world; no necessity exists for increasing its cultivation or population. We therefore leave it in general out of consideration, and have here to speak of the Pontic Steppes, the Steppes north of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof, between the Carpathians and the Don.

The whole of the Steppes from the earliest historical times have been the land of nomadic tribes, undulating to and fro; the Asiatic Steppes are so even at the present moment. The Steppes were once the path along which the peoples of Asia travelled to Europe, at first probably settling on the land, like the Germans and Slaavs; afterwards, in historical times, plundering and destroying, like the Huns and Mongols.

The Steppes of the Pontus were the last station on this long passage, and in point of physical character

and geographical position toward the civilized world the most interesting part of all the Steppes. Even in mythological times the coasts of the Pontic Steppes were known to the Greeks, and there existed a very ancient and little-known religious connection with the interior and its inhabitants, the Scythians and Hyperboreans. At what time the Greek colonies originated on the Pontic coasts, and in smaller numbers even far in the interior of the country, is unknown. At a later period the Romans also had their eye at least upon the coasts, and in opposition to them was constituted the power of the Bosphoric Empire, and the Chersonesian Republic. The Byzantine emperors were for a long time masters of a part of the coasts; from them the latter passed over to the Genoese, whose power some proud ruins still testify. The Mongols only passed over the Steppe; but the Tatars founded an empire upon the southern coast, and thence exercised a loose kind of sway over their nomadic brethren of the Steppe. The scene of the struggles between the Turks and Poles lay around the western borders of the Steppe.

The whole connection however of the European peoples and states with these districts was merely created by the commerce kept up with the interior from points on the coast established by civilized nations. But civilization never penetrated into the interior, which remained always the green pasture-land of the nomadic tribes. The task of opening up this interior, and introducing these uninhabited districts into the pale of civilization, was reserved for the Russians.

In earlier times attempts had been made to penetrate into the country from the south, from the sea. But the Russians came from the north; they first sought to open

the country from the direction of the sea in a peaceable manner, but, being disturbed and attacked by the nomads of the Steppe, they were obliged in self-defence to conquer the country.*

That this conquest has not been of merely temporary importance, as in the times of Darius, and afterwards of the Mongols, when the footsteps of the conquerors immediately disappeared without leaving a trace,—and that it led to a permanent cultivation and peopling of the Steppe,—the Russians are in the first place indebted to the Cossacks, whose peculiar social condition was a proof that there is actually an intermediate state between nomadic and settled life.

Nearly at the same time Exiles, fugitives, and adventurers from both the Russian races, the Little and Great Russians, wedged themselves into the Steppe. The former came from the north-west, and settled along the Dnieper, founding there the celebrated Setchna of the Zaporogian Cossacks. The Great Russians came from the north-east, and formed in the same manner the settlement of the Don Cossacks. These warrior colonists, these agriculturists and herdsmen with military institutions, these tillers of the soil with nomadic habits (as Kohl terms them), were quite fitted to introduce the first germs of civilization into the Steppe.

Russia had consolidated her power in the north of the Steppe since the sixteenth century, and both Cossack races became gradually subject to her, but the Steppe between them was still for nearly two centuries the land of the free nomads, and at the same time the battle-field of the Turks and Russians, of the Cossacks and Tatars,

* Even under the Empress Elizabeth an attack of the Tatars was feared in Moscow.

who founded an empire in the Crimea, and from thence were constantly breaking through the Steppe and attacking Poland and Russia.

Russia first succeeded under Peter I. in victoriously reaching the coasts of the Black Sea, after conquering Kazan and Astrakhan. When Peter I. had established himself on the Sea of Azof, the Steppes of the Pontus and the Tatars of the Crimea were quite cut off from the Eastern Steppes, from which the latter were formerly able to recruit themselves. Within a century from that time the whole Steppe, and with it the whole northern coast of the Black Sea, fell under the power of Russia.

The future importance of the Pontic districts to the civilized European world consists, in my opinion, in the following circumstances. A time will come when the greatest part of civilized Europe, being over-peopled, will be unable to maintain its industrious inhabitants without the importation of grain; two granaries will remain from which to draw supplies, North America and the country of the black soil in the centre and south of Russia. There immense magazines of grain will be formed for Europe, when the means of communication over the Steppe become organized in such a way that the supplies may reach the ports of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof at every period of the year, and without too great an expense either of time or money. When trade becomes established here on a great scale (more than a beginning already exists), other branches of trade and mercantile connections will be opened. Commercial roads might be formed from hence to the central parts of Asia; nay, were the Siberian communications, to which I have alluded above, properly organized, were the

Don and the Volga united by a canal or a railway, even a part of the trade with China might find its way to the Black Sea, and thence still further.

But these districts are of the greatest and most direct importance to Russia herself; and from a consideration of their present value we may anticipate what they will in future become; a glance at the map indeed will readily show this. Northern Russia, the great forest region, sends her products partly to the North Sea (Archangel), partly, and to a still greater amount, to the northern and north-eastern tributaries of the Volga. This mighty river again carries a large portion of these products partly to its northern inhabitants, whilst another part is forwarded by the system of canals to St. Petersburg and the Baltic, and again another portion is conveyed down the Volga to the southern districts.

The industrial regions of Central Russia send their products from every point to the Volga, the main commercial artery of the Empire; and these commodities thus find a market in the south, even beyond the Caspian Sea, and by the canals in the north as far as the Baltic. The fertile districts on the Volga and its southern tributaries send their produce by this water communication to supply the wants of the less fertile and industrial districts, and transport their surplus to Astrakhan and St. Petersburg. But there is an immense territory of the most fertile soil lying in a line between Penzà and Kief, in which all the rivers flow, not to the north or east, to the Volga and the Baltic, but to the south and the Black Sea.

The Black Sea is consequently the sole natural outlet for the products of these districts, comprising probably a territory of 170,000 to 200,000 square miles. Until

Russia therefore possessed the coasts of the Black Sea and the Steppes, these valuable districts could not prosper; they were stifled, so to say, in their own abundance, and it was only when Russia had obtained undisputed possession of the southern coasts, that the cultivation and peopling of this territory began to extend. These ports however are not of this incalculable value for the inland provinces of Russia alone; they are also the outlet for the Polish provinces and even for Eastern Galicia. Formerly all these countries had no other outlet for the exportation of their produce than the circuitous routes to the ports of the Baltic; and even until within the last sixty years all the grain went to Danzig, Königsberg, and Memel, which at the present time goes to Odessa.

Russia has already made great efforts to establish a flourishing trade on the southern coasts, and to cultivate and people the Steppes which lie to the north of them. In the first of these objects she has succeeded in a surprising degree, and this in the short period of scarcely sixty years; in the second she has been less successful.

Even in the earliest times there existed, as we have mentioned, a flourishing trade on these southern coasts. Before the time of Homer the Greeks had colonies here; afterwards the Bosphoric Empire and the powerful Chersonesian Republic were formed, which did not indeed govern the Steppe, but kept up an active commercial intercourse with the nomadic tribes. This lasted throughout the time of the Romans; under the later Byzantines the Genoese took possession of these coasts, and a flourishing trade again sprang up. But afterwards the Turks and Tatars became masters of the

country, and all the former civilized life fell into a wretched state of decline; the renowned cities of antiquity sank into insignificance, or disappeared from the face of the earth, some leaving scarcely a trace behind, such as Chersonesus and Olbia.

But no sooner had the Russians obtained possession of the coasts, than new cities started up as if by enchantment on all the bays and inlets of the sea, and on the banks of the rivers, and places before of no importance grew into great commercial cities: thus Ismail, Akerman, Odessa, Nikolaief, Kherson, Eupatoria, Sevastopol, Yalta, Feodosia, Kertch, Taganrog, Rostof, on the sea or near the mouths of the rivers; Kishenef, Ekaterinoslaf, etc. on the banks of rivers in the interior. At the same time arose an antiquarian enthusiasm, and the new towns were called by such names as Kherson, Odessa, Ovidiopol, Tiraspol, and Eupatoria.

Of the most importance were the seaports,—Odessa on an inlet of the Black Sea, and Taganrog on the Sea of Azof. Odessa, founded in 1792 by Admiral Rivas, has already 80,000 inhabitants, and is the second maritime commercial town in the Empire. The twelve ports named above have probably at the present time a population of from 250,000 to 300,000.

Here Russia has performed wonders, when we consider that seventy-six years ago she had not a single point on the Black Sea. At present she possesses the half of all its coasts from the mouth of the Danube to the mouth of the Rion (Phasis), or to the frontier of Asia Minor, an extent of a thousand miles. The Government however would never have been able to create these towns and this extensive trade unless the want of a commodious outlet had been strongly felt, and, the necessary

points being found, the commerce had been immediately turned into this new channel.

The towns in the interior are, in this part of the Empire, either situated on the rivers, and are then the markets, depôts, and intermediate points for the trade of the seaports, or they are merely the residences of the authorities, and in that case generally of little importance. These commercial towns, Odessa not excepted, export nothing but the raw products of Russia, principally grain, tallow, and leather. The importation of European commodities and manufactures is on the other hand small, and not as yet well organized. European goods, particularly articles of luxury, are to be had in Odessa, but badly selected and very dear. Odessa still makes such bad use of its natural capabilities in this respect, that every one, even far into the Steppes, supplies his wants from St. Petersburg; and still it is a free port.

We can hardly call these commercial places national Russian towns. The composition of the population shows that the Russian element in point of numbers in most of the towns, and in regard to social importance in all of them, is very much in the minority. At first the Government was only interested in bringing people into these new towns; they accepted persons belonging to all nations and to every profession without distinction, and even without any guarantee of their moral character. Adventurers, exiles, runaway slaves, came from all points of the compass, and were received without any strict examination. In Odessa, for instance, is found the most motley mixture of nationalities I have ever seen, and not merely as visitors, but persons settled there,—people belonging not only to the European nations, but

also Americans, Asiatics, and Africans. There are emigrants from the Alps, the Pyrenees, and Mount Ararat; from Sweden, Malta, and Egypt; from the Islands of the Archipelago and from the Balearic Islands; from New York, Ireland, France, Italy, and every district of Germany. Among them are all varieties of religious sects and beliefs. Of the Slavonic element there are Great and Little Russians, Ruthenians and Poles, Servians, Bulgarians, etc.,—Jews in great numbers and very influential (of the sect of the Karaim), Armenians, and many of the different Caucasian races. In the more ancient cities, particularly those of the Crimea, the old Tatar population is still predominant. Where the different nationalities exist in larger masses, they have separated themselves, according to their inclinations and capacities, into the different trades and professions. Kohl remarks that in Odessa each people has its peculiar business: the Dalmatians and Slavonians are labourers in the docks, the Gipsies are smiths, the Karaites trade in tobacco and oriental commodities, the Jews, about 12,000 in number, are bankers, agents, and brokers, the French are wine-merchants, the Swiss watchmakers, and so on. The wholesale trade is mostly in the hands of the Greeks, Italians, and Germans. The Italian language is predominant, and is that of commerce and the Exchange; the streets and squares of Odessa have always an Italian beside the Russian name. In the higher circles French is naturally the language of conversation, Russian is that of the market, the Jews speak German.

Whether an independent, distinctly marked nationality will ever arise out of these different elements, as in the old States of the North American Union, and as the Russians hope, time will show. This result seldom

takes place except when similarity of language or religion exists. Where there is a complete mixture of different nationalities, as in Odessa, one may perhaps ultimately obtain the predominance, or all of them become amalgamated into a new one; but in places where the population consists entirely of foreign nationalities, as in the German districts, or at Armyanski-Bazar and Grigoriopol, inhabited only by Armenians, this prospect is probably very distant. At present there is a contrast with respect to population and cultivation between the seaports and the towns in the interior or the inland population, which makes the former appear as exotic plants in a foreign country.

If we consider the progress of trade, commerce, and wealth, or social life in general, those towns in which the Russian population is not predominant appear to have an unquestionable superiority. The foreign trade is almost entirely in the hands of foreigners.* The exclusively Russian towns proceed so weakly and slowly that the term progress is scarcely at all applicable to them. This is often seen in towns which have the same position, and of which one is inhabited by Russians, and another by foreign peoples: look for instance at the contrast between the brisk trade in the town of Armyanski-Bazar, inhabited by Armenians, and the Russian town of Dubosari on the Dniester close to it, still better situated and possessing many privileges. The Armenians are undoubtedly eminently distinguished for their talents: the towns in the interior of the Crimea, where they are very numerous, owe to them alone any import-

* This is not an opinion expressed merely by foreigners, but the Russian author of a careful essay in the Journal of the Minister of the Interior declares it openly.

ance they possess, and without them would have remained miserable Tatar *aūls*.

Commerce is one of the principal sources of national welfare, but the civilization of a new country cannot be founded upon this alone. Commerce has existed here probably for thousands of years, and still the surrounding land of the Steppe has remained uncultivated; nay, when afterwards commerce was broken up, everything sank into barbarism. The trade of the seaports has little influence upon the country here; moreover the foreign trade is exposed to such incalculable fluctuations that it can never serve as a secure basis for the life of a people: even New Russia, in recent times, has had some peculiar experiences of her own in this respect.*

The only secure basis for the progressive civilization of a country consists in the cultivation of the soil in all its branches, and in the development of all the institutions connected with it. The Russian Government has clearly perceived this, and has made no inconsiderable efforts to introduce agriculture into the Steppe. It was Russia that first succeeded in putting a stop to nomadic life in the Steppe, and in gradually peopling and cultivating it in a settled and permanent manner.

The Pontic Steppes have quite a different natural character from other countries in the same latitude, such as southern Germany or central France. The climate and the circumstances which affect the soil are different. Many things concur to make the climate of these districts much harsher and colder than that of other coun-

* According to the accounts published by the Ministry every year upon the foreign trade, and without their being able to give any certain reason for it, the value of the exportation of commodities from the southern ports was less by five and a half million silver roubles in the year 1840 than it was in 1839; the result of 1841 was still worse.

tries in the same latitude; they are nowhere protected from the currents of wind, which consequently give quite a different character to the seasons. In general they are all distinguished by having proportionately little rain; the spring begins with a short period of rain, and from that time the clouds remain at a great height; storms are very rare; in autumn it hardly ever rains, and the winter has more tornados and whirlwinds than deep snow. The heat in summer rises to 30° (Réaumur) and in the sun to 56°, but often falls in the winter to 30° of cold: the middle temperature is several degrees below what it is in districts of the same latitude in the rest of Europe.

The Pontic Steppe is an immense undulating plain, from 100 to 150 feet above the level of the Black Sea, with moderately deep valleys through which flow rivers and brooks. The Steppe is divided into five different formations, which serve as substrata for a general covering of humus. These different bases, the thinner and thicker layer of humus, and the climatic influences, are the conditions on which vegetation depends; the great similarity, and at the same time the small differences, in the vegetation are produced by them. The similarity consists chiefly in this, that all the Steppes produce only grasses, herbs, and flowers, but no forests except of artificial growth. The differences are produced partly by the different geological substrata, partly by the thinner or thicker layer of humus, partly by the higher or lower situation, united with the climatic influences. The granite Steppes have generally a thick and not tall grass, but the calcareous Steppes often a grass from six to seven feet high. The plants, especially all the weeds and flowers, grow everywhere in large quantities. The banks of the rivers are

covered on both sides with thick reeds, often several hundred feet in breadth, which in the Mud Steppe grow to an enormous height, being in many places thirty feet high. Here are also some kinds of burdock, thirty to forty feet high, resembling trees intertwined together, and forming little forests of weeds. The Pontic are principally grass, the Salt mainly flower Steppes; saline plants are more abundant than grass.

Before the Russians took possession of these Steppes, they were completely desert and uninhabited, nomadic tribes alone ranging over them with their cattle. Herodotus indeed mentions that separate parts of them, probably the fluvial valleys, were inhabited by agricultural Scythians, but this agriculture vanished altogether with that people. The Mongols and Tatars had settlements on the Volga, large cities indeed, but the Pontic Steppes appear to have remained without settlement of any kind.

Russia first succeeded in changing nomadic into settled life in the Steppe, and in peopling and cultivating it in a permanent manner. From the sixteenth century downwards the Cossacks, as we have shown above, penetrated into the Pontic Steppes, from the east and west, and established themselves upon the Don and Dnieper. But for the last sixty years the Government also has itself begun, on one hand to establish colonies in the Steppe, on the other to promote to the utmost the settlement of private individuals.

At present the result of these efforts may be calculated with tolerable accuracy. We find along the banks of nearly all the rivers colonization completed, a thin strip along the margin being fully cultivated, and the population already tolerably dense. The large Steppe plains between the rivers on the other hand are almost wholly

uncultivated, farms (*khutors*) being here and there pushed forward into them.*

The cultivation of the country presents upon the map nearly the same features as the forest region described by me in Northern Russia, except that, where in the latter impenetrable forests stretch between the rivers uninhabited and uncultivated, here are open steppes, equally barren. Cultivation nowhere penetrates with any energy into the interior of the Steppe.

I received in Odessa a professedly authentic Table of the population of New Russia: the total number of the inhabitants of the Governments and towns mentioned in it is stated to have amounted in 1823 to 1,621,331, and in 1841 to 2,603,106. The numbers of the females were also given for three of the Governments, but as they are not given for the others I have omitted them. I observe however that in New Russia, as in Siberia, in contrast with Old Russia, the numbers of the male sex greatly preponderate; for instance in Taurida, in 1823, by seven per cent., in 1841 by twelve per cent.; in Ekaterinoslaf, in 1823, by five per cent., but in 1841 there is no preponderance.

* This sporadic cultivation by means of detached *khutors* is for many parts of the Steppe, principally from the want of water, the only mode possible. It is quite general in the Circle of Aleshki and in Taurida. Some years ago the police authorities reported that the administrative action of the police was excessively hindered by this sporadic cultivation, and that all superintendence and control over them must finally cease. They proposed that orders should be given for the people to collect in large villages. The affair went to St. Petersburg; but the then Governor-General, Count Woronzof, asked this simple question, whether it was desirable to destroy altogether the only cultivation adapted to these districts, and whether the inhabitants were there for the sake of the police, or, on the contrary, the police for the sake of the inhabitants.

Grades.	Governments								Town Administration.			
	Kherson.		Taurida.		Ekaterinoslaf.		Bessarabia.		Kertch.		Odessa.	
	1823	1841	1823	1841	1823	1841	1823	1841	1823	1841	1823	1841
Nobles	2,418	5,520	2,892	6,997				5,019	66	456		
Clergy	1,891	3,329	15,090	18,809	4,945	6,828		11,770	13	40		
Honorary Citizens		71	.	14				13				
Merchants	887	3,038	134	3,028	1,201	4.715		4,011		396		
Burghers	27,246	55,263	33,302	55,048	29,642	42,910		116,696		2,407		
Other Ranks	235,796	395,179	352,094	454,384	559,370	738.969		592,764	719	1,544		
Total	265,238	462,400	403,512	538,280	595,158	793,422	333,525	730,273	798	4,843	20,100	73,888

According to this Table the population has nearly doubled within eighteen years, a fact which nowhere appears so favourably in any other part of Russia, nor even in the larger districts of the rest of Europe; only in North America do we find instances of such rapid increase. This was the greatest in Bessarabia, and least in Taurida. In Odessa the population had more than trebled.

The official reports represent the extent of the Governments of New Russia and Bessarabia as follows:—

	Acres	*Square miles*
Ekaterinoslaf . .	14,020,492	21,900
Kherson	19,152,871	29,900
Taurida	23,065,560	36,000
Bessarabia .	7,469,550	11,670

Taking the superficial area of the Provinces, there was on one square mile in Kherson a population of fifteen persons; in Taurida, sixteen; in Ekaterinoslaf, forty; and in Bessarabia, sixty-nine.

In the Government of Ekaterinoslaf the extent of cultivated land amounted in 1841 to 3,580,000 acres; in that of Kherson to 5,752,380 acres: consequently the third part of these two Governments was cultivated, two-thirds being still barren steppe. The extent of cultivated land in Taurida was not known, but it certainly did not amount to more.

Bessarabia appears consequently to be cultivated and peopled. The population of Kherson and Taurida indeed seems very small; but it is not so, if we abstract the Steppe, and take only the inhabited country into consideration. I am without information regarding the proportion of steppe to cultivated land in Taurida and Bessarabia, but this proportion in Kherson and Ekaterino-

slaf is stated in a preceding page. In Kherson there are 50, in Ekaterinoslaf 156 heads to the square mile of cultivated land; it might therefore be asserted that there was an excess of population in the latter Government. On an average there would be no more than 9½ acres of cultivated land to each male, a proportion which may be considered one of the most unfavourable in Russia.

The information we possess regarding the export trade of the southern ports, Odessa, Taganrog, etc., shows that the Steppe countries of New Russia contribute little or nothing to the grain shipped from thence. The corn grown there is only sufficient to maintain the existing population, and there is no surplus for sale; nay, the inhabitants could not satisfy their other wants, beside their maintenance, and could not exist upon the scanty soil, but for their migratory kind of agriculture and cattle-breeding, two powerful auxiliaries. This system is as follows: the people who have sufficient resources proceed in the spring into the interior of the Steppe, cultivate in appropriate places a part with corn, and then go home, returning at harvest-time to take away the crops which have been reaped; but the Steppes likewise afford the means for extensive cattle-breeding.

For a considerable period the population here has gained in strength, but the land occupied has only slightly increased in extent. The time may almost be calculated when this extension will cease; it has been found to proceed only to a certain point into the interior of the Steppe. How comes it that the population and permanent cultivation of the land does not penetrate from the banks of the rivers further into the interior, since the soil is nearly everywhere not merely capable of vegetation, but possesses a very fertile composition of humus? Three

obstacles appear to oppose the progress of a regular and suitable cultivation and peopling of the Steppe,—the unfavourable nature of the climate, the want of springs and fresh water, and the scarcity of wood. The climate has already been alluded to; it is distinguished by a great inequality, even for these latitudes; extremes of heat and cold and aridity prevail, and during twenty months (1832 and 1833) not a drop of rain nor a flake of snow fell in Taurida: it is also marked by constant rainy weather, insomuch that in 1838 the ground became for weeks a morass, in which the cattle sank, the winter-corn rotted, and none of the grass could be made into hay. Aridity however is the predominant character of the climate: it has been calculated that, on an average, scarcely one-third as much rain falls in the Steppes as in Berlin; in dry weather there is often no dew for months. Frequently, for more than half a year, a dry cold east or north-east wind prevails. There is also a wind similar to the sirocco, glowing hot, which parches up the cornfields in a few hours. .

Notwithstanding the good soil, and with the most careful cultivation, agriculture would probably on an average not yield half the produce obtained on similar soil in Germany or France; and the cause of this is to be found only in the uncertainty of the climate, and the small quantity of moisture which it supplies. This want of moisture in the soil of the Steppe is partly the consequence, partly the cause, of the dry climate. If the Steppe did not lie so high above the sea, were it protected against the east and north-east winds by mountains, or if seas existed on that side,—were the interior full of lakes and ponds, or were there sufficient wood to attract and retain the moisture of the atmosphere, the

soil of the Steppe would be as moist as it is everywhere else in the same latitudes: but with such conditions of the soil the climate would change accordingly.

The interior of the Steppe has very few springs, and even by digging wells fresh water cannot always be obtained: this is a great impediment to any permanent cultivation of isolated localities. But the greatest obstacle, in my opinion, to a general cultivation of the Steppes is the want of forests. If the Steppes were wooded, the climate would be different, springs and lakes would be formed, the soil would have permanent moisture, and be capable of being planted and inhabited, in a manner of which at present we have scarcely any idea.

The Steppe countries of European Russia form a connected extent of land of 453,600 square miles. On this enormous space there are only thin strips of wood upon the banks of some of the streams, for instance the Bug, Dnieper, Volga, Akhtuba, etc., constituting in the whole certainly not the two-hundredth part of the territory. Nor has it ever been otherwise since the original formation of this country. On the granite formation alone there may have been in ancient times isolated wooded districts. Herodotus speaks of the wooded country of Hylæa between the Dnieper and Gerrhus (Berda or Malotchnaya?); and the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus, and three hundred years later the traveller Rubriquis, found here a forest; but at present every trace of this has disappeared. The experience of thousands of years teaches that wood will never have a natural growth here; but the cause of this lies neither in the character of the soil nor in the climate, there being few districts in the Steppes where some kind of tree would not grow perfectly well.

To the traveller coming from the north the Steppe becomes gradually perceptible by the forests appearing more and more in isolated patches, and the grass plains growing larger in extent. All at once the wood ceases, not a bush is anywhere to be seen, and the Steppe stretches out in its immensity before us. On the margins of the Steppe are found occasionally in the ground remains of the roots and stumps of trees, showing that in former times the forest extended further down; but in a short time these also cease, and there is no longer any trace of forest having ever existed here. On the skirts of the forest also it is evident that it does not of itself advance toward the Steppe: the seed never forms new bushes. This does not arise from the soil not receiving the seed of the wood, or from the latter not striking root, but from another cause founded in physical laws.

To the north, west, and south are natural forests, and even along the rivers, into the Steppe, groups of trees occur, and old stunted pear-trees are everywhere found. It might be imagined that these trees on the rivers' banks would have extended, and the whole country have become gradually wooded; neither beasts nor men, who have never existed here in any large numbers as a settled population, would have presented any obstacles. This however has not taken place. Can it be assumed that in ancient times forests existed here, which have been destroyed by the hand of man? Even were it true that formerly the nomadic population was more numerous, and destroyed the original forests, still for many centuries this population has been so much diminished that the trees must have sprung up once more. The popula-pulation has always been small in proportion to the superficial area. The great national migrations streamed

through this country, the Steppes being an open gate which offered a convenient passage. To the north the forests, to the south seas and high mountains, arrested their advance.

I repeat, physical causes have prevented the Steppes becoming wooded of themselves. The trees are displaced by the grass vegetation. The whole plant-world presents a similar struggle for the dominion of the soil: thus the cryptogams are displaced by the grasses, the latter by the heath (*Erica*); bushes give place to flowers, one kind of tree to another, and in turn the trees, the giants of their empire, to the grasses, the dwarfs. In the Steppes near the Caucasus, on the Kuban and Terek, the vegetation of annual plants, which here cover the ground twice a year, is of almost incredible luxuriance. The weeds grow ten, twenty, and thirty feet in height, imitating and obstructing the growth of trees, being used as fuel by the people. The thick grass vegetation, five to seven feet high, on the margins of all the forests north of the chalk Steppes, has the same effect. Every spring this entire mass of plants springs up with such vigour, and spreads with such rapidity, that any seed of a tree falling amongst it takes years to attain even the height of the lowest grasses, and is choked in its first growth.

If then nature cannot ever of itself produce the necessary wood in the Steppes, it may be asked, are the present inhabitants, from a consideration of their immediate and vital interests, prepared to plant wood for their own wants and for future generations? This question I must answer generally in the negative. To plant wood privately is opposed to the habits and ideas of the majority of the Russians, holding out no sufficient immediate advantage to them; they are moreover too little educated

to understand the scientific planting of trees, or to protect them properly when planted. I have been informed that it is only the Germans, indeed only the Mennonites, who in recent times have planted wood. There may also perhaps be some landowners who have imitated the example, but more for amusement and vanity than with much success.

Nevertheless this country, so extremely important in an economical point of view to the whole internal development of Russia, will never attain its full amount of culture and population until it possesses the necessary wood. Insofar as the country has been cultivated without this greatest requisite of true progress, it has already reached its limit of improvement.* In a few localities alone does progress still take place, but on the whole it is very insignificant.

At present therefore the simple question is, How is wood to be obtained? The Russian Government has hitherto, as we have seen, left the affair to private interest and enterprise. In my opinion this is an economical error. Planting wood here is not an affair for private speculation, demanding as it does immediate and considerable expenditure of money and labour, the repayment of capital and interest being doubtful, or only to be expected after many years. To expect these sacrifices of men on their arriving in a new country, with the hope that after a short period of labour they will be able to procure subsistence and enjoyment from its cultiva-

* Whilst the seaports are extremely flourishing, the plain country in New Russia is very much behind. This is manifest from the amount of the population: that of the towns is as one to four compared with that of the plain country, a proportion which is not so favourable for the towns in any other part of the Russian Empire.

tion, is opposed to human nature, but particularly to the nature of the Russians.

It cannot indeed be said that the Government is blind to the fact that plantation on a large scale by private persons is not to be expected; on the contrary it has sought to induce this by encouragements and rewards. An ukase of the 14th of September, 1828, assures to every Crown peasant in Southern Russia, as his own property, every square fathom upon which he has planted a tree or vine, and releases him from the payment of all taxes upon it for ten years. Medals of honour and even pecuniary rewards are held out, but all this with scarcely any perceptible effect. Consequently nothing remains but for the Government to take the affair into its own hands, and this as soon and as energetically as possible, for the fruits of its labour can only be expected after a long period of time.

This is not the place to lay down a plan or show how the task might be undertaken; I believe that the Government does not as yet possess materials for such a purpose,—namely, a statistical examination of all the localities of the Pontic Steppes, indicating what districts could be planted, and with what kinds of wood, in what succession the plans should be carried out, etc. Were the localities for future plantations ascertained, the question would remain as to the execution; and here the chief obstacle, the want of human labour, meets us. In the south, as in the north, the army alone could supply the necessary labour. How well adapted it is for this purpose is shown by the plantations in the military colonies. What fairer destination for the army can be imagined than that the soldier, after serving the Crown for ten to fifteen years, should be transferred to the cul-

tivating and colonizing of the land, that he should there for some years serve his fatherland, with the certain prospect of making a home, and securing an independence for himself and his family?

Since the time when Russia acquired possession of these districts, a large number of flourishing cities have sprung up along the sea-coast. These are the outward sign of a state of industry in the interior, of internal development, struggling to establish commerce with the world. But the sphere of this industry does not lie in the immediate vicinity of these towns; it is divided from them by the broad and desert district of the Pontic Steppes: this is a great obstacle, enhancing the price of everything. The entire commerce of the northern coasts of the Black Sea will never be brought into full and natural development, until the Pontic Steppes are sufficiently cultivated and provided with all the necessary means of communication. Their complete cultivation however is impossible so long as they want the requisite wood; to plant this is consequently an extremely important economical task for the Russian Government. I am unable to lay down any plan for such plantations on a large scale, but cannot refrain from indicating one point which may suggest some useful ideas.

All the different classes of the peoples living in Russia are destroyers of wood,* the German Mennonite colo-

* That this is the case with the Russians Proper is well known. It is difficult for the common Russian to leave a tree standing; consequently even in the villages you never find one, giving shade to the aged and affording space for the children to play. Even the want of wood does not convert the Russians. The colonists cut down the few trees which they found in New Russia without planting new ones. They made firewood of the fruit-trees planted by the Turks at Tmutarakan and of the mulberry-trees planted by the Mongols on the Volga.

nists forming a single and laudable exception. They have begun of themselves to plant wood of all kinds, one of the colonists, Herr Kornies, having done more in this way than any other person in Russia: he possesses at the present time what it would be impossible to replace, large plantations, serving as nurseries from which an extensive forest might be planted out.

Upon this commencement might be based the following proceeding. Let a forest be planted in the neighbourhood of their villages by the Mennonites under the direction of Herr Kornies, of about a hundred and twenty square miles in extent. As labour is deficient among the Mennonites, let five thousand soldiers be sent to them as workmen These, properly divided and directed by Herr Kornies, would in the first year finish the preliminary labours, the fences and ditches, clearing the ground, etc, and in the second year be able to accomplish the plantation. Let then the whole of the new wood be delivered up to the protection of the Mennonites, with a company of soldiers as a permanent guard for the preservation of the enclosures and the growing plantations. This wood should then be delivered over to the Mennonites according to Polovnik law, they deriving one-half of the benefit of all the produce, and the Government the other half. The profit accruing to the Mennonites would doubtless be enormous, but the Government would have the incalculable advantage arising from the existence of a forest in this district, and, from the value of the other half of the produce, would also be able, though only after a considerable time, completely to cover the capital expended with interest.

I here conclude my review of colonization in Russia, which I am persuaded is the most important subject in the whole internal politics and economy of this Empire. By means of colonization alone, judiciously carried out, can the Russian Empire become what from its natural position and capabilities it was intended to be. In this lie the conditions of its progress, the future harmony of its various peoples and its trade, the secret of its internal union and of its external power. All the energy of the Government must be directed to the internal colonization of the Russian Empire. Russia would need, like England, although in a somewhat different sense, a Colonial Ministry. As I have before said, Russia still requires more than a century to bring out all her internal resources. Of what use to her would be a million of subjects on whom she could not rely, in a conquered country, which she would have to watch with a large army, whilst within her own limits she can gain in a few years ten million faithful and homogeneous subjects?

There is a widely spread belief in Europe that Russia is an ambitious colossus, thirsting after conquest, and aspiring to universal monarchy. Without referring to the very problematical possibility of a universal monarchy at all, or any peculiar qualification for it in this instance, I believe still less in any view of this kind on the part of Russia. I know Russia in its internal relations perhaps better than most persons in Europe, even better than the majority of Russians themselves, but I cannot with truth say that I have seen anything to indicate any tendency of this kind, either in the views of the Government or in the ideas and wishes of the people. Russia has for centuries made conquests, as indeed every State does, when vigorously developing itself, and when it has not yet

found the limit assigned to it by nature and political circumstances. All the States in Europe have done the same, and none has attained its present condition without unjust wars and conquests.

The Muscovite Grand-Duchy was an inland country: even after it had incorporated all the Russian Principalities within itself, it remained separated from the great highway of civilization, the sea. The impulse of development drove it to the conquest of the Baltic and Pontic countries, by which means it first became a State, and entered the circle of modern civilized empires. Russia indeed made further conquests of parts of Poland Proper, the Caucasian countries, etc.; but she has never derived any real advantage from these conquests,—she looks forward to realize them in a distant future. But henceforth every further conquest would be an incalculable burden and source of embarrassment. Where is it supposed that Russia wishes to extend her conquests? an increase of territory on the side of Sweden were madness: Finland itself is only valuable as a fortress to protect St. Petersburg. Conquests in the West? Poland is already more a burden than an advantage to Russia. The Caucasian countries, in comparison with what they cost, have not the slightest real value for her. With regard to these Russia has undertaken a mission of the future; she carries to those countries civilization, but in the first instance, and for many long years, at a heavy expense to herself. With the mountaineers of the Caucasus she would gladly maintain peace, and allow them their freedom, if they would remain quiet and refrain from making aggressions upon her. The frontier-line towards Persia and Asia Minor is at present drawn so favourably for Russia, that any further conquest in that quarter must appear insanity.

But the conquest of Constantinople?—fifty or sixty years ago such an idea circulated in Russia. At present she has no thought of this; she would enter upon such a conquest with the greatest repugnance. According to sound policy she must do everything to maintain the Turkish Empire. A weak but independent Sultan is the best Governor-General whom Russia can have in Constantinople. All the advantages she could derive from actual possession she has already, without the burden and responsibility attached to it. Can it be believed possible to govern Constantinople from St. Petersburg? The entire equilibrium of the Government would be destroyed, and the weight of power would necessarily seek other points in the Empire, such as Kharkof and Odessa, instead of Moscow and St. Petersburg.

But, it may be asked, is not the Government driven into wars and conquests by the tendencies and desires of the people? There exists no trace of any warlike desire of conquest in the Russian people; there is indeed a "Young Russia," as there is a Young Europe, a Young Germany, a Young Italy: this belongs to the development of modern civilization. Young Russia dreams of a great Slavonic empire, of the restoration in Byzantium, of the ancient Tzargorod, but these dreams have never penetrated among the people. Religious sympathies alone attract the attention of the Russians to Constantinople: hitherto these have received little inward nourishment, and the Government does not share them. When in Moscow I often expressed to the young Russians, that I had met everywhere in their country peaceful sentiments, and no desire of conquest, which fact they confirmed, although unwillingly.

CHAPTER II.

THE SEPULCHRAL MOUNDS OF THE STEPPES (KURGANI OR MOGILI).—STATUES (BABAS).—THEIR EXTENT AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICATION.—THE NOGAI TATARS.—CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE.—ATTEMPTS TO CIVILIZE THEM —SCHOOLS.—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

On entering upon the Steppe all trace of human life disappears, and the traveller sees nothing but the heavens above him, and the boundless flat green carpet spread out around, while here and there small and regularly formed mounds rise up to his view. On either side he perceives also low ridges of hills; and upon these again, at intervals, larger conically-shaped mounds. The latter are occasionally surmounted by roughly cut stone figures, which look down like ghosts upon the silent desert. One while these mounds are seen in large numbers clustered together, forming as it were an immense cemetery; at another, larger isolated ones extend in lines along the heights, until they disappear altogether, or rise up only at distant intervals in the Steppe.

Sepulchral mounds are met with throughout the whole of Celtic, Germanic, and Slavonic Europe, as well as in Northern Asia. But those which are found in the Steppes differ materially from the former, being generally higher and more regular; moreover they are not merely of a sepulchral nature: some of them have evi-

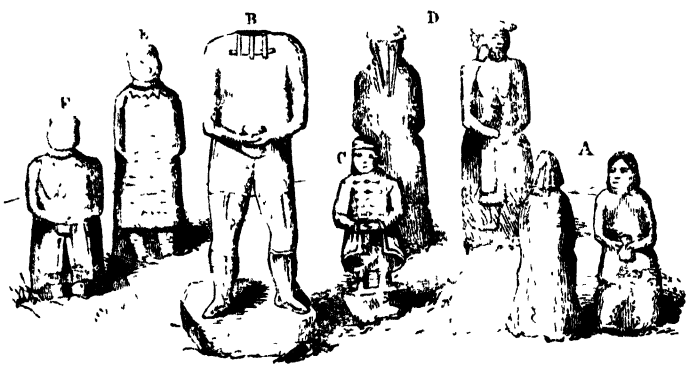
dently a mythological and religious character,—perhaps also, in a secondary sense, a political or military one. These monuments are quite peculiar to the Steppe country, and exist very extensively, stretching up into the Government of Kursk, far to the north of the actual Steppe. I have not ascertained how far they extend, or have at one time extended, toward the west. In the south they are found in the Crimea to the limit of the Steppe, thence along the north side of the Caucasus, and even round its eastern border into Daghestan, and in the Steppes north and east of the Caspian Sea to an unknown distance. The country over which they are scattered, as already ascertained, comprises more than 600,000 square miles. The statues are made of a stone which is not found nearer than four hundred miles from the spots where they have been erected; and this is not the case with regard to one statue only, but to thousands. How did they come hither, and for what purpose?

The inhabitants of the country know nothing respecting these statues, the majority of which have Mongol physiognomies and head-dresses; nevertheless the Mongol nomads here have no legendary tradition relating to them; they do not trace them to their forefathers, nor have they any veneration for them, but regard them with perfect indifference. The figures are classed into male and female: all which have been hitherto examined (including those seen by myself) have their faces turned toward the east: they all hold in their hands, before their bellies, an object, about which travellers have various conjectures: some of them are in a sitting posture, others standing.

In the Government of Tver, in the north of Russia, these tumuli are called *Sopki, Zapadni, Koptzi;* through-

out the south of Russia they have the name of *Kurgani*, but among the Little Russians that also of *Mogili*. The word *Kurgan* is said to be derived from the Tatar *gür*, *kyr*, *kür*, signifying a grave or hill, and *khani*, a house, —literally, a grave-house. *Mogila*, *Mohila*, is said to be derived from the Arabic, and to signify a hill, or resting-place. The statues on the Kurgans have no peculiar name; the people call them *Babas*, old women or mothers.

I will here give a description of those statues which I have myself seen.



On the road from Kharkof to Tchuguyef (July 21st, 1843), I saw one of these figures upon a solitary round hill, or Kurgan, and left the carriage to examine it: the people in the neighbourhood called it the *Kamennaya Baba*, or stone woman. (Figure A.) This statue was sunk several feet deep in the ground, and projected about five feet above it. The figure was that of a male, naked, but with a round, closely-fitting cap upon the head, falling upon the shoulders like a cloth, but without any kind of ornament; only a slight mark round the neck indicated a neckcloth. Both hands held before the belly an object

which in my opinion was evidently some kind of vessel, and not a book or board. Below the neck, in the middle of the breast, and a little above the ground between the legs, were two small round holes, about an inch deep, which appear to have been bored into the stone. I was much surprised to find traces of the stone having been coloured red, or covered with a kind of red wax; on rubbing it with the finger, spots of colour as broad as the hand were distinctly perceptible over the eyes, and on the cheeks, shoulders, and breast; the colour was bright red, and adhered like cement or putty, as thick as the back of a knife. The features of this figure had nothing Mongolic; the head was pointed, and the lower part of the face very broad, more like the Finnish type: the whole sculpture was rough and clumsy. The Kurgan was situated upon the land of the village of Rogan, belonging to Prince Shafgovskoi, not far distant from the village of Petchenegi.

The second time I saw any of these statues was in Ekaterinoslaf. During dinner at the Governor's I made inquiries respecting them, and he told me that his predecessor had brought two of them from Kurgans in the neighbourhood into his garden, where they still lay. I examined, and will now describe them. (Figures B. and C.) They have an entirely different character from the statue described above, and evidently belong to a much later age, one of them probably to the latest period in which such statues were erected. They are cut out of sandstone, whereas the first is of shell-limestone. One is decidedly a male figure, but of the other I am doubtful. As they lay, I could not see the work on the back part: they were however complete statues, the limbs being not merely indicated in relief upon the stone, but

completely chiselled, and resting upon a sort of pedestal, which was pointed at the bottom for about two or three feet, so as to be fixed into the ground and form a support to the figure. The largest figure was headless; and with this (not including the pedestal), would have been about eight feet long. The figure was naked; a peculiar kind of ornament hung round the neck, and armour and greaves were perceptible on the legs. The form of the body had a decidedly female character, but the pendent breasts found in all the other female statues of this kind were wanting. Is this figure an hermaphrodite or an Amazon? The object which it held in its hand was evidently a vessel or leathern bottle: there were traces on this statue also of a dark brown colour.* The second figure measured five feet without the pedestal: it was a male, dressed in an ordinary Tatar (or Polish) coat, the regular lines of lace across the breast being distinctly represented by the sculptor. This whole figure had a different character from the others, with nothing Mongolic, and certainly dates no further back than the time of the Tatars. I was informed that a large number of similar figures existed in this district.

The third time I had an opportunity of examining these statues was at Terpenie, formerly the residence of Kapustin, the head of the Dukhobortzi, which I visited with Herr Kornies, July 25th, 1843. Three of them stood in a row in the courtyard of Kapustin's house. (Figures D, E, and F.) They had evidently been transported thither from Kurgans in the vicinity, and had all the same character: the largest stood in the middle,

* I could not help thinking of the field-devils of the Bible (2 Chron xi. 15, *Feldteufel*, Luther's version), when I imagined this dark figure standing upon a solitary Kurgan in the Steppe

and measured seven and a half feet, that on the right six and a half, and the one on the left five and a half. They were female figures, all standing, naked down to the lower part of the body, with large pendent breasts, and the body and legs covered as far as the calf. The head-dress was a singular kind of hood, with various ornaments, and three plaits hanging down the back; the neck had a kind of ornamental collar, and large rings depended from the ears. Under the breast of one was a singular square kind of ornament, and under that of the others a three-cornered one, probably representing an amulet. The hands held before the bodies vessels; that of one figure was nearly a foot long and six inches broad; that of the others scarcely a fourth part so large, and of a more ornamental form. The legs below the calves and the feet were in relief, but quite plainly sculptured; in the case of the third figure however, half the legs, with the entire pedestal, were covered by the ground. The physiognomies were undoubtedly Mongolic, the head-dress being similar to that of the common Kalmuk women of the present day. The smallest figure (F) was almost obliterated.

The fourth time I met with a statue was near Arabat; it was not upon a Kurgan, but on a flat part of the ground, and appeared to be sunk rather deep into it, projecting about four feet above the surface: it was of the roughest workmanship, and very much defaced.

The statues have generally the legs and feet in relief; the back part being merely a roughly cut, square stone, often sunk several feet in the earth. These mounds are innumerable, and there are many thousand statues still existing, while thousands have probably been destroyed, as any trace of religious veneration for them has disappeared. An impenetrable historical mystery

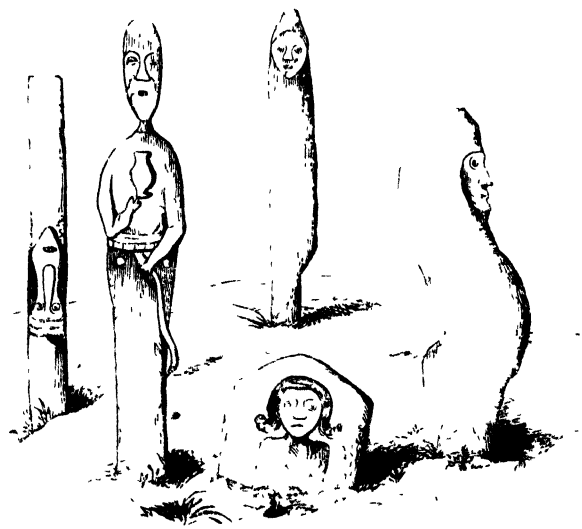
veils the origin and significance both of the mounds and statues.

I regard these figures as the most interesting ancient historical monuments in Russia, and the Government would confer a great benefit upon science by facilitating an investigation into their nature and origin; but this should be done soon, as they are falling rapidly to decay. It is difficult, without a closer examination than the materials already collected admit, to pronounce any decided judgement upon them; but the representations I have given show clearly that they belong to various peoples, exhibiting the most dissimilar physiognomies, dress, and ornaments; they are moreover not of one and the same age. It is more likely that all the various peoples who have successively traversed and inhabited the Steppe, adopted the custom of erecting these tumuli, which probably originated in some religious worship; and thus thousands of years may have elapsed between the erection of the most ancient and the most recent monuments. The first writer hitherto known to mention them is Ammianus Marcellinus, who in his description of the Huns says, "They have singular forms, and might be mistaken for beasts walking upon two legs, or for those roughly hewn columns in human form, which are seen on the shores of the Pontus Euxinus."

In the Eastern Steppes, as far as China and throughout Siberia, there are likewise innumerable mounds and statues, but little is known concerning them. They appear to differ materially in form from those around the Black Sea; for instance, they have not the distinguishing mark of the Pontic statues, the vessel held before the body. The information given by travellers regarding them is very incomplete. In Herberstein first, and after-

wards in other writers, is found the Siberian saga of the *Stara Baba* (the Ancient Mother), which tells that, far to the north, in the territory of Obdora, on the coast of the Arctic Ocean, not far distant from the mouth of the Obi, is a golden statue of an old woman in a sitting posture, esteemed sacred by all the Siberian peoples: her son is sitting in her lap, and he has a little child in his, her grandson: a continual sound as of trumpets and trombones is said to issue from the interior.

I insert an illustration of some Siberian statues, taken from Falk's Travels in 1768–73, for comparison with the Pontic figures. They are all of red sandstone, and the



people who at present roam over the districts in which they are found can tell nothing of their origin or signification.

The artificial mounds, or Kurgans, in the Steppe are for the most part sepulchral mounds, in which are found

ashes, charcoal, bones of men and beasts, with all kinds of arms and utensils; some however, especially the tall ones, and those situated on high ground, appear to have had a religious or political meaning. Popular assemblies were probably held there, and they may also have served as watch-towers: these latter contain no traces of bones or other remains. Herr Kornies informed me that on the Malotchnaya the soil of which the Kurgans are composed is not found within sixty versts of them. The mounds situated between the Malotchnaya and Berda deserve particular examination, as, according to Herodotus, the tombs of the Scythian Kings probably lie there.

The largest of all the known Kurgans is probably the Tzarevkurgan, near the village of Tzarevtchino, not far distant from Samara. It rises from a dead flat, and, according to Pallas, measures twenty fathoms in height, and a verst and a half in circumference. A tradition has been preserved regarding it, to the effect that a powerful army at one time passed that way, the General and King of which ordered that each soldier should throw a capful of earth upon the spot where the mound now stands, and a high mountain was thus formed. The following day however the army fought a battle, and, marching back again, the King ordered each soldier to take up and carry away a capful of earth, which greatly reduced the mountain in height; but the present hill remained a memorial of the innumerable hosts that first raised it.* I was informed that M. Tereshtchenko had received a commission from the Minister of the Interior to excavate this enormous Kurgan, and had found in it three cham-

* Precisely similar legends are found in Germany and Flanders; in the latter country there is a high hill, which, according to tradition, was raised by each warrior in the army throwing a handful of earth over the tomb of their general, on the spot where he fell.

bers, with tombs, mosaic pavements, etc. In a small hill near he found an urn, filled with the bones of birds, and clay pellets and beetles. What important discoveries might result from a close investigation of these mounds!

The Kurgans near Kertch are very interesting: there is nowhere so great a number, or such skilfully constructed mounds, as in this corner of the Tauric peninsula. The majority of these hills contain a large number of remarkable and occasionally splendid sepulchral vaults, containing beautiful marble sarcophagi,—Grecian statues of great beauty, embossed gold-work, etc.,* all of the time of the Greek Bosphoric kingdom. At Kertch, the ancient Panticapæum, I visited a museum full of objects which had been dug out of the Kurgans. One department of the museum of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg also contains beautiful antiquities from Kertch; but it would be a great mistake, in my opinion, to suppose that these hills were raised over the sepulchral vaults at the time the latter were constructed; on the contrary, I am persuaded that the Kurgans are much older, and date from a period long antecedent to the existence of the Greek Panticapæum. They have all the same aspect and character, and are formed of the same soil, as the Kurgans in the Steppe, with which they are connected by lines throughout the Steppe in Taurida; those further off, but also some near Kertch, often contain no Greek sepulchral tombs; in short, I believe that the Greeks

* The quantity of gold in these tombs is extraordinary. In St. Petersburg I saw masks made entirely of gold, of ten pounds weight! The quantity sometimes found in the tombs of Siberia is however much larger; for instance a tomb was discovered some years ago in Southern Siberia, on the river Amur, the corpse in which was enveloped in gold plate: a bold hypothesis was expressed that it was the tomb of Genghis Khan. At Kertch also a high Kurgan is shown which is called the tomb of Mithridates, and is said to contain his body. Mithridates however, although he died at Panticapæum, was buried at Sinope.

of Panticapæum only made use of the existing ancient Kurgans, to construct their tombs in them, and thus three or four of these sepulchres are frequently found in one moderate-sized Kurgan. Occasionally too these Greek tombs have been worked into the mountain-rock, and sometimes even close to empty Kurgans. It was not the custom of the Greeks at that period to raise these high sepulchral mounds, which are found in no other land they inhabited. I regard the Kurgans at Kertch therefore as being quite as ancient, and belonging to the same races, as the Kurgans in the Steppe. The fact however of their lying so close together, their large number and extraordinary magnitude, indicate that they were the tombs of great leaders and kings, or places consecrated by some religious worship.

In conclusion I will here give an illustration of the base of a Kurgan which was discovered in 1822, in the

vicinity of Nikolaief, in the Government of Kherson. The Kurgan was formed of sand only, and contained neither charcoal nor bones; but when it was quite removed, four circles of stones were found, two to three feet high: in

the centre was a circular empty space, in which lay five stones together. The entire plan reminds us of the stone circles, or the so-called *Hühnenringe*, in the Altmark and the Lüneburg country. A friend at St. Petersburg gave me a drawing of it.

I went, as above mentioned, from the Mennonite colonies with Herr Kornics to visit a Nogai Tatar village. Afterwards I met several small nomadic hordes of this people, and became acquainted in the Crimea with that portion of the Tatars who have long been settled.

The Nogai Tatars are the last trace in Europe of that vast Mongol movement which in the Middle Ages shook every country between China and Silesia, between Siberia and the Indian Ocean. The Mongols and Tatars founded in the Crimea the Western Tatar Empire, which subsisted until near the end of the eighteenth century: in the middle of the preceding one Moscow and Poland still trembled before them. They are, finally, the last remaining nomads in Europe, although, lured by modern civilization, they also are on the point of changing their proud shepherd-freedom for agriculture and industry.

A book exists upon the Nogai Tatars by Schlatter,* which may serve as a model for works on such subjects. I received also much information, verbal and written, concerning them from my Mennonite friend Kornics, who has been for many years their nearest neighbour; they call him their friend and father, and he assists them in all their difficulties, paying particular attention to the instruction, support, and training of those who become settled on the land, and show a disposition to engage in

* St. Gall, 1830.

agricultural and industrial pursuits. He speaks more particularly of those Nogai Tatars who have gradually become settled since the year 1809 in the Circle of Melitopol (Government of Taurida), under the direction of Count Maison.

The Nogai Tatars have no memorials of their early history: they speak of a written book, called Tovrik, but no one has ever seen it. According to one of their traditions, Genghis Khan was born among them of a virgin, by a sunbeam, without the intercourse of man. They are now divided into innumerable small hordes, and scattered over the immense district between Bessarabia, the Caucasus, and Astrakhan. They are found beyond the Volga, on the Kama, in Kabarda even mixed with the Circassians, on the Don among the Cossacks; throughout the whole Pontic Steppe; in the Crimea, Bessarabia, and even on the right bank of the Danube; and now to the west of the Malotchnaya, but everywhere in small numbers, as the fixed settlements are gradually superseding nomadic life. Count Maison formed a plan for establishing the Nogai Tatars in the Circle of Melitopol; he founded the town of Nogaisk, and induced a small number of the people to settle in it. They had never before engaged in agriculture here, and only a few of them had sown some millet. Count Maison made great exertions to settle them; they were compelled to build houses, to which at first they had such a repugnance that they pitched their felt tents beside the houses and inhabited the former. They were however gradually becoming accustomed to regular dwellings, and civilization was making manifest progress, and with it the welfare of the people, when Count Maison, in 1821, resigned his office of superintendent of the Nogai Tatars, where-

upon this progress not only came to a standstill, but retrograded. Many of them abandoned their houses, put their goods and chattels upon their *arabas* (two-wheeled carts), and returned free nomads to the Steppe: "Allah has willed it so!" they said; "he gave to the Russians and Germans the plough, to the Armenians the table (for counting money), but to the Nogais he gave the *araba*."

The Nogai Tatars north of the Sea of Azof are restricted by the Russian Government within a certain defined boundary, fifty versts long from north to south, ninety versts from east to west, and about 3300 square miles in extent. On the south their country borders on the Sea of Azof and the possessions of Count Orlof Denisof; on the north it adjoins the colony of Mennonites and Molokane; on the east the Würtemberg colonies and the Russian settlements in the Alexandropol Circle; and on the west the Malotchno Lake and the colonies of the Dukhobortzi. The country is divided into five Volosts, placed under a specially appointed chief, who is subject to the immediate orders of the Governor of Taurida, in Simpheropol. With regard to the administration of justice, the country is under the jurisdiction of the Inferior Court of Arekhof, which however only takes cognizance of criminal offences, smaller ones being punished by the Chief of the Nogais. The Nogais pay about one-third of the ordinary Russian taxes, or four to five roubles per soul, according to the Revision; they are only bound to serve in the militia, not in the army. Their Moollahs, of whom there are about five hundred, and their Murzas, numbering about two hundred, are tax-free. The people have been disarmed since 1811. There is still a kind of petty nobility among them, called the Zait: these do not intermarry with the rest of the people,

and, although possessing no political or material privileges, they receive a certain deferential respect from all; every one is anxious to accompany the Murza when he rides out, and considers it an honour to serve him. The number of the people cannot be ascertained, as many nomads come and go among them; at the last Revision 18,000 male souls were stated in round numbers. I believe the population to amount to between 40,000 and 50,000 persons of both sexes.

The Nogais are without exception Mohammedans. That a strong sympathy still exists among the Tatars for the Turks is unquestionable, but they are very cautious in allowing the Russians to perceive this. Herr Kornies, in the last Turkish war, said to a cunning old Tatar, "Friend, have you heard that the Turks have been victorious?" The Tatar replied, without moving a feature, "I hope peace will ensue." Afterwards information arrived of a victory by the Russians, and when Kornies announced this to him, the Tatar again replied as before, "I hope peace may ensue." When Kornies asked him further, "But if the Turks were to come, whom would you join?" he answered, "We should see where there was room." They have a traditional prophecy, that, as the Greek Empire came to an end under a Constantine, and was succeeded by the Turkish, the latter Empire will terminate when a Constantine ascends the Russian throne; and they were consequently greatly concerned when, after the death of Alexander, Constantine was proclaimed, and rejoiced when Nicholas ascended the throne. They have a proverb, "Germany has wisdom, Georgia beauty, Turkey both."

Sacrifices are customary among the Nogais; a sheep is usually sacrificed, and then consumed by the family,

with the poor, who are invited for that purpose. There is a curious mixture of honesty and thievishness in them; they are addicted to stealing cattle, particularly horses; but when on a visit enjoying hospitality, or as labourers and beggars in the German colonies, they are strictly honest. The beggar says, "As the gifts of God belong to me, why should I steal?" Highway robbery is scarcely ever heard of. Any business confided to a Nogai he will execute with the greatest punctuality and honesty, even if otherwise an arrant thief. Generally they are to be relied on as labourers; they work better than the Russians, and are therefore much sought by the Germans, particularly during the harvest. In most of the villages are schools, kept by the Moollahs; but these are little visited, and generally only by those who wish to devote themselves to the spiritual profession.

The Nogais begin to see that agriculture is much more advantageous to them than the mere breeding of cattle, and every day the number of settlers and agriculturists is increasing, notwithstanding the attractions of the free and proud nomadic life. Count Maison first obliged them to adopt agriculture, and ordered that for each male soul at least two tchetverts of grain should be sown; but after his death agriculture retrograded, and it is only of late that it is making progress again. Very severe winters, and a great mortality among the cattle, particularly the horses, have induced the Nogais to follow agriculture of themselves; and Herr Kornies, by his guidance and support, has done the greatest service to the people. For a period of thirty-five years, since the Mennonites settled in this neighbourhood, no criminal offence has occurred.

CHAPTER III.

ARRIVAL AT KERTCH.—THE ANCIENT PANTICAPÆUM.—FEODOSIA.—VISIT TO GREEKS, ARMENIANS, AND KARAITE JEWS.—GERMAN COLONY.—THE GREEK ARCHBISHOP.—SYNAGOGUE OF THE TALMUDISTS.—KARASU-BAZAR.—SIMPHEROPOL.—THE MARKET.—BAKTCHESERAI.—PALACE OF THE KHANS.—RIDE TO TCHUFUT-KALÉ.—CONVENT OF OUR LADY OF THE ROCK.—DWELLING OF TROGLODYTES.—HISTORICAL LEGENDS OF THE KARAIM.—THE CRIMEA UNDER THE TATARS.—CONSTITUTION.—FALL OF THE KHANATE IN 1784.—EMIGRATION OF THE TATARS.

On the morning of the 22nd of September, after a violent storm which had raged the whole night, I arrived on board a Russian war-steamer in the harbour of Kertch, on my return from the coast of Mingrelia.

In the parts of Russia hitherto visited I had found myself in a new country, with a new aspect of civilization, and a history which hardly dated back to the ninth century; I had seen many splendid towns and cities, but the majority of them could trace their origin no further back than two centuries. But I was now entering a country of which history makes mention fourteen centuries before the dawn of Russian history, and containing cities founded five hundred years before the birth of Christ.

The Kimmerians are said to have been the original inhabitants of the northern coasts of the Pontus. In times anterior to historical record they were driven out

by the Scythians; part of them escaped in a westerly direction, whilst another part fled to the mountains of the Crimea, where, under the name of Tauri, they were known to the Greeks as an extremely wild and savage race of barbarians.

Along the whole northern coast of the Pontus the Greeks founded a number of colonial towns, which rapidly attained a high degree of wealth and civilization. In the Tauric peninsula the colony of Chersonesus, founded by Heracleans, and the Milesian colonies of Theodosia and Panticapæum, were conspicuous. Panticapæum, called also afterwards Bosphorus (the present Kertch), stands on the eastern point of the Tauric peninsula. The view of it from the sea, on approaching the harbour, is truly imposing: a projecting headland, with a Greek temple—the present Museum—on a terrace in the centre, stretches out to the left; and from this point the town is seen rising in the form of an amphitheatre toward the heights which surround it. The town is new, and all the houses have pillars and balconies in the Russian fashion, which here produce a very picturesque effect as seen from the sea. The whole scene gives the impression of being transported back to the time of the ancient Greeks and Mithridates.

Panticapæum is a very ancient city; it probably existed when the Milesian colonists settled here, more than 500 B.C., and introduced the Greek mode of life. The Kings of the Bosphorus, of the race of Archæanactides, transferred (B.C. 438) the capital of their dominion from Phanagoria to Panticapæum; it was a small civilized empire, which maintained a constant connection with Greece. About the year 324 B.C. these kings became tributary to the Sarmatians and Tauri, and thenceforth led a

miserable existence, until Mithridates Eupator took possession of all the Crimea and the coasts of the Black Sea, transferred his residence to Panticapæum, and thence, with the assistance of the Scythians, Sarmatians, and all the northern independent nations, commenced his gigantic project of the destruction of the power of Rome. Pompey overcame him, and when his own son rose up against him, he determined to die, requesting his last faithful friend, the Celtic Prince Bitœtus, to thrust his sword into his heart: from that time the Bosphoric princes were vassals of the Romans. In the fourth century after Christ the republic of Chersonesus, the old rival of the Bosphoric empire, put an end to the latter. Panticapæum fell into the hands of the Huns, from whom Justinian wrested it in the sixth century. From that time the city, as well as the whole of the Crimea, although afterwards only nominally, continued a part of the Greek Empire. In the thirteenth century it fell, with nearly all the towns on the coast, into the power of the Genoese, who maintained their ground for two centuries, until Mohammed II. put an end to their dominion in 1475. The city having received (it is unknown when) the name of Kertch, remained under the Turkish rule: a Pasha was appointed, who maintained a garrison, until it was made over to Russia in 1774. Since then Kertch has gradually been rising from the decline into which it had fallen in the time of the Turks: it is singular that it has not already become a second Odessa. The harbour is excellent, the situation possessing the greatest advantages: to the north is the entrance into the Sea of Azof; to the east is the mouth of a navigable river, the Kuban, and the Caucasian mountains are in sight. Russia, particularly through

the exertions of the Governor-General of New Russia, Count Woronzof, has done everything possible to raise Kertch; but these efforts have not yet succeeded so completely as might have been expected. Commerce is a capricious power, seeking out channels for itself, and steering its own course, independent of human potentates: the natural instinct of man succeeds indeed occasionally in assigning the right point at which to fix trade, as was the case with Peter I. in St. Petersburg, but this seldom occurs according to ordinary calculation.

We ascended Mount Mithridates, from which there is a most beautiful view, and examined in the newly arranged museum there a part of the Greek antiquities, which have been found principally in the vaults of the tombs. We took our departure in the night, and arrived the following morning at Feodosia. Kertch has the appearance of a Greek town, but Feodosia more that of an Italian one. The large towers and ruins belong to the Middle Ages, the time when the Genoese held sway here.

Theodosia (at present called Feodosia, and also occasionally by the Greeks Theodosiopolis, by the Tauri Ardanda, or the city with Seven Gods,) was likewise a flourishing colony of the Milesians. It is mentioned five hundred years before Christ; then it fell into decay, and in the second century was completely deserted. Afterwards an insignificant place seems to have existed here. The Genoese rebuilt it in the thirteenth century, and it soon became a flourishing town again, the centre of the dominion of the Genoese, who thence established several small colonies on the Tauric coast; it received the surname of Krim-Stamboul, and is said at that time (an unquestionable exaggeration) to have contained 36,000

houses. In the fourth century the district was called Kapha, and for this reason perhaps the Genoese called the town Kaffa. It is only since the Russians took possession of it that it has again been called Feodosia. Mohammed II. took the town in 1475, and carried the remaining inhabitants to Constantinople, where they were settled in the suburb of Pera: all the boys were trained as Janissaries. Thenceforth the Turks possessed the town, until the Khans of the Crimea were declared independent at the Peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji in 1774. The last Khan of the Crimea, Shahin-Girai, transferred his residence hither from Baktcheserai, and built himself a palace, a mint, etc. When Potemkin conquered the Crimea, in 1781, Kaffa was taken possession of; and the finest monuments of antiquity, amongst others a beautiful tower built by the Genoese, which served as the minaret of the chief mosque, were destroyed. The town sank into a state of insignificance, so that the English traveller Clarke found there only fifty families; but in recent times it has risen out of its ruins, and is now one of the most beautiful towns in the Crimea, with seven thousand inhabitants.

I was hospitably received in a house upon the quay facing the sea, which here forms a semicircle, with a charming view. The house opposite evidently belonged to the older buildings, but a modern upper story had been added. The illustration on the next page shows a curious mixture of antique Byzantine, and even a trace of Moorish style; the building doubtless belongs to the time of the Genoese.

The Head of the Police in the town took us under his protection; he had been (1813–1815) in Germany as a young officer in the army, and spoke German fluently.

We first visited with him the Museum of the town, which contains numerous remains of antiquity, preserved from the time of the Greeks and Genoese. To the government

FROM A ROW OF HOUSES IN FEODOSIA

of Count Woronzof, I believe, is due the merit of having put a stop to the Vandal destruction of these treasures. The Russians in the Crimea have been, since the time of Potemkin, much condemned for this, but they only shared the contagions in the atmosphere which prevailed all over Europe. Did not the French during the revolution, and even the German Governments in the case of the Catholic convents, churches, and libraries, act in a similar manner?

The inhabitants of this town consist of Russians, Tatars, Armenians, Greeks, Jews (Talmudists as well as Karaites), Bulgarians, and Germans. In company with the Head of the Police, who had free access everywhere, I visited the houses belonging to people of all these nations, wishing to see the internal arrangements and their mode of living: but unfortunately my companion took me only to the best and richest houses, in which were

seen merely European habits and modern luxury,—nothing of the pure and genuine national life. I could not induce him to allow me a glance into the state of the middle classes of these peoples. This is one weak side with the Russian Tchinovniks: from use they acquire great dexterity in displaying to the inquisitive eyes of their superiors the brightest side of everything, and concealing all defects; from habit they do the same to the travellers who are introduced to them: the interest which a foreigner may feel in national peculiarities, however remarkable, these men are entirely unable to comprehend.

Our first visit was to a rich Greek. The house had no entrance from the street: a door led into a large court-yard, planted with fine chestnut-trees along the walls. From the outside a flight of steps led up to a gallery, running along the entire side of the second story, in which all the family were assembled; in fine weather, when not too hot, they pass the whole day here. Two elderly ladies were working at some tapestry, while a young girl of extraordinary beauty was sewing: all three were dressed in the European fashion, the head-dress of the elder women only having anything peculiar in its appearance. The master of the house received us with much politeness; his nephew, a young Armenian, spoke Italian, and his young son was seated at a table studying a French lesson; both lads wore modern coats, whilst the old man had a cloth kaftan with a red girdle. The arrangements of the house and the furniture were entirely European, without taste or symmetry, in the fashion which prevailed twenty or thirty years ago.

The house of an Armenian whom we visited had a more peculiar aspect, and the dress of its inhabitants

was of an oriental character. All kinds of sweetmeats and preserves were offered to the guest, and they also sought to bestow presents upon us. These Armenians afterwards sent me a small box of white caviar, made from sturgeon of the Black Sea, which is only met with in perfection in Feodosia.

The most interesting visit we paid was to the Jews of the sect of Karaites. We first went to a rich broker of the town named Mardokhai Moshé. Here again we were conducted into papered rooms, furnished with a sofa, mirrors, a writing-table, and modern tables and chairs. On the walls were hung engravings of the Emperors Alexander and Nicholas, and a great variety of sheets of paper framed and glazed, on which were written, in an ornamental style and decorated with gold arabesques, passages in Hebrew, interspersed with old and curiously painted pictures, which, we were informed, had been brought from Constantinople. The dress of the male Karaite Jews is the same as that of the Tatars; at my request, the daughter-in-law appeared in her holiday clothes, which were very curious. Our host accompanied us to the synagogue, where we were received by the Rabbi, Joshua Davidovitch Koen; he was about forty years of age, dressed in a long black talar, and had one of the handsomest and most expressive faces I had seen for a long time.

The synagogue was a small stone vaulted building, supported by two pillars, with a gallery of trellis-work for the women; there were a number of pendent lamps, but the building was without any other decoration. The parchments of the law, handsomely written, were brought out and unrolled from the silken embroidered cloth in which they were enveloped. The Rabbi went to a desk,

and offered up a short prayer for the Emperor, and for the traveller, "that I might find what I was in search of," as he afterwards explained to us. The Karaites are well-disposed to the Russians, as was shown, among other indications, by this somewhat curious demonstration, as well as by his having, like all his brethren, added to his name the Russian termination *vitch*,—Davidovitch. He said that the congregation of the Karaites in Feodosia amounted to about three hundred males. His belief was that the Karaites were descended from the Israelites who were carried into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar; that they did not return to the Promised Land, but were brought to Armenia, whence a part of them had come 2100 years ago to Taman, and had spread over the Crimea, settling in Kertch, Feodosia, Mangup, Staroi-Krim, and Tchufut-kalé, their number amounting probably to about 6000 males. Many of them were said to be still living in Bagdad, and some also in Portugal, but these had come there subsequent to the last destruction of Jerusalem. My informant said that there lived in Eupatoria, or Kozlof, 170 versts distant, a Karaite named Abraham Turkovitch, who possessed a copy of the Bible 1520 years old, brought from Armenia, at the end of which were written many historical accounts of the Karaites. Count Woronzof knew this man, on whom he had conferred benefits, and to him, I was told, he would doubtless show the manuscript, but to no other person: if I desired to see it, therefore, I might apply to Count Woronzof.

Early the next morning I rode to a small German colony, named Heilbron, six versts distant from Feodosia, which seemed in no very prosperous condition. I visited also the nearest neighbour of these poor Germans,

a Greek archbishop, who, having been compromised in the struggle for the independence of Greece, had been obliged to fly from Turkey, and was now living in retirement in a country-house among the mountains, supported by the Russian Government. We found this venerable old gentleman sitting before his small house, shelling peas and beans. I was quite astonished to find here, in the hands of a Greek archbishop, my favourite Westphalian beans, which other unenlightened Germans abuse as horse-beans! The good man was so delighted at my recognizing them, that he made me accept a handful, to plant in my own country. He was rearing two Gipsy children, who had run away from their people and were found lying at his door, when only three or four years old; but, notwithstanding his affectionate care of them, the Head of Police said he expected they would escape again when ten or twelve years old.

We rode back by a romantic mountain-path, commanding the most beautiful views of the Black Sea, and on our way passed a Gipsy village: anything more wretched and repulsive than those mud hovels and dirty tents, it is impossible to conceive, although there was an air of activity and intelligence in the appearance of many of the people.

After I had ordered horses for my departure, a deputation of Talmudist Jews, who were jealous of my visit to the Karaites, came to invite me to see their synagogue. The deputation consisted of persons who were originally Polish Jews, and spoke German. I did not show much inclination to accept the invitation, but one of them pleaded that their synagogue was much finer and more ancient than that of the Karaites, and contained in its vaults a large collection of manuscripts: this was a temp-

tation I could not resist. My conductor was Feissel Nathanson, a Polish Jew, uniting the vocations of merchant and postmaster, with something of the servant to boot.

The synagogue was a large and interesting building, even in an architectural point of view. Behind the chair of the Rabbi was a vault, entered through a low opening, into which a person could only creep on his hands and knees. It was quite dark; lights were therefore brought, and we crawled in. There was doubtless a large collection of manuscripts, but lying torn and in great confusion, in a heap above ten feet high: it would have taken a week to inspect them even superficially. My conductor told me that many of them were cabalistic manuscripts.

We left Feodosia, and took the road to Simpheropol, passing in the night through Karasubazar. It was bright moonlight, and all around lay buried in deep repose. The crowd of mosques and handsome minarets, with the gentle rippling of water in a number of conduits, which were used for watering the gardens, formed altogether a rapidly shifting picture like one in some Eastern tale. Toward morning we reached Simpheropol.

This city, the capital of the Government of Taurida, stands upon the confines of the mountainous district of the Crimea and the Steppe. In driving out of the town southward, the traveller enters at once on a charming country; hills, rocks, pleasant valleys, beautiful gardens, and a pretty river, meet his eye; whilst immediately north of the town stretches the boundless Steppe. Not finding the Governor here, I had time to survey the town and neighbourhood. The former consists of two parts, —the old Tatar town, and the modern European one

adjoining it, built by the Russians. The former has a mean aspect: even the "White Mosque," from which the place derives its name of Ak-Metchet, is an insignificant building, with an ornamental minaret. The great market, or bazaar, held every Friday and Sunday, is interesting; a more motley crowd than is seen here it is impossible to imagine. In the outer row stand in long lines camels and buffaloes, with their two-wheeled *arabâs*, and also German horses and waggons, driven by honest Suabians. The clamour and bustle in the market exceed anything of the kind I have ever seen or heard,—cries in half-a-dozen languages, from Tatars, Russians, Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Germans, and Gipsies, men, women, and children. The wares were as various and peculiar as the manner in which they were exposed for sale: there were piles of the finest fruit, apples, nuts, and melons, with all kinds of provisions, cooked and uncooked, large kettles full of mutton boiling, which is sold and eaten on the spot, various articles of leather of the finest description, and ready-made clothes for all these different nations. The noise of the buyers and sellers was appalling, occasionally accompanied by the sound of a *balalaika* and tambourine, and the singular song of a gipsy. The East and the West were here about equally represented by their various races, and this made the market-scene so interesting.

Simpheropol contains a population of 9000 inhabitants, composed of about 5500 Tatars, 1800 Russians, and 1000 Gipsies; the rest are Germans, Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians, and Jews.

We found a very good inn, kept by a French cook, but started the same afternoon for Baktcheserai. The road at first passed through a kind of Steppe country, but we

soon came to a beautiful valley, under the richest garden culture. On every side were seen small watercourses, brought down from the surrounding heights, from which channels flow for the irrigation of the meadows, gardens, and even corn-land. Men and women were everywhere employed in damming up the water with planks and stones, and in other places letting it flow to water the land. The Tatars always level by the eye, without instruments, and yet as much water was obtained as if the ground had been scientifically levelled.

Toward evening we arrived at Baktcheserai. The town is not seen until the traveller gains the summit of a hill directly in front of it, from which he drives rapidly down a long street into an open square; on the right of this stands the castle of the ancient Khans of Tatary and the Crimea, with its courts and extensive gardens, and surrounded by a small wet ditch with a drawbridge.

We found quarters in the castle itself, an invalid subaltern officer, who acted as superintendent, undertaking to provide for our bodily wants. We established ourselves in a gallery, determining to spend as much of the evening as possible in the open air, in the courts and gardens. The wing over the gate of the castle is alone inhabited: here reside a commandant and several superintendents: all the other extensive buildings were wrapt in a deathlike stillness. In the gardens were magnificent pine-trees, cypresses, and poplars, intermingled with festooned vines and ivy; the old fountains were playing, the wind whistled among the branches of the trees, but no sound of a human voice reached our ears. The moonlight fell upon the tombs of the old Khans, who lay buried, some outside the building and others in an open vestibule: above each grave stood a simple column.

These were the rulers and leaders of those mighty hordes before whom Europe once trembled! Silent and dead was the whole scene around us, where once reigned wealth, pride, and all the sounds and activity of busy life.

At length the voice of the Muezzin was heard from the minaret close by, calling the Faithful to midnight prayer. This lonely chant, sounding from aloft down on the graves of these proud rulers, produced an extraordinary feeling of melancholy on the mind: it no longer arouses the heroes of this once powerful people, now oppressed and perishing, but proclaims in mournful strains the transitory nature of all human greatness.

We did not retire to rest until a late hour, and rose early the next morning, to visit the singular Jewish town of the Karaites. After passing through long narrow lanes,—Baktcheserai being at least two miles in extent, and consisting almost entirely of one street,—we reached the burial-place of the Tatars. Every grave is decorated with a small column, terminating with a turban, and these tombs extend the whole way up the mountain. We next came to a Gipsy village, if possible still dirtier and more miserable than those I had hitherto seen in the Crimea. The road passed round the mausoleum of the Tatar Khan Mengli Girai into a beautiful mountain-valley, surrounded on all sides by the grandest rock-walls, in which were cut entrances into caverns five to six feet high and three to four wide.

At about half the way we came to the Convent of Our Lady of the Rock, or Uspenski Monastir. This was merely one of these rock caverns, the largest of them, containing a chapel at least thirty feet wide and fifteen high, and several cells of ten to twelve feet in diameter, and as many high. The cavern is more than a

hundred feet above the ground. According to a modern legend, an ancient picture of the Virgin, painted in the Byzantine style, appeared in the cleft-like top of the entrance shortly after the conquest of the Crimea, consequently since 1783; this circumstance had led to its becoming a place of pilgrimage for the Russians living in the Crimea; miracles were soon performed here, and it is now a shrine of some celebrity, and will probably ere long be the most frequented in all Southern Russia. The 15th of August is the day of the principal festival, probably because the picture first appeared on that day. Several monks or hermits have established themselves in these cells, but when I visited the place there was only one present. The ascent is by a flight of steps cut in the rock, about fifty feet high, leading to a rock-terrace, whence a second flight ascends to the entrance of the principal cavern, or the so-called Convent.

These caverns are very ancient, and cannot be attributed with certainty to any of the peoples who have inhabited these countries: it is indeed very probable that they belong to races unknown to history. The excavations have been effected with incredible exertion, of course with very rude instruments, and must to all appearance have taken years of labour. They have evidently served as dwellings, and have afterwards been occasionally used for burial-places. Similar caves are found scattered throughout the Crimea wherever there are rocks, and in great numbers at the end of the harbour of Sevastopol, at Inkerman and Mangup. At the former place a whole town is cut out of the rocks, with cells and long corridors, chapels, towers, fortifications, etc. Precisely similar excavations exist in all the Caucasian districts; and, some miles distant from the present town of Gori

in Georgia, an entire town is excavated from the rock, called Uplas Zichi, with palaces, churches, houses, and a kind of bazaar; a narrow winding path is likewise cut out of the rock, two miles in length, along the side of the mountain.* In Palestine there is a town of this kind of very grand dimensions; and in the interior of Asia, Persia, India, and Tibet, similar excavations are found. What could have induced men to undertake such works, hewing out with immense difficulty these holes, at best but narrow habitations, instead of building themselves houses of stone? It is an historical enigma. National tradition speaks but dimly of Troglodytes who dwelt in caves.

From the Convent of Our Lady of the Rock the ascent was steep, until we reached a plateau, on the declivity of which stands Tchufut-kalé (Jews' City). I will not attempt any description of this singular place, the capital of the Karaite Jews, as I could give no better account of it than is found in Kohl's Travels in Southern Russia.

The town was not, in my opinion, founded by the Karaites, but taken possession of by them when they settled here under Batu Khan, or perhaps even much earlier. This is probable from the number of Troglodyte caves, and its very strong fortifications. I had a letter of introduction from a person in Feodosia to the Rabbi here, Solomon Beim, a lively and clever young man about thirty years of age, who had been educated at Odessa, and possessed a certain amount of learning: he spoke eight languages, and his father was Rabbi in Odessa. He said that the Karaites had not been witnesses of the

* See a description of this Rock-town in the Author's Work, 'Transcaucasia,' page 423.—TRANSL.

religious revolution effected by Jesus in Palestine, nor had become acquainted with the Christians until a later period: they entertained therefore no hereditary animosity against Christianity, but, on the contrary, had a certain partiality for the prophet Jesus, who, like themselves, was descended from the race of Judah.

After the Rabbi Solomon Beim had shown us the synagogue, and offered us breakfast in his house, consisting of all kinds of Tatar confectionery with champagne, he accompanied us on foot to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the ancient burial-place of the Karaites. It is a beautiful spot, covered with the finest oaks and other trees, among which lie thickly scattered the tombs of white marble, generally in the form of narrow sarcophagi. Our host showed us several of the most ancient, one bearing the date of 5009 (A.D. 1249).

Tchufut-kalé is said to contain about three hundred houses, and 1600 inhabitants, all of whom live by trade. Every householder among the Karaites has a booth in Baktcheserai: he walks or rides down to it regularly in the morning, and at night locks up his shop, leaves it in the charge of a Tatar, and returns to his rocky nest. In the time of the Khans the Karaites were not allowed to remain during the night in Baktcheserai, and to the present day they refrain from doing so, from old habit.

The number of the Karaites in the Russian Empire is not ascertained with certainty; it may amount to about 6000 or 8000. They are in general well-off, carry on an extensive trade throughout all Russia, and even by sea with Turkey and England. In the Crimea they possess large orchards and vineyards, cultivated land, and estates.

To the entire later history of the Jews of Palestine the Karaites remained strangers: the very existence of Christianity was for a long time concealed from them; they did not share in the civil and moral corruption which infected their brethren; and, never having entertained any hatred of Christianity or Mohammedanism, they have not been exposed to the hostility and contempt of either body of these believers. They indeed merit the respect which is everywhere paid them, by their moral conduct and truthfulness, their obedience to the authorities of the countries in which they have settled, and their benevolent and just behaviour to all. The authorities everywhere give them the greatest meed of praise, and to this day not one of them has been punished for any crime of importance. They enjoy considerable privileges, granted or confirmed to them by the Russian Government, which have not been accorded to the Talmudist Jews. A rescript of the Empress Catherine II. (January 18th, 1795), contains this decree:—"The Karaites residing in the Government of Taurida are to be exempt from the double tax, and to pay a tax of the same amount as the merchants and burghers. At the same time the right is granted them of possessing real property, but upon condition that they do not receive Rabbinical Jews into their Communes."

After taking farewell of our friend Rabbi Beim in Tchufut-kalé, we returned to Baktcheserai to dinner, before which we took a ramble about the town. It was the first genuine Tatar place I had seen, and its oriental character was manifest in the whole internal life of the place: the artisans live together according to their different trades, each sitting or working in his open booth. The streets are not broad, the dwellings narrow, and their

whole front provided with wooden flaps, used at night to shut up the house, which has no windows in front; in the morning this shutter is opened, the lower part of the flap falling down on an iron rod, and serving as a table; the upper part is taken off or fastened up. The whole interior of the house is then exposed to view, as on the stage of a theatre. In one place is seen a baking-house, with some boys kneading the dough, and the baker standing before the blazing fire of his oven, In another place are seen twenty small houses together, each a theatre of its kind, with a tailor, his workmen and apprentices: these Tatar tailors have the same way of sitting and moving, the same gesticulations, as the entire fraternity of their noble craft in Europe. Here is seen a row of cutlers' houses, the principal standing before the open forge, striking an iron; on the flap-table lie the knives and other instruments, in beautiful variety. We supplied ourselves with various articles; the razors are excellent; the Tatars shave with cold water and without soap. We entered one of the coffee-houses, which have covered galleries fronting the street, where the Tatars sit and smoke and drink coffee. Hardly had we entered when a man brought us clay pipes and a light, for which no payment is expected, it being a mark of hospitality: we seated ourselves on a dirty divan, and ordered coffee, which was served in small porcelain cups, like those seen everywhere in Europe sixty years ago, but without milk and sugar, and mixed with the thick coffee sediment, ground to dust. It tasted detestably, but one is said soon to get accustomed to it, and then to find it excellent. Around us reigned a mournful stillness; the Tatars sat in perfect silence, only moving along the walls when their pipes or cups required it.

The Tatar speaks with great vivacity in the streets and booths, but he repairs to the *café* to repose, and not to indulge in conversation. Gipsies often come into the coffee-houses, and play or sing, and in the evenings story-tellers also, while the guests sit silent, smoking and listening.

The Tatars received from Catherine II. the privilege of living isolated in Baktcheserai. The Russians, except the few officials stationed there, are not permitted to live in the town and carry on trade.

Nationalities.	Number of Houses.	Population.		
		Men	Women	Total
Tatars . .	1,650	4,164	3,740	7,904
Karaites . .	212	492	617	1,109
Gipsies in the village near the town .	237	608	530	1,138
Greeks .	138	427	461	888
Armenians .	14	54	49	103
Russians	21	46	60	106
European Foreigners	1	2	1	3
	2,273	5,793	5,458	11,251

The situation of the town at the bottom of a rocky valley, and surrounded by splendid garden vegetation, is very pretty; the principal part consists of a long street, divided by the palace of the Khans, from which only a few side-streets branch off. But a number of buildings stand detached, in gardens, for the most part the residences of the richer classes, who carry on no trade. What gives the town a peculiarly picturesque and grand aspect are the number of slender ornamental minarets,

amounting to more than thirty. Each house has also a lofty chimney, often ten feet high, decorated with small architectural ornaments: this imparts to the whole a charming appearance,—a sea of innumerable large and small tapering pinnacles.

After dinner we surveyed the palace and gardens of the Khans, which, although extensive, do not give an impression of grandeur: many parts of the buildings, with their vestibules and galleries, are ornamental and peculiar; the internal spaces are prettily decorated, and an oriental atmosphere pervades them. All the oriental buildings of the last thousand years have this diminutive appearance, the massiveness of the ancient regal buildings having disappeared.

The residence of the Khans of the Crimea has been often described by travellers, and most accurately by Kohl; I shall therefore not dwell on the subject, but give some general notices of the Tatars and their empire here.

The Tatars are not the most ancient inhabitants of the Crimea: they first came into this country with the great Mongol expeditions to the West under Genghis Khan, and settled in the southern parts; whilst hordes of their kindred race wandered as nomads in the north of the Peninsula, as well as in the other steppes of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof. The original inhabitants mentioned in the earliest records of history are the Kimmerians, probably also called Tauri at a later period; afterwards Greeks established themselves along the coasts, and founded flourishing colonies. During the migration of nations the Germanic Goths came and

settled in a part of this country; and even in the fifteenth century we meet with a duchy and bishopric of Gothia. The Huns also are mentioned as being settled here. The Genoese took possession of the ports and southern coasts, and ruled over them for two centuries. Their towns were afterwards taken by the Turks, who kept possession of them until 1774.

All these nationalities have disappeared, or rather have been swallowed up in that of the Tatars; the attempts which have hitherto been made to discover remains of the Tauri, ancient Greeks, Scythians, Huns, and especially of the Goths, have been unsuccessful. Genoese and Turks are no longer seen. On the other hand, the wandering peoples of the Jews, Armenians, and Gipsies made their appearance under the Tatar rule, and constitute an important part of the population. Since the commencement of the dominion of the Russians, colonies of modern Greeks, Russians, Bulgarians, Arnauts, and Germans have been established.

Whether the Tatars of the Crimea have preserved their pure Mongol blood, or whether their mixture with Goths, Greeks, Genoese, Turks, and Circassians in this country has obliterated all their Mongol characteristics, it would be difficult to say; but this is certain, that in their present state they display no Mongolic features, but completely the Caucasian conformation of body. They are distinguished by their noble bearing and handsome countenances from their neighbours and kinsmen the Nogai Tatars, with whom the Mongol mixture is unquestionable.

The history of the Mongols, and the revolution effected by them, are still very obscure. Two races, the Mongol and the Tatar, formed the basis of the power of Genghis

Khan. The Mongols he appears to have directed principally toward the east and south, the Tatars toward the west and north. After his dominion was established we meet with hardly any Mongol peoples in Europe, excepting the Kalmuks; the Tatars alone remained behind in Europe and settled there.

After the death of Genghis Khan, his empire was divided into six principal states, one of which, comprehending the European conquests on this side the Caspian Sea, was the empire of Kiptchak, whose princes called themselves the Khans of the Golden Horde; this was afterwards divided into the three Khanates of Kazan, Astrakhan, and Little Tatary, or the Crimea. The dominion of the Golden Horde on the Volga disappeared, the Khanates of Astrakhan and Kazan were conquered by Russia, and that of the Crim Tatars alone maintained its independence until within the last sixty or seventy years.

From the fourteenth century downwards the Khans of the Crimea descended uninterruptedly from the august family of the Girai, who claimed with just right to be direct descendants of Genghis Khan. In the fifteenth century great confusion arose in the country of Kiptchak, from disputes among the claimants to the throne. Mengli Girai Khan, who had the best right, was rejected: he first applied to the Genoese at Mangup for assistance, and afterwards to the conqueror of Constantinople, the Sultan Mohammed II. The latter promised his aid, on condition that Mengli Girai should acknowledge himself his vassal, upon which Mohammed re-established him in his kingdom.

A belief prevails in Europe that the vassalage of Mehemet Ali in Egypt must necessarily lead to the over-

throw of the supremacy of the Porte and the independence of Egypt, it being impossible to maintain so powerful a vassal in any state of dependence. I believe that Mehemet Ali is far too sagacious a man to contemplate this: he did perhaps, after the battle of Nisibis, aspire to the throne of Constantinople, but he will certainly not aim at becoming an independent king of Egypt. In his union with the Turkish Empire he enjoys all the guarantees which the necessary policy of Europe can give, but as an independent sovereign he would fall a prey at the first opportunity to internal or external foes. Let him reflect on the fate of the Khans of the Crimea: these, in the Peace between Russia and the Porte (1774), at their own request and at the instigation of the former Power, were declared independent, and their vassalage to the Porte was destroyed; ten years afterwards there no longer existed any Khanate of the Crimea. This vassalage was in fact a very peculiar state, founded upon a special treaty which Mohammed concluded with Mengli Girai Khan.* According to this treaty the right was granted to the Sultan of instituting and deposing the Khans, but he could only choose among the Princes of the House of Girai. Under no pretext however could the Sultan punish with death a Prince of this House. The country of the Khan was to remain an inviolable asylum for all. After prayers for the Sultan as head of the Faithful, prayers for the Khan were offered up in the mosques. Every request addressed by the Khan to the Porte was to be granted. Whilst with the army, the Khan was allowed to have five horsetails borne before him, the Grand Sultan having

* Peyssonel, in his 'Traité sur le Commerce de la Mer Noire,' 1787, first made this public.

six. Long negotiations took place respecting this, the Khan maintaining his right to six horsetails, because the blood of Genghis Khan was as august and sacred as that of Osman; but he was obliged at last to abandon his claim. In time of war the Porte was to pay for the maintenance of the guard of the Khan a hundred and fifty purses a year (£12,200), and for that of the Murza Kapikulis eighty purses (£6500).

The power and influence of the Khan were very great at the Court of Constantinople. When Devlet Girai Khan was on a visit to the Grand Sultan, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, after taking leave, as he was just mounting his horse, he stopped suddenly with one foot in the stirrup. The Grand Sultan observing this, ordered inquiry to be made as to what delayed his departure. The Khan returned for answer that he would not mount until the head of the Grand Vizier Mehemet Pasha was brought to him. He received it on the spot, the minister being immediately executed! A pendant is to be found to this story: when the Viceroy Mehemet Ali was on a visit in Constantinople, a minister who had been dismissed was at his request not executed, but reinstated in his former place. Such is the difference of manners in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries even in Turkey!

When the Khan came to Constantinople royal honours were paid to him; the Vizier and all the Grandees were obliged to receive him at the gate of the town, into which he made a solemn entrance. He had the right of being seated in the presence of the Grand Sultan, and of drinking coffee with him; his turban also was decorated with the clasp, like the Padishah's.

A singular tradition existed amongst the Turks and

Tatars, that if the House of Osman should become extinct, the dominion over their nations, and the dignity of Padishah, must be transferred to the descendants of Genghis Khan, and especially to the House of Girai. This state of vassalage to the Sultan existed until 1774, and Turkey possessed up to that time in the Khanate of the Crimea a powerful bulwark against Russia and Poland; in the peace which was then concluded with Russia, the Porte acknowledged the sovereignty and complete independence of the Khan. In 1783 the Khanate was incorporated with Russia, the Khan receiving a pension; his last surviving descendant, Krim Girai, lived for a long time in England, and became there a convert to Christianity. Some descendants of collateral branches of the House of Girai are said to be still living in the Crimea as simple Tatar nobles.

The extent of the Khanate cannot be accurately ascertained, as it fluctuated continually between Russia and the Khanate in the Steppe. The dominion of the Caucasian countries was of an insecure character, and not universally recognized by the Circassians; but the territory of the Khan was certainly larger than the kingdom of Prussia, although thinly inhabited; nevertheless the population could not have been very insignificant, if it is true that the Khan was able, in case of need, to mount 200,000 horsemen.

The fixed revenues of this Prince were remarkably small; he had however no army to pay, scarcely any officials, and he received in every war a large share of the booty. The Khan's revenue amounted to 127,000 piastres, or, according to the value of money at that time, 400,000 livres, or 100,000 rixdollars (about £15,000). Peyssonel has given us the following statement:—

1. The Turkish tolls and the salt-works at Guslevé brought	50,000 piastres.
2. The tolls and salt-works at Orkapi and the Mint	30,000
3. The Hetman of Dubosari gave as tribute	8,000
4. The Commandant at Yali, by farming the taxes in the manner of a Turkish Pasha	15,000
5. The Commandant of Kavshany, the same	4,000
6. The tribute of the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia	12,000
7. The tolls in Kaffa	2,000
8. The Appanages paid by the Turkish Court	6,000
	127,000 piastres.

It is difficult to understand how the Khan could with this maintain his court, officials, body-guard, etc.; but many accidental sums flowed into his exchequer, of an oriental character. To him accrued the fortunes of his nobles who died without heirs, down to the seventh degree. All the grandees of the Turkish Empire were obliged to make yearly presents to him, particularly the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia; as a word, a simple request made by him to the Sultan was sufficient to destroy them: even foreign powers, Russia, Poland, Austria, nay France and England, paid him annual sums of money. Thus the booty acquired in war formed large sums for cases of emergency.

In writing to foreign Powers the Khan assumed the title, "We, by the grace of God, N. Girai, Emperor of the Tatars and Circassians, and of Daghestan." All the princes of his House bore the title of Sultan; they were not shut up, like the sons of the House of Osman, but lived free, and received from the Khan free maintenance, and a yearly sum of money from the Porte. Their

persons were sacred; the Khan could not, under any pretext, punish them with death. They had many modes by which to wring money from the Turkish Pashas, and a Turkish or Tatar proverb says, "Beware of a Sultan so soon as he is as big as the handle of a whip!"

There were several collateral branches of the family; but the principal one, that of Hadji Selim Girai, had the first claim to the throne, and only when this branch became extinct could the Khan be chosen from the others. Nearly all the sons of the Khan and princes were sent in their boyhood to Circassia, to be educated by some of the nobles, who considered it a great honour to receive one of these princes. There they learned the practice of arms and warfare, and were a brave, proud, and generous race. They never sought to accumulate or retain riches, but gave away everything they possessed. A Sultan had usually only one suit of clothes, and the day when he put on the dress for the first time, one of his attendants or people laid claim to it. As soon as a new dress was procured, the first was given away. If it was suggested that they ought to reserve something in case of accidents, they replied, "Is there any instance in history of a prince of the House of Girai dying of hunger?"

The daughters of the Khans were married to the most distinguished, bravest, but generally the poorest of the nobles, who became enriched by their dowries. To the dowry belonged the so-called "Docus-docus-leme," or the Nine-times-nine; that is to say, 9 × 9 furs, 9 × 9 dresses, 9 × 9 mattresses, covered with various gold, silver, and silk stuffs, 9 × 9 rich coverlets, and 9 × 9 bed-clothes.

The Khans never had legitimate wives, but Circassian

and Georgian slaves, who had not the slightest influence, and were little respected even by their children.

The political institutions of this Tatar Empire were founded entirely upon feudal principles, like those of the Germano-Romanic peoples. They had no similarity with the other Oriental despotisms with which we are acquainted, and this is a singular and as yet unexplained circumstance. The Tatars remained for centuries politically united with the Turks, who were of the same race and religion, although their social and political institutions formed a decided contrast. They had never any connection with the distant Germano-Romanic peoples, against whom, on the contrary, there was a deep feeling of hatred, caused by the difference of religion; nevertheless there was this undeniable similarity in their institutions. How did this arise? It almost seemed as if these races of people, otherwise so different, had derived the basis of their social condition from the same source.

The Khan of the Tatars was far from being absolute; his power was limited by his grandees, the highest officials and the nobility of the country.

The whole of this powerful and well-organized Empire of the Tatars has disappeared; since 1784 it has been entirely incorporated with the Russian Empire; and not merely has the political dominion been superseded, but the people also have in great part quitted their native country. Notwithstanding that Russia, after the conquest, treated the Tatars on the whole mildly, and sought to reconcile them to their fate, the proud Tatar nobility could not bring themselves to submit; the larger, or at least the most important part of them, went into exile, the majority taking ship to Asia Minor, followed by thousands of their vassals, and abandoning their country,

where they had lived and reigned since 1237. The wars and troubles which preceded the conquest, a devastating pestilence, and this emigration, reduced the Tatar population in the Crimea in ninety years from eighty to sixty thousand individuals; since then however it has revived, and many of the lower class have returned from Turkey. The Tatars of South Russia may amount at present to more than 300,000 individuals,—according to Köppen, in 1838, to 150,122 male souls.

The number of all the Tatars in the Russian Empire was, according to Köppen (in 1838) 1,657,000. They are classed in different divisions, according to the districts in which they live, being most numerous in Kazan and Astrakhan, and the surrounding districts of the interior, where their number may perhaps amount to 670,000 individuals. In the Transcaucasian Governments there are about 640,000; in Southern Russia 300,000; in Siberia about 50,000, and in Lithuania and the neighbouring Polish countries about 4000 or 5000.

After the conquest the Russian Government took possession of the territory of the Khans, together with that belonging to the Porte and those who had gone into exile; they seized also the land which had no longer any owners, as for instance that of whole villages depopulated by the plague, and others burnt down in the war. According to the custom at the Court of Catherine II., these lands were partly bestowed upon Russian grandees, who generally squandered and sold them. Free Tatar villages were frequently established on the estates of the Khans, whilst on those of the emigrant nobles a part of the vassals often remained behind and cultivated them; other estates were cultivated merely

by slaves. But the new proprietors wished to treat all these different kinds of cultivators as Russian serfs, which gave rise to great disturbances. The Emperor Alexander sent a Commission to report upon all the various kinds of proprietary rights, personal duties and services, upon which a settlement was effected. In this the Tatars were acknowledged to be free people, and not serfs. Many of those who did not belong to the nobility maintained that the land cultivated by them was their own property, but it was decided that this could not be allowed unless written proofs of such claim were adduced. In relation to statute-labour, it was laid down that the principle which had prevailed among the Tatars should be continued, and that every adult member of a Tatar family should work twelve, eight, or six days in the year for the landlord, according to the extent of ground allotted to them. A tenth of the grain, hay, and garden produce was now, as before, to be given up to the lord, as well as three out of every hundred of the smaller cattle and poultry. The land occupied could not be sold without permission of the landlord. No Tatar was allowed to leave the land and the village in which he was registered for the poll-tax; and since this regulation was effected peace has been established in these matters. The Tatars settled on the land cannot be said to be oppressed by taxation; they contribute nothing to the Crown except the usual poll-tax, nor are the above-mentioned proprietary burdens heavy.

The Tatars of the Crimea are divided into two classes, the Steppe and the Mountain Tatars. The first belong to the branch of the Nogais, whom I have already described; the others, who are called also *Tat*, differ from them considerably in appearance. The Steppe Tatars are smaller

and thinner, and a tinge of Mongol blood is clearly traceable in their features. The Mountain Tatars have tall, agile, and light forms, with a noble and graceful bearing, finely chiselled and expressive features, and a fiery black eye. They have mind and understanding, and much feeling for poetry, expressing themselves with facility, correctness, and a certain nobleness of sentiment, even in speaking of ordinary affairs. A Tatar peasant has a much nobler look than any peasants in Europe, the Basques and the people in some of the districts of Spain perhaps excepted.

In general the Tatars are honest, contented, sober, and hospitable: along the main thoroughfares, where tourists and adventurers abound, hospitality has diminished; but in the interior, among the mountains, not only is the dwelling of every Tatar open to all, but in most of the villages is found an *Oda*, or asylum, in which the stranger is received, and all his wants gratuitously supplied. It is generally the wealthiest Tatar or the Moollah who establishes and supports the Oda. Such is the honesty of this people, that a person may safely leave all his effects open and exposed; no instance is known of any theft.

The Tatar is reproached with laziness, especially by the landowners for whom he is obliged to work: he will do any kind of labour cheerfully for his hereditary Murza, but it is surely not unnatural that he should work unwillingly and sulkily for the Russian master who has been imposed upon him. To us Northerns, in our colder climate, with strong frames and greater material wants, labour is a necessity; with us, nature is not lavish of her gifts, she bestows them only at certain seasons, and we are obliged to gather and store up supplies; acquisition in fact gradually becomes the great object of

life. Not so with the Southern; his body is more slightly built, his blood circulates more quickly in his veins, his material wants are less; prolific nature bestows her gifts upon him in abundance, and he needs only to expend a little trouble and labour to obtain her favours. Why should he heap up stores and collect supplies, when nature is constantly preparing new gifts for him? The sun is hot, and invites him to the shade of the trees and the cool margin of the clear mountain-spring. Why should not he follow his inclination, and why work, when he is content with what he possesses? he has no wants, and his spirit is not oppressed by worldly cares or material desires, but can bear itself freely and proudly. It always touched me with a feeling of pleasure to watch these handsome, intelligent-looking Tatars sitting together under a tree beside a spring or in front of their mosques, in proud repose, inhaling and puffing out dreamily clouds of tobacco-smoke, without uttering a word. The deep blue heaven above, the rich nature around, invite them to enjoyment and contemplation, not to labour. They have lost their ancient proud freedom and independence; but modern life, with its labour and industry, its railroads and commercial travellers, its taxes and soldiers, has not yet penetrated so far. Why should they anticipate the time, which sooner or later will overtake them? How can a people be accused of laziness and indolence, among whom no beggar is ever seen?

The Tatar artisans here have from ancient times had corporate institutions. Every guild celebrates its own festivals, in which the apprentices are discharged and declared masters of their respective crafts, in the presence of the Moollah and with religious ceremonies. The oldest master in the trade goes up to the apprentice, and

after all have offered up a prayer for the new master, the former winds a belt three times round his body, at the same time saying to him in a low voice, "Never shut thy door, never open that of another, and work as hard as is needful for thy subsistence!" This sentence might be taken as the motto of the Tatar people.

The Tatar is a pious and faithful Mussulman, but tolerant and free from fanaticism. Although shrinking from the Russians, whom he is now compelled to regard as his lords and masters, and from whom old national antipathy separates him, he lives in friendship and harmony with his neighbours the German colonists. On the festival of the Bairam he never neglects to send to his friend and guest among them a piece of the victim, and he would feel hurt if the latter did not at Easter send him an Easter-cake as a token of the continuance of their mutual friendship. The Tatar always carries a copy of the Koran in a kind of cartouche-box, attached to a leather strap round his body, and even the women study it zealously. Nearly all of them can read, but few can write.

The Tatar is inseparable from his horse, and on the country roads I never met one on foot. Even the day-labourer rides to his work in the fields, unbridles his horse, and turns him off to graze: the sagacious and faithful animal never strays far from his master, obeys his call morning and evening, and trots with him home.

In the hills of the Crimea the villages have a singular appearance: the houses, standing on the slopes of the hills, are built of stone, and have only a wall in front. The flat roof, covered with a thick layer of earth, projects with a gallery, which rests on wooden pillars; the roof at the back descends to the ground. In walk-

ing about, if the hill is steep, a stranger finds himself upon the roof of a house before he is aware. The tall chimney serves also to admit light into the interior, and through it the inhabitants often speak together when they have anything to communicate. The windows are small, with wooden lattice-work, which in winter is pasted over with oiled paper: glass is unknown. These villages have a picturesque external appearance, but on entering them the aspect is not so inviting. Those on the high-road have a better look, and the houses are similar to those in the genuine Tatar cities: they have generally only one story and one large apartment. In the interior are a number of bolsters, coverlets, cushions, and mattresses, which serve instead of chairs. The dishes stand upon a table scarcely a foot high; some earthen vessels of different sizes, and of a pretty and often antique form, are scattered about.

The dishes of the richer Tatars are said generally to be borrowed from the Turks, and are famous for being highly seasoned: wine they never drink, but sometimes, although seldom, brandy; their favourite dish is the *yugurt*, consisting of sour milk prepared in a peculiar manner, and which they assert God himself taught the Patriarch Abraham to prepare: it is dried, and is eaten in winter as a kind of cheese. A great variety of small dishes are presented to the traveller and guest of the rich Tatars; but if he remains, he will remark that no variation occurs, and that every day the same food is presented to him.

The Tatars have a peculiar mode of dividing time, quite different from ours. The spring (*Bahaar*) with them begins on the 23rd of April, and lasts sixty days, until the 22nd of June; then their summer (*Tokhilla*) com-

mences, which lasts forty days, and ends on the 1st of August; after this succeed twenty-five days, until the 25th of August, a term for which they have no name of their own, but they call it Agostos. On August the 26th begins their autumn (*Khous*), which lasts sixty days, until October 26th, and then again come thirty-six days, which are not reckoned in any season. After this commences their winter (*Kutchilla*), on the 1st of December, and lasts sixty-six days, terminating on the 4th of February. The twenty-four following days, until the 1st of April, bear the name of *Mart*, and are also not included in any season. The 23rd of April and the 26th of October bear the name of *Kedrelés*. In the period of Mart the Tatars have remarked that there are three short cold periods, to which they have given the names of "Old Wives' winter," "Starlings' winter," and "Hoopoes' winter." In Germany we have in autumn for the last fine days of the year the similar names of "Old Wives' summer" and "Girls' summer."

CHAPTER IV.

DEPARTURE FROM BAKTCHESERAI.—SEVASTOPOL.—THE FLEET.—BUILDINGS IN THE HARBOUR.—BALAKLAVA.—VALLEY OF BAIDAR.—SOUTH COAST OF THE CRIMEA.—WINES OF THE CRIMEA.—SIMPHEROPOL.—NIKOLAIEF.—AGRICULTURE.—THE HARBOUR.—SHIP-BUILDING.—ODESSA.—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE PEOPLE.—GOVERNMENT OF KHERSON.—BESSARABIA.—HISTORY.—POPULATION.—RANKS AND CLASSES.

In the afternoon of the 26th of September we left Baktcheserai, and in two hours reached Sevastopol, the road passing through pretty, cultivated valleys, formed by the spurs of the Crimean mountains. The view of Sevastopol is magnificent. It stands amphitheatrically on a declivity, with narrow inlets from the sea, extending into the country four or five miles through the rock gates, on the right, and with the boundless sea on the left.

We found a German inn, and after paying the necessary visits, and receiving permission to visit on the following morning the fleet, harbour, arsenal, etc., we sauntered about the town. A few hours before we had been in a genuine oriental town, inhabited by a people deriving their origin from the furthest East, devoted to Islam, and full of great historical recollections; and now, suddenly, as by a stroke of enchantment, we were transported into a perfectly modern European town, scarcely half a century old. In the former were seen only ori-

ental countenances, national costumes, houses and minarets; here there was not a Tatar to be seen, nothing but uniforms and elegant fashionable dresses, houses and palaces with pillars and balconies, and Russian churches; and instead of the voice of the Moollahs at noon and midnight calling the Faithful to prayer, here the discharge of a cannon from the Admiralty announced the hour to the inhabitants, as the Russian church-clocks do not strike the hours. We ascended the tower of the Telegraph, from which there is a beautiful view, and did not leave it until the sun sinking in the sea gradually left everything in shade.

Early the next morning we commenced our survey of the place. The harbour of Sevastopol is celebrated as one of the finest and securest in the world; it stretches from the south-west nearly five miles into the country, in parts a mile broad, with a depth of water of sixty or seventy feet, and possesses five convenient bays. The foundation, laid by nature, has been improved with great scientific skill and ability. The buildings in the harbour are the most colossal of the kind I have ever seen: the quays are magnificent, and were already two miles in length; the foundation in the water is constructed of large square blocks of limestone, the upper part of porphyry, and the parapets, etc. of granite: the granite is brought from the Bug, the porphyry from the south coast of the Crimea. In the Docks three line-of-battle ships and two frigates can be built at the same time. Before the Docks is the dock-basin, with thirty feet depth of water; in the front row are the building-places of the two frigates, and behind them those of the three line-of-battle ships; when finished they can be lowered into the basin, water being let into the docks

by three sluices, supplied by a freshwater canal, which brings the water from Inkerman, a distance of twelve miles. The canal is carried by a tunnel 230 long through a mountain. It also supplies drinking water to the fleet; and for this purpose a reservoir has been constructed, in which it is completely purified by charcoal and sand.

We saw a well-constructed machine, which raised and planted the masts in a very convenient manner on the ships. Four enormous granaries extend along the quays. Two bays form a projecting tongue of land, on which the Emperor has ordered the new Admiralty to be built, upon the grandest scale. The land is hilly, rising from sixty to one hundred feet above the sea; it was in the act of being levelled. A merchant of Odessa, formerly an officer, had undertaken to do this for 3,500,000 roubles.

The later buildings were all constructed under the superintendence of Colonel Upton,* an Englishman, and were distinguished from the older ones by their great solidity. Three powerful batteries—each, we were told, of 120 guns—protect the harbour. The dismantled hulls of some old ships-of-the-line, lying in a bay, serve as dwellings for the innumerable labourers.

We were invited to go on board and examine a ship-of-the-line, the 'Twelve Apostles,' of 120 guns, lying at the mouth of the harbour, a very beautiful and pictu-

* We were told that Mr. Upton had entered into a contract with the Russian Government for a number of years with regard to the service to be performed by him. He wished neither to become a Russian subject, nor to enter the Russian service. But merely as a private person he could acquire no authority even over the common workmen; they were obliged to give him the rank of Colonel. It is wonderful how deeply the Tchinovnik element has penetrated among the Russian people, and how much they are ruled by it.

resque object: the Commander received us with sailor-like cordiality and frankness. She was a beautifully-built ship; the upper deck mounted 24-pounders, the others 36-pounders; she had also a battery of shells, of 68-pounders. The crew consisted of eight hundred men, who can be raised in time of war to a thousand; the ship can also receive on board the same number of soldiers.

The timber for building these ships comes principally down the rivers from Russia, the wood in the Crimean forests being too short: on the southern slopes of the Caucasus there is excellent timber, but arrangements have not yet been effected, nor the means adopted, for felling and transporting it.

The great naval difficulty Russia has to encounter, and will have for a long time, lies not in the want of material, nor of skilful naval officers, but in the deficiency of good common sailors. The mercantile navy does not furnish them in sufficient numbers. The fleet in the Black Sea has a large number of Greeks, born seamen, but not by any means a sufficient force; since the establishment of the kingdom of Greece also they have not been so easily procured. I was told that Count Woronzof had ordered the inhabitants of the villages on the coast to be freed from all public taxes, and that all young men should serve five years in the navy, hoping in this way to awaken a taste for seafaring life, and that those who have served five years will continue to serve for a longer period voluntarily, and then at least enter the mercantile navy, which in case of need would form a reserve of practised seamen.

We next examined the monument of Captain Kazarski, who gallantly engaged three large Turkish ships with

his small brig. The inscription is simple and beautiful: "Kazarski, an example to posterity."

In the afternoon we drove to Balaklava, an ancient colony, founded by the Greeks thousands of years ago, called Symbolon. In the Middle Ages it was a flourishing commercial place belonging to the Genoese, and was named Cembalo. It was taken by the Turks, afterwards by the Russians, and is now again a Greek colony. Catherine II. transplanted hither, after the first Turkish war, two thousand Greeks, or rather Arnauts, who had been compromised by their rebellion against the Turkish Government. The colony at first languished, and the inhabitants diminished to five hundred; but it rose again, and is now flourishing. It consists of two places, the small town of Balaklava, lying between the steep mountains and the harbour, where there is scarcely a garden to any of the houses; and the village beyond it, in the valley of Kadikoi, where there is both garden culture and agriculture. The inhabitants form a battalion of five hundred men, to whom is entrusted the protection of the whole southern coast.

The harbour is excellent, but small; it winds round a projecting mountain in such a way that in Balaklava the sea is not visible, and the harbour looks like an inland lake. The mountain is crowned by a fine ruin, of the time of the Genoese, from which there is a magnificent view along the coast and over the sea. We were not particularly well received in this place, and to my inquiries regarding the state of agriculture, trade, and commerce, no answer was returned.

The following morning we passed through a wooded country into the valley of Baidar. Here I again found my favourite beech-woods, which I had seen in no other part

of Russia. The Baidar is a charming broad valley, situated deep in the mountains, remarkably fertile and well cultivated. We stopped for an hour in the village of Baidar, to change horses and take refreshment; and whilst walking about, surveying the farms, we were joined in a friendly manner by several Tatars, who knew a little Russian. I expressed a wish to see the interior of a Tatar farmhouse, and immediately one of them offered to conduct us into his own: the arrangement was as I have described above. The Tatar wanted to place all kinds of meat and drink before us; and when I declined, having just breakfasted, he ran into the garden, plucked a rose, and presented it to me. The very sight of the rose here, and the manner of its presentation, were proofs to me of the capacity for cultivation among this people.

From hence we ascended gradually a well-made road, and in a few hours reached the ridge of the mountain; the sea soon came in sight, stretched out before us, and a zigzag road brought us down to the south coast of the Crimea. This coast is a long, narrow strip of land, seldom more than four miles in breadth, backed by the mountains—which form a rock-wall mostly about four thousand feet high—and the sea; the soil is excellent and the cultivation rich, with more gardens and vineyards than agricultural land. A number of small Tatar villages, and innumerable detached villas and country-houses cover the country: not many districts can be compared with this.

In the afternoon we reached the splendid estate of Prince Woronzof, Alupka, the situation, beauty, and magnificence of which exceed everything of the kind I have ever seen. The castle is of vast extent, erected in the Gothic-Moorish style, and is said to have already cost

seven million roubles, although its interior is not by any means completed: the greenish stone of which it is built imparts to the whole in a favourable evening light a peculiar magic colour and an enchanting effect; this was heightened, when I afterwards visited it, by moonlight. The towering rocks in the background, the dark surface of the boundless sea before me, the pines, laurels, and rich vegetation around, and the proud mediæval castle, with its battlements and turrets, untenanted, silent, and dead, caused the tales and legends of my childhood to rise up before me. This castle is, in my opinion, the finest building of the kind in Russia.

Prince Woronzof has built a pretty church, and also a mosque, with a beautiful minaret, for the Tatars living around him.

The next day we visited the country-seats of the Grand Duchess Helen and the Empress, both called Orianda. A magnificent new palace was building for the Empress. We were everywhere hospitably received, and rather unduly pressed to drink wine, being obliged to taste every kind, and to give an opinion upon it. The wines of the south coast of the Crimea have always been tolerably good; but Prince Woronzof, by his own care, and by encouraging others to study the cultivation of the vines, has done much for their improvement. Vines from all quarters of the world have been transplanted hither; wine-growers likewise have been brought from various districts, and excellent wines have been produced. Those made from the Rhine grapes were quite delicious; they had the strength and body of the Rhenish wines, without their acidity. A wine made of Muscatel grapes had all the strength of the Muscatel, without its excessive sweetness. The sole drawback hitherto has been that these

wines are said not to bear transport, by which they lose in strength.

At Yalta we found a German innkeeper from Hamburg, and a perfect German kitchen. How times change! once the wild Kimmerians dwelt here; afterwards came the Goths, then the Tatars, and now German is again spoken.

At Alushta we turned into the mountains, and driving along the foot of Tchatir Dagh, the highest peak of the Crimean mountains (5000 feet), reached Simpheropol in the afternoon of September 29th. I felt here the first attack of the cold fever of the Crimea, which afterwards broke out in Odessa, and was there rapidly cured by an emetic; but in six weeks it came on afresh at Moscow, and finally I was attacked by it eight months subsequently in Berlin. These Crimean fevers are incredibly obstinate, and persons are tormented by them for many years, often during their whole lives. What is the reason that the same complaint, generated in one place, assumes quite a different character subsequently in another, even when the sufferer has only visited the former place in passing, and remained long in others where the disease has not the same virulent character?

We left Simpheropol on September 30th, and, without stopping at any other place on the way, reached Nikolaief on October 2nd. Here we again found a German innkeeper, who was sensible and communicative: he gave me some information concerning the wages of labour and the price of corn. Seeing some Russian waiters, I asked what wages they received: the landlord said, "Each has his board, clothes, lights, fire, etc., and 20 roubles a month, or 240 roubles (£11) a year. My menservants receive annually 180, and my girls 120 roubles.

Day wages fluctuate between one rouble twenty copeks and one rouble forty copeks (1*s.* 1*d.* to 1*s.* 3*d.*), in addition to which the labourer receives his dinner." The price of the tchetvert of oats was at that time seven roubles, whereas in Poltava, 230 miles further inland, it was only one rouble twenty copeks. Our host said that in the neighbourhood of Nikolaief there was a number of large farms cultivated by serfs, others where the proprietors possessed no serfs, and a few established by Germans. The proprietors proceed in spring into the interior, beyond the limits of the Steppe, and hire from the Russian landowners a number of serfs, often several hundreds, for the summer work, who return home in winter. Cases had also occurred of persons hiring the soldiers of a whole regiment for a month during summer, the Emperor of course being ignorant of the fact.

We had an opportunity the same evening of seeing one of these large farms. Count Lambert, the proprietor of a considerable estate near Nikolaief named Varvorovka, received us very hospitably, and we remained the night there. His steward informed me that the estate was nearly thirty thousand acres in extent, and the land was good steppe soil. The serfs upon it were obliged to perform three days' *corvées* in the week, in return for which they might cultivate as much land as they desired; hitherto it had been hardly possible to bring the fourth part of it under culture. The farming system is extremely simple: as much land is cultivated as could be managed with the labour at command. In spring a fresh portion of the Steppe is reclaimed, and millet sown upon it; in the second spring, spring-wheat; and in the third, spring-wheat again: immediately after the harvest, and after being ploughed in the autumn,

winter-wheat; and in the following autumn rye or barley, —all without manure: the ground is then left fallow for a series of years, and other land is brought under the plough.

After receiving permission from the Admiral, we proceeded to visit the harbour, arsenal, etc. A Captain-Lieutenant of the fleet, Herr von Istomar, a native of Esthonia, who was about to proceed the following spring on a voyage round the world, kindly undertook to show us everything, as far as was possible in a few hours. We visited a ship-of-the-line, just off the stocks, the interior of which was newly arranged and fitted out.

We reached Odessa on the evening of the 3rd of October. The Governor-General of Southern Russia, Count Woronzof, to whom I had a particular introduction, and from whom I had hoped to receive the chief information upon the condition of the South Russian provinces, was unfortunately absent; I was moreover ill of fever the first few days, and was prevented seeing everything of interest in this important town.

Odessa was founded in 1792, on the site of a small Tatar village called Hadji-Bey, by Don Joseph de Ribas y Bajon, formerly Adjutant of Potemkin, and afterwards Admiral. The Empress Catherine II. devoted, in 1793, two million roubles to the erection of public buildings in the town, and gave to it a territory of 81,000 acres, in addition to which 32,000 acres were purchased in 1803. Odessa increased rapidly in importance; in 1795 the exports and imports amounted in value to 68,000 roubles, and in 1796 to 172,000 roubles. In 1803 the town had eight thousand inhabitants. At that time it came under the government of the Duc de Richelieu, its second founder, to whom it has erected a monument on

the boulevard beyond the harbour. In the eleven years of his government the number of houses increased, from eight hundred small and poor ones, to two thousand, mostly splendid ones, and the number of inhabitants from 8000 to 25,000; it is now about 80,000, having increased tenfold in forty years.

Exports to foreign countries	Value in roubles.	Among which the value of the Wheat in roubles.
1814	7,220,306	4,757,175
1815	14,000,000	11,005,320
1816	37,002,132	33,001,421
1817	41,936,000	38,298,000

The value of the exports is now reckoned at 80,000,000 roubles* (£3,666,000).

After paying the customary visits, a Herr von Zolotaref, a well-informed young man, undertook to conduct me about the town. We examined the harbour, the large quarantine establishments, the museum, etc. I was particularly interested with the old bazaar, where are the cook-shops and booths for bread. In the market here are to be seen, at all times of the day, but particularly at noon, crowds of people sitting upon benches in the open air, eating. The beggars and vagrants, as well as the greater part of the labouring classes, have no houses of their own; instead of cooking at home, they

* As I have already mentioned, all the corn from Podolia, Volhynia, and Galicia was formerly carried to Dantzic, but now it has found the way to Odessa. By this means the revenues of the rich Count Pototski have been raised from 300,000 roubles to 2,000,000 roubles! When the sympathy of the Galician nobles for Russia is spoken of, this should not be forgotten.

get their dinners from the cook-shops in this bazaar. Here may be seen the habits of the various peoples; the Russians for instance are distinguished by a certain kind of ceremonial which they go through. Before sitting down to dine the Russian takes off his cap, turns his face toward the nearest church, and makes the sign of the cross. His dinner is always brought to him by waiters with white aprons, and he never eats without seating himself at table; in short he always shows himself a man of breeding; on the contrary the Greek and the Wallachian observe much less ceremony, while the Gipsy seeks and devours his dinner wherever he can find it. This way of living appears expensive and luxurious, the common man thus receiving substantial nourishment, generally animal food and fish, but it is in fact the cheapest and most suitable. The wife, not having to purchase and cook the provisions, can herself earn money by work; and the food is provided wholesale by the people in these shops much more cheaply than the people could obtain it for themselves.

Every kind of work here is well paid: a labourer can with ease earn one rouble twenty copeks to one rouble fifty copeks (1*s.* 1*d.* to 1*s.* 4*d.*) a day; whilst his food, morning, noon, and evening, costs him only from ten to twenty copeks for each person. Even delicate women and young people readily find light employment, and earn without difficulty sixty copeks. These high wages awaken a desire for work. The common man in Odessa is industrious, orderly, and well-off; many amass a small capital of a thousand roubles, purchase two horses, and earn five roubles a day with them. The orderly life of the people is proved by the fact that, on last Easter-day, at the conclusion of which half the popula-

tion in Russia is generally intoxicated, only forty drunken people were found in the streets of Odessa. Aggravated offences seldom occur; in five years only three murders were committed. In no Russian town is so little police superintendence necessary; I was told that the police force in Odessa hardly amounted to 150 or 180 men. The Budoshniks' huts, which are seen in all the Russian towns, exist here also, solidly built of stone, but inhabited generally only by women and children. The Budoshnik has something more rational to do than to look after the police; by day he earns something, and at night sleeps peacefully. But the lower classes in Odessa are said to be particularly quiet and cowardly; I was told that in the time of the cholera a physician was followed by a mob in the street, when Count Woronzof, who was passing at the moment, angrily lifted his stick, and the rabble immediately fell down upon their knees and begged for pardon.

As there is a great want of labour in Southern Russia, the Emperor has permitted the soldiers to take work; but only on condition that the private enters into a formal contract for the service to be executed by him, with his whole company, under the direction of the Captain. The money is not given to each man, but is paid into the treasury of the company, and locked up by a sworn sergeant and two subaltern officers: on leaving the service a soldier often receives an accumulated fund of three to seven hundred roubles.

There is in Odessa, what I had not seen in any other part of Russia, a reformatory institution. I was conducted into the prisons, which are differently arranged from those I had seen elsewhere. All the prisoners were sitting industriously at work, in large, comfortable

rooms; one was a watchmaker, another a shoemaker or a tailor, and so on. Of seven hundred prisoners there were scarcely forty present; the others were all at work out of the prison. I afterwards met many of them walking about without chains. At first only are manacles put upon their feet; in a short time, when they show themselves peaceable, orderly, and well-behaved, these are taken off, and they work in perfect freedom under the superintendence of the older convicts. At first, a long period elapsed before any of them showed signs of improvement, or reliance could be placed upon them; but now, such has been the effect of example, imitation, and good advice, together with improved treatment, and a prospect of freedom and reward, that generally the irons can be removed from the prisoner in the first quarter; nearly all become industrious and well-behaved. They work on their own account, and the wages of labour in Southern Russia are so high that they earn much money. This they do not receive themselves, but being, according to Russian custom, formed into *artels* (workmen's clubs), it is put into the general treasury, and expended partly for the benefit of the workman, in improving his diet, providing warm clothing, etc., and partly laid aside for the time when he becomes free. Whoever is in want of workmen, not only in Odessa, but for miles around, sends to the prison, and makes his demand; those are sent who voluntarily offer themselves, under the superintendence of some trusty person, who takes the lead as Starosta in the Russian fashion. Workmen are to be found here for nearly every kind of work; they are always employed in extinguishing fires, and no case has yet occurred of one of them stealing anything.

When a convict has conducted himself perfectly well for ten years, he is pardoned and liberated. I was assured that not a tenth remain here longer than that period. When liberated they are for the most part quite reformed, industrious, and understand various kinds of work; they have generally an accumulated *peculium* of several hundred roubles. Upon the best among them is usually conferred some small public post, such as watchman or Budoshnik; others easily find private service. A worthy old Lieutenant-Colonel, who showed us everything in the most friendly manner, is at the head of the establishment.

Odessa is properly the capital of Southern Russia; I will therefore, before turning to Western Russia, give some account of several districts of the former,—the Governments of Kherson and Bessarabia,—mostly taken from Russian printed sources,* little known in Europe: this will occasionally serve to confirm what I have said upon Southern Russia in general in Chapter I. of this Volume.

In the seventeenth century Little Russians from the north-west first penetrated into the present Government of Kherson, and settled between the Bug and the Dnieper. The country was regarded as subject to the Khan of the Crimea, but the power of the Tatars was on the decline, and the Western Cossacks, particularly the Zapo-

* These are—Historico-Statistical Account of the Government of Kherson, by M. Kuriakof, copied in the printed materials for statistical works, vol. ii. p. 169; and 'Rights of the different Classes in Bessarabia,' printed in the Journal of the Ministry of the Interior, 1843, vol. vii. p. 48.

rogians, were constantly extending their frontiers. The settlers were for the most part serfs, deserters and other fugitives, who wished to escape from their proprietors or from the payment of taxes. They settled in villages, in or near which they established forts, where they took refuge when threatened by an attack of the Tatars. When Poland or Russia demanded anything of them, they asserted that they were subjects of the Khan; if the Khan wished to levy taxes among them, they claimed to be subjects of the Hetman of the Zaporogian Cossacks. The supremacy over this district was gradually transferred to Russia: by the Peace with the Turks of 1705, she acquired the greatest part of the present Government of Kherson, but lost it again in the years 1712 to 1720. Münnich's campaigns and the Peace of 1739 conferred a part of this district permanently upon Russia, the frontiers of which thenceforth continually extended further and further. The Russian Government in 1752 permitted the settlement here of a considerable number of Servians, who had emigrated under the leadership of Colonel Khrovat from the Austrian frontier-districts, on account of supposed religious oppression. After these were settled, a great number of Bulgarians, Moldavians, and Wallachians, who had abandoned Turkey, joined them. These settlements in the most fertile part of the present Government of Kherson, received the name of New Servia.

All the villages (the Servian ones generally bearing South Hungarian names, as these people had emigrated from that country) were fortified by square entrenchments. The object of the Government at that time was to have warlike cultivators, to withstand the inroads of the Tatars and Turks, but on whose allegiance more reliance could

be placed than on that of the Zaporogians. Colonel Khrovat formed from his people the first Hussar and Pandour regiments which Russia ever possessed. The country flourished rapidly, and the Government bestowed many waste tracts upon private persons, on the condition that they should establish a certain number of peasant farms upon them; these proprietors, in order to fulfil this stipulation, induced a number of Poles to come hither from the nearest Polish districts, and hence a large part of the population still speaks Polish. The condition of these settlers however was insecure for many years: this arose less from the Tatars than the Zaporogians, against whom they were obliged to establish a regular line of outposts along the frontier; from this line poles were planted into the interior, upon the tops of every hill and wrapt in straw, which being fired on the first sign of danger called the whole population to arms. The Zaporogians felt the danger of the restraint and yoke which Russia was threatening gradually to impose upon them by these settlements, and they sought by all means to prevent their taking root in their neighbourhood. In the tedious war between the Russians and Turks, from 1768 to 1774, their behaviour was generally very suspicious toward their neighbours. They did all in their power to allure the settlers to themselves, in which they were tolerably successful, and many of the villages on the frontier became deserted; on the other hand the Zaporogians established new Cossack villages on their side of the frontier, peopled by these renegades. Catherine II. therefore took advantage of the opportunity which occurred at the peace, and in 1775 disarmed the Zaporogians, dissolved the celebrated Setchna, and transported a large portion of them to the Kuban, on the Black Sea. The places vacated by

them were occupied by Bulgarian and Moldavian settlers, from whom was afterwards formed the corps of Cossacks of the Bug. The population now increased rapidly; the Census of 1774 showed 54,518 individuals, and that of 1787 161,319. The Peace of Yassi in 1791 brought the whole country which now belongs to the Government of Kherson under the Russian supremacy, and was followed by the colonizing of the waste districts, and the building of new towns as far as the Dnieper. In 1796 the population of the districts which constitute the Government of Kherson had risen to 230,000. Since that time it rose more slowly, and may now be said to increase only in the seaports: the reason of this I have explained in Chapter I. of this Volume. It amounted, according to Köppen, in 1838, to 696,800 individuals.

The country is divided into two parts, north and south. The north part has a number of rivers and brooks; the south is very deficient in water, whence the difficulties experienced in cultivating and inhabiting it. Plans were formed for uniting the larger rivers in the northern part by a great system of canals, in order to improve the communication; but investigation has proved that the small rivers and brooks which flow into and feed them have not sufficient water. It appears to me that a canal system of this kind might be formed, not for the purpose of navigation, but to organize a great plan of irrigation, by means of which the elevated Steppes, supposing the planting of wood to be commenced at the same time, might be brought into a high state of cultivation.

Formerly, and even a century ago, when the country was hardly at all cultivated, a number of wild animals existed here, which have now quite disappeared. There were large flocks of wild sheep, the horns of which were

brought to the markets of Otchakof and Perekop, down to the end of the last century: these have been quite extirpated. Of the droves of wild horses only a few remains are still found at Inguletz. Wild goats in small numbers exist in the Black Forest, in the Circle of Alexandria; and wild boars are still found among the reeds on the banks of the rivers. Wolves, foxes, hares, martens and squirrels, and various kinds of birds, eagles, bustards, moorhens, cranes, storks, partridges, swans, and pelicans, are the objects of the chase. The amphibious animals and insects are very numerous, particularly locusts, which are the plague of the country.

The present province of Bessarabia, ceded to Russia by the Porte at the Peace of Bucharest in 1812, lies between the Danube, the Pruth, and the Dniester, and consists of two parts, the country of the Nogai Tatar horde Budjak, and Eastern Moldavia on the left bank of the Pruth. The population, according to Köppen, in 1838, was 720,000 individuals. The extent of the country is very differently estimated by Russian statists and geographers, their statements varying between 9160 and 18,850 square miles.

The country in the northern part is hilly; the spurs of the Carpathians extend thus far, but the southern part is a plain, intersected by the remains of an enormous wall and ditch, which, according to tradition, the Emperor Trajan ordered to be erected on this the furthest boundary of the Roman Empire, as a barrier to the inroads of the barbarians.

The south-eastern part, the territory of Budjak, originally belonged to the Khan of the Crimea, but the Turks

possessed the fortified towns, such as Akerman, Kahul, etc. The country is a steppe, and the nomadic Nogai Tatars were formerly subject to the Khan of the Crimea; but afterwards, when the Khanate was dissolved, they recognized the Padishah as their lord, although only insofar and as often as they pleased. The north-western part, or the point extending into Galicia, between Podolia and Moldavia (the present Circle of Khotin) was always a dependency of Turkey, the garrisons and citizens in the towns and the landowners in the plains being Turks. The central part belonged to the Principality of Moldavia: here the majority of the higher classes were of Wallachian or Rumanian race, who preponderated in all the cultivated districts as permanent agriculturists.

When by the Peace of Bucharest the whole country was ceded to Russia, nearly all the Turks abandoned it, not merely the garrisons of the towns, but also the citizens and landowners. The majority of the nomadic Nogai Tatars followed their example, and proceeded, some across the Danube, and some to the Kuban. The great hiatus thus created in the population was gradually filled up by the Russian Government, partly by the colonization of the country with Germans, Bulgarians, Moldavians, Little Russians, etc., and partly by the reception into the towns of nearly all who came, without inquiry. The whole internal constitution of the country, derived from the ancient Wallachian empire, was preserved intact by the Russian Government, and orders were issued in 1827 for the collection and publication of the laws, customs, and traditions, which took place in 1836.

It is a peculiar feature of the Wallachian people, that so great a variety of civil conditions or ranks should have sprung up in the brief period of their political indepen-

dence and development, and their small advancement in cultivation. It almost appears as if these constitutional relations had sprung, not from the life of the people themselves, but had been introduced by the Government in imitation of foreign relations. Their great similarity to those of Byzantium cannot fail to strike us, and upon a close investigation it may be possible, if the materials have not been lost or obscured, to show in the case of each relation at what time and under what circumstances it was transplanted from Byzantium.

The countries which the Wallachian race inhabit, (Bessarabia, Bukovina, a portion of Transylvania, Moldavia, Wallachia, and strips of Bulgaria and Servia toward Macedonia,) formed parts of the great Bulgarian empire, which stood indeed in a hostile political attitude to the Byzantine empire, yet could not but be affected by Byzantine cultivation, both secular and religious. On the destruction of the Bulgarian empire, the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia retained a species of independence, and the Byzantine influence increased: the Hospodars were always appointed by the Sultans for seven years. Gifts and bribes generally attracted the rich Greeks of Constantinople to these princely situations, and the Hospodars made use of the short period of their government almost entirely in amassing wealth and acquiring property in the provinces, to which they retired as soon as their rule was at an end: the majority of the great families in Moldavia and Wallachia are of Greek origin. That all the Hospodars must have had a great interest in extending the privileges of the landowners is evident, as well as that being Greeks they had a predilection for Byzantine ceremonies, and the manners, arrangements, and organization of their own court,

which they therefore exerted themselves to the utmost to transplant into the Principalities.

The ancient Byzantine court calendar, with all its curious lists of ranks, degrees, and ceremonial, was transferred to the courts of these pseudo-princes, who lived in a miserable state of dependence on the Padishah, and even on his vassal the Khan of the Crimea. Although they are now more independent, these lists still constitute a part of the calendar of the courts of Yassi and Bucharest.

But the Byzantine ranks were distinguished from the Germano-Romanic by not including the principle of hereditary descent. The Princes of Moldavia and Wallachia had received their Court arrangements from the defunct Byzantine Imperial court; but they saw among their nearest neighbours, the Poles, Hungarians, and Germans, hereditary ranks and privileges also, which they imitated and adopted, as being favourable to their private interests; and thus arose a heterogeneous mixture of conditions, which still exists, and has no parallel in any other country. I will here give a few slight notices of these ranks.

The first degree are the Boyars, a word manifestly borrowed from the Slavonic languages; it occurs in the ecclesiastical language, but its etymology has not yet been fixed. Those who filled the highest stations in the Principalities were called Boyars; their offices were not properly hereditary, but the children of the Boyars had the first claim to them, and thus the title has become the hereditary property of the richest and most distinguished families. In Bessarabia, from the peculiar significance it has obtained among the Russians, this title could not be recognized by the Government, but it has

given to these families the privileges of the hereditary Russian nobility.

The second class are the Boyarinoshi, and immediately below these stand the Mazili. In the same degree with the latter are the Ruptashi, and beside these are also Rupta-de-Visteriya and Rupta-de-Camera.

All the inhabitants of the country bore the name of Tzarani (from the Wallachian word *tzara*, country). The Tzarani are partly peasants, and those connected with the cultivation of the land, herdsmen, agricultural labourers, and field-watchmen, who have all the name of Breslashi, and partly artisans and day-labourers, who have no particular designation.

The only actual serfs in Bessarabia are the Gipsies. From ancient times these have belonged to the privileged classes, the Boyars, Boyarinoshi, Mazili, and Ruptashi. This is a state of things found in no other part of Europe, and it is quite inconceivable how this liberty-loving people have not long ago quitted a country which has dared to forge chains for them. Russia found this state of things here, and has allowed it to remain; but every one must prove, by documentary evidence, his right to the possession of the Gipsy. The Crown Gipsies, who were formerly nomadic, have been obliged to adopt some fixed course of life and occupation. Of the 9496 Gipsies of the male sex (in 1838) 1587 belonged to the Crown, 6900 were serfs of private proprietors, and only nine were free people.

The Russian system of taxation has not yet been introduced into Bessarabia; but the ancient system which has been retained appears to be somewhat modified by the Russian. The Tzarani pay the tax *Bir*, which is not a poll-tax, but a family-tax of two roubles eight copeks

silver; the Crown Tzarani likewise pay an obrok of six roubles seventy-two copeks for each family. The Mazili and Ruptashi pay the so-called *Dashdin* instead of the *Bir*,—two roubles sixty-seven copeks (silver) for each family.

As Communal taxes, there are the village dues, 83½ silver copeks each family, and the general tax on the expenditure of the peasants: it amounted in 1844, according to a computation made every three years, to one rouble twenty-six copeks a family; finally, there is the tax for the village store, six copeks per soul.

CHAPTER V.

DEPARTURE FROM ODESSA.—PODOLIA.—CURIOUS MIXTURE OF RACES.—OLGAPOL.—STATE OF THE PEASANTRY.—KIEF.—CAVE MONASTERY.—CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA.—UNIVERSITY.—IMMIGRANT POLISH NOBILITY IN THE LITTLE RUSSIAN DISTRICTS.—SHLIAKHTA.—MALO-RUSSIANS AND RUSSINES.—PROPERTIES OF POLISH NOBILITY COMPARED WITH THOSE OF THE RUSSIANS.—ASSEMBLIES IN KIEF AT THE CONTRACT PERIOD.—JEWS.—BRANDY DISTILLING.—FRONTIER OF VARIOUS NATIONALITIES.

On the 9th of October we left Odessa for Kief: the late period of the year did not permit a long stay anywhere, but I stopped for some hours in Olgapol, where the Head of the Circle, a well-informed man, gave me some useful information upon the state of things there. As soon as the frontier of Podolia is passed, the traveller comes into another country, inhabited by a different people, hilly, with fine woods and pretty scenery. The social relations of the people are peculiar. The population of Podolia consists of ten different races,—Great Russians, Little Russians, Rusniaks, Poles, Moldavians, Greeks, German colonists, Jews, Armenians, and Gipsies. Each is distinct, and does not mingle with the rest, having its own language, dress, mode of life, and, generally speaking, its own religion. Each forms a peculiar social and political class. The Great Russians form that of officials, civil and military; they dress in uniform, speak

their own Great Russian dialect, and belong to the Russian Church. The Little Russians constitute the class of Cossacks; they have their own peculiar costume, speak the Little Russian dialect, and likewise belong to the Russian Church. The Rusniaks are the class of peasant serfs, who have a peculiar dress, and speak their own dialect, a mixture of Polish and Russian; they belonged formerly to the United Greek and Latin Church, and since this union was dissolved no differences are apparent between their profession of faith and that of the Russian Church. The Poles constitute the nobility, both the higher and lower classes, or *Shliakhta;* they speak Polish, and are attached to the Roman Catholic Church. The Moldavians belong to the class of colonists, retain their own dress, speak Wallachian, and adhere to the Greek Church. The Greeks belong partly to the class of colonists, and partly to that of the merchants, have their national costume, speak modern Greek, and are attached to the Greek Church, which is distinguished from the Russian by Greek being used as the liturgical language. The peculiarities of the German colonists I need not further explain. The Jews in some manner represent the *bourgeois* class; in the small towns there is scarcely any other population; their dress is peculiar; they speak a broken German, and have their own distinct religion. The Armenians belong to the class of merchants, and have their own dress, language, and religion. The Gipsies finally constitute no class, have no peculiar dress, no religion, and mangle all languages. The entire population is estimated at 1,545,540, upon a territory of fifteen thousand square miles. The relative numbers of the different nationalities were given to me as follows:—

	Persons of both Sexes.
Great Russians	43,000
Little Russians	188,000
Rusniaks	1,044,000
Poles	98,000
Moldavians	1,600
Greeks	520
Germans	2,600
Jews	165,500
Armenians	420
Gipsies	1,900

The villages in this district are frequently divided between the Crown and private landowners. In general they are of a middle size, containing from five hundred to eight hundred inhabitants. The serfage of the Crown peasants has been abolished, as throughout the rest of Russia. The Court of Domains permits the transfer of the peasants from *corvée* to *obrok* service whenever they demand it. If any member of a family wishes to enter a trade, and become an artisan, the permission of the Court of Domains is necessary, but is never refused: this custom first came from Russia, and was introduced since Russian times.* There are no serfage taxes, properly so called; besides the peasants do service, but pay no taxes *in natura*.

The road from Olgapol passes through pleasant hilly scenery. The villages are large, but the houses do not stand in street rows,—each one is detached; they have well-fenced courtyards, with pretty enclosed gardens, full of fine fruit-trees: the dwelling-houses are small, low, and of one story, but have handsome, lofty, and well thatched roofs and chimneys; the house-door is at the side.

* This district of country constituted a part of the old Kingdom of Poland.—Transl.

We passed through the District of Skvira. In one village, where we changed horses, a number of the houses were inhabited by Shliakhta (poor Polish nobility), and the rest by serfs: they were mingled together, and the houses of the Shliakhta were in no way distinguished from those of the serfs, either in size, cleanliness, or superior appearance; but they constituted a separate independent Commune, with an Elder chosen by themselves, who collected and paid the taxes. Polish alone was spoken by them all, and they were Roman Catholics; they had their own Latin Church, and a Polish unmarried clergyman, whom I visited, but who had unfortunately nearly forgotten his Latin. The Shliakhta here had no land of their own, but were settled upon Crown land, for which they had long paid a uniform rent. The peasants were Rusniaks, spoke Russine, belonged to the formerly United Church, and had their own church, with a Russine married clergyman.

On the 13th, a beautiful October morning, we came in view of Kief, the mother and ancient metropolis of the Russian cities. Two miles distant from it we perceived on both sides of the road ancient circumvallations of considerable extent, ditches, remains of entrenchments, etc. After establishing ourselves in a tolerably good inn, we went to pay the customary visits. The Governor-General, M. de Bibikof, a man of the most refined manners, and full of energy and skill, charged M. de Chadois to show us every object of interest. The latter, the son of a rich landowner, and a very well-informed young man, conducted us first to the celebrated Cave Monastery. The monastery and church are modern, and constructed in the manner usual in Russia; the older buildings have been several times burnt down—last in 1728. In the

sanctuary of the church wax-tapers were given to us, and the Arkhierei opened a side-door, and conducted us down a staircase into the subterranean passages. These have somewhat the appearance of mines; they are rarely more than seven feet high, and from four to five feet wide, running round in labyrinthine windings, in two divisions, for more than two miles in the rock. At intervals of twenty to fifty paces on either side are niches, with stone coffins, cut out of the rock: here lie interred the old hermits, who are all venerated as saints. The bodies do not decay, but become shrivelled up; they all lie open to view in their monks' robes, stretched out in the stone coffins, and over each is thrown a silk cover, beautifully embroidered with gold. The Arkhierei removed this from several, and showed us the undecayed corpses lying beneath it,—a horrible sight! One of these holy men had caused himself to be buried in the earth up to his shoulders, so that only his head appeared, and had died thus: he too had a gold-embroidered cloth over him. Here and there small cells were excavated in the rocks beside the passages, which had been inhabited by the monkish hermits, who never left the cells nor spoke to any one. The cell of St. Anthony, the founder of the Monastery, and the stone bench on which he sat and taught the brethren, were shown to us. Over the grave of Nestor, the celebrated chronicler of Russian history, was hung a votive tablet, with an inscription to his memory. We then entered a subterranean church, about thirty feet square, furnished with all the usual decorations. A few smaller chapels were likewise provided with everything necessary for divine worship, which is still celebrated in them at certain seasons.

History supplies no satisfactory record of the date of

the construction of these caves and passages. Anthony, the founder of the Monastery, a native of Liubetch in Russia, was a monk of Mount Athos, who retired (1013) into the solitude of a forest at Kief. There he found a cave, which, according to tradition, was cut in the rocks by the Varangians, and afterwards he discovered a second. Having collected a number of monks, he founded here a monastery, to which he gave the rules of the Studia Monastery in Jerusalem.* This company of monks soon amounted to twelve, and "with them Anthony dug a large cave in the shape of a church, with cells." On comparing all that I have read, heard, and seen, I think it improbable that Anthony with his companions or any subsequent monks excavated these passages and cells, which are some thousand paces in extent. Even at the present time, with all our mechanical appliances and the aid of gunpowder, this would be a colossal work of many years, as only a small number of workmen could be employed upon it at the same time: but that these places were excavated at that early period is inconceivable. And why should Anthony have dug with such incredible exertions passages and caves, when he could, nay even did, build his church and monastery aboveground? And why these long passages? If he had wished to live as a hermit in a cave dug by himself, one with a few small cells would have sufficed. I am convinced these passages are much more ancient, and belong either to a former people, as indicated by the tradition that the Varangians first formed them, in which case they may be ranked among the inexplicable Troglodyte structures I mentioned at Tchufut-kalé, or they

* The Cave Monastery at Kief appears to have been the first in Russia: all the others were founded according to its rules.

are natural caves, such as are frequently met with; and the monks may only have aided nature, widening and enlarging, cutting niches for graves, and converting a cave into a chapel. There is another cave-monastery in Russia at Pskof, very similar to this at Kief.

We next visited the Church of St. Sophia, one of the oldest and finest in Russia: it was built as early as the year 1036, upon the model of the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople. Some time ago a young painter from St. Petersburg was sent here to execute several pictures and drawings of it. On examining the building he discovered that colours were concealed under the whitewash upon the walls and pillars, and by carefully washing off this outer coating large old frescoes were brought to light, probably of the eleventh century. How these remarkable pictures had been whitewashed over, considering the reverence shown in Russia for everything belonging to the Church, is incomprehensible: those I saw bore the stamp of the highest antiquity,—faded colours, sharp contours, characteristic expression and stiff drawing: some, from which the whitewash had been completely removed, were mere figures of saints, larger than life and without any grouping. The ikonostas of this church is of the most beautiful rococo work. Here too is the tomb of St. Vladimir.

From the Church of St. Andrew there is a glorious view over the whole of Kief and the Dnieper. This church was built in 1774, in the rococo style, I believe by Rostrelli.

A fine garden, which was laid out in the town by Potemkin for the Empress Catherine, contains one of Strüve's mineral-water establishments. I visited also a large school for ladies of high families, founded by the

nobility in this Government: it is very elegant, but, as usual in such institutions in Russia, only drawing-room ladies, no good housewives, are educated here. I drove to the University, which stands in a large square upon an eminence, and made there the acquaintance of several of the Professors. The library is considerable. Professor Ivanoshef, a learned and amiable man, was my guide, and during our conversation gave me much information relating to the rural institutions here.

The nobility of the Governments around Kief are of Polish origin, very few Great Russian families being settled here. Among the Little Russians and Red Russians (Russines) there has never been a native class of nobles, as, according to Procopius, was the case with all the Slavonic peoples. When, after the conquest by the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, that country became united to Poland, Polish and Lithuanian nobles penetrated into them: the time when this occurred has not been ascertained.

Very few Polish nobles settled in Little Russia on the left bank of the Dnieper, and none in the Cossack countries; but the Empress Catherine gave Russian peasants to many of her courtiers here, and these, from being free people, fell into Russian serfdom. In these districts the Russian and Polish nobility border on each other, and frequently live intermingled. In the Cossack countries many officers who have acquired Russian hereditary rank constitute a rural nobility.

The Polish nobles in Podolia and Volhynia occupy the same position as they do in Eastern Galicia, where the original population are likewise Russines. But the treatment of these countries has been different by Russia and Austria: the latter has not favoured the Polish landed

nobility in their relations to the peasantry; it has not recognized the serfage of the peasants, but only their manorial duties. The nobles also pay very heavy taxes. In the Russian parts of what was formerly the Kingdom of Poland, inhabited by Russines, the Government favours the Polish nobility, who occupy the same position as the Russians, the serfage of their peasants being unconditionally recognized: although their right to *corvée* service is limited by law to three days in the week, the lord is no loser by this, as it would be impossible to exact more, unless the peasant were to leave his own land uncultivated and starve. Patrimonial jurisdiction, which is still found in Galicia, does not exist in these Russian districts; but the most important part, the Police, is left to the nobility. It has no value for the landowners in Galicia, being exercised by their attorneys and factors, and affording only an additional opportunity to these leeches to oppress and harass the peasants for their own benefit, while it increases the feeling of hatred toward the nobility. The Polish nobles in Russia pay the same taxes as the Russians.

Although the landed nobility here have not by any means forgotten old Poland, their attachment to it is much less strong than in Galicia: they were consequently little implicated in the Revolution of 1831. About 27,000 or 30,000 peasants had their goods confiscated in these old Polish districts. Those of the nobility who have estates both in Galicia and this country live for the most part in the latter, where they are less oppressed. Moreover the financial position of the nobles has been much improved under the Russian Government, by the rise of Odessa and the extraordinary increase of the corn-trade: they have far more sympathy therefore for the

Russian than for the Austrian Government. I made this remark in 1843, and it was confirmed in a striking manner in 1846.

It is different in the case of the Shliakhta (inferior Polish nobility): a much stronger feeling of nationality is found among them than in the higher class of nobles, with their French polish and education. The former are completely uncultivated,—more so even than our peasantry; they are poor, but proud,* and as brave as possible. In 1831, throughout the old Polish districts, they were deeply implicated in the Revolution, which occasioned afterwards a revision of their relations. They were obliged to prove their nobility by documentary evidence, and, being unable to do so, the majority were degraded, and the legal position of the Odnodvortzi was assigned them.

The original inhabitants, the Malo-Russians (Little Russians) and Russines (Red Russians), had little sympathy with the Polish Government, and hated their lords, the Polish nobles. But the Malo-Russians had more sympathy for the Russian Government, especially on religious grounds, having always belonged to the Russian Church. With the Russines it was different; they had not the slightest sympathy for the Russian Government; and, although disliking the Poles, they felt attached to them by the bond of a common faith, as they acknowledged the authority of the Pope; they therefore kept aloof from the Great and Little Russians, and had evidently a strong sympathy with their Galician brethren in consanguinity and religion.

* In the old Polish times they had the feeling of the Basque, who says of himself, "Un hidalgo como el Rey, mas no si rico" (a nobleman as good as the King, but not so rich); and this feeling is still rooted in the Shliakhta.

These circumstances alone serve to explain the constant, unrelaxing efforts of Russia to separate the Russines from Rome, and to unite them with the Russian Church.* That political reasons are at the root of these efforts is evident from the fact, that even Catherine II., whose government is said to have been marked by the greatest religious toleration, made the utmost exertions to attain his end.

The property of the nobles in the soil is different here from what it is in Great Russia, where they have a certain extent of territory, with peasants who cultivate and pay a poll-tax for it. Here they possess large estates, with enclosed fields, meadows, and pasture-land, divided into small portions or farms, the occupiers of which render *corvée* service to the chief estate. In short, it is the same kind of agriculture as we find almost throughout Germany and in a great part of the rest of Europe. The peasant in these districts is much more oppressed, and has practically not so free a position as the obrok peasant in Russia Proper.

How ancient serfage is in these parts of the country is unknown, but it unquestionably does not date from an earlier period than their conquest by the Grand Dukes of Lithuania; it may probably have originated on the union of Lithuania with Poland, as all the nobles are

* The complete unity in point of doctrine between the Russian and Romish Churches, with the exception of the acknowledgment of the Pope as the *centrum unitatis*, the corner-stone of the whole edifice, is evident from two remarkable declarations. The Pope has always declared that the dogma of the *United* Church is perfectly Catholic. The Synod of St. Petersburg has likewise declared on the present union of a part of the United with the Russian Church, that the former have always been, and now are, one in doctrine with the latter. The well-known mathematical axiom will apply here: "Si duo æquales tertio," etc.

Poles. Even in Poland serfage is supposed to have arisen within historical times: the peasant formerly was not without rights, and called himself *kmet*, or man.

The Russian Government has done something here also to diminish the arbitrary power of the lords of the soil, which in the later Polish times was quite unlimited; the latter exacted as many *corvées* as they pleased, and their own interest in providing for their peasants alone set bounds to their caprice; the obligation even of maintaining their serfs was not acknowledged. Russian legislation limited the *corvées* to three days in the week, prohibited all personal ill-treatment, and restricted punishment by the police to five blows with a stick. The privilege however of making a complaint against his lord is not allowed to the peasant: the conduct of the former is under the surveillance of the Ispravnik, who in these districts is not appointed by the nobles, but by the Government. When any case of bad conduct occurs among the nobles, the Governor summons the Vice-Governor, the Marshal of the Nobles, and several landowners, and the guilty person is placed under trustees and his property administered. This is evidently a poor guarantee against arbitrary conduct.

There are undoubtedly many right-minded noblemen who use their power over the serfs to raise them from their degradation; among the rest, M. Poniatovski and several other intelligent landowners have bestowed great attention upon their education, restraining them from drunkenness, and awakening and directing their skill and industry; they have succeeded so far, as to have been able to diminish the amount of their *corvées* one-third without injury to themselves. Some of these landowners have introduced village tribunals, which dispose

of the disputes among the peasants, and punish offences against the Commune. It has been observed that the peasants who sit in these courts pass extremely severe but just sentences. The higher authorities are aware of the existence of this extra-legal system, but, seeing its utility, they ignore it officially. Here and there are traces also of popular tribunals of very ancient date.

Unfortunately the majority of the Polish nobility here are either vulgar and uncultivated, or, what is worse, disfigured with a meretricious French polish. The richer nobles formerly lived in Kief during the winter; they now generally repair to Odessa, where they can live more at their ease, and indulge their taste for play.*

In former days what was called the contract-season was very brilliant at Kief. In January all the nobles assembled there, to conclude their contracts, arrange about the delivery of their corn, their loans, sales, and exchanges of estates, etc.; at present this takes place more in Odessa, where the principal corn trade is concentrated. Complaint is made that these contracts, which were formerly based upon Polish law and ancient custom, and depended upon the honour of the parties, which afforded great security, (a breach of faith being almost unheard of,) are now made according to the forms of the Russian law, and faith and trust have disappeared: many persons therefore prefer concluding the contracts upon their estates, where the old forms are retained and faithfully observed.

One great evil which the landowners have to contend with, and a serious obstacle to all commerce, is the total want of money credit. The usual rate of interest here,

* This amusement formerly prevailed to such an extent in Kief, that persons even came from St. Petersburg to indulge in it.

as in Russia and Odessa, is one and a quarter to one and a half, and even two per cent. a month. The nobles however are in general richer than formerly; they have no longer an opportunity of spending their money abroad, and are compelled to live more upon their estates: the facilities afforded to the export of corn by the rise of Odessa have augmented their revenues in an extraordinary degree. The difference produced in the value of farm-produce, and consequently of the land itself, by distance from the sea and insufficient means of communication, may be inferred from the fact, that in Kief the revenues arising from the possession of five hundred peasants are reckoned at 20,000 roubles, but at Odessa at 80,000 roubles, and estates are bought and sold accordingly.

The Jews, who are extremely numerous, occupy here two kinds of social position: in the towns, especially the small ones, they constitute the principal part of the population, and all the trade is in their hands; in the country they are the general agents of the nobility. Some years ago a nobleman with his family here could not get on without his Jew or factor: if he wanted anything, clothes, servants, etc., or had any business to transact, or to appear before the courts, the Jew acted and appeared for him, administering the estates, farming the land, attending to the mills, distillery, or alehouse; even the most private family affairs passed through his hands; he arranged the marriages, and drew up the negotiations and contracts relating to the property, etc. This evil has been somewhat abated in recent times, but it is still bad enough.

The Jews exerted the most injurious activity in the distillation of brandy. This is a monopoly of the land-

owners on their estates, of the Crown in its villages, and of the towns. The landowners sometimes possess distilleries of their own, in which case they either have shops, which they entrust to sworn agents, who sell the brandy retail, or the latter is sold wholesale, the workpeople however taking it in part of their earnings, and the shops being let to the factor, who generally sublets them to poor Jews; sometimes they let the distillery to the Jew, with the retail shops, themselves laying up their grain for years of scarcity. On all sides the most crying evils result, especially where the distillery and shops are both in the hands of the Jew, and all kinds of inducements are held out for the people to drink. The Government has forbidden the farming of distilleries by Jews, but the prohibition is easily evaded, the Jew appearing as administrator, etc. The Government has also forbidden credit to be given to the peasants for brandy: they are not required to pay a debt thus contracted, and cannot be sued for it; but, curiously enough, the peasant regards this as a debt of honour or conscience, and always pays it voluntarily and honourably. Potato distilleries, which are never seen in Russia, exist here.

About twelve years ago, after repeated warnings, the Jews were banished from Kief on account of their bad conduct; they are no longer allowed to possess houses, booths, or shops, or to pass the night in the city. Great complaints have since arisen, and it is asserted that everything is now bad and dear, and the cheating of the artisans, merchants, and shopkeepers excessive.

The Government of Kief forms a kind of boundary in many ways. I have already mentioned that the nationalities of the Russians and Malo-Russians separate here; and here also is the boundary between the Polish

and Russian nobility. National costumes constitute several lines of demarcation: the Dnieper is the boundary between the consumption of the Russian kvas and the beer, which doubtless was imported into Poland from Germany. The boundary-line too in the transport and sale of corn has been formed in recent times in the Government of Kief, the northern parts and Volhynia transporting their corn to the Baltic, Danzig, etc., and the southern parts to the Black Sea and Odessa. The wool trade separates in the same manner; that grown in the north-west goes to the Silesian markets, the rest to Odessa.

An important change here takes place also in the constitution of the towns. In Russia the Crown and the nobility alone can possess peasants: the towns have nowhere peasants or villages. If in addition to the meadows and woods they have land adapted for cultivation, they let this, as we have seen at Saratof. It is different however in the old Polish districts on the right bank of the Dnieper. Here not only German (Magdeburg) law prevailed, but all the general social relations were organized in the German manner; guilds and corporations existed from of old, and the towns possessed territory on which they exercised complete patrimonial jurisdiction in the same manner as in Germany; some of them indeed, as Thorn and Danzig, were just as independent, and had precisely the same position, as the German free towns. They had established villages and farms on their territory, and their peasants were obliged to perform *corvées*, as on noblemen's estates.

In Russia the nobility nowhere possess towns; they could not by law grant them municipal rights, nor exercise any dominion over them. The villages of Ivanovo

and Pavlovo, belonging to Count Sheremetief, have more the aspect of towns, more trade, and are richer, more populous and powerful, than any towns in Russia; but they are mere villages, and have no municipal rights. Were they to become towns, Sheremetief would lose his rights over them. It is different on the right bank of the Dnieper: here the Polish nobility, in imitation of the German, have established towns upon their territory, and granted them municipal rights and privileges, but have reserved to themselves dominion over them, and patrimonial jurisdiction, with generally a ground-rent for the houses. They are wretched places, inhabited only by Jews.

PEASANTS OF LITTLE RUSSIA.

CHAPTER VI.

DEPARTURE FROM KIEF.—BOUNDARY OF THE LITTLE AND GREAT RUSSIAN NATIONALITIES.—NIEZHIN.—OREL.—POPULATION.—STATE OF SERFAGE.—BRANDY FARMING.—INTOXICATION AMONG THE WHITE RUSSIANS.—GREAT AND LITTLE RUSSIANS.—RUSSIAN ARTISANS.—RUSSIAN MERCHANTS.—THE HOUSES IN OREL.—MODE OF LIFE.—TULA.—MOSCOW.

On the 17th of October we left Kief. The view of the city from the heights on the opposite bank of the broad Dnieper is truly majestic, and few towns in Russia can be compared with it,—perhaps only Nizhni-Novgorod. The country and the villages gradually assume a different character on the left bank of the river. In the villages on the right the houses stand in irregular masses, as in the north of Germany, whereas here commences something of the regularity of the Russian villages, with long straight streets, etc.

The following day we reached the town of Niezhin, which is said to contain about 18,000 inhabitants, of whom 8000 belong to the bourgeois, and 4000 to the Odnodvortzi or Cossack class; the others are nobles and officials, with a considerable number of Greeks, and still more Jews. This was formerly a celebrated trading-place, which is the cause of so many Greeks having established themselves here. During the carnival there is a

large and celebrated fair, chiefly visited by merchants from the Ukraine.

In the neighbourhood of Niezhin much tobacco is grown, which is transported in December and January on sledges to Riga. If not disposed of there, it is sent to Moscow and Odessa, but in that case it fetches much lower prices.

We now reached the frontier of the Government of Orel, which may be regarded as the boundary between the Little and Great Russians. The faces, figures, beards, and clothes of the people indicated this, although a gradual transition from one to the other was observable. The plan and architecture of the houses and farmsteads are still for the most part Little Russian, the side of the house facing the street, with a verandah and whitewashed walls; but the plan of the villages, the long broad streets, with the steadings in a line close together, indicate the Great Russian manner and custom. The station-village of Sievsk was completely Great Russian.

We reached Sievsk, the most southerly Circle town in the Government of Orel. The population in this part of the country consists of a mixture of Little and Great Russians; but the latter seem to have been the first settlers, the original colonists having been for the most part soldiers released from service. This is indicated by the names,—*Peshii*, foot-soldiers; *Mushketeri*, musketeers; *Pushkari*, artillerymen; *Reitari*, horsemen; and *Streltzi*. There are also conventual peasants, agricultural peasants, etc.; their names however make no difference in the condition of the people; they have all Crown land, occupy the same position, and pay the same taxes as the Crown peasants. The Little Russians alone, who are called Cossacks, possess land of their own, and pay no

obrok. The peasants of the private proprietors are all placed upon *corvées*. The petty nobility alone live upon the land; the richer classes reside in the towns, and the great nobles in Moscow. The latter entrust the administration of their estates to peasant Starostas, rarely to educated bailiffs.

The town of Sievsk contains about 5000 inhabitants. Flax is much cultivated in the neighbourhood, and for this the land is manured, but for grain no manure is used. The majority of the villages we now passed through were small, containing ten to twenty houses; some of them however were very large, with stone churches, and one had 3000 inhabitants.

On the morning of October 22nd we reached Orel, a Government town, containing, like the majority in Russia, several modern streets, many churches with cupolas, palaces with balconies and pillars, but likewise entire quarters in which are only seen genuine Russian, three-windowed log-houses. I paid visits to the Governor, Prince Trubetskoi, the President of Domains, and several other persons.

The population of this Government, the extent of which is reckoned variously at 16,700 and 17,500 square miles, consists of 661,177 males.

I made the acquaintance here of a man who gave me some information concerning the distillation and consumption of brandy, of the truth and value of which I cannot judge. On this subject the traveller hears only unfavourable opinions expressed, and some exaggeration may be mixed up with the truth. The consumption of brandy is one of the greatest evils, the true plague of the Russian Empire. The Government could adopt no more salutary measure than to put it down, but there

are great difficulties in the way of effecting this: the farming of the trade in spirits yields an immense revenue, which cannot be relinquished, and could not be easily raised in any other way. I believe the state of things is not better in those Governments which have no Crown monopoly. With regard to the passion for drink, there are national differences; the most inveterate tipplers are the White Russians, and they are consequently the most enervated. The Great Russians do not drink constantly, nor daily, and many of them not at all for months, nor will they take brandy even when offered to them; but times and temptations occur when, if they taste a drop, a perfect rage for it seizes them (*zapoi*): they will then drink continuously for days, nay weeks, and squander all they possess, to their last farthing. On these occasions arises the great profit of the *kabak;* for so long as the peasant has still his senses left, he receives pure brandy, but afterwards adulterated stuff is given him, and more is charged for than he has had. The peasants are less addicted to drink than the artisans. The Little Russians drink constantly, daily, but for the most part moderately; the *zapoi* rarely seizes them, and they do not drink to lose their senses.

Three systems prevail in Russia with regard to the distillation of brandy. In Finland, the Baltic Provinces, and Little Russia, the right of distilling is given on payment of a duty to the landowners, Cossacks, etc.; in Russia Proper it is a monopoly of the Crown. The Government in the latter farms out the right of distilling and selling the brandy. As there is no monopoly among the Little Russians, their brandy is better, and near the frontier the Great Russians frequently attempt to smuggle it; but the heaviest punishments await this,—Siberia

and service in the army! A curious state of things is this in the same country, and among the same people, which must naturally awaken a sense of injustice.

A shudder comes over the traveller when he perceives these fatal Crown *kabaks*, with the double eagle over them. We passed through an Odnodvortzi village: the houses and steadings were neat, and everything looked substantial; but our Yemstchik, in answer to our inquiries regarding it, said, "Yes, this was formerly a rich Odnodvortzi village; but observe that small house with the eagle over it: it has been built only ten years, and has already swallowed up all the large and rich houses!"

The private landowners are in the habit of prohibiting *kabaks* in their villages; but the brandy-farmers too frequently seduce them, and purchase the privilege of establishing these places: when once set up in a village they cannot be got rid of again. The *vedro* of brandy cost at that time in Orel (the common sort) ten roubles and a half (3*s*. 6*d*. a gallon),—the superior kind seventeen roubles. At the same time the *vedro* of the so-called Greek wine, from the Crimea, Bessarabia, Podolia, cost only nine roubles.

I was conducted round the town by a physician, a Livonian by birth and a clever man; we visited especially those quarters in which the Russian artisans live. Here, as in many other Governments, they are generally serfs of the nobility, a small number being Crown peasants. The common Russian rarely adopts this trade voluntarily, preferring the wandering life of retailer, pedlar, or driver; he only becomes an artisan when his parents or master compel him, and the majority are consequently serfs. The nobles usually select boys from among their people, and send them into some town to

learn a trade: when their education is finished they return; the best are retained by their master at home, and the others sent back to the town, with instructions to settle there and pay obrok to their lord. No more is needed for their establishment than to inscribe themselves in some trade, to pay a license-tax, and hang out a sign. There are no conditions on being admitted into the trade, and no apprenticeship or travel required: perfect freedom prevails. This is the reason why all Russian artisans are so bad: by nature careless and idle, the Russian works only for appearance. Why should he be industrious and careful, different from all his neighbours? Customers must come to him,—they have no choice,—and he cheats and takes from them as much as he can. Moreover all his wants, his *shtchi*, groats, bread, and *kvas*, are satisfied at an extremely cheap rate. Enjoyments such as the West-European loves, bowling-greens, dancing-rooms, beer-houses, gardens, and the like, are unknown to the Russian, who on his innumerable holidays merely saunters into the *kabak*, and becomes an incorrigible tippler. The artisans of Russia have not had the training or education for modern times. The corporate institutions of the Middle Ages trained the artisans to their peculiar skill and handicraft, their pride and manners, whilst they encouraged their industry, fidelity, and honesty; but when in modern times the barriers that surrounded them were levelled, the privileges of the trades abolished, and freedom of industry introduced, this did not produce the evils which had been feared; manners had become established, and the ancient traditions continued in operation. The character of the artisans had been formed, which enabled them to bear the freedom of employments without injury to themselves or the public.

In Russia, on the other hand, the freedom of trades is a great evil.

When the Russian artisan conducts himself well, and accumulates some capital, he feels his own importance, and seeks to acquire his freedom; availing himself of the benevolence or embarrassments of his master, he purchases it; and in the latter case days are often spent in chaffering about a copek. The purchase-money usually fluctuates between two hundred and two thousand roubles. The obrok of the workmen in Orel, I was informed, is at the lowest thirty, and at the highest two hundred roubles, a year.

In all the towns we found foreign, chiefly German, artisans; they have a long-established reputation for greater solidity than the Russians, which they frequently do not deserve. The foreign artisan, so long as he is not a Russian subject, pays a tax of twenty roubles a year; but foreigners are so privileged in Russia as often to end their lives (even through several generations) without becoming naturalized; this happens only when they marry Russians, or seek official rank for their sons.

The merchants in the towns, excepting the capitals, are generally Russians, and for the most part bearded Russians: they do not wear coats, but kaftans. They are everywhere divided into three guilds, which are not however corporations having the right of admitting or rejecting new members; but every one who pays the prescribed dues enters a guild *ipso jure*. The merchants in the towns constitute almost an hereditary class. When they are twelve years old the father takes his sons into his business; thus they receive no school education, only a few learning to read and write; but they can all calculate on the Russian counting-board. It is a point

of principle that the son should not know more than his father. A large number of Starovertzi are found among the merchants: they are very religious, and adhere to their ancient customs; nevertheless in their mercantile transactions, except among themselves, they are not to be relied on. They frequently remain together for several generations in the same business, and live in the same house; I found in one at Orel four families, consisting of the parents, and three married sons, with their children; the sons almost invariably marry in their own class. Throughout Russia, on certain holidays, the merchants' families assemble in some public place; the daughters, loaded with jewels and ornaments, walk about without speaking, and the marriages are arranged, in which the young people have little voice: the parents settle the business, with much bargaining about the marriage-portions, which never consist of money during the lifetime of the old people, but only of furniture, ornaments, etc. A contrast exists between the merchants and artisans: the latter, when they accumulate money and purchase their freedom, become modernized; they shave their beards, and exchange the kaftan for a frock-coat; they also endeavour to give their sons a school education, to enable them to enter the *Tchin* (civil service), and the latter do not become artisans if they can avoid it. This class of people therefore is always recruited from among the serfs,—the merchants among the merchants' sons. Of late however the merchants have begun to permit marriages, at least for their daughters, with Tchinovniks, who are generally very anxious for such alliances. The girls consequently often receive more education and training than the sons. I found in the houses of some genuine bearded Russian merchants

pianofortes, on which the daughters played with some skill. In Kursk there is a school for this class of girls, in which however they only receive the external polish of talking French, playing, and dancing, without any training as useful housewives. The indolent life to which the merchants' wives are accustomed leads too frequently to all kinds of excesses, intrigues, and immorality. Nowhere in Russia did I see the women and girls in the citizens' houses occupied with the usual female work, or serving the guests and customers in the inns and shops. A French confectioner said to me, "I would never marry a Russian, however rich, even if she had 100,000 roubles: she would think herself too genteel to sell a pound of *bonbons;* she would neither be domestic nor industrious, but extravagant, luxurious, and faithless. I would rather marry a poor German, in whom I should have an honest, industrious housewife."

Some of the streets and squares in Orel are very handsome, and built after the modern fashion. The houses in Russian towns have rarely more than two stories. Every plan of even the smallest house in a Government town must be approved at St. Petersburg. Architects educated in the modern fashion are found everywhere, but they have little genius or originality; they copy the models to which the inhabitants have become accustomed, and the greatest sameness and monotony prevail. Some of the neighbouring nobles have houses in Orel, which they have built or purchased; others hire them, but always an entire dwelling. It is not considered *comme il faut* to occupy the upper story of a house, with shops under it; persons of moderate fortune prefer hiring a loghouse of one story, which is more convenient and better adapted to Russian habits. Furnished lodgings

are nowhere found, and to hire a few rooms is not the fashion; a bachelor therefore is somewhat at a loss to find a dwelling; there is no public *table d'hôte*, and he is obliged to establish a house of his own. As no one can dispense with an equipage, the coachman and his wife act as his servants, and a formal contract is generally made for their board, the fodder for the horses, etc. A person can live in tolerable comfort in one of these small establishments, and provisions are so cheap that thirty to forty roubles a year purchase everything except wine, sugar, and tea; whereas at a *restaurant* the same articles, cooked in an inferior manner, would cost sixty to eighty roubles.

On the evening of October 24th we left Orel. The weather was beginning to break up, and the roads were very bad. We travelled slowly, and arrived on the 26th at Tula, but so unwell that we hastened on to Moscow, which we reached the same day.

CHAPTER VII.

RETURN TO MOSCOW.—CLIMATE.—ACQUAINTANCES IN MOSCOW.—PHYSIOGNOMY OF THE HAUTE VOLÉE —YOUNG RUSSIA.—REVIVAL OF OLD RUSSIAN DRESSES. — FOREIGN AND OLD RUSSIAN CULTURE. — THE SVOD, OR RUSSIAN CODE.—SYMPATHY AMONG SLAAVS.—ANTIPATHY AGAINST THE GERMANS.—THE GERMANS IN RUSSIA.—INFLUENCE OF THE FRENCH.—THE BALTIC PROVINCES.

Thus we arrived at Moscow, the point from which we had started on our journey. Until the 26th it had been rainy autumnal weather, which in Tula changed to frost, and in Moscow we found complete winter; this continued without interruption until my departure from Moscow, in April, 1844. The winters are much pleasanter in Russia than in Germany: as soon as a sufficient quantity of snow has fallen, the weather continues fine, clear, and generally calm, in which case the severest cold of 30° to 40° Réaum. is little felt; whereas 6° to 7°, with a storm of wind and snow, such as frequently occurs in the Steppes, threatens man and beast with almost certain death.

I took up my quarters in a boarding-house, and after the delay of a fortnight, caused by an attack of fever, which I first experienced in the Crimea, I began to pay visits, and to make such acquaintances and obtain such information as might further the objects of my travels. To the kindness of Baron Alexander von Meyendorf I was chiefly indebted for the introductions I received: he

had been, a few years before, at the head of a travelling party, which, by direction of the Minister of Finance, undertook a journey throughout Russia, to obtain information regarding the natural and industrial resources of the country. The excellent description of this journey, written by one of the party, Professor Blasius of Brunswick, and published in 1844, is one of the literary results of this important expedition. Baron Meyendorf has published only a small portion of the treasures of his experience and observation, but these are of high value.

In Moscow I made various, and some very interesting, acquaintances. The Governor-General, Prince Galitzin, a dignified man, with something of the old Boyar about him, to whom I had been introduced before commencing my journey in the spring, had died in my absence, and his place was occupied by Prince Trubetzkoi. He and his lady, one of the most benevolent women in Moscow, received me in a very friendly manner, and in their large parties I met nearly all the first society in Moscow. I visited the Governor of the Kremlin, General von Stahl, a worthy old soldier, to whose superior talent for observation I am indebted for much information. Among the higher class of officials I was introduced to the Vice-Governor Novosiltzikof, who had received a German education, with the senators Kinfief, Vasilshikof and his amiable family, the Head of the Police, the Marshal of the Nobles, etc. I made the acquaintance also of the most distinguished learned men and Professors of Moscow; but what I found most instructive and attractive was my intercourse with the younger members of the Russian nobility, fervent patriots, to whom my conception of the national life of Russia was agreeable, and from whom I met with the kindest reception. I was most

intimate with M. Aksakof, one of the cleverest men I met in Russia, and the poet Pavelof, and his amiable wife, a distinguished poetess both in Russian and German. I mention the names of these persons, to show that my intercourse was chiefly with Russians in Moscow. At St. Petersburg, on the contrary, nearly all my acquaintances were Germans. In each case this was the result of the nature of the objects I had in view in these two cities.

I was certainly not struck by any material difference in the physiognomy of the best society of Moscow, from that of the other large cities of Europe. In walking through the elegant saloons of the Governor-General during a *soirée* or ball, I might have fancied myself transported back to Paris, especially as only French conversation caught my ear. No clearly defined national type could be recognized in the figures and faces around me; there were large, middle-sized, small, slender, stout, and corpulent persons, with black, brown, and fair hair; black, grey, and blue eyes; plastic, sharply-chiselled, but also Mongol, mixed and inexpressive physiognomies; a great variety of uniforms, and the finest Parisian dresses; in the gestures, dances, games, and conversation likewise no difference was perceptible from the world of fashion in other parts of Europe.

The young aspiring generation of Russians display a great predilection for the historical records of their country, the national manners, customs, and ideas. Here we find repeated what we have had before our eyes throughout Europe. During the French oppression we witnessed in Germany the devotion of the noblest minds to an investigation of the history of the German people, collecting and publishing the popular poetry, reviving the man-

ners and customs of their ancestors, and clearing the language of foreign and superfluous verbiage. After the War of Liberation, in 1815, the younger generation sought to revive the ancient state of things,—an abortive attempt, which degenerated into wearing old dresses and swords, flowing hair and beards (the fashion of a day), and partly assumed the form of Teutomania, universal *Burschenschaft*, which was afterwards converted into atheistical demagoguism.

Inasfar as the efforts of "Young Russia" are directed to the study of former times, and the history of their country, of the poetry and life of the people, they are deserving of the highest praise: so are all efforts to preserve antiquities and the remains of ancient manners and customs. But here is the limit; whatever exceeds this is childish folly: modern cultivation is a tree of knowledge, and after tasting its fruit it is difficult to return to the simplicity of ancient manners and a patriarchal life. The cultivated class in Russia is separated from the people by a much wider chasm than in the rest of Europe, where modes of living, riches and poverty stand far apart, but not the different spheres of ideas, as in Russia; in other parts of Europe the people have the same cultivation as the educated classes, only in a less degree. In Russia the higher classes have assumed that of the West, while the people have an ancient national cultivation, not much developed, and of a lower grade in comparison to the other.* Language and religion alone are common to

* When the traveller passes from the highest summits of European civilization, London, Paris, and the Rhine, towards the East, he traces a gradual diminution of it among the lower classes of the people, until it is completely lost in Lithuania and White Russia. But another species of civilization gradually appears, specifically different from the first, which is more and more developed in Moscow, Yaroslaf, Vla-

these two classes, a bond between them, the strengthening of which, by the intelligence of the higher class, and the susceptibility and devotion of the patriarchal people, should be the object of those who direct this national movement.

The head-dress of the peasant women has been adopted by the Court on festive occasions, and portraits of the Empress herself display her in this beautiful, picturesque, and even majestic costume: let us hope that this may be a permanent, and not a mere temporary fashion. It must produce a kindly feeling in the Muzhik to see his Empress decorated with the same head-dress as his bride or wife is accustomed to wear on festive occasions; but when a few years ago young people began to wear, not the costume of the present Muzhiks, but old court-dresses of former ages, it was regarded by the people as a species of innocent masquerading, a new fashion borrowed from the *Nyemtzi* or Germans.

From this just partiality for what is ancient, traditional, and national, has sprung a senseless prejudice against everything foreign. These constructors of a new social state and political life, from purely national and ancient materials, would encounter many obstacles to the realization of their design. For the very basis and most important requirements of this political edifice they would find no materials at home. The careful preservation of such national elements as still exist among the people is laudable, but to restore old and obsolete practices

dimir, and Nizhni Novgorod. In this there is nothing borrowed from the West, but traces appear of an ancient oriental colouring. The western civilization, which has penetrated in later times, has not yet taken root, but it may gradually become amalgamated with the more ancient civilization.

and fashions would be regarded by the people as foolish caprice. If told to lay aside the kaftan, because of Tatar origin, and to return to the Slavonic dress of the twelfth century, they would only laugh, but would not understand what it meant. Much has been introduced from the West, which has partly supplanted useless indigenous things, and partly satisfied indispensable wants, becoming incorporated with, and necessary to, the life of the people.

These partisans of ancient nationality have formed a political school, which condemns the whole tendency of the Government for three centuries, especially since the reign of Peter I., to introduce the political institutions, manners, and education of the West; they demand that this policy shall be abandoned, and everything foreign eradicated, whilst all that is national shall be revived and fostered.

My opinion respecting the Russian popular institutions coincides mainly with these views; but it is necessary to consider such general propositions in their application to each department of the political and national life of Russia; and thus it appears that the premises, and consequently the conclusion, as stated in the above general way, are erroneous. It is a mistake to suppose that the Czars and their Governments, from Ivan Vasilievitch downwards, have from any such false views inclined to the West, or for their own pleasure sought to introduce its civilization into Russia: it was far more an inward and growing tendency of the people themselves, to which their rulers only yielded and gave a form.

Russia always belonged to Europe: the Russians are a European people, the most powerful of the Slavonic race,

which constitutes more than one-third part of the European family of nations. On the awakening of the people to a feeling of national consciousness they received Christianity, and the commencement of Christian cultivation, from Constantinople. They then remained, until the dominion of the Mongols, on a level in civilization with the rest of the Slavonic and Scandinavian North. Several centuries of oppression under the Mongols ensued, the existing civilization was nearly destroyed, and its germs with difficulty preserved. But the people at length threw off the foreign yoke; the impulse for progress grew powerful, but the means of attaining it seemed everywhere insufficient. All cultivation is traditional, and no people has attained it by its own unaided energy and faculties. Where was Russia to look for the means of progress and civilization? The Mongols, Tatars, and Turks could contribute nothing;* the Greeks, with whom she was closely connected by religious ties, had themselves fallen into slavery; Western Europe alone remained to which she could turn. From her nearest neighbours, the Poles and Swedes, she held aloof, as national antipathy and constant wars formed a barrier between them. It was natural therefore for her to turn to the peoples who stood at the head of civilization,—the Germans, Dutch, English, and French. Foreign artisans were invited to Russia from these countries as early as the sixteenth century,—"guests," upon whom great privileges were bestowed. At that period the English settled in Archangel, and Moscow acquired a German suburb (*sloboda*).

* Russia has however borrowed much even from these peoples in modes of living, clothes, dwellings, and utensils; and even from the Chinese they have received something, for instance the calculating-board, and perhaps the *samovar*.

For a century and a half Russia was gradually preparing to assume her true position in the world; her contact with Western Europe was then merely superficial; the material and mechanical arts alone were imported at first, not the intelligence of the West. Then came Peter I., who established the political greatness of Russia, which now stretched to the sea-coasts and was no longer an inland country. Thenceforth civilization streamed from the Baltic over the Empire: first an army was formed and organized in the European fashion; then a complete political organization was introduced, which now penetrates into the lowest grades of the national life.

I have never been a great admirer of modern European bureaucracy, inclining to regard it as merely a necessary evil: it has contributed to foster a spirit of idolatry of the State's omnipotence. But in regarding the destruction of the bureaucracy in Europe, we see nothing left but anarchy and socialistic excesses. Does Russia possess sufficient popular elements from which a healthy political organization, framed upon the principles of self-government, could be developed, supposing the modern European Tchinovnik system to be abolished? Would it be advisable to dig out of their mouldy repositories the ancient records of service and dignities which Feodor Alexeievitch ordered to be burnt, restore the constitution of the Boyars, and the ancient irregular militia? No one would seriously propose such folly. Or could a representative Government, in the sense of the revolutionists of 1825, be imagined? This is a fashionable malady at present in Europe; but in Russia the idea would be insane, both in theory and practice, and altogether anti-national.

A reform of political science in a national sense would

indeed be a great task,—one reserved for a future republic of learned men. Hitherto no jurist or teacher of political science in Russia has found it possible to free himself from the trammels of West-European doctrines; these are as influential in Russia at the present time, as the Roman Law was in France, and still more in Germany, after the revival of the study of it in the fifteenth century, when it acquired such an ascendency that all the legal institutions of the latter country were regarded and treated according to its principles. A mere superficial resemblance was sufficient to place an entirely German legal institution in the same category with a Roman one, confounding the two, and treating them as the same. Thus the German peasant was regarded as a Roman *colonus;* the condition of a German serf was treated according to the notions of Roman slavery, joint property as in the case of the Roman *condominii*, all which produced confusion and insecurity. A despotic levelling legislation ensued, which, undermining at last the people's morals and sense of justice, contributed not a little to the dissemination of lawless sentiments, and the outbreak of the revolution.

We find the same thing in Russia. No national science of jurisprudence existed there originally any more than in Germany. The simple relations of life were sufficiently regulated by ancient manners and customs, and by religious prescription. When political relations became more developed, and social ones more complicated, laws were enacted to aid them; these, referring originally to isolated cases, and often appearing in the form of judgements, accumulated enormously, were frequently contradictory, and left great scope for caprice. Catherine II. conceived the idea of framing a general

code, in which all existing ukases and decrees were to be collected and consolidated,—a gigantic work which was completed under the Emperor Nicholas.

This Code, or as it is termed the 'Svod,' is composed however in a language and phraseology borrowed from the Roman Law. To adopt the latter in cases arising out of the law of nations, and the maritime and commercial law, which have only lately come into existence in Russia through the development of the State and civilization, was natural and right: these might be borrowed with advantage by any nations, without wounding their national pride; but I repeat, that Young Russia has no better field on which to display its patriotism, in the genuine sense of the term, than that of the study and cultivation of the national jurisprudence, and the rejection of all foreign elements, insofar as they are neither useful nor necessary to the country.

Even in a political point of view it is desirable that Russian teachers should enlighten the rest of Europe with regard to the legal and political bases of Russian institutions. We read in innumerable German, French, and English works that the Russian Empire is an absolute autocracy, not a monarchy, but despotism in the Asiatic form; that the Russian peasants are slaves without rights, like the Roman *servi*, and similar assertions, one author copying from the other. I have endeavoured in a former part of this Work to indicate briefly the general principles of the Government, the nature of the Czardom, the communal constitution, the condition of the peasantry, etc.; but it is desirable that Russian learned men, whose names carry weight, should do this systematically, and establish it upon a scientific basis.

I have elsewhere spoken in warm terms of the almost

religious patriotism of the Russians, of all ranks and classes, and I cannot but praise this spirit in Young Russia, manifested in a predilection for what is national in the popular life, and an anxiety to retain it. The desire to purge this of all foreign elements unnecessary for the civilization of the nation is right and proper; but Young Russia extends its aversion to all foreign elements to the persons of foreigners living in Russia; and this is neither right nor advantageous.

A great and general sympathy unquestionably prevails among all the peoples of the Slavonic race,—greater than among the Germanic or Romanic peoples. Although the tendencies of Panslavism may appear on the one hand to spring from a youthful, poetical kind of enthusiasm, and in its more serious aspect as part of the revolutionary fever which at present pervades many of even the noblest minds, still this party tendency has an unquestionable basis in fact,—in the general sympathy of all the Slaavs, from which the Polish nobility as opposed to Russia is scarcely an exception; and this spirit is strengthened still more by the aversion which on the frontiers, from a closer intermixture of the races, assumes the form of antipathy to the *Nyemtzi* or Germans. This aversion however is not reciprocal: the latter have not the slightest antipathy to the Slaavs, but occasionally manifest a clear predilection for them. When the Governments of Germany perpetrated political injustice upon the Polish republic, the people took no part in this. At a former period, and again especially since 1848, when a universal outcry was raised throughout Germany against Russia, this was only a clamour in the so-called educated classes excited by the demagogues; the people took no share in it, and in the army there existed a decided sympathy for

Russia. The dispute was fostered by the Czechs, who reproached the Germans with sins committed six centuries before against the Slaavs, but it was energetically denounced by the German Press. The Germans on the frontier and among the Czechs heard little of this dispute; and even in 1848, when all Government protection was nearly destroyed, and anarchy at our doors, no serious animosity existed between the nationalities in those districts where the population is mixed. The sanguinary contest in Posen would probably never have broken out, but for strong religious antipathies: from of old, Pole and Catholic, German and Protestant, have there been synonymous words.

At all periods there have been unjust wars and conquests: but their injustice can offer no excuse to any but the generation which has suffered from them, to indulge in antipathies and resentment; and it is only when the consequences of injustice still continue to weigh upon an oppressed people, that the aversion can be perpetuated with any show of reason. After the lapse of centuries, when every feeling and even the very memory of ancient injuries have disappeared, it can only be an evil stirring-up of strife and troubles to attempt to revive national animosities upon these historical grounds. Would it not be absurd to excite the present Germans against Rome, because nineteen centuries ago she sought to subjugate their ancestors? or the present Bretons and Basques against France, because the forefathers of the French conquered their country and annexed it to their own? And is it less absurd to reproach the Germans with having supplanted, five or six centuries ago, the Slaavs in the Mark of Brandenburg, and Germanized them in the ancient Slavonic countries of Mecklenburg,

Pomerania, Meissen, and Silesia, and thus to excite the animosity of Slaavs against Germans? The former, especially in the West, are deeply indebted to the Germans, who introduced Christianity and civilization among them, and thus placed them upon an equality with the other European nations. All the Slavonic princes were aware that, as peasants, warriors, and nobles were the only original elements of their population, their states could never attain consistency, stability, or culture, unless the third element of political life—towns with their inhabitants, trade, and commerce—was introduced among them: they therefore invited Germans to found these, and peopled them with German artisans and merchants, inviting also colonists from the same country to assist in the improvement of agriculture, to serve as examples and teachers, and to establish and conduct schools.

Russia has no ancient historical wrongs to avenge upon the Germans, nor are her relations with them of very early date; the German colony which inhabited a suburb of Moscow in the sixteenth century consisted chiefly of artisans, and from that time seems to date the acknowledgment of the value of German handicraft in Russia; even now the Russian merchant recommends his commodities by an assurance that they are German work, or in other words good, sound, and substantial. But the real and important influence which the Germans have exercised upon the development and political life of Russia commenced under Peter I., and after the acquisition of the Baltic Provinces.

From the middle of the eighteenth century adventurers of all classes and nations have come to Russia, seeking their fortune; and failing in this, they have indulged in defaming the Government and people. The Germans

however form an exception. Nearly all the artisans who established themselves in the towns throughout the Empire were Germans, who have contributed much to the embellishment, comfort, and enjoyment of life, have instructed the Russians in all kinds of handicraft, and have acquired and retained a character for honesty and solidity. I have already spoken of the importance of the German agricultural colonies in the interior of Russia: in the seaports the foreign trade is chiefly in the hands of German, English, Dutch, Italian, and French merchants; and it appears as if partly the taste, partly the education, and perhaps also the talent, were wanting to the Russian merchants to undertake foreign trade on a large scale.

Whilst a false and superficial cultivation was spread over the country by the French, Russia on the other hand owes the majority of her learned men to their education in Germany. Men like Pallas, Schlötzer, Evers, etc. first brought the impulse of learning into Russia, where the universities and schools have been formed upon German models; indeed a large proportion of the teachers are Germans even at the present time. When I represented this to Russians, who openly expressed their aversion to the Germans, they acknowledged its truth, but added that it was not to Germans in their own country, or who came from thence, that they entertained a dislike, but only to those in Russia, the Livonians, Courlanders, and Esthonians, who, they said, thrust themselves into the civil and military posts, and offended them by their pride and arrogance. These reproaches may have some foundation in single cases, but applied generally they are unjust.

The conquest of the Baltic Provinces was of the greatest political advantage to Russia; through these countries

alone she became a European state, and the maintenance of them is of immense importance to the Russian Empire, both in a commercial and political point of view. The territory of the Great Russians is indeed the real mother-country; all the others have been gradually acquired or conquered, but at present they constitute a great united Empire, the Czar of Great Russia being Emperor of the whole, whose duty it is to treat all his subjects with equal justice and beneficence. Independently of the consideration that special treaties of peace, and privileges resulting from them, render it a simple act of justice to extend to the Baltic Provinces a peculiar indulgence, prudence and wisdom would teach that the objects chiefly to be fostered and encouraged in each district are those which may conduce to the greatest advantage of the whole. Now these districts are the only ancient cultivated European countries which the Empire possesses; and as Russia, from the entire nature of her life, organization, and geographical position, was obliged to acquire the cultivation of the West, it appeared wise and expedient to employ the existing native energies,—in other words, the Germans from the Baltic Provinces,—in disseminating European political institutions and organization throughout the country. When this organization is complete, and cultivation has made such progress among the Russians that a sufficient number of competent men can be found in the other districts to administer the public service, it is evident that this employment of the Germans from the Baltic Provinces in Russia Proper must gradually cease. Daily experience however teaches that this is not yet by any means the case. Every one acquainted with the present Government knows that a Russian is never rejected to favour a German; when the

qualifications of two candidates are equal, the scale naturally inclines on the side of the Russian. But in certain branches of the public service the different natural capacities of the two peoples must be considered: posts requiring a uniform, quiet, continuous industry, with prudence and solidity of character,* are better filled by Germans, who will always be the best clerks in the public offices; the Russian is much too careless, lively, and fond of enjoyment, to bear the burden of service patiently: he more resembles the French. The clerks therefore in the offices and courts will always remain Germans. The predilection of the chivalrous nobility of the Baltic Provinces for service in the army, where they are distinguished for their courage, fidelity, and energy, is well known.

The Baltic Provinces have furnished the Russian Empire with the ideas, principles, and models of the most important social and political institutions, and likewise with men qualified for the public service, who have cleared the way for their introduction and consolidation. Among the people in Russia there has always been a want of the middle classes of Europe; and not merely for the introduction of new institutions, but also for their administration and maintenance, Russia still requires the Germans from the Baltic Provinces. The cultivated Russian nobility qualify themselves easily for the higher posts in the public service, but very unwillingly for the inferior ones, for which they have generally little inclination, and no zeal or official aptitude; they regard these merely as steps, to be surmounted as quickly as possible, to attain a higher *Tchin;* for the inferior official situations they

* A striking acknowledgment of this is to be found in the decree of Peter I., which permitted only Germans to be apothecaries throughout the Empire.

never qualify themselves, being much too proud to fill them. The post of an Ispravnik corresponds nearly to that of a Prussian *Landrath*, a station held in the highest estimation in Prussia, which men of princely rank have never been ashamed to accept, and from which have sprung the most distinguished statesmen and officials; but the Ispravnik occupies a wretched social position, and no educated or wealthy nobleman would accept such a post. Persons of education in Moscow, not by any means belonging to the most distinguished class of the nobility, when speaking of the Ispravniks of their Circle, said to me, "We never admit them into our society, and should be ashamed to see such common fellows at our table." The subordinate posts in the interior of the country are usually filled by members of the petty nobility, having a little external polish, often united with an utterly depraved character. The Baltic Provinces possess a numerous, cultivated, but not wealthy nobility, and also a numerous and highly cultivated *bourgeoisie*; the younger sons of the nobles, and the energetic sons of the citizen class, have always sought service in foreign countries. The Courlanders formerly entered the Polish, Saxon, or Prussian service; at present they all enter (Russia indeed claims them) the Russian civil and military service, occupying posts which it would be difficult to fill without them, as no Russians can be found to subject themselves with the necessary devotion to the duties of their office.

That these Germans in Russia neither disavow their nationality and character, nor become Russianized, is precisely the most admirable trait in their character, and is moreover quite accordant with the higher interests of Russia; from them springs that moderation and constancy, the value of which is acknowledged even in Russia. The

colossal fortunes of the ancient and higher class of Russian nobles were nearly all acquired in the public service and from gifts of the Czars; a few only, such as the Stroganofs and Demidofs, having grown rich by their own industry and diligence. Individuals belonging to Rurik and Boyar families alone possess ancient hereditary properties. In the Baltic Provinces, on the other hand, there are none of these colossal fortunes: the citizens owe all their wealth to their industry,—the nobles to their frugality, their well-managed rural economy, and ancient inheritances; scarcely any have acquired their fortunes in Russia. It would be easy to enumerate those who, like the Lievens and Pahlens, owe a part of them to the munificence of the Czars.

CARPENTERS OF MOSCOW.

CHAPTER VIII.

RUSSIAN AND GERMAN NOBILITY.—EARLY SLAVONIC RACE.—REFORMS OF PETER I.—CONSTITUTION OF CATHERINE II.—THE RUSSIAN ARISTOCRACY.—POSITION OF THE ISPRAVNIK.

ACCORDING to outward appearance the Russian nobles occupy nearly the same social and legal position as the nobility in the rest of Europe previously to 1789, having the same education, mode of life, manners, and dress. On a closer examination however material differences and contrasts appear, which cannot be otherwise explained than by directing attention to the original differences between the Germanic and Slavonic races.

The West-European or German nobility is a primitive element in the population, not a privileged order which has raised itself gradually from the other classes, by the usurpation of power or the performance of services. In the remotest periods we find the nobility a separate order, in quiet possession of acknowledged superiority over the other classes of the people. Even before the records of history, popular tradition and fable speak of nobility of blood; both maintain that the primitive nobility, princes and noble families, had a higher origin than the rest of the people, being descended from the gods: this is most distinctly expressed in the Scandinavian Saga, in which all the princely families are spoken of

as descended from Odin, or of the Aser race. It was frequently asserted. also that some of them indicated this origin by outward corporeal signs,—the race of the Nieflung, for instance, by a serpent reflected in the eye; but all were supposed to prove their descent by incomparable physical strength and heroic courage. *Od* (nobility) signifies race, or those who are of a certain known origin, as contrasted with the common people, whose descent is unknown. We must observe this ruling and fundamental belief of the ancient Germans, in order to understand the nature and character of the German nobility. Those princely races descended from the gods, the Nieflungs, Merovingians, etc., have long been extinct; and other noble races, whose high descent is not so famed, have taken their places and acquired princely power; while Christianity has eradicated, even among the people, the belief in their divine origin. In the Middle Ages the later European official or feudal nobility sprang from the remains of these ancient races, from free people, and from relations of property and service. The ideas however respecting the nature and character of the nobility, the pride of immemorial descent, which looked down upon all new creations of nobility, whether acquired by purchase from the monarch or high services, has up to the present time retained its hold upon the West-European nobility; it has kept them separate and apart from the rest, on the one hand strengthening the proud feeling of independence and self-reliance, on the other engendering frivolous conceit among the petty nobles. In the common reproach made to the nobility, of their assuming to be descended from better and higher blood than other men, the old Teutonic sentiment and tradition are perceptible.

The early condition of the Slavonic race was entirely different. Among them we do not find the nobility a primitive element or class in the people. Even Procopius affirms this of his own time, the sixth century. There is no trace of a native nobility among the Great Russians on their first appearance in history; families, and small republican communities, without popular or political connection, lived under their Heads and Elders (Starostas): thus isolated, they were first subjugated and rendered tributary by the Varangians, and afterwards they united and expelled their oppressors. "But," says the annalist Nestor, "the different races began to seek dominion over each other, there was no law among them, and troubles ensued. They sent across the sea to the Russo-Varangians, and said to them: 'Our country is large and productive, but stands in need of order; come, govern and rule over us.' Three brothers were chosen, with their families, and they took with them all the Russians and came to the Slaavs."*

Rurik came with his brethren and followers, and this was the commencement of the monarchy and the first nobility: Rurik divided the country among the Varangians who accompanied him, and who under his immediate successors, Oskold and Dir, are called Boyars, or noble warriors. Some of the Varangians appear to have seized upon several districts on their own account. In

* In this first step toward the formation of a State in the country of the Eastern Slaavs lies the secret of the whole history of Russia. Patriarchal, family, and republican institutions cannot exist without a point of union or head, just as the beehive cannot exist without a queen. It is a complete misapprehension of the character of the Russian history and people to suppose that really republican Russia could exist without an autocracy. Democracy below and autocracy above are the two poles within which Russia lives; but fortunately for her, they are both of a patriarchal nature, and based upon the popular instincts and religion.

the negotiations of Oleg and Igor, princes with the title of Highness appeared, differing from the official class or Boyars; but they were soon lost sight of, and the latter alone remained. The first nobles in Russia were thus immigrants and foreigners, although Slavonic heads of families may also have entered at an early period the ranks of the Boyars, a portion of whom constantly attended the Prince as his retinue, and were called the Drushina (friends).

The Russo-Varangians after a few generations became completely Slavonized, but the basis of the first nobility was evidently German, introduced by the Germans or Scandinavians among the Slaavs, and offers a remarkable resemblance to the early institution of nobility among the Franks; even the name Drushina reminds us of the Antrustiones of the latter people.

In the course of the following historical period, when the Grand Duchy was gradually transformed into the Czardom (the essentially Slavonic monarchy), chiefly through the influence of the Mongol rule, considerable changes took place, and under the Romanofs the nobility became altogether officials. There were two principal classes of nobles, with a number of inferior ones: descent from a superior Court official gave rank over one who was descended from an inferior servant of the Court,—the first would not serve under the second: descent from the primitive nobility had no influence here, but only service at Court or in the State.

It is often asserted that Peter I. overthrew the ancient institution of nobility in Russia, or changed its most important elements, introducing instead the *Tchin*, with rights of nobility. I cannot admit this. Peter carried through with incredible energy, and regardless of con-

sequences, a measure which since the time of the first Romanofs had been a natural and necessary element of success in the development of Russia into a European political Power. The general obligation to take the field, the summons of all the nobles during war, had long been insufficient; and in the Streletzes were found the basis of, and the transition to, a standing army. Peter and his successors organized this entirely on a European footing, and the latter, particularly Catherine II., Alexander, and Nicholas, formed the civil and political institutions upon the European, and especially the German, model, whereas in former times all these institutions might be regarded as merely derived from those of the Court.

Peter abolished the obligation of military and civil service on the part of the nobles, but practically nothing was changed thereby; they still performed, as before, every kind of service. Whoever did not serve was legally regarded as in some sort a minor, although he retained the rights and privileges of his rank; moreover public opinion in Russia gives to those only who serve or have served any estimation in society, and there is perhaps scarcely a nobleman in Russia Proper who is not, or has not been, in the military or civil service.

Catherine II. sought to infuse corporate sentiments and tendencies into the nobility; she gave them political rights, and divided the Empire into Governments, bestowing upon these (April 21st, 1785) an organic constitution upon the German model, borrowed principally from the Baltic Provinces. According to this the nobles living in each Government form a corporation, under an elected Marshal of the Nobles, together with a Marshal to each Circle in the Government. At intervals of three

years the members of this corporation assemble; they deliberate freely, and the Governor is never allowed to be present. This body has its seal, archives, secretaries, and treasury. As an Assembly it cannot be sued at law nor arrested: it can inflict punishment upon its members, and exclude delinquents and dishonourable persons; it keeps family registers of the nobility. The corporation has a permanent committee, which unites with that of the towns to examine the estimates and allotment of the contributions to be made by the country. It examines the proofs of nobility, calls to account the landowners for the ill-treatment of their serfs, and places them, as well as notorious spendthrifts, under trustees.

In the hands of this corporation of the nobility, in its different organs of assemblies, marshals, and deputations, are deposited nearly all the functions of administration and police in the Government. It elects the majority of the administrative and judicial officers, conducts the recruitment, levies the taxes, regulates the police of the country, superintends the arrangements of the stores, and makes requisitions.

The Russian nobleman can only be deprived of his life, property, and honour by judgement of law; he can only be tried by his peers,* and the judgement must be specially confirmed by the Emperor. No corporal punishment can be inflicted upon him; he is free from personal taxes, recruitment, and having soldiers quartered upon him; he can freely establish manufactures and industrial undertakings of all kinds on his estates; but in

* This principle runs throughout the Russian criminal jurisprudence. The citizens also can only be tried by their equals. Whether this principle is Old Russian, or is perhaps derived from the times of the Varangians, or borrowed from the Germans, I cannot venture to decide.

the towns, in such cases, he must enter the respective Guilds. He is at liberty freely to sell his own products and manufactures.

There is no class of nobility in Europe possessing such extensive property and personal privileges and franchises, such important political rights, and such material power and resources, as that of Russia. More than one-half of all the cultivated land belongs to them in fee-simple; more than one-half of the population of Russia Proper (upwards of twenty-four millions) are not only their dependants but serfs. It cannot however be said that the Russian nobility constitute a powerful aristocracy in the European sense of the term; there is little *esprit de corps*, no decided corporate tendencies, and no co-operation for any definite objects. Notwithstanding their enormous material power, their spiritual influence upon the sentiments, manners, and character of their serfs and the mass of the people is insignificant; they influence the Government only insofar as the Czar invites them, and it might almost be asserted that their corporation exists only from complaisance to the ideas and intentions of the Government, and would immediately dissolve itself were the latter to express a desire or give orders to that effect.

I have already referred to the essential difference of character between the Germano-Romanic and Slavonic peoples: among the latter, and especially the Russian races, there exists no corporate spirit, which is inherited and innate; and all the European culture, which is merely acquired, will not naturalize this spirit in the popular life, any more than the prevailing revolutionary ideas will ever completely eradicate it among the Germano-Romanic peoples: with the latter it only assumes new forms.

Catherine II. and her statesmen evidently perceived the dangers of bureaucracy; they appear to have had a presentiment of the gradual ruin with which the character of the ancient Russian monarchy, the Czardom, and the patriarchal element were threatened by the official classes established by Peter I., which, although constituted upon the European model, exercised their powers more completely than elsewhere, and greatly anticipated the existing times. They appear to have feared that the whole Government would be transformed into a dead and formal official absolutism;* and the danger seemed the greater from the character of the Russian Tchinovniks or officials, who have not the steady perseverance, high cultivation, and spirit of content of the Germans; nor, above all, their integrity of character and incorruptible honesty.

Whilst Peter destroyed the forms of the ancient military and civil services, and superseded the organiza-

* The dangers of official absolutism are most apparent in Prussia and Germany. In Prussia it had attained such a preponderance in 1840, that, although the power of the King was in no way limited by law, the officials alone governed the country. Any order of the Cabinet unpalatable to the latter disappeared among the public papers, without producing any permanent effect. After 1840 the King made an effort to liberate himself from this bondage, and sought to establish a counterpoise in the institution of States-General. The revolution of March 18th destroyed the work. The officials were pusillanimous and contemptible in the face of anarchy. We then obtained the so-called constitutional monarchy, with its representative forms. At a subsequent period however the official hierarchy became reconciled in the most dexterous manner with constitutionalism, adapting themselves to its forms; and the bureaucracy is at the present day (1851) more dominant, powerful, absolute, and capricious than ever. Formerly we had a protection in aggravated cases in the personal character of our Kings, which does not exist under a constitutional monarch. Nowhere has this system been more completely developed than in the Electorate of Hesse, where the sovereignty of the Prince was destroyed by the constitutional charter, and a complete official sovereignty substituted in its place. The catastrophe which ensued was a clear proof of this.

tion of the nobles by castes, compelling them to accommodate themselves to the new forms, Catherine II., on the other hand, sought to reconstitute them into an aristocracy, as a counterpoise to the absolutism of the Tchinovniks. In the Baltic Provinces Russia possessed countries organized completely in the German manner, the entire provincial economy of which was admirably regulated, furnishing a model of administration, of which the advantages and disadvantages could be weighed and adjusted. It is a curious fact that monarchy, with its States-General, was being constituted in Russia at the same time that it was everywhere being undermined and destroyed in the rest of Europe. Whilst Catherine was thus engaged, she and her Court were imbued with the frivolous cultivation of the French: to her may be applied the old saying reversed, "Regard her political acts, but do not listen to her words!" The majority of the Russian nobles with whom I spoke on this subject expressed an unfavourable opinion of the institution of States-General, but more, it appeared, from its having failed to fulfil the exaggerated expectations formed of it, than because its efficacy had been altogether unfelt.

I have before observed that the Russian nobility does not constitute an aristocracy in the European sense of the term. To form a useful aristocracy for the objects of modern political life, it is necessary, in my opinion, that its basis should be a numerous, cultivated, and wealthy rural nobility. Country life alone gives that freshness of spirit, that practical view of life and tact in appreciating the wants of the people, which a genuine aristocracy ought to possess, and which is nowhere found so perfect as in the most distinguished of all aristocracies, the English. King James used to say, "When the

nobles are in London they are nothing, but in the country they are mighty lords; just as a ship at sea is only a small point, whereas in a river it is a large object."

The Great Russian nobles have never been a rural aristocracy, residing in their castles, or trained in the chivalrous spirit of the feudal ages; they have always resided at the Courts of the Grand Dukes and petty Princes, and in the towns, exercising military and political functions: those living in the country engaged in agriculture, but they were only insignificant or useless members of the body. Such was the state of things until quite recent times; even at present the majority of them have no country-seats, like those found in the rest of Europe, and no agricultural establishments. All the land, arable, meadow, and forest, belongs to the nobility, and is given up to the village Communes, who cultivate and pay a tax for it. If the proprietor possesses a country-house, which he inhabits, he has no agricultural establishment, but lives merely as a private gentleman. The majority of the nobles indeed have houses in the country, but they visit them only for a few weeks or months, and reside the rest of the year in town: they do not regard these estates as their homes, and are always ready to dispose of them if they can do so to advantage. That feeling of attachment to the soil of their fathers, so powerful among the nobility as well as the peasantry of Germany, is nearly unknown to the Russian; he sees the land pass into strange hands with unconcern. I was told in Moscow by a clever and excellent man, that he had sold an estate which bore his name, and (a rare thing in Russia) had been in the possession of his family for two centuries. On my reproaching him, he replied, "We Russians are unacquainted

with this West-European attachment to the paternal soil." An intimate patriarchal connection frequently exists between the lord and his serfs, but it is easily dissolved by sales and partitions; new lords and serfs succeed to the old ones, and the patriarchal relation is re-established, and soon becomes as intimate as the former. An indispensable condition of a rural aristocracy is fixity of property in the soil, but there is no country of any importance in Europe where this exists less than in Great Russia.

The equal division of the land among the sons on the death of their father diminishes estates excessively;* they are generally divided *naturaliter*, and the shares are not adjusted by money payments, a circumstance arising from the great want of capital in the interior.

It thus appears that the Russian cannot be called a rural nobility. The English or German noble residing on his paternal property regards himself as an independent prince; however small his estate may be, he jealously watches over its possession and rights, esteeming it his privilege and duty to be the representative of his estate in the country: of this feeling there is hardly a trace in the majority of the Russian nobles.

We need not therefore be surprised that the institution of States-General in Russia has not the same character and efficacy which that of the Baltic Provinces, its model, has so remarkably exhibited. Its chief defects may be reduced to the following points:—1. The

* Peter I. desired to introduce an inheritance in fee of the oldest son among the nobility by his ukase of March 13th, 1713. This however was so much opposed to the customs and traditions of the people that it was abandoned. Peter II. cancelled the former ukase by that of March 17th, 1728. Primogeniture has been established in a few great families by particular family statutes.

slight participation of the superior class of nobles in the rights and duties of the States-General; 2. The placing its privileges and the election of its officers in the hands of the uncultivated and corrupt members of the nobility; 3. The elections frequently, perhaps generally, resulting in favour of the worst subjects, who thus become officers of the States, and exercise the entire inferior functions of the executive,—the police and administration of justice.

The assemblies of the nobles and the days of election usually occur in winter, when the better-educated families are in St. Petersburg and Moscow; those of the richer class of nobles who reside in the country have generally particular reasons for this, often not of a very honourable kind, but these are the most influential persons in the assemblies and elections. Beside them a considerable number of the poorer nobility, who are ill-educated, reside in the Government,—a bad class of men, who have no genuine cultivation, but usually a certain amount of outward polish; they shave their beards and wear coats, and have the greatest passion for extravagance, imitating their superiors and those more cultivated than themselves. Their legitimate means being insufficient, they oppress their serfs to the utmost, or seek situations in the gift of the Government nobility. Every noble residing in his Government had formerly a vote, even if he possessed only four or five serfs, and these votes were bought by some worthless, intriguing and cunning subject by gifts and civilities; to check this the Government has recently limited the right of voting to those who possess a considerable amount of property,—one hundred souls or a thousand dessetinas, I was informed.

I have above compared the position of an Ispravnik

with that of a Prussian Landrath (originally also an officer of the States), or a French Préfet. In reference to this office a highly-educated nobleman in Moscow expressed himself to me in the following terms:—

"When an Ispravnik is to be elected, some broken-down landowner possessing a few *Tchin* (degrees of official rank) canvasses for it. In former times he procured the votes of the small landowners by trifling presents; now he applies to one or several of the richest living in the Government (sometimes disreputable persons), flattering them, and obsequiously promising entire docility and official complaisance: these invite the electors to dinner, propose the candidate, and procure through their influence votes. On his election the Ispravnik uses his office to obtain money and other advantages; knowing that after six years (formerly three) he will lose his office, and that he is not likely to be re-elected. He favours his patrons and their peasants, but persecutes, cheats, and plunders his equals, the small proprietors and their people, especially the poorest, who have no vote, and of whom therefore he entertains no kind of fear; for instance, he orders roads and bridges to be constructed, and employs the peasantry for this purpose, perhaps in the middle of harvest, punishing or extorting money from them if they cannot appear. The Ispravnik, in whose hands such power is placed, is the most hated and despised official in Russia; no sensible, well-educated landowner will associate with him, or invite him to his table. The Governor, when he travels in the district, orders the Ispravnik to ride before his carriage, like a *gendarme*. When the latter is announced, he has to wait for hours in the antechamber, and if an audience is granted, the Governor treats him with the greatest

contempt, making him stand all the while. In short, it would be better for the internal government of Russia, were the Emperor to abolish the entire institution of the States-General, with the assemblies of the nobles, elections, etc., and to leave the administration in the hands of the Government officials alone. The Tchinovniks* are in general bad enough, but not so depraved as the majority of the officials chosen by the nobility. The present system is a mere illusion and false shadow of a States constitution."

I have given this view of the subject, in the strong and decided terms in which it was expressed to me, because it is that prevalent among the better-informed men in Russia, and there is a danger that through their influence the States-General may be altogether abolished, or modified in their most essential elements: in my opinion this would be a great error and calamity. If it were still a question *de lege ferenda*, were these States to be introduced now for the first time, the subject might deserve serious consideration and discussion; but they have existed for nearly seventy years, and, even supposing them to be in their nature unsuitable and in their operation defective, the question arises as to what could be substituted in their place; they have become naturalized, and the people have grown accustomed to them. The ruder the condition of the nation, the easier is it to effect innovations; cultivation interposes obstacles to this. The introduction of these institutions in 1785 was comparatively easy, but their abrogation at present would be

* In a number of the 'Journal of the Ministry of the Interior' there is a curious notice, that among the still heathen Tcheremiss an idol is found which they call Shemi-Shouomi (in Russian *Zemski Sut*, or the inferior tribunal, or Ispravnik), to which they offer sacrifices, that he may not torment them.

difficult: no one would think seriously of adding a new link to the official chain, of increasing the number, political power, and influence of the Tchinovniks. The larger their number, the more difficult it would be to govern and control them, and the worse they would become,—dangerous even to the Crown, encircling it more closely in their net, and eventually abandoning it to revolution, as we have recently witnessed in the case of the German bureaucracy. Were the Russian nobles what they ought to be, did they enter the States-General with a view to act up to their mission and position, they would exercise the most beneficial influence upon the whole organization of the State.

An important change is already apparent in the tendencies, mode of life, and character of the younger members of the nobility, which must necessarily influence the development and efficiency of the States-General. The system of education is very different from what it used to be. The past generation received almost exclusively the encyclopedic training of the French, the young nobility being confided to French tutors and governesses; but in the present day many Russian governesses and German tutors are found in the interior, and a greater desire of knowledge and more earnest study have been acquired. Formerly every young man, as soon as circumstances permitted, pressed into the civil or military service, and remained there as long as possible; but the majority now begin to regard this service as merely a stage of transition,* and those only who have a predi-

* That every one must serve for a period, and attain a certain rank in the service (*Tchin*), is a rule among the Russians. It resembles university life in North Germany, where no one has his proper weight in society without having been at a University. A person living always in the country in Russia, without having been in the public service, grows

lection for it, or who expect to find powerful patrons and protectors, continue to serve. A large number retire after a few years to the country, where they engage in agriculture or manufactures.* But when the larger part of the cultivated and substantial nobility come to live in the country, the importance of the States-General, the elections, etc. will be impressed upon their minds; they will understand the important and influential position of the Ispravniks, and a superior and honourable class of men will be inclined to accept these situations: the consequence will be, that the latter will command general respect, and will easily maintain the dignity of their office.†

Instead of abolishing the constitution or diminishing its efficiency, the Government appears, and I think upon perfectly just political principles, to desire rather to strengthen, and gradually to develope it. Every inducement should be held out to the nobles to live in the country, and none to attract them to the towns. What is wanted however is a powerful and respectable gentry, rather than a rural nobility.

Russia has gradually adopted and judiciously modified the States institutions of Western Europe, and adapted them to Russian popular life; but in no way has the character of the autocratic or patriarchal monarchy been thereby changed or affected. No direct influence has

vulgar, boorish, and dissolute; whereas if he serves for five, six, or ten years, and retires into the country when he is thirty or thirty-five years old, he has acquired experience and knowledge, and his character is formed, and he may thus become a useful country gentleman.

* Here again the pride of ancestry, as known in the rest of Europe, appears to be foreign to the manners and sentiments of the Russians.

† Without this there will never be an independent peasant class, aspiring to a higher degree of culture.

been conceded to these States upon the superior government or economy, the finance or war administration, the legislation or politics of the Empire. Among themselves, and in the direction of their own affairs, the greatest freedom of action and independence have been granted to the nobles; they have many important rights and duties also in the administration and police; but as a body they cannot be called imperial States, having the privilege of granting taxes and a share in the legislation, such as the German States usually possessed. From the sixteenth century downwards, the larger European States, Spain, France, Austria, Prussia, have gradually freed themselves from these institutions. The attempts which have been made to restore the ancient States, with the modifications rendered necessary by time, as it is said, have hitherto ended in precisely reversing their character, and converting them into Representative Chambers. Russia will unquestionably never enter on this path, even independently of the fact that the elements are altogether wanting for representative forms of government; and sympathies of this kind are very unlikely to arise among the people. The occurrences under the Empress Anne originated in ideas springing from the principles of the German States, aided perhaps by some reactionary feeling against the innovations of Peter I.; but it was clearly proved at that time that the people had not the slightest desire to limit the power of their Czar.

Whilst the States were constituted, and great franchises, rights, and privileges were granted to them, everything was done to prevent any class from constituting itself a close corporation; this principle is genuinely Russian. A peculiar flexibility has always prevailed in the Russian national character; and, whilst it must be acknowledged

that much good has arisen from this, it is not without its doubtful and even injurious side. I have pointed this out elsewhere, in reference to the artisans and commercial business in general. With regard to the nobility, a greater exclusiveness both as a class and a corporation would perhaps be advantageous to themselves and the entire Empire. It is the vocation of the nobles to represent the principle of honour and chivalry, and to regard this as the foundation-stone of social life: this however is impossible if they are obliged to tolerate the companionship of every low-minded fellow, and even to associate with him in the same corporation. The exclusion of such persons ought therefore to be facilitated as much as possible; but at the same time the utmost severity of the law and punishment would be justifiable whenever a noble was guilty of a dishonest or dishonourable action.

CHAPTER IX.

RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE. — POSITION OF THE CLERGY.—THE PATRIARCHATE.—SCHOOLS OF KIEF.—THE SACRED SYNOD.—STATISTICS.—DISTINGUISHED PREACHERS.

THAT the Russians are a very religious people, is a fact generally known and acknowledged. This religious feeling is founded upon a deep natural and all-powerful sentiment, which pervades the whole man, all his thoughts and actions,—the air without which he cannot live. His entire life is animated by religious feelings; the natural affections, the love and attachment he has for his parents, are elevated in him to religious veneration and unconditional obedience; and he entertains the same sentiments for all the authorities up to the Czar, who stands in the highest position as a father over him. In the same manner as this feeling ascends upwards, so does it extend itself in attachment to his brethren and kindred, and finally to all his fellow-citizens, whom even in common life he calls brothers (*brat*),—an irresistible feeling, based upon a sentiment of religious unity. The soil, the country, Russia, was given to his forefathers, to himself, and his brethren, by God: his ancestors are buried there; he lives upon the soil which is thus consecrated and will one day cover him, and which contains the sacred remains of all the objects of his veneration and love. This

love of country, elevated to a religious feeling, in which the Russian's idea even of the Deity enters, as in a manner a national God (*Russki Bog*), and in which the country, the people, and the Church, with the White Czar appointed and consecrated by God, are one, is the source and foundation of the unity of Russia, and of its moral and material power.

Religion, and its servant the Church, are the true power, the spiritual and mysterious influence of which have cemented this country and people into an indissoluble unity; and this influence is so powerful, that even the Starovertzi who have separated from the Church have not relinquished this bond of unity; and their love of their other Russian brethren and their common Fatherland, with its sacred relics, retains all its religious character, although they believe that the Church has deviated from the right path. Imbued as they are with this powerful sentiment, this strength of belief and piety, and unconditional obedience, the majority of the Russians possess a very slight knowledge of dogmas. They receive little instruction on doctrinal points, and are in this respect in a state of child-like ignorance. Among the Sects alone do we find much fruit plucked from the dangerous tree of knowledge, and the logical acuteness which they display has been shown elsewhere in this Work.

Russia exercises through the Church a great and secret political influence over all the Slavonic peoples belonging to the Eastern Church, who regard the Russian as the Mother-Church: it practically stands at the head of Eastern Christendom. The Patriarch in Constantinople has still an honorary precedence; but the influence of himself and his clergy is small: spiritual as well as material ascendency belongs to the Russian Church.

We frequently hear it asserted, even in Russia, that the common Russian has no love or respect for his clergy; that he has even a superstitious presentiment, if he meets a pope on first going out in the morning, of its bringing him misfortune, and that he spits on such an occasion, whilst he humbly kisses the priest's hand. From this it is inferred that he only pays an outward respect to the pope as the dispenser of the sacraments, but inwardly despises or even hates him: this is one of those half-truths, which always lead to false conclusions. The Russian has the greatest veneration for the sacred office and consecration of the clergy. If a priest is a worthy man, and his life religious and blameless, if he is attentive to his duties as the guardian of souls, administering the consolations of religion to his flock, exhorting, comforting, and instructing all, interesting himself about the children and performing similar offices, he meets with unlimited love and veneration, as we noticed in the pope of M. de Karnovitch. Distinguished clergymen however are rare in the country, and the majority of the older popes are extremely rude, uneducated, and selfish: they go through the ceremonies and read the Liturgy, dispense the Sacraments, and frequently employ them for the purpose of obtaining gifts; but about the care of souls they are entirely indifferent, and afford neither consolation nor instruction. That such popes should not be loved or respected, and that honour should be paid alone to their priestly dignity and office, is perfectly natural. But a great change has taken place within the last fifteen years; the younger clergy are better educated, and have more energy and zeal in the performance of their duties. In general however it is remarked that the Russians have a much greater veneration for the

monastic than for the married secular clergy, who constitute almost an exclusive class. It is regarded as improper for a pope to wed any other than the daughter of a pope, who must be married before his consecration. Only the sons of popes can become popes and deacons, and in White Russia only nobles. On the other hand all classes can enter the monasteries, but serfs can only be serving brothers, not monastic priests. Many nobles at present enter the monasteries, as for instance Dimitri, Archbishop at Kishenef, in Bessarabia.

Much has been done of late for the education of the clergy and the elevation of their moral character. With regard to this point, let us glance briefly at the past. Christianity came from Constantinople into Russia, where it assumed the form established in Moravia by Cyril and Methodius. The residence of the Metropolitan was at Kief. Then followed the invasion of the Mongols. Kief was first conquered by them, and afterwards by the Lithuanians; and the centre of the secular as well as the ecclesiastical dominion in Russia Proper, was transferred to Vladimir, and subsequently to Moscow. Christian cultivation and even learning flourished in Kief, as we see among others in the ancient chronicler Nestor; but it was soon destroyed, on the subjugation of the country by the Mongols and Tatars. The germ of Christianity however remained. The Tatars did not wage a religious war, nor seek to convert the Russians to Mohammedanism: they were satisfied with placing the Crescent above the Cross on the churches. Thus the Russians attained a feeling of the most perfect unity under oppression and misfortunes, the hierarchy rendering great service; from the monasteries especially came aid and consolation to the people.

It may however be readily conceived that all culture and learning must have been destroyed in the Russian clergy; their condition in this respect, even after the Tatar yoke was broken, was lamentable. Moreover, from the ignorance of the monks and priests, numerous errors and false readings had crept into the Liturgical books, which led to schisms. From the partition of the country into petty principalities these false readings even acquired geographical limits, and different versions were adopted in the various Principalities, a circumstance which first came to light when the whole of Russia grew into a political unity. It was then sought to aid religious unity by strengthening the central power in the Church, which led to the establishment of the Russian Patriarchate, the Patriarch of Constantinople and the others in the East consenting, although unwillingly, to its institution.

To the Patriarchate and the hierarchy Russia is indebted for the maintenance of her independence against the Polish invasion. There was no Czar or political centre at that time, but this was found in the Church. The movement and its direction proceeded from the monasteries, as Troitzka Lavra for instance, and after a sanguinary struggle Russia threw off the Polish yoke. Uniformity in the Liturgy and ceremonies was also established by the Patriarchate, at the expense indeed of a schism, which at first was of little importance, but which afterwards led to the separation of the Starovertzi from the Church.

Whilst such was the development of the Church in Great Russia, the ancient Mother-Church at Kief fell in the first instance under the power of the Lithuanians, and afterwards of the Poles. A small remnant of pre-

Tatar cultivation and learning had remained in this branch of the Church, which did not encounter an oppression of an antichristian kind, but had to confront the superior cultivation of the Roman Catholic Polish West. A spiritual conflict and increased spiritual activity were thus produced, and weapons were sought even among the opponents of the Church. The scholastic philosophy and studies in ecclesiastical history were introduced into the Church of Kief, which adopted the form of study and organization of the Western schools, especially those of the Jesuits.

When Peter I. acquired possession of Kief, a closer connection took place between the clergy there and at Moscow. The Hieromonach Simon Polotzki was translated by Peter to Moscow, where he acquired considerable influence; he was a very learned and energetic man, and was the first who resumed preaching in the Russian churches, a practice which had ceased under the Tatar rule. Learning has since revived and spread among the Great Russian clergy, at first however only in the monasteries.

After the death of the last Patriarch, Peter did not appoint any successor to the Patriarchal chair, but transferred its authority to a spiritual college, instituted by him and named the Sacred Synod. In the reasons expressed in the regulations of 1720, it is openly stated, "that from a government conducted by a college there is less danger of disturbance and confusion than from an individual head of the spiritual order. A common man does not understand the difference between the spiritual and the sovereign secular power; but he is impressed with such awe of the honour and dignity accorded to the supreme pastor, that he regards him as a second sove-

reign of the country, equal, if not superior, in rank to the monarch."

Peter would on no account permit the unity of the supreme power to be infringed or questioned. The Sacred Synod was established in 1723, with the concurrence of the Russian clergy and the four Eastern Patriarchs.

There have been three epochs in the government of the Russian Church. At first it had a foreign head, the Patriarch in Constantinople, who appointed the Metropolitan of Kief, and afterwards of Moscow; during the second period, commencing in 1589, it was governed by a Patriarch appointed by the Czar, but nearly independent; lastly the direction of the Church was transferred to the Czar. He is however not the Head of the Church in the same sense as the Pope of Rome: he exercises the external functions in a still greater degree than the latter; he appoints to every office in the Church, and is restricted only so far as to leave to the bishops and prelates the privilege of proposing candidates; he transfers and dismisses persons from their offices in certain cases, but has never arrogated to himself the right of deciding theological and dogmatic questions. In the case of any new heresy springing up in Russia, requiring a judgement, no one would imagine, and least of all the Emperor, that he could pronounce a decision; this duty would appertain to the Synod, and, were the question critical, the opinion of the four Eastern Patriarchs would be consulted, and finally a Council would be convened. The judgement of the Church being once given, the Emperor would command its execution. In official documents he never calls himself the Head, but only the Protector or Defender of the Church.

In former times there were no schools for the people in Russia; but much has been done in the reign of the Emperor Nicholas for their gradual dissemination, especially in the villages of the Imperial Domains and Appanages. There are few schools on private estates, many landowners being opposed to them on principle; several proprietors however, as M. de Karnovitch, have established them with much difficulty, but with the best results. A few ill-provided schools for the clergy formerly existed in the monasteries alone, but great efforts have been recently made to multiply them and elevate their character. The ancient Jesuit schools and gymnasia have generally been adopted as models; the system pursued in them was probably first adopted in Kief, from whence they have extended to Great Russia.

I have before me an official statement regarding the condition of the ecclesiastical institutions for the year 1846, from which it appears that there are 419 schools, with 60,636 pupils; of these latter 414 were educated at the charge of the Crown in the academies, 7347 in the seminaries, 7595 in the District schools, and 3187 in the parish schools. Thus 18,543 pupils were educated at the charge of the Crown, and 42,092 at their own expense. In 1839 there were only three academies, with fifty-one teachers; forty-five seminaries, with 415 teachers; 173 District schools, with 818 teachers; and 193 parish schools, with 367 teachers.

Besides theological learning the bishops and monks have now considerable secular knowledge, polished manners, spiritual activity, and at least the commencement of a religious zeal in the cure of souls: these are also spreading among the younger generation of the clergy, with regard to whom the Government has cause to fear,

not so much the indifference of former times as an excess of zeal, tending to fanaticism and a spirit of persecution.

Preaching in the churches or public places and in the open air had ceased to be practised in the Muscovite Church; it may perhaps have been considered dangerous during the dominion of the Tatars, but it was always retained in the Church of Kief. I have mentioned that the Hieromonach Polotzki was the first who resumed preaching in Moscow. At present most of the bishops and higher class of clergy practise it; but it is neither the usual custom, prescribed duty, nor a necessary part of divine service. I was informed that the Synod felt reluctant to leave it to the discretion of each pope whether to preach or not, and it is only allowed with the permission of the bishop; the abuse of the practice was apprehended, and the dissemination of heterodox doctrines and ideas. The reading of printed homilies and approved sermons is permitted. Among the bishops and higher clergy are found distinguished preachers, with great oratorical powers. Some of their sermons are printed, and a young and intelligent monk at Kharkof, a Livonian by birth, gave us several translated by him into German, which confirm what I have said. The most distinguished discourses are those of Philareth, Metropolitan of Moscow, Nadimir, Bishop of Kostroma, and Inokenti, Metropolitan Vicar of Kief. I will give as a specimen a short sermon by the latter, preached on Good Friday, marked by a depth of feeling and noble simplicity.

Sermon for Good Friday.

"The ancient and pious Father Anthony is said once to have given to his brethren a word of instruction.

Deeply impressed by the feeling of human weakness, the old man, instead of any teaching, uttered merely these words, 'Brethren, let us weep!' And the brethren fell upon the ground and wept.

"I know, dear friends, that ye also expect words of teaching from me, but I am speechless at the sight of our Master slumbering in the tomb. Who will venture to speak when the Lord is silent? And what could we say of God and his justice, of man and his injustice, which these wounds do not speak to you with infinitely greater impressiveness? Will he who is untouched by them, be moved by the feeble voice of a man? On Golgotha there was no preaching; there the people only sobbed and beat their breasts. And this tomb likewise is no place for preaching, but a place for repentance and tears!

"Brethren, our Lord and Saviour lies in the tomb: let us pray and weep! Amen."

CHAPTER X.

COMMUNAL CONSTITUTION.—THE MIR.—PATRIARCHAL PRINCIPLE IN ALL THE RELATIONS OF LIFE.—NATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE RUSSIANS.—EQUALITY.—NOBILITY.—DISLIKE OF FORMS.—FORMALISM IN THE GOVERNMENT.—COMMUNE OF URAL COSSACKS.

THOSE men who are labouring to disseminate cultivation of a somewhat higher kind than the West-European or French, especially by investigating national characteristics, institutions, and history, are called the Old Russian party. The name however is incorrect, for the movement is merely a natural expression of the national feeling existing among the higher classes, which is evident from the circumstance that the Government itself is now following this direction, although a large number of influential and leading men still belong to the older, and what may be almost called the anti-national, cultivation.

The language interposes great obstacles to the efforts of the national party. As the educated classes have been alienated from the popular customs, of which they take a foreign view, confounding their national institutions with those in other countries, they have given to many words a foreign meaning, so that both in the language of common life, the sciences, and business, there is often no word which properly expresses the national idea. As an instance of this I will adduce the Russian word *Mir*. In all the countries of Western Europe an idea has been

attached to the Latin word *Communitas*, and the German *Gemeinde*, which have only slight shades of difference; in each language the word has a precise signification, intelligible both to the educated and uneducated classes. This is not the case with the Russian word *Mir*, which has a different signification in the language of business, the law, and of the educated classes, from what it has in that of the people. In the first case it is identical with the French word *Commune*, being the aggregate of persons living together in the same place, the police jurisdiction of a city, town, or village; but the meaning is quite different in the common conception of the people. Even the literal signification of the word *Mir* indicates the sacredness of the idea, denoting both Commune and World: the Greek *Cosmos* is the only equivalent to the Russian word. I can recollect no German or Romanic proverb in which the power, rights, and sacredness of the Commune are recognized; the Russian language has a great number:—

God alone directs the Mir.
The Mir is great.
The Mir is the surging billow.
The neck and shoulders of the Mir are broad.
Throw everything upon the Mir, it will carry it all.
The tear of the Mir is liquid, but sharp.
The Mir sighs, and the rock is rent asunder.
The Mir sobs, and it re-echoes in the forest.
Trees are felled in the forest, and splinters fly in the Mir.
A thread of the Mir becomes a shirt for the naked.
No one in the world can separate from the Mir.
What belongs to the Mir belongs also to the mother's little son.
What is decided by the Mir must come to pass.
The Mir is answerable for the country's defence.

The patriarchal government, feelings, and organization are in full activity in the life, manners, and customs of

the Great Russians. The same unlimited authority which the father exercises over all his children is possessed by the mother over her daughters: the same reverence and obedience are shown to the Communal authorities, the Starostas and White-heads, and to the common father of all, the Czar. The Russian addresses the same word to his real father, to the Starosta, to his proprietor, to the Emperor, and finally to God, viz. Father (*Batiushka*); in like manner he calls every Russian, whether known to him or not, Brother (*Brat*).

The common Russian (*Muzhik*) entertains no slavish, but simply a childlike, fear and veneration for the Czar; he loves him with devoted tenderness. He becomes a soldier reluctantly, but, once a soldier, he has no feeling of vindictiveness for the coercion exercised upon him, and serves the Czar with the utmost fidelity. The celebrated expression "*Prikazeno*" (It is ordered), has a magical power over him. Whatever the Emperor commands must be done; the Russian cannot conceive the impossibility of its execution: the orders of the Police even are not worded *Zapreshtcheno* (It is forbidden), but *Ne prikazeno* (It is not ordered). The profound veneration felt for the Czar is also shown in the care of everything belonging to him; the Russian has the deepest respect for the *Kaziomne*, or property of the Czar.* "Kaziomne does not die, does not burn in fire, or drown in water," says a Russian proverb.

There is scarcely an instance recorded of any collec-

* Some years ago a land-surveyor, by birth a German, was commissioned to undertake a survey. The peasants, believing that he had injured them, rushed upon him, and he was in great danger. He seized the astrolabe, placed it upon his head, and exclaimed, "Who dares touch the *Kaziomne?*" This had a magical effect: muttering and swearing, they went away, without touching him.

tors of the Crown taxes, who often traverse the country with considerable sums of money, being attacked and robbed. In the north, in the Government of Vologda, where the morals of the people are still particularly pure and simple, and great confidence and honesty prevail, when a collector enters a village, he taps at each window and calls out, "*Kaza!*" Then each person brings out his Crown tax for the year, and throws it into the open bag: the collector does not count the money, being well assured that he is never cheated. If his visit is in the night, he enters the first substantial house, places the money-bag under the image of the Saint, looks for a place to rest on, and sleeps with a perfect assurance of finding his money safe in the morning.

The patriarchal ruler or Czar appears necessary to the very existence of the people; we never find an insurrection against the Government or Czardom, but only against certain persons, and generally upon grounds of legitimacy, as in the instance of the False Demetrius or Pugatchef, who represented himself as the exiled Peter III., or as in the insurrection of 1825. The people have shown invariable obedience toward every Government, even to that of the Mongols; they frequently indeed complain of supposed wrongs, but there the matter ends.

The Czar is the father of his people; but the descent, and even the sex, of the Sovereign is indifferent to them. Rurik and the Varangians were invited into the country, and were obeyed like hereditary chiefs. The Empress Catherine II., a foreign princess, experienced the same veneration and attachment as princes born in Russia; she became nationalized on assuming the Czardom. This profound veneration for authority passes to the person of every one who assumes the office of Czar.

Whilst the Russian has the greatest reverence and shows the utmost obedience to all above him in the real or imaginary family hierarchy, the greatest equality prevails among the people. The Russian honours and obeys every father, and feels on an equality with every brother: this is especially evident when the Muzhik or peasant comes into the presence of the Czar: he knows that before him all are equal; he speaks frankly and without embarrassment to him, which is rarely the case with people of rank and education.

There is a peculiar lightness and mobility in the Russian character. No fixed forms prevail; the Russian has an aversion to rules and regulations, or a uniform course of life; he desires no settled position in the world or in business, but demands the utmost freedom, with liberty to go where he pleases, or to remain at home, according to his own convenience; he cannot brook being bound down to regular habits and economy: he is hospitable and lavish in his expenditure, fond of risk, and addicted to play and speculation. As much money passes through his hands, he cares little for small sums. In his family and household he never permits any strict forms or rules, even between parents and children, husband and wife, nor does he suffer any interference in his household. There is nowhere fixed and permanent property; none is held longer than for two generations; people are rich today, and poor tomorrow. Joint possession in communes and families is the rule. The Russian has no desire to be free of the control of his superiors; he loves the government of his master and Starosta, of his father and Czar, and even the rule of the serf-proprietor. In some cases even he does not altogether dislike being oppressed, for it stimulates his energy to escape from the

yoke. He demands from his superior strictness and decision; but he will not be governed by fixed laws or constitutions; he loves the exercise of free-will, and desires a personal Czar, restrained neither by written laws nor by state interference. As primitive Christianity had no written constitution or law, but only Christian usages and customs, so is it with the Russian in secular life.

To this restless character and these variable tendencies, which endanger the stability of all social relations, the Government, since the time of Peter I., has opposed the most perfect system of formalism. The forms, checks, laws, and decrees introduced are innumerable, and have no parallel in other countries. To outward appearance a degree of perfect order, uniformity, and security prevails; but in truth the best elements in the different Government organs lie beyond these forms. Charlemagne was in the habit of travelling much and seeing things with his own eyes, and, if prevented from undertaking a journey himself, he sent trusty and approved *Missi*, who informed him of the truth and issued orders in his name. The same system was adopted by the Emperor Nicholas.

The popular life of Russia resembles the character of the country: it is a vast open plain, in which all moves unconstrained and free; but the Government has encompassed it with a wall, and left some gates open.

The principle of the communal institutions prevails throughout the Empire, being based upon the fundamental character of the Slavonic race, and having grown naturally out of the individuality of the Russian people. I should regard as more than hazardous any attempt to eradicate this principle, or even to modify it in any material point. Its injurious effect upon agriculture is too

evident to need remark; but the political value of these institutions far outweighs their evil consequences. I believe also that the latter might be avoided or lessened, without destroying the principle, by restoring the original condition of the small Communes or portions of the large ones, abolishing the division of the land, and re-establishing the system of joint agriculture: this is surely possible among a people so accustomed to obey authority, and I have little doubt that agriculture might be pursued more successfully under this system, by substituting a division of the crop for that of the land itself, and without injury to any one.

I have already mentioned that some agricultural Communes exist in the interior of the forests, with a system of joint cultivation, and without any division of the land; but there are also entire districts, of great extent, in which the largest part of the land is not even allotted to the separate village Communes, but has remained in the common occupation of the whole people as one Commune. I will here describe one of these great rural Communes, selecting the Cossacks of the Ural, a race in whom the ancient Russian character and manners seem to have been preserved in their greatest vigour and purity.

Commune of the Ural Cossacks.

The Ural Cossacks, who belong to the Great Russian race, were established upon the right bank of the river Ural, as a protection against the Kirghiz hordes. They have only two settlements on the left bank, pushed forward as videttes. The line which they inhabit commences about thirty versts distant from Orenburg, at Mukhranof, and extends for more than seven hundred

versts to the mouth of the Ural in the Caspian Sea, at Khuniof. They inhabit *stanitzi*, villages with one to two hundred houses, about fifteen to twenty versts apart. The river flows through the centre of a vast Steppe, for the most part completely barren and salt. Only the low grounds, and the banks of rivers, particularly of the majestic Ural, have any fertile soil, which generally consists of meadow-land. These Cossacks pursue agriculture but little; above Uralsk there is none at all, and below that place occasionally a little garden-cultivation is seen near the houses. They live chiefly by breeding cattle and fishing.

The Ural Cossacks settled here voluntarily, the original settlers being fugitives from the Don, who were afterwards joined by some scattered Streletzes. At first they adopted a perfectly independent organization, and the Government at a subsequent period introduced union among them by various regulations. They are an energetic and worthy race of people, handsome, lively, and obedient to the Government, brave, good-natured, intelligent, and hospitable.* They consider it disgraceful to accept payment for hospitality. In their laws, customs, and mode of life, they still furnish a picture of ancient, unsophisticated Russia. In their own country all the Cossacks are obliged to serve from their eighteenth to their twentieth year; out of it, from their twentieth until their fifty-fifth, as often as required.

* Their adroitness and power of endurance are extraordinary. When the Czarevitch was travelling down the Ural, more than a hundred boys leaped continually from the bank, about thirty feet in height, into the stream; then emerging a little in advance they reached the top in a few leaps, and jumped down again into the water. They mounted unsaddled horses, whose eyes were bound, and jumped with them from the bank, tumbling headlong into the water; no accident occurred.

The Don Cossacks usually serve three years in nine out of the country; the Bashkir Cossacks only three years in twelve; the Ural Cossacks the same. According to the general regulations, they ought to serve at stated periods, but in practice it is different. The natural circumstances and conditions of life do not always admit of such precise regulations; a man whose period of service has arrived may not be able to leave home without a complete derangement of his affairs; he may however be rich and his neighbour poor, and not required at home; the latter therefore voluntarily serves as a substitute for the former, who in return maintains his family or pays him a sum of money; the Government wisely does not interfere, and the whole affair is settled in a natural way without compulsion; all mandates therefore are addressed to the Commune, not to individuals. The equipment of no other part of the country can be compared in rapidity and completeness with that of these Cossacks.

The Cossacks number a male population of about 24,000 to 25,000, of whom about 10,000 to 12,000 are bound to serve from their eighteenth to their fifty-fifth year. Of these last there were in 1837 only about 3300 inactive at home. The war rendered an immediate equipment necessary, and four regiments, each of 550 men, or two-thirds of the whole able-bodied males in the country, were called out. Within three weeks they were completely mounted, armed, and equipped. From Commune to Commune the order was carried, to assemble in the market-place of Uralsk: the Verkhovoi or representative and adjutant of the Hetman rode among the assembled crowd, holding the mandate of the Emperor above his cap, and addressing them thus: "Atamans, you are summoned to mount and furnish four regiments!" He

then took off his cap and read the order, telling them their destination, and where to assemble. With this the whole proceedings terminated on the part of the authorities.

On such occasions the majority of the men who are prepared to take the field assemble in the market-place: they usually appear in families. If the order is that seven or five men are to supply one, the nearest relatives remain together, and whoever among them can absent himself most easily, goes; the others pay and equip him, and provide for his family; if he is a drunkard, the money is not given to him, but to his family. The sum is proportioned to circumstances: if only a small company is levied, each of those who are inclined to serve for the others receives a large sum, as many contribute; perhaps eight or ten furnish one man, in which case each one easily gives from one to two hundred roubles. Those levied for the Guard in St. Petersburg, who must be tall and handsome, and have comparatively severe duty to perform, receive sometimes five to six thousand roubles. About 3000 serve in the Caucasus. The service in the country at the different posts is always provided by an arrangement among the Cossacks themselves; those who live nearest the posts undertake the duty, the others paying them twenty to three hundred roubles. At the period I speak of the emergency was so great that two out of three men were obliged to march; the third therefore had to furnish the two others, and thus only the richest and those most required at home could remain, being obliged to sacrifice a considerable part of their property to the others. The contract is concluded thus,—one offers to give 200 roubles to be relieved from going; another will give 300;

the third 350. Thus they bid against each other, until one is obliged to go; he then receives from the others what they have offered to be free.

Three men were thus obliged to furnish two. The premiums fluctuated between 900 and 2000 roubles, which the two who had to march divided between them. 1100 rich Cossacks therefore contributed in a few days not less than a million and a half roubles. What wealth in a people of such simple manners! Four days after the mandate was read, all the people again assembled in the market-place of Uralsk; each of the four regiments took up its place, and the officers were present. The parties approached, and he who remained at home brought the two others, and named the premium agreed upon: they then joined hands, the officer laid his upon them, and the contract was concluded. Afterwards they all went home, and in a fortnight the regiments were mustered and ready to take the field. The people always assemble when required, or otherwise the Government would proceed within a fortnight to seize unceremoniously the first persons who came in the way. These Cossacks are excellent troops: every man goes with pleasure and free-will, for it is his own choice, and he is paid for service. His family is provided for, he is well armed and equipped, and costs the Government nothing; no greater political error could be imagined than for the Government to make any alteration in this arrangement.

The constitution of the villages is entirely military: at the head of each is an officer,—of every small one a non-commissioned officer, who are both appointed by the Crown, and superintend the police, conduct the affairs of the Commune, etc. In all the villages is a complete military guard, of fifteen to twenty men, and between

them, at intervals of three or four versts, are stationed posts of three men, one of whom stands on a high platform as sentry, whilst the two others remain below. The Cossack always appears fully armed. The entire district forms a popular, economical, military, and political unity, the central point of which is the township of Uralsk. Formerly the Ataman (Hetman) and his Verkhovoi (adjutant) governed the Cossack state; at present a college of four councillors is associated with him. All the Hetmans have been native Cossacks, with the exception of the last two; the present one, Kayeznikof, is said to be a distinguished man. The joint communal administration is not in the separate villages, but in the entire Cossack Commune, the income of which arises chiefly from licences to fish, which are bought by those who have not this right (who do not serve), and often produce 100,000 roubles, and also from the salt-tax. The Cossacks have salt free for their own household use, but that used for salting the fish sold is taxed. The salt is for the most part brought from Lake Inder. These revenues are expended in paying the salaries of the Ataman and the authorities, as well as the officers who serve out of the country in war: an ensign receives 240 roubles. The common Cossack does not receive any pay in the country, and only at a hundred versts' distance from the Ural; beyond that limit he receives pay and rations from the Crown.

The economical relations of these Cossacks are very remarkable. The basis of all right of possession among them is the Russian family, and its extension the Commune. There is consequently no private occupancy of the soil; on an area of 700 to 800 versts, and among 50,000 people, all property is in common. In this respect

the hay harvest is especially interesting: not only have individuals no private possession, but the villages even have no meadows allotted to them, these having always remained in the joint possession of the whole Commune.

The haymaking is under the superintendence of the Hetman and his assistants, the Verkhovoi and the officers of the Stanitza. The Hetman appoints the day when the hay harvest shall commence, generally the 1st of June. At all the points where there is a considerable extent of meadow-land an officer is stationed as superintendent. Every Cossack on service (such only being entitled) proceeds to seek out a place on which to mow the grass he desires to appropriate; all take up their stations upon the ground chosen by them the previous night. At sunrise the officer gives the signal, and each man begins to mow his part, cutting however the first day only a circle round it: the grass in the centre is thus marked out as his property, and he can mow it at leisure with his family. Much skill is required to discover the right measure of the ground; if the Cossack mows too wide a circle, he has not time to complete it, and his neighbours infringe upon the unfinished part: the object therefore is to appropriate as wide a space as possible, and yet close the ring. The man works with incredible exertion, hardly tasting even a drop of water, for with sunset the business is at an end, and by that time each must have mowed round his share. Before the 1st of June no one is allowed to cut the grass and take it home, otherwise he loses his share in the hay harvest for the year.

The fishery is also under fixed regulations, being restricted to certain seasons,—winter, spring, and autumn. Whoever takes a fish before the proper time loses his share for the year. If a Cossack were to find a sturgeon

lying out of the water, he would throw it back. In winter a day is appointed by the Hetman for the commencement of the fishing, which takes place about eight versts distant from Uralsk. All the Cossacks on service assemble there the previous night, each with a puncheon on a long pole, an ice-breaker, and a hook to aid in drawing out the fish; every man is followed by a horse and cart, in charge of some member of his family: the latter however is not allowed to take part in the fishing. All are stationed in a row on the bank, each having chosen his spot, and await the signal. If any one goes upon the ice before the right time, he loses his right of fishing for the day; the Hetman alone, who has been elected for the annual fishing, walks gravely up and down upon it. A cannon stands on the bank: the Hetman makes a sign to the gunner, who fires it off, and in an instant all the men leap upon the ice, each seeks out a spot, makes a hole with the ice-breaker, and drives down the pole. There is such an abundance of fish in the river, that in the right places, which are known and selected, every blow strikes a fish; the shallow water, where they are less abundant, is left to stragglers. The family of the Cossack stands on the banks, giving all the assistance in their power, and carrying away the fish; but only the Cossack on service can go upon the ice, or use the instruments described above. The stirring activity on the ice is very interesting, each working for himself single-handed. Although continually exclaiming, "Here, brethren! children! help me, I can do no more!" no one comes to his aid; but he in turn helps no one. The ice breaks, the man balances himself upon the pieces, sometimes stands up to his middle in the water, or swims with his booty to shore. The salesmen from Moscow are

stationed on the bank, and a brisk bargaining begins; generally all the fish are sold on the spot. Every day for three weeks a fresh spot lower down the river is fished in the same manner, and with the same order.

The fishing in spring takes place in boats, twelve to sixteen feet in length, neatly hollowed out of a tree, and occasionally ornamented with carved work and bound with iron. Here again the Cossacks stand on the bank in regular order, each close to the river, with his hand upon his boat, at the other end of which stands a hired Kirghiz. The signal-gun is fired, and in an instant the boat is in the water, with the Cossack and his Kirghiz.

In the autumn fishing two Cossacks unite, with their boats, and five or six hundred of them are often seen at one place in the river. Between these boats are two nets, one with large meshes, and the other with small ones behind it; if the sturgeon enters the first, he becomes entangled between the two, and sticks fast.

The fishing in the spring and autumn lasts six weeks. Formerly the fishermen assembled in the market-place in Uralsk, each seated in his sledge; and as soon as the signal-gun was fired, they hurried in a motley crowd to the river; but this custom gave rise to many accidents, which rarely occur now. In autumn the Caspian Sea is also fished, as far as the Cossack territory extends. Large drag-nets are used, and the fishing is free to all; no one however is allowed to enter the current of the Ural for a certain distance into the sea. Small fish only, and no cartilaginous ones, are usually found here; their number in the Caspian is said to be sensibly diminishing.

The fish are salted on the spot where caught, and the caviar prepared; the entire take may be valued at two million roubles a year. A portion of the fresh caviar is

always sent by a Cossack officer to St. Petersburg for the Emperor: this is the *Tzarski kus*, the Czar's portion.

I must repeat that it is impossible to be too careful not to change any part of this constitution, either in the military or economical relations of the people. Should a regular succession in the military service be enforced, and the purchase of substitutes be forbidden, the greatest hardship would be inflicted upon the people, and their natural relations be destroyed. If a different civil administration were introduced, and the hay harvest allotted to the Communes or divided among the individual Cossacks, or the fishing were otherwise arranged, the admirable communal spirit, and indeed a political institution without a parallel would be entirely destroyed. It would be necessary to maintain and pay a body of officials, which would open the door to all kinds of abuses, bribery, and corruption, whereas at present a slight superintendence is sufficient, free of all expense. Nevertheless no people are so serviceable to their Government as the Ural Cossacks, and I would therefore apply to them the saying, "*Sint ut sunt, aut non sunt!*"

CHAPTER XI.

MISSION OF RUSSIA.—DESTINATION OF THE GREAT HISTORICAL PEOPLES.—ROME.—THREE GREAT NATIONAL FAMILIES OF EUROPE: THE GERMANIC, ROMANIC, SLAVONIC.—DIFFERENT SLAVONIC PEOPLES.—CZECHS.—POLES.—THEIR MISSION AND DESTINY.—RUSSIANS.—COMPARISON WITH ROME. — POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT. — CONQUESTS.—RUSSIA AND ENGLAND.—SUMMARY.

ALTHOUGH it is not permitted to the human mind clearly to discern the ways of Providence and the course of history, or to define them with mathematical precision, as the astronomer calculates the entire course of one of the heavenly bodies from that part of it which he observes, still a deep and mysterious impulse urges us to renewed attempts to solve the problems of history and the future; and it appears too that we may calculate from analogy and probability, although only in a general way, the direction which a people will pursue, whose past history we have closely examined, and whose genius and peculiarities we have studied.

The great nations in history have evidently had each a peculiar mission assigned them, to aid in the development of the human race, and become the teachers of the other nations and posterity. Each of the leading peoples has been distinguished as the depositary of some great historical purpose or idea. The Jews were the depositaries of the exalted idea of the unity of God and that of

the human race, without which all true progress is inconceivable. The great Asiatic nations gave a practical form to the ideas of monarchy, subordination, and obedience, without which the realization of a human state is impossible: they were appointed to break down the barriers which separated the small nations, in whose isolation man must have sunk into a state resembling that of the brutes, as we still find among the savage tribes. The Greeks developed the perfection of human culture, and among them was developed the idea of freedom in regulated republican institutions; whilst the relations of navigation and trade, of commercial intercourse between the different nations of the earth, were first founded upon a well-constructed basis among the Phœnicians and Carthaginians.

What would the world have been without Rome? The very ideas which lie at the root of every commonwealth, and upon which is founded the entire structure of public and private rights, and every regular social state, appear embodied and practically developed in the Roman Empire. When paganism declined and perished, and heathen civilization became a whited sepulchre, it was the Roman Empire, by its spread over the civilized world and its uniform social state, that alone enabled Christianity to diffuse itself, and attain a definite ecclesiastical unity and constitution, whilst it languished in other quarters, Persia, India, etc., because it lacked these favourable political institutions.

All the modern Christian states constitute a great whole, with numberless relations one to another, but all having the general Divine mission to disseminate Christianity and civilization throughout the world. At the same time every nation has its own individual task; some

states seem to have already completed theirs, and fallen into decay, or to have been swallowed up by others. Portugal, which in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had so great an historical importance, belongs perhaps to the first, and Poland, once the bulwark of Christendom against Mohammedanism, to the latter.

Three great national families constitute the civilized world,—the Romanic, Germanic, and Slavonic. Their numbers are nearly equal, each amounting to between eighty and ninety millions. The other primitive races in Europe, the Fins, the Magyars, Celts, Basques, Letts, and Albanians, amount together to not more than twenty millions.

The Romanic races are a mixture of Italian, Celtic, and Iberian, with ruling Germanic peoples. The germs of modern civilization were first developed in them when the Romanic race embraced Christianity; the Germanic peoples soon afterwards followed, and at a later period some of the Slaavs; but others remained behind, and the time seems only now to have arrived when they aim at an equality with the other civilized nations.

Of the smaller Slavonic races none appears yet destined to attain any great historical importance. Should Turkey be dissolved, the sceptre would undoubtedly fall into the hands of the Slavonic races inhabiting that country, the Servians, Bosnians, and Bulgarians, in spite of the rivalry of the Albanians. The former possess great natural capacities and many fine qualities, but their time has not yet arrived to acquire a name.

In the Austrian monarchy the Slaavs constitute nearly one-half of the population. At all periods of history

they have had a great and honourable share in the development, achievements, and fortunes of this powerful State, but they have never formed the ruling power. They are divided into more than six small peoples, who have never regarded themselves as constituting a common nationality; the larger part have never attained a national culture, and it still appears problematical whether the modern patriotic efforts to attain an Illyrian or Russine literature will succeed. Their desire to introduce a uniform mode of writing, and a written language, and thus a feeling of national unity, as well as the scheme proposed in 1848 for converting Austria into a Slavonic monarchy, seem to have been completely abortive.

There is only one Slavonic race in Austria which appears to have a greater historical importance, the Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia; they are the most ancient civilized people of the Slaavs, and Christianity was first permanently adopted by them. The Apostles of the Slaavs, St. Cyril and Methodius, belonged to them, and introduced the Gospel and Liturgy in the Slavonic language among the Russines, Russians, Servians, Bulgarians, etc. The Czechs were the first who formed themselves into a nation, having in the eleventh century established an hereditary monarchy. National culture and literature appeared at an early period among them; they were closely connected with the Germans, and introduced many German elements into their institutions. The arrangements of their schools and the University of Prague were entirely German; in fact, in the Middle Ages Prague was both a Bohemian and a German university, regarded indeed as the most celebrated German one of the time. At that period Bohemian cultivation had outstripped that of Germany. One hundred years

before the Reformation the religious movement here assumed a definite form, and awakened a fanaticism in the people, which in the subsequent war shook Germany to its centre; but these religious confusions afterwards checked all social progress.

When the Thirty Years' War broke out, Bohemia suffered most severely from its scourge. After the victory the Czech literature was almost wholly destroyed, as being infected with heresy. The superior educational institutions were abolished, or converted into German ones; all national culture was suppressed, the popular elements were changed, and the native nobility, who had dared to depose their King, were deprived of their estates and banished. A German nobility was substituted in their place, and in the towns, where powerful German elements had always prevailed, the whole of the richer commercial population became German. German colonies were established throughout the depopulated country, but the main body of the peasantry remained Czechs. In the last century the Government of Austria began to reanimate the national elements of the Czechs; and it is a proof of the vital energy of the people, that an important national literature has been created in so brief a period, a man of high literary reputation, Dombrowski, having given the first impulse: its character is patriotic, learned, speculative, but little productive. In the movement which is now taking place among the Slaavs, the Czechs constitute the mediating element. Whilst Poland and Russia confront each other as hostile brothers, the Czechs live upon the best terms with both races. I consider this mediating position as the true mission of the Czechs, and not that they are destined to stand at the head of a Slavonic monarchy, to which an attempt was

made to incite them in 1848. The people are not sufficiently numerous to assume an important external political position; they want also the elements for an internal organization, a powerful and numerous citizen class, and a native nobility. At the present time they are a people of peasants and learned men.

We turn now, in our survey of the Slavonic peoples, to one which has unquestionably had a great historical mission, and an important political position,—the Poles. And here we must, in passing, rectify a wide-spread error, which, with the present favourable feeling toward Poland, prevails almost universally in Western Europe. The Polish people is always confounded with the State; the people, consisting of two Slavonic races, of which the first, the present nobility, subjugated the peasantry at an unknown period, consists at most of six or seven million individuals; whereas in the old Polish State there were more than twenty millions,—a population of which scarcely one-third consisted of Poles.

The chief importance of Poland in the world's history commenced at its union with Lithuania. Among the Lithuanians, a race which is not Slavonic, after the establishment of the Varangians, who had either been called in or immigrated of themselves, there sprang up in early times a chivalrous spirit of conquest. Lithuania rose against the Mongols, took possession of a number of Russian districts, and even of the metropolis of the older Russian Empire of St. Vladimir, "the mother of cities," Kief. The Grand Dukedom comprised, in addition to Lithuania Proper, White Russia, Black Russia, a large part of Little Russia and Red Russia; and this

powerful state, which in size greatly exceeded Poland Proper, was then, by a marriage of Jagellon with the heiress of the throne of Poland, united with Poland, and thenceforth practically, and from the year 1569 legally, constituted with it the powerful Polish kingdom.

The ancient empire of Rurik was thus divided into halves, one of which languished in Vladimir and Moscow, under Mongol-Tatar supremacy, until the overthrow of the Tatar yoke; whilst the other half, with the capital Kief, was merged in Lithuania, and afterwards in Poland. This gave rise to the wars which lasted for centuries between the Poles and Muscovites, and which in the commencement inclined in favour of Poland, so much so that the Muscovite Czardom was once near becoming a fief of Poland: the struggle however ended in the complete overthrow of Poland, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, so that not only all the countries inhabited by Russians, and their near relations the Russines, were again incorporated with Russia, but Lithuania also, and extensive districts inhabited by the pure Polish race, were united with the Russian monarchy; the original mother-country of the Poles was divided between Austria, Prussia, and Russia, the greater portion being subjected to the Russian Crown as a dependency, with the title of a kingdom.

The Polish monarchy enjoyed a brief period of splendour, during which it constituted the protection and impregnable bulwark of Europe, or Western Christendom, against the Mongols, Tatars, and Turks. In this short period of power the Poles succeeded in establishing a closer union with the incorporated Lithuanian and Russine provinces, the Lithuanian nobility becoming completely Polonized: the Polish nobles settled everywhere

in the Russine countries, where there was no native nobility, and made serfs and dependants upon the land of the inhabitants. Numerous colonies too of the warlike Polish Shliakhta (impoverished nobility) were settled as agriculturists in these districts, which were devastated by war. All the towns, Kief not excepted, were organized uniformly with the Polish towns, and institutions given them which were borrowed from the German. The newly settled nobility, in order to increase their political power, founded everywhere small towns, and generally peopled them with German Jews; nay, the Kings of Poland even succeeded in destroying the union of the Russine Church with the Muscovite or Eastern Church, and reconciling it to that of Rome; so that thenceforth unity in the Church, although under a different form of worship, prevailed throughout nearly the entire Polish kingdom. In short the Poles succeeded in forming a certain political unity out of nationally dissimilar districts.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century followed, which, wherever it appeared and did not completely conquer, destroyed the unity of the Church, and shook the unity of States to its foundation. How Germany was torn by it is well known. In order to maintain unity, at least in the smaller States, use was here made of the absolutist principle of the *jus reformandi* and the *cujus regio ejus religio*. The tolerance or indifference of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries sought to cover the wide chasm; but woe if the slender planks should some day break over the abyss! The Polish state was more an aristocratic republic than a monarchy, and at every election the monarchy became weaker, and its character as an aristocratic republic more marked:

unity was thus more centred in the aristocracy than in the monarchy; but when the former was divided by religious differences, this schism shook the foundations and unity of the State much more forcibly than would have been possible in a powerful monarchy. The destruction of the Polish State was thenceforth inevitable. The weaker party always sought and received assistance from abroad; but when in turn it became strong, and obtained the mastery, the other party in like manner threw itself upon the protection of some foreign Power. That a State torn in this way could not permanently hold together, must have been easily foreseen: the only salvation would have been a revolution in favour of monarchy, with the so-called principles of enlightened despotism.

The Polish empire has disappeared; her misfortunes have obtained for Poland throughout all Europe friendship and sympathy, though of a somewhat bootless character. There are many who firmly hope and believe that the kingdom of Poland may in the course of time be restored; we cannot participate in this hope: neither the Polish people nor the country possesses the relations and conditions which would enable it, in the present times, to form a great whole, or an independent kingdom, with any prospect of future greatness. The country is an immense plain, destitute of natural or secure frontiers, open to every hostile attack, without sea-coasts, unless indeed the Prussian monarchy should be dissolved, and Prussia be added to Poland. In this extensive country dwell several peoples, for the most part belonging to the Slavonic race, but nevertheless with little mutual sympathy. Although the Lithuanians, particularly the Polonized part of them, draw well with the Poles, on the other hand the White Russians and Russines are deci-

dedly opposed to the latter, and favourable to the Great Russians, particularly since the latter have succeeded in destroying the union of their Church with Rome and incorporating it with the Russian Church. Moreover in all these districts the relations of the nobility to the peasantry are at present of an extremely hostile character; nay, the Russines entertain a deep hatred of the ruling Polish nobility, as was evinced in Galicia a few years ago, to the terror of all Europe. How these hostile relations have sprung up we refrain from inquiring, but the fact is unquestionable, and political concord and union are thereby rendered much more difficult. A substantial middle citizen class exists only in small numbers in the western towns; in the majority of the towns the population consists, even now, for the most part of Germans and Jews. Finally, the actual ruling people, the Poles, as we have shown above, are not by any means numerous enough to maintain permanently an independent dominion, or to play an important part in history.

On a consideration of all these circumstances I must express my conviction that the Poles and their empire have indeed fulfilled a great mission in history, but that, on the close of the existence of the Polish empire, their history and fortunes as a great Power terminated; I therefore do not believe that a new Polish kingdom will arise, but that the Poles will remain incorporated with other nations; nay, should they ever again succeed, by some dispensation of Providence, as in Napoleon's times, in attaining a restoration of their power, this must be limited to those districts inhabited by the Polish nation proper; for those which found their right to independence chiefly on their separate nationality, could

not demand upon these grounds that the Russines should be subjected to them. What importance could a small State like this have, with six million inhabitants, hemmed in between three great Powers, without sea-coast, without natural relations to other states, and destitute of military means of defence? Its continued existence would depend altogether on the jealousy of these three Powers; it would be entangled in all their disputes, the constant object of intrigues, and the theatre of wars. I consequently do not believe in the prospect of any permanent re-establishment of a Polish State; although I do not deny that the Poles may maintain their spiritual national unity, and that with regard to character, manners, language, and literature, they may retain and develope their characteristic individuality: they may console themselves with the reflection that the Germans also will never attain (perhaps fortunately for themselves) the object of the dreams of 1848, a German unity.

We now turn to the last but most numerous Slavonic race, inhabiting the most important countries, the Russians; and here we meet with those favourable conditions which convince us that, of all the Slavonic races, this nation seems in the present times alone to have a great mission in the world's history, and, favoured by time, situation, and circumstances, well qualified to fulfil it.

In characterizing more closely her position and destiny Russia may be regarded as a fit mediator between Europe and Asia, to convey the civilization of the former to the latter: she is moreover now in the ascendant of her history, and has a great future before her.

The Russian Empire presents many points of resem-

blance and contrast to that of ancient Rome. At the outset one point of comparison occurs: the Roman Empire, from its position, embracing all the civilized countries around the Mediterranean Sea, and its regular internal constitution, alone rendered the rapid dissemination of Christianity and the regular organization of the Church possible. In like manner Russia, by her power, extent, and position between Europe and Asia, by her already acquired and still to be acquired European civilization, alone renders it possible for this culture, and in its train Christianity, slowly but permanently to penetrate into the interior of Asia.

More than a hundred peoples, with as many different languages, are comprised within the circuit of the Russian Empire, but nearly all these live on the frontiers of this gigantic country: the interior is inhabited by a homogeneous race, the Russians, numbering about fifty millions, whereas all the other inhabitants of the Empire united do not exceed twelve or fifteen millions.

No other European State has so numerous a population of the same blood. France has only thirty-two millions French among her thirty-five or thirty-six millions; Great Britain about nineteen millions English among her thirty millions. The Germans alone, including the Low Germans, Dutch, and Belgians, approach the number of the Russians; but they are not united in one and the same State, and are in fact divided into more States than any other race.

Nationality based upon community of language is a powerful means of internal cohesion, but it must be sustained by a common history and fortunes. France and Spain may be regarded as an instance of this; not so Germany, in which the bond of a common language is

wanting: the Swiss, the Mecklenburgers, and the Austrians neither understand nor regard each other as fellow-countrymen. The educated classes have undoubtedly a feeling of unity of language in the High German; but the lower classes, the people at large, although they understand, cannot speak this dialect.

The different German races are separated by their history still more than by their dialects: for centuries each small country has had its own historical development,* often attended by battle and strife with its neighbours: much antipathy has thus been produced, but sympathies are rarely found; the Bavarian dislikes the Austrian, the Hanoverian the Prussian, etc. The ancient loose union between emperor and empire has maintained a feeling of unity only in the smaller countries,—the sole reality in the political movement of 1848. The Emperor of Austria had undoubtedly historical claims of a high and ancient date; but their recognition was more of a traditional character than a deep and patriotic feeling; all the rest was mere ideology of the learned imaginations of the Professors. That those Teutonic countries which have had no common history with Germany, such as Switzerland and Alsace, know nothing of German love of country and unity, we have recently had convincing proof. In Schleswig there was sympathy for Holstein, because the two countries had for centuries had common institutions, and a common history and antipathy to the Danes, but certainly no patriotic German feeling. But there is another important cause of separation which must not be forgotten, the difference of religion. Although the an-

* I do not say this in the way of censure: I think that for this very reason intelligence has been diffused in much wider circles than in any other country, and only mention it as a fact.

cient conflict has for the most part ceased, still the various religious parties confront each other in many districts in a hostile manner.

In Russia it is different: here we find an extremely compact nationality: the thirty-six million Great Russians have a community of language found among no other people; the dialect of the higher classes is the same as that of the people; the Emperor and Muzhik (peasant) speak the same language, and have the same modes of expression.

The dialect of the White Russians and of the seven million Little Russians differs from that of the Great Russians, but not so much as the language of the inhabitants of the Hartz from that of the Brunswickers. The language of the Russines less resembles the Great Russian, but it is quite intelligible to the Little Russians.

Nowhere are the dangers which accompany our modern civilization so evident as among the Russians. In the educated classes there are many who have acquired the highest European culture; they may be judged according to the proverb,—'Half philosophy draws a man away from God; perfect philosophy conducts man to God:' when half-culture touches the Russian he is ruined; it is said that when he shaves off his beard, lays aside the kaftan, and puts on a European coat, he becomes a knave. The Russians who have acquired the usual West-European cultivation are called lackered barbarians; this is inaccurate: they are no barbarians, but a healthy, vigorous, intellectual people, of noble race, religious and moral; if however they are brought suddenly into contact with and receive the taint of modern culture, their natural virtues vanish, their religion and morals, simplicity and honesty are destroyed, and no-

thing remains but the animal nature common to man. The Russian however then becomes worse than those who bear the poison of civilization more easily, from its having been longer united with their existing manners.

In national feeling and love of country the Russians yield to no other people in Europe, not even to the French, English, and Spaniards; and this proves also that the Russians belong to the great European family of nations, and separates them from the Orientals, who are held together only by spiritual power and unity of religion, whilst nationality, freedom, honour, and humanity are hardly known among them. The Russian love of country has a resemblance to that of the Romans; it is a kind of religious feeling. The ancient Roman willingly sacrificed property and even life for sacred Rome; so also would the Russian for his country: he personifies it; the Great Russian speaks of the holy Mother Moscow, the Little Russian of the holy Mother Kief.

In its origin and growth likewise Russia presents some points of resemblance to Rome: they both sprang from obscure beginnings, and advanced slowly but steadily. The mythical history of Rome however commences with two brothers, who, with their companions, built and established a small town and kingdom; whilst the Russian history speaks of a people who, being unable to maintain order among themselves, called in a foreign leader with his followers, and subjected themselves to him; all the other kindred peoples soon united with them, and in a hundred and twenty years their dominion extended over a vast though thinly-inhabited country. Russia embraced Christianity, and from the end of the tenth century entered the great European Christian family; but partitions diminished its strength, so that it

soon yielded to the attacks of the Mongols and Tatars. For more than two hundred years the Russians groaned under the yoke of these peoples, which they not only shook off eventually, but in the course of time all the Tatar races became subject to them. Immediately after the destruction of the Roman Empire in the East, in 1453, Russia again entered the European family of nations as an independent Christian state. Thenceforth she has risen slowly and uniformly to her present elevation, and appears now to have reached the summit of her external, although by no means of her internal, greatness.

When the Romans attained the height of their power, their manners and virtues were already on the decline; luxury and effeminacy increased, whilst religion and love of country began to disappear. Nevertheless they still remained for some centuries at the summit of worldly power. Russia also may look forward to a long continuance of her great power, and this assurance is confirmed by the fact that, in contrast with the Romans in the time of Augustus, the Russian people proper retain all the characteristics of a sound nature and vigorous youth, strong family feelings and communal organization, hospitality, a spirit of self-sacrifice and patience, together with physical strength, increased by a severe climate and privations of all kinds, which enable them to endure fatigue and hardships; finally a firm religious and almost childlike attachment to their Church and nation, a fervent love of country, and a consciousness of their own greatness and power.

Russia's conquests may be classed under three categories and periods. To the first belong those in which

the chief branch of the people, headed by their Prince, engaged to attain unity in nation and government. These conquests belong for the most part to the oldest period, in which the Grand Dukes of Kief, and subsequently those of Moscow, gradually amalgamated all the countries inhabited by the Russian race, and incorporated the separate principalities with the Empire. But in modern times also considerable districts have been conquered, or others which formerly belonged to Russia reconquered, upon the same principle, such as the Ukraine, White Russia, Kief, Little Russia, and parts of Red Russia.

The second description of conquests may be regarded as those which proceeded from an instinctive belief among the people in the mission assigned them. The first class of these were undertaken in the highest interests of humanity, and may be ranked with the wars of Charlemagne with the Saxons for the acknowledgment of Christianity, the Crusades, the wars of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, etc. In Russia the wars undertaken to reach the sea-coasts appear to have been indispensably necessary to her existence as a great Power. Russia was formerly an immense inland country, shut out from all the seas, and consequently all the civilization of the West; but the seas are the easiest and most convenient roads and bridges of civilization. Peter I. conquered the coasts of the Baltic, and sought there a lever by which to raise Russia from her isolated position and prejudices, and to place her on a level with the rest of Europe. The conquest of the coasts of the Black Sea and the Crimea was at the same time the Nemesis of the last empire of the Tatars, who had enslaved Russia so long.

The occupation of Siberia can scarcely be called a conquest; it was simply taking possession of an unclaimed

territory. The rude hunting tribes have never formed any political society, or regarded themselves as proprietors of the soil; and without interfering with them, Russia is gradually introducing Christianity and cultivation into these desert countries.

The third class consists of conquests in the interest of the State. Poland was partitioned, and the greater part of it conquered, because its existence as an independent and powerful nation was too dangerous, and, as a powerless one in foreign hands, it facilitated the invasion of Russia, as she found to her cost under Napoleon. Finland was conquered for the security of St. Petersburg, and of the fleet in the Gulf of Finland. The northern districts of Turkey, as far as the mouths of the Danube, were conquered to prevent any other Power being established there, and to hold possession of the keys of the Porte in case of the dissolution of that Empire. The gift of the Crown of Georgia was accepted, and Daghestan and Armenia conquered, to command the mountains which protect the frontiers of Russia Proper, and at the same time to keep open the roads by which, if desirable, Persia and Asia Minor might be threatened. Finally, districts in America were occupied, to obtain a firm footing in the empire of the future.

Although we cannot attempt to defend the third of these categories of conquest, let that people or that state which is guiltless of similar wars of aggression cast the first stone at Russia. At the same time the first two categories have been rich in blessings, and have added infinitely to the power and greatness of Russia. With the exception of the German Baltic Provinces, the countries classed in the second category have in fact become Russian; the progress of colonization from the centre has

established in them a predominant Russian population; and the districts around St. Petersburg, with the whole of Southern Russia, formerly overrun by the Tatars, have become Russian in character.

It is different in the case of the third category. Here a contrast is evident between the ancient empires of Rome and Russia. Rome understood how to assimilate her conquests in a brief period of time: she adopted the foreign deities, and imported her own into the conquered countries, thus establishing a unity of religion. The Roman language and customs were in a short time naturalized in the provinces, but the manner in which this was effected is still an historical enigma. The Roman became the general law; but Rome had a much higher degree of cultivation than the countries she conquered, and the superior usually prevails over the inferior. Thus Greece was not Romanized, because her culture stood higher than the Roman, nay, it even exercised a great reaction upon the latter; the Roman jurisprudence prevailed in Greece, because Rome was superior in that department.

Russia is differently situated: she cannot extend her religion and Church to the countries conquered by her,—they are too national. The Russian language and manners penetrate into none of those countries, neither into Finland, the Baltic Provinces, or even Georgia, in which the same Church and religion prevail. Russia's conquests are for the most part of countries superior to herself in culture; thus they have not become provinces of the Russian Empire in the Roman sense of the word, but remain foreign elements, merely affiliated countries; consequently the territory which contains the Russian people and the Russian Church will always constitute the only true Russian Empire.

This special Russian element is too powerful and uniform to permit other nationalities with a different political culture to stand in intimate connection with it, as we find in the case of Austria and her dependencies, where however none of the nationalities is predominantly powerful. These conquered countries therefore, although they furnish manifold material advantages to the Russian Empire, will never become homogeneous parts of it, nor add anything to her real power; on the contrary, they are not unfrequently a burden. Instead of Poland and the Caucasian provinces augmenting the military power of Russia, Russian armies are required to secure their possession.

The Romans appear in all times of history as a conquering race: in the Russians there is no trace of this; on the contrary, they are a peaceable and industrious people, brave, but not at all warlike. The Russian is one of the best soldiers in the world, but he becomes one very unwillingly.

I must express a decided opinion against the idea that Russia could ever establish a universal monarchy: for this indeed it has great facilities, and for the moment very favourable chances, but a conquest of this kind would lead to her immediate downfall.* With regard to Asia, for instance, Russia would have only difficulties of the soil to contend with, the peoples would nowhere offer any decided resistance, for isolated spots, such as Circassia, do not affect the consideration of a general scheme of conquest. With regard to Europe Russia has an extremely favourable geographical position: on this side she has the most extended basis of operations, were the necessary

* Written in August, 1850, after the disorganization produced by the events of 1848.—TRANSL.

means of communication established and the railway to Odessa completed, together with such an immense background that an invading army must be lost. Any idea of the conquest of the whole Empire is evidently quite visionary, but even a conquest of the smallest portion could never be secured. Without dwelling upon the invasion of Napoleon, every one who knows the country and the people is aware that, even independent of the obstacles and perils of the winter, he would have been lost.

Russia possesses incomparable facilities for war, abundant materials, iron and all other metals, wool, leather, hemp, flax, wood, etc.; but where is the *nervus rerum gerendarum*, money? It is believed that no State in Europe could carry on a great war energetically without contracting special loans for that object: Russia has recently waged a short but expensive war in Hungary without a loan. We do not indeed believe in the existence of boundless treasures in the vaults of St. Petersburg, but the resources of the Russian Empire cannot be estimated; and in any time of peril, the mere appeal of the Emperor is responded to with a devotion and self-sacrifice by his people, who are ready to lay down life and property in his service. In point of military force no other State has so great an armed power.

But even supposing a complete conquest, what then? We have already remarked that Russia, in contrast with ancient Rome, has been able to assimilate only those peoples who are of the same blood, language, and religion with herself. How then can it be imagined possible that Rome, Vienna, Berlin, could be governed from St. Petersburg? From the heart of a thinly-peopled country and a flat steppe, to govern a populous country,

intersected by vast chains of mountains, and everywhere touching the sea-coasts! Russia would need to disarm the other countries; she could never rely upon troops levied in them, but would be obliged to garrison the towns with her own national armies, a fact which would have a very unfavourable effect in the interior of Russia, and give rise to the danger that the European revolutionary fever might eventually infect the army.

The conquest of European Turkey would assume a different character. Here the majority of the inhabitants are Slaavs, nearly related by blood and language to the Russians, and, what is more important, belonging to the same Church. There is no doubt that the Bulgarians, Servians, and Bosnians would, in a short time after the conquest, become completely assimilated to the Russians. The Christian Albanians and Greeks would likewise soon join Russia, as a perfect community exists between their Churches.

Russia however cannot conquer Turkey until she has conquered the whole of Europe; but as we have shown that the conquest of Europe could not be permanent, the idea of the conquest of Turkey is likewise visionary. So long as the present political system of Europe endures (Austria and Prussia have, since 1849, recovered from the evils of anarchy), the European Powers cannot suffer Russia to hold sole possession of Turkey. Were a war to break out from this cause, the whole of Europe, with England at its head, would unite, and with the latter Power it would be a war to the knife. Even should Russia for the moment be successful, such a conquest would always be precarious as long as Europe exists. Ordinary prudence forbids her to risk so great a venture, the advantages of which, if successful, would be

very problematical; while, on the other hand, the preservation of Turkey gives Russia the most advantageous position. The consanguinity and common religious faith of the majority of the subjects of the two countries strengthen the influence of the latter so much, that in all great questions Turkey must invariably follow the direction of Russia. All existing treaties afford, in the development of her naval power and trade, the greatest security and the most important advantages; the Porte also is well aware that, as Russia has no greater interest than her preservation, she possesses in the latter a sure friend and protector, who will defend her against foreign enemies, and likewise against internal dissolution. If Turkey should fall from this latter cause, an event which would raise the question of the partition of the dismembered provinces, then indeed Russia would demand her share of the booty.

Conquest for its own sake alone—the simple lust of conquest—has lost its attractions since the time of Napoleon. No trace of this exists in the Russian people, and the Government, at least for the last twenty-five years, has shown a moderation in this respect which Europe did not anticipate.

But what is at present the natural policy of Russia in reference to Europe? She has indeed a great interest in raising a barrier to the revolutionary spirit, and preventing its approach to her own confines. Although there might be little danger of its doctrines penetrating among the Russian people, the infection has already reached Poland, and in the other subject countries, such as Finland, it is always to be feared: a general and triumphant revolution in Europe, overthrowing all the monarchies and Governments, might, from the perverted cultivation of

the higher classes, produce serious catastrophes in Russia also, although only of a temporary nature.

We have not yet touched upon the political relations, present and future, of Russia to England; they are of a different nature from those in which she stands to the rest of Europe, and I will only briefly advert to them here.

England is a state, the governmental relations of which seem more secure and stable than those of any other in Europe; at the first glance we might consider it as the only political Power equal to Russia. The two countries therefore regard each other with jealous attention; they have numerous relations, and come in contact in nearly every part of the world; nevertheless from their position they are kept so much apart, that it would be difficult to say where any serious collision could occur between them. Russia cannot conquer England, any more than England can overcome Russia; they may excite mutual provocation, and go to war, but neither country can very seriously injure the other. A hostile attitude however is not by any means necessary. We might rather say that both nations had received from Providence, in their respective spheres of action, one and the same mission—that of spreading Christianity and civilization throughout Asia, —Russia by land, England by sea; sooner or later they must meet in that quarter of the globe, but not necessarily in a hostile attitude. By means of commerce both nations carry the produce of their industry into Asia, and disseminate the elements of modern civilization: in this manner also the manners and customs of life are gradually changing, and preparing the way for

the greater political and religious transformations which evidently await Central Asia.

Whenever the Russian and English trade come in contact, the industrial products of the former country must yield to those of England, but such competition rarely occurs. In relation to Asia, Russia is a civilized country, but not in relation to Europe: her culture and products make their way therefore to the north and central Asiatic nations, to the uncultivated, decayed, or degenerate races, the Persians, Tatars, and Mongols, and Northern China. The English products find a market in the ancient civilized countries of India and the south and centre of China; here the Russians will never gain admission or influence, from their deficiency in the higher branches of cultivation.

In conclusion, we will again glance at the present political position of Russia, as well as at the policy pursued since the accession of the Emperor Nicholas. The policy adopted by former rulers is now matter of history, and may therefore be judged accordingly; its importance is now limited to the degree in which its tendencies and measures still continue to exercise an influence upon the present; this is however slight, the policy of Russia being emancipated in the most important points from that of former times, to which latter Catherine II. gave the chief impulse; it is connected with the past only in a natural and historical course of development, and indeed merely follows those tendencies which appear necessary to the position of the nation, and, in the view of the Government, beneficial to the true moral and material power of the country.

There is undoubtedly a great movement in the interior of Russia, developing her material and even spiritual ener-

gies, although the former only among the mass of the people. The Government has encouraged this tendency since the time of Catherine II.; but the movement has acquired a remarkable impulse within the last twenty-five years, from the activity of the manufacturing system. The Government thoroughly understands the strength and importance of this movement, and encourages it everywhere; but it is also perfectly aware that internal and external peace, with protection at the right moment, and careful superintendence, can alone materially assist its advance. It has developed and encouraged this economical tendency, partly in order to render the country as independent as possible of foreign products, partly to awaken and educate the spiritual energies of the nation; and lastly, from a growing conviction of the importance of the mission entrusted to it by Providence in relation to the East, as the forerunner of civilization and Christianity. Such being the tendency of Russian popular and political life, the policy of the Government must necessarily be pacific; and not only do circumstances demand this, but Russia has actually pursued this course for the last twenty-five years, notwithstanding four wars.

Let us glance now at the political position of Russia in relation to the rest of the world, and first at her relations with Turkey, in which her most powerful material interests and spiritual sympathies are involved. Here the entire former policy and position of Russia have been changed. To weaken Turkey was the effort of Peter the Great and his successors. Catherine II. dreamed of destroying the Turkish Empire, and re-establishing the ancient Constantinopolitan throne: she gave the name of Constantine to her second grandson. The present policy of the Russian Government, on the contrary, does every-

thing to support and strengthen Turkey; it is indeed superior to the natural and popular sympathies of the Russians, who see in the Christian subjects of Turkey their nearly-related oppressed brethren and fellow-believers, and in the Patriarchate of Constantinople their Mother Church.

The assertion is not true that Russia excited and encouraged the Moldavian and Greek insurrection. When the Turks, in their fanaticism, wanted to root out Greek Christianity, and murdered the Patriarch, a movement commenced among the Russian people, which the Government could not suppress. Wellington went to St. Petersburg to prevent a one-sided intervention on the part of Russia: a plan of united operations was agreed upon, which France afterwards joined, and the catastrophe of Navarino occurred in 1827. War became inevitable; but the provocation came, in the first instance, from Turkey. The war was concluded after two years (1828 and 1829) by the Peace of Adrianople. Russia restored nearly all her conquests, and from that period Turkey has had no better or more staunch friend. When Ibrahim Pasha, in 1834, threatened Constantinople, the Emperor, at the request of the Sultan, sent an army to Asia Minor, and immediately withdrew it after the object was attained. At a subsequent period, united with Austria and England, he drove back the Egyptians within their own limits, and prevented the establishment of an Arabian empire, which would have overthrown and swallowed up Turkey.

After the Hungarian campaign, when the Hungarian and Polish chiefs fled into Turkey, the Emperors of Austria and Russia demanded their surrender or expulsion, which was refused. The latter did not consider it

derogatory to the dignity of Russia to show himself compliant, and relinquish a demand which was not altogether unjust. This would indeed have been a favourable opportunity for seizing Constantinople, and terminating the empire of the Osmanli. Who would have prevented it? Certainly not Europe, which was in a state of anarchy; Austria at that time neither could nor would have interfered; the Russian armies were in the field, fully equipped, and the entire Christian population of Turkey would have welcomed them as their liberators; the fleets of England could not have prevented the conquest.

In what part of Europe has Russia shown herself, during the reign of the Emperor Nicholas, desirous of conquest or war, assuming an aggressive or even a menacing attitude? After the Galician insurrection, she occupied Cracow, but did not retain it; she almost compelled Austria to incorporate it with her own dominions. In 1848, when the whole of anarchical Europe threatened Russia with a crusade, when in all popular assemblies, and the chambers of the smallest States, such as Lippe and Meiningen, Reuss and Schleitz, the braggadocios raised a menacing clamour against Russia,—when the entire European Press poured forth a torrent of abuse against her,—there came no word of indignation or anger in reply; she remained in proud imposing tranquillity; "she stood upon the further shore and gazed at the winds and the waves!"

Russia's spiritual interests are directed towards Europe; the people is European, and stands at the head of the powerful Slavonic race, to whom more than a third part of Europe belongs, being a portion of the great Christian family of European nations. Russia received

civilization and political forms from Europe, but she has no great material interests to represent in that direction; she only transports her raw products to the European market, and her manufacturing industry cannot compete with that of Europe. Any conquests she might make would simply tend to weaken her own power. One great and all-powerful interest however Russia has in reference to Europe: she must risk everything to maintain the principles of law and order, for these are the basis of her own state. Should they be overthrown in Europe, and anarchy have unchecked sway, an incalculable effect might be produced upon Russia.

It is only this view of the Russian policy that explains how, in contrast with the rest of Europe since 1848, the ties which bind the Russian people to their Emperor have become stronger than ever. Even the war in Hungary, which was not popular, strengthened these ties, after the declaration of the Emperor that it was a defensive war against the approach of anarchy towards their own frontiers: a free Hungary, it was alleged, must lead to a free Poland, and thus to a war for the existence of Russia. The word of the Emperor was believed with full confidence by the people. From this position of the Government results the fact that the ties of authority were strengthened in Russia at a time when they were loosened elsewhere.

I will now show how the material interests of Russia are connected with Asia. Placed on the frontier between Europe and Asia, she may be regarded as destined, as I have said, to import civilization, and perhaps Christianity, from the former into the latter. This however cannot be by conquest, but by the paths of humanity, social intercourse, and commerce. The centre of gravity

is gradually being transferred to the east and south-east. The great fair of Nizhni Novgorod will in a short time probably be more important than the entire European trade.

For a century a gigantic stream of colonization has flowed from the west and north-west to the east and south-east of Russia. The time perhaps is not distant when St. Petersburg will be only the great port of Russia in the north of Europe, as Odessa is in the south, and both of them only powerful commercial cities, on the side of Europe.

Having asserted that the policy of Russia in relation to Asia is pacific, I proceed to prove this; and first on the point where she has constantly carried on war, in the Caucasian countries. The mountains of the Caucasus throughout their entire extent front the Russian plains, which the warlike mountain tribes have always been in the habit of devastating, returning unpunished to their secure fastnesses. At first it was hardly possible to attack them, as they had the whole of Asia at their back; but Georgia was acquired by Russia, and this involved her in wars with Persia and Turkey, which led to the conquest of the entire country south of the Caucasus, between the Black Sea and the Caspian. This conquest occurred before the accession of the Emperor Nicholas to the throne, and he was obliged to accept the inheritance. Could he have refused it, and consigned a Christian people, the Georgians, who had voluntarily subjected themselves to his ancestor, to the detestable Mohammedan Government of Persia, or the Pasha despotism of the Turks? It would have been a crime against humanity and the true honour of Russia as a Christian State. But the Emperor Nicholas only exerted

himself to pacify, organize, and cultivate the country, carrying on merely defensive wars.

The Russians would gladly abandon the conquest of the Caucasian countries, if peaceful relations could be established with their inhabitants; and they are compelled to carry on a purely defensive war there. At present moreover perfect peace prevails between them and the Circassians, and only isolated cases of robbery are heard of among the latter. The Russians import commercial products, encourage their trade, and even permit that in girls, which was formerly prohibited; they protect the Circassians in every way, enlisting among them volunteers for the Guard at St. Petersburg, who are treated with every indulgence in that capital. The Circassian leaders, when appointed colonels in the Russian army, receive pay, at the risk of its being said that "mighty Russia pays tribute to the Circassians." A sanguinary war indeed is waged with the Tchetchens and a part of the Lesghians; a fanatical Mohammedan sect, the Murids, having arisen among these tribes, who think they have a mission to wage war to the death against the Gog and Magog of the Bible and the Koran. This is probably the last flicker of Mohammedanism. Russia is attacked here, and carries on a war of defence.*

With Persia peace has lasted for twenty-three years. Before that time Abbas Mirza, in a time of peace, fell upon the Russians, who, being taken by surprise and unprepared, were at first obliged to abandon several provinces; but after collecting his forces, Paskevitch was victorious, and Persia was compelled to evacuate the Tatar provinces and Armenia. These countries were not

* A full account of the Murids is given by the Author in a Work recently published in London, 'The Tribes of the Caucasus.'—TRANSL.

inhabited by Persians, and did not originally belong to Persia, but had once been conquered, as they were now lost. The inhabitants, Armenian Christians and Shiite Mohammedans, cruelly oppressed by the Persian Government, regarded the Russians as their liberators. The frontiers were secured against all future Persian attacks; and thenceforth Russia has maintained an honourable peace with Persia, encouraging her trade, and seeking to strengthen and preserve her Government.

Russia showed still greater leniency to the Turks in Asia Minor. Bayazid had been captured, and she might easily have advanced to Trebizond. In these countries likewise the inhabitants were not Turks, but Armenian Christians and Kurds, who submitted unwillingly to the dominion of the Turks, and regarded the Russians as their liberators. The latter restored the greater part of the conquered country, and sought only to secure a safe frontier for themselves along the ridge of the Anatolian mountains; they retained Akhaltzik, the ancient slave-market, to check the trade in Christian slaves, which could not be destroyed in any other way; they allowed Christian Armenia, contrary perhaps to the principles of humanity, to fall once more under the yoke of the Turks; and they did not even retain Batoum, the most important harbour in the Black Sea, the possession of which may be almost regarded as necessary to Russia.

Finally the relations of Russia in the furthest East to the ancient central Empire of China, are of an entirely just and peaceful character. The frontiers have been fixed by treaties, in which the Chinese have invariably outwitted the Russians, and the trade is regulated upon a sound basis. The Russian Government imports woollen goods, watches over the honesty of its merchants, and

respects the national peculiarities and forms of the Chinese. England, on the other hand, imports opium, and when the Chinese Government wished to prevent its introduction, she commenced the most unjust war, and forced the Celestial Empire to poison itself.

Russia is seeking an entrance for her trade into the heart of Asia, in the direction of the ancient and civilized country of Tibet, and establishing Cossack stations throughout the boundless steppes of Mongolia, which may perhaps at some future day become Europeanized towns. Shall we call these conquests? surely not. The Mongols have a political and national, but no territorial constitution: they do not regard the soil as their property, but roam as nomads over the free pasture, which belongs to none. The Cossacks therefore have as much right to its use as the Mongols.

Russia will guard against conquests in Asia: she has already secure frontiers and territories, inhabited by her own people. Why should she conquer countries, the possession of which would be precarious, and could only be maintained at great expense and by a military force? Her interest is that peace should reign in Asia, that the countries of the East should prosper and receive civilization, and that European manners and capital should be introduced among them, for thus will Russia's industry and commerce also be augmented. If we compare the present condition of the Asiatic empires, Turkey, Persia, China, Bokhara, and Tibet, with what it was a century ago, we must acknowledge that a much closer connection has sprung up between them and Europe. France has contributed something to this result, England much, but Russia most of all; at all events she does most to support and maintain the existing Asiatic States.

Russia's love of conquest is decried throughout Europe; nevertheless in the last twenty years she has not conquered a single village. England's conquests rarely meet the censure of the world, but in one century she has reduced countries and subjugated nations four times her own extent, and hardly a year passes in which she does not make new conquests.

THE MILITARY AND NAVAL POWER OF RUSSIA.*

CHAPTER XII.

INTRODUCTION.

HISTORY.—ELEMENTS FOUND BY PETER I. ON HIS ACCESSION.—THE STRELTZI.—FIRST ACTIONS OF THE NEW MILITARY POWER.—AZOF, NARVA, POLTAVA.—MUNNICH AND KEITH.—OPINION OF FREDERICK II.—GROSS-JAGERNDORF, ZORNDORF, KUNERSDORF.—SUVOROF.—THE RUSSIAN ARMY AND NAPOLEON.—WAR SINCE 1815.—NICHOLAS.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE NAVAL POWER.

We meet with little of political importance in Russia the germs of which may not be traced to Peter I. Some of his creations may still suffer from having been called into existence with premature haste and violence; but how

* After the printing of this Work was already commenced, an anonymous one, entitled 'Russia's Policy and Army,' published at Berlin, came to my knowledge. It is evidently written by an able and well-informed Prussian military man. The political views contained in it, as well as the results of the actual investigation, agree in very important points with the present description, and occasionally serve as a supplement to it; but they do not enter so deeply into the details of the purely military and ethnographic relations, and therefore the appearance of the following account may not appear superfluous.

The description of the military and naval power of Russia here given has been compiled, from materials which I collected, by a friend, an able and well-informed military man, not a Prussian. The work itself bears sufficient evidence that the official as well as the unofficial authorities have been used with all necessary care.

many monuments are there of his political genius, which he erected with consummate skill and patient care, watching their growth and superintending with unrelaxing assiduity their stability and strength, although well aware that posterity alone could reap the matured fruits of his labours. It is probable that the secret of Russia's ever-increasing power lies in great part in the fact, that it was founded by a man who thought and worked for posterity, at a time when a powerful and leading monarch in the West adopted for his rule of conduct the desperate motto, "Après moi le déluge."

Of all the creations of Peter I. his belligerent power, especially the land force, has been developed in the most astonishing manner since his time. With a single company and one vessel, he laid the foundation of an army and a fleet upon the European footing. How marvellously has this small germ of power grown and expanded into a mighty tree, whose branches now stretch over three quarters of the globe!

Peter I., on entering upon the government, found an Empire in which the creation of a naval power must have appeared to every superficial statesman chimerical; nevertheless he effected this, and with it established for some time a kind of naval dominion in the Baltic. Perhaps the expeditions of the Varangians (the Russian Normans) against Constantinople, and the later ones of the Cossacks, may have been present to his mind and encouraged him in this undertaking.

The whole defensive constitution of the Empire before his time was only calculated for land warfare; but it had become so insufficient even for this, that the establishment of the new Russian land force had to be commenced with the destruction of the best troops of the old. With

the exception therefore of the Cossacks and similar militia, the actual regular army may be considered as a creation of Peter I. He was not indeed the first Russian monarch who acknowledged the superiority of the military science of the West, and sought to introduce it into his own army: Ivan III. (1462–1503) had already endeavoured to form a standing army. In the severe contests with Poland many German volunteers were enlisted into the service, and Alexei Mikhailovitch employed with great effect warlike adventurers, who have always abounded in Germany, to instruct his rude Russian warriors in the art of conquest. He had in his service, of foreign officers, two generals, more than a hundred colonels, many lieutenant-colonels, with others of a lower rank; and whilst he confided the supreme command of his armies to Russian Boyars, he laid down the rule "always to appoint foreigners colonels and captains;" and when it is recollected that Lefort, Peter's instructor in the art of war, and Gordon, his best general, were among these, we cannot but believe that this rule did much to prepare the way for Peter. But not only were the rude manners of the East, the difficulties of communication with the West, and the small acquaintance with the rapid progress making at that time in the art of war, opposed to the advance of European military science in Russia, but these obstacles were increased by the obstinate national disposition of the Russians, and their stubborn and often fanatical repugnance to foreigners and everything foreign.

The chief mass of the Russian army consisted at that time of a sort of feudal *arrière-ban*, which with the tribes of horsemen could be raised to about 260,000 men. This force, with which, in addition to all the defects of the feudal armies, a considerable amount of Asiatic military

tactics may have been mixed, collected in war round a nucleus of regular troops, the most important part consisting of the celebrated Streletzes (sharpshooters), whom Alexei Mikhailovitch, Peter's father, had raised to 40,000.

These Streletzes, not only in their organization, privileges, and official relations, but in their virtues and their crimes, bore a remarkable resemblance to the Janissaries. Like the latter, they formed the real nucleus of the army, showed themselves brave and useful in war; and like them too, from being spoiled by indulgence during peace, became a proud and tumultuous militia, the chief obstacle to every reform both in the State and army.

Peter I. had early experienced the arrogance of these Russian Janissaries, and he freed himself of this ambitious *soldatesca* in a sanguinary but effectual manner, in the midst of the most perilous war to which Russia had for a long time been exposed. At an early period he had begun to engraft an army on the European footing upon the slender stem of the "Company of Pleasure," which he had formed in youth with Lefort, and which was to replace the Asiatic one. The regiments of Preobrazhenski and Semenovski—still constituting what is called the Old Guard—were the first established, by voluntary enlistment, chiefly from among the inferior nobility (*Dvoryane*, noblemen, and *Deti Boyarskie*, Boyar children). From the unwarlike spirit of the Russians however, and the great demand for men for the new army, the system of voluntary enlistment, in general vogue at that time in the West, seems to have been altogether insufficient. Peter I. introduced the recruiting system, in most respects similar to that of the present day; and it is only the Finnish, with, if we mistake not, the Mussulman and Georgian troops, that are raised by voluntary enlistment.

Peter transferred the obligation of the nobles to serve in the army from the feudal force to the standing army, in such a manner that every nobleman bound to serve for life had his choice of the branch of service he preferred, which however he was obliged to enter as a private. This system existed until the time of Catherine II., who abolished the direct compulsion, but substituted the indirect, which still exists.

Even before the abolition of the Streletzes, Peter reaped the first fruits of his adoption of the European art of war, by the conquest of Azof and a naval victory in the Black Sea over the Turks and Tatars. Shortly afterwards he endeavoured to measure the qualities of the Russian troops against the European, and experienced at Narva the superiority of the Western arms over the Russian so decisively, that only a man of his inflexible character could have learnt from it the necessity of proceeding in the course on which he had entered: 8000 (according to others, 15,000) Swedes, with a few guns, stormed a Russian entrenched camp of 45,000 men (according to others, 80,000) with 150 cannon, and after a sanguinary battle compelled the whole Russian army to lay down its arms. Even then was seen, as afterwards at Zorndorf, the spectacle of the infuriated Russian soldiery murdering their own West-European officers,—a clear proof of the difficulty of this mode of educating the Russians.

This signal defeat, with its fearful indication of internal weakness in his army, did not discourage Peter; on the contrary, the very extent of his loss was turned directly to his advantage. Was it unnatural that Charles XII. after such a trial should underrate his Russian adversary, and find his most dangerous foes in Saxony and

Poland? This was no error, as superficial critics term it; according to Russian ideas, it was a dispensation of Russki Bog (the God of Russia) that Charles neglected the opportunity of humbling Russia completely and perhaps for ever. Peter collected a new army, and amid great defeats and small successful actions learned the art of conquering from the Swedes. Nine years after the battle of Narva, Charles saw at Poltava the negligence he was guilty of at Narva: there Peter had the triumph of defeating the best of the European armies, after a winter in the Ukraine had prepared the way for the Russian arms. Europe attributed this victory, not altogether unjustly, more to the fact that, instead of marching upon Moscow, Charles had proceeded into these inhospitable regions,—rather to the nature of the country than to the Russian arms. The fact had yet to be learned, that even a victorious march upon Moscow might be attended with no decisive results to this extraordinary Empire, and that the inhospitable nature of the country was the best protection for the development of Peter's new plans.

In Menshikof, and still more in Münnich and Keith, the Russian army after Peter's death found men who were able to continue his work even under rulers of inferior capacity. For a long time however the exploits of the Russian arms were confined to victories over the Turks and Poles, troops which had little reputation in Europe; and, although Münnich's storm of the Perekop lines was a remarkable military feat, yet even at that time public opinion in Europe showed itself in the same light with regard to the character of the Russian army as it so often does at present. Its effectiveness is now judged according to its condition in 1827, without regard to the improvements which have been in-

troduced since; in the same manner as we speak of the threatening power of our Eastern neighbour, "It stands so upon paper," so did the greatest man of his time, fifty years after the battle of Narva, judge of the capacity of the Russians as soldiers, whom he regarded as mere barbarians. Frederick the Great was at that time warned by Keith, who wrote to him before the battle of Zorndorf, "Pour vaincre les Russes il faut les battre en brèche et les démolir comme une forteresse." Keith knew them, and had long served under them. Public opinion in our day is sufficiently instructed of the fact of the altered circumstances of the case by the accounts of officers who have studied the Russian army. The error of Frederick the Great was that of a bold and powerful mind; the experiences of Narva and on the Pruth, the dissolute administration, political and military, of Biron and Elizabeth, the want of discipline in the Cossack hordes which swarmed round the Russian battle array, and above all the full feeling of his own strength, stamp this error as that of a man of genius. Will history be equally indulgent to the frivolity with which in the West at the present day the number of the Russian troops is often reduced two-thirds? Will it do this after the intervention in Hungary, which was so effective against the insurrection there, and so little, it would appear, against the errors of a certain portion of the press?

Lehwald's defeat at Gross-Jägerndorf was caused by his want of skill; the barbarous devastations with which Fermor's and Apraxin's light troops visited the country far and wide, seemed to confirm the belief that the great Russian army differed little from the Asiatic hordes, which since the time of Xerxes had been more dangerous to the burgher and the peasant than to the military

power of Europe. But the battle of Zorndorf taught the conqueror of Rossbach and Leuthen which of his adversaries had the most formidable troops. These resolute barbarians had fought unskilfully indeed, but with all the more valour. "Il ne suffit pas de les battre, il faut encore les tuer," Frederick is reported to have said, when after the fearful battle he was obliged to permit his foe to retire proudly and in perfect order, glad to be freed from him, and unable to think of pursuing.

At Zorndorf and Kunersdorf the Russians had fought chiefly on the defensive, and the opinion has long prevailed in Europe that an obstinate and stubborn defensive mode of fighting is the best adapted to the national character,—an opinion which, since the great defensive battles of the Russians against Napoleon, has been frequently confirmed. Suvorof however has shown that the Russian troops, perhaps in common with all brave soldiers, only require practice and an able general to distinguish themselves in attack also. The sanguinary actions at Ismail, Praga, Novi, Urner Loch,* successful or unsuccessful, have proved to the world what Russian troops can achieve when led by a Suvorof: his march through Switzerland showed how it is possible to operate with Russian troops.

The last year of the seventeenth century brought upon the Russian army the derision of Europe; the last year of the eighteenth had not yet opened (November, 1799) when that army retired from the theatre of war with the admiration of Europe, and to the profound regret of its allies and the great joy of its enemies. The Russian army was unable to withstand the overwhelming forces

* The storming of the lines at Warsaw has recently demonstrated the great capacity of the Russian soldier for fearless assault.

of Napoleon; but, although defeated, it earned this honour, that no other armies had been vanquished with such difficulty by the greatest general of the age. Perhaps of all who were opposed to him, the English soldiers alone stood so high in the estimation of Napoleon as the Russians; he expressed his opinion, I believe, only of the latter.

Since that period the Russian army has carried on great and successful wars, both in Asia and Europe; whilst, until recently, the Western armies have only been engaged in contests of small importance. A thoroughly military monarch has laboured for the last twenty-five years, with as much insight as energy, to strengthen and perfect the Russian army, and has spared neither trouble nor expense for that purpose: many abuses, which elsewhere are only known by name, have vanished from before this clear-sighted, energetic, and strong-willed man, or have been abated to an extent of which few have any idea in the West. The Russian army, in completeness, organization, and training has thus become perfectly changed from what it was when it last appeared in Germany, and even in Poland in 1830. Its courage and discipline however, as may be supposed, have remained the same, although the latter has undergone manifold modifications. During this period public opinion in Western Europe, either believing in a perpetual peace, or in the interests of revolution, has laboured to magnify the evils, in number and expense, of the standing armies, not unfrequently deprecating them as the chief cause of all the social evils, under which the countries of the older civilization suffer. Nevertheless the real efficiency of the army has too often been lost sight of; these efforts have, for the most part, failed; even the perils of 1848 have

finally, and without material damage, been passed by the more considerable armies of central Europe, some of them, as the Austrian, having actually gained considerably. The military power however of no other European country has increased so much, both in the number and efficiency of the disposable troops, since the last peace of Paris, as that of Russia. With regard to the government of the Emperor Nicholas, this holds good also of the fleet. However the development of the Russian army may have surpassed Peter's boldest anticipations, that of the fleet has remained far behind them; it has indeed been asserted, although unjustly, that Peter is the only admiral, and Suvorof the only general, whom Russia has produced. If this were true, still the army has received far more great men from abroad than the navy, the first exploits of which against the Turks and Swedes promised more than it has realized; moreover the fleet has had to contend with peculiar difficulties, both internal and external; the former arising from the inaptitude of the Russian nations for the naval service, and the repugnance to it felt by high and low,—the latter from influences of climate, which annually close the Baltic ports for so long a period; then the vast superiority of England at sea, which rendered the Russian ships, both as allies or enemies, nearly useless in war. All this has caused indifference to the maintenance of the fleet, and the small progress made in it for a long time.

The Russian fleet is now, both in the number and weight of its ships, very considerable; different opinions are entertained with regard to its efficiency: one person represents it as a crowd of Chinese junks, another as extremely formidable. The real truth is difficult for a landsman to discover; but thus much is certain, that

the practical proof of its excellence is still wanting—a contest with an English fleet. It is usually supposed that an effective war-fleet can only be based upon an extensive mercantile marine. Russia has begun in a different way. Hitherto she has had no mercantile marine; but the Emperor Nicholas, like his great ancestor, appears to have undertaken the task of speaking, even without one, an important word at sea. The issue of the next great war will perhaps show whether the immense exertions which have lately been made in this direction promise ultimately a favourable result.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE REGULAR ARMY.

ORGANIZATION.—FORMATION.—FORCE.—ARMY OF GRAND OPERATIONS.—DIVISION.—ADMINISTRATIVE VICES.—OPINION OF EUROPE.—INFLUENCE OF FRENCH EDUCATION.—FURLOUGH.—RESERVES.—REGULAR TROOPS FOR LOCAL OBJECTS.—ARMY OF THE CAUCASUS.—OFFICERS.—NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.—CANTONISTS.—DISLIKE TO MILITARY SERVICE.—RECRUITING.—GOOD QUALITIES OF THE RUSSIANS.—INFLUENCE OF RELIGION.—DISCIPLINE.—UNIFORMITY IN THE TROOPS.—THE STICK.—MARRIED SOLDIERS.—THE ARTELL.—PAY.—MAINTENANCE.—QUARTERING ON THE PEASANTS.—BARRACKS.—MILITARY COLONIES.—APPEARANCE OF THE SOLDIERS.—DRESS AND EQUIPMENT.—RELATION TO THE OFFICERS.—ORDERS.—CADET SCHOOLS.—EDUCATION OF OFFICERS.

THE land forces of Russia are constituted of two principal descriptions of troops, differing entirely in many respects,—the regular troops, properly so called, and the feudal* militia of the Cossacks and other similar peoples. Some corps of the latter have been brought into regular form and training, and are occasionally employed almost like the rest of the army, although in many respects they differ entirely from the regular troops.

* The feudal spirit of Germany is not found in Russia; there have never been vassals and inferior vassals. The organization of the Cossack forces also is very different from that of the German feudal armies; but the former furnish man and horse ready equipped for service in lieu of paying taxes, and thus these militia may also in a manner be termed a feudal force.

Organization, Formation, Strength.

The peculiar geographical and political relations of Russia are expressed in a manifold manner by the distribution of her regular army. Whilst other countries distribute their troops according to the localities in which they are recruited, the Russians, with few exceptions, have no fixed recruiting districts; on the contrary, the distribution here is regulated by the destination of the troops, and the particular strategical purpose for which they are intended, to a much greater extent than elsewhere. This distribution is, perhaps, of all the arrangements in the Russian army, the most important to foreign countries, and it is the more interesting from the fact that the Emperor Nicholas has brought it to a state of perfection never before conceived.

Russia's political and geographical position necessitates operations on a grand scale, principally against its Western neighbours. Moreover the extent of the Empire is so enormous, and its means of communication so incomplete, that, were the forces equally distributed throughout the country, as in other nations, a vast time would be lost in collecting together a body of troops corresponding to its power. This inconvenience had long been experienced, and consequently the principal location of the Russian troops in time of peace has always been in the western parts of the Empire, where the Emperor Nicholas found already existing a species of distribution somewhat resembling the present; nevertheless, whenever war broke out, it was always a subject of universal astonishment to see what a small force could be at once brought into the field, in comparison with the vast standing armies maintained in service.

The convenience and facility which a wider distribution of the troops in time of peace furnishes, in an administrative point of view, always militated against the political views of the Government. The consequence was, that the troops either appeared in a weak condition or late upon the theatre of war, and that a large part of the standing army, maintained at such vast expense, only joined the army of operation in most campaigns after the enemy had been able to bring new formations into the field. These consequences will always remain partly unavoidable, so long as the relations of Russia necessitate the service of her troops in the interior; but by the strict distribution which the Emperor Nicholas has given to the army, it is provided from the commencement which troops are to be used for grand operations on the western frontier, which shall form the substitutes and aids, and which shall provide for the service of the interior and on the frontiers, where Russia carries on a perpetual petty warfare, but to which great operations will rarely penetrate.

The regular army of Russia is divided accordingly into two groups:—

1. The army for great European operations, which can always be directed by the Government toward any point of the Empire, and the location of which has mainly a reference to the chances of a European war.

2. The troops for special local objects.

With these two groups are ranged those troops, belonging to the irregular formations, which are called into active service. The separation therefore we have made for facilitating our observations will not invariably hold good.

1. *The Army of Grand Operations.*

The permanent separation of the troops intended for a great war from the rest of the army has this advantage for the external politics of Russia, that it may be known with tolerable certainty what troops can be assembled within a given period on a certain point. From the tremendous marches which some corps had formerly to make to the place of their destination, and the difficulty of foreseeing whether local causes might not impede them, this sort of calculation was always uncertain; but it was still more vague with regard to the completeness of the troops, both because they lay far apart and the usual control was therefore difficult, and also because the loss in sick and stragglers on such long marches could not be calculated beforehand. Thus, as I have already mentioned, every Russian army collected at any particular period was found to be above all expectation small, often only one-third of what it ought to have been according to the lists; and in fact, without taking into consideration the frequently fearful facts and consequences of peculation, so ruinous to troops, we may readily understand that in former times a large part of the Russian army actually "stood merely upon paper," so far as its efficiency abroad was concerned.

The whole of the grand operations army, with the exception of the soldiers who are on permanent furlough in the east, is stationed, even in time of peace, in the western part of the Empire; the principal portion being pushed forward into Russian Poland under Prince Paskevitch, whilst other parts are stationed further back in reserve.

Since the year 1848 the whole of this army has been

put upon a complete war footing. What the distribution has been since that time cannot be stated; previously it was as follows:—

Four Infantry corps, the so-called active army, under Prince Paskevitch, in Russian Poland, constituted what in Europe is called the Polish army.

The Fifth Infantry corps was stationed in the south, on the Black Sea. According to circumstances it could either be united with a part of the detached army of the Caucasus in Asia, or be employed with facility in the districts bordering the Danube: it was in Transylvania in 1849.

The Sixth Infantry corps was stationed in the interior around Moscow. According to circumstances it could either reinforce the Polish army or that of the Black Sea.

The Guards corps and the Grenadier corps were stationed in the garrisons around St. Petersburg and Novgorod.

The Reserve Cavalry corps were stationed for the most part in the military colonies of Kherson and Kharkof.

Russia is in a condition to take the field in a European war with 368 battalions, 460 squadrons of regular troops, with 996 guns, without any material exertions being necessary to mobilize them, and after the internal requirements of the Empire have been provided for, and the fortified towns garrisoned by troops formed expressly for that purpose. If moreover the force in the Caucasus were to be diminished, three Infantry divisions and one brigade of *élite* Infantry (Caucasian Grenadier brigade) would be added to the above force, provided with the full complement of artillery and train belonging to a *corps d'armée*, and the formation of which is almost

entirely similar to that of the above troops.* We must also particularly remark that these divisions of troops contain neither recruits nor old men.

It is much more difficult to ascertain and prove their actual strength, than to show the number of divisions. In every army the number of men who take the field is less than those inscribed on the lists; but the Russian army has been with reason censured throughout Europe, for the difference which has always appeared between the nominal and the effective state of the troops, when it formerly took the field; and one chief cause of this evil has been sought in the administrative vices of the Russian civil and military officials. The existence of this cancer in the Russian empire is sufficiently known in Europe.

The assertion that Russia can boast an army of a hundred thousand men is received with a smile of incredulity, especially by those who derive their information and their views from the accounts given by the daily Press. The Russian armies, it is said, exist only on paper; from the official statements a deduction must always be made of two-thirds, and the pay for this imaginary surplus goes into the pockets of the civil and military officials who have charge of it. Nevertheless the most superficial part of the public in the West has a certain instinctive feeling of Russia's power: no man of education or reading can avoid acknowledging that this State has, in the last century and a half, from being an insignificant country constituted on the Asiatic model, become a great European Power,—on land indeed the most important of all,—one which forty years ago with-

* This division has only a single regiment of regular cavalry, the 9th Dragoons.

stood the power of a man before whom all the other countries, England alone excepted, and she only protected by her wooden walls, sank into the dust; that since then, in spite of all the rhetoric of the West, Turkey has been humbled, Poland laid prostrate, and Hungary subdued, by the arms of Russia. Napoleon's declaration—whether he made it or not—with regard to the future of Europe, sounds the more unpleasantly from the fact that a universal, almost oracular, judgement is attributed to this man in these things. Thus is it to modern democracy or the Cossacks that Europe is to fall!

Escaping from these considerations and their immediate oppressive consequences, it is a relief to the mind to represent Russia, the greatness of which cannot altogether be denied, as a giant, without the power of using his limbs,—her army, as a Colossus on feet of clay, or, to use the favourite expression, on "paper" ones.

No one however can honestly deny that the tales current in the West about Russian peculation and deceit do not altogether much exaggerate the former state of things. People still tell in England how the officers of the Russian ships which the English took into custody sold all the ships' cordage; and it is well known in Germany how some of the Russian Generals managed with the requisitions; nay, it is asserted even in Russia that in the arsenal at St. Petersburg the guns of a frigate were found which was reported to have sunk. There is not the slightest doubt that the highest dignitaries of the Empire,—some even in other respects great men,—frequently did not scruple in former times to deceive their monarch and fill their own pockets. All the Emperors and Empresses have been acquainted with this national

evil; some have contended against it; others (among them even the great Catherine II.) have tolerated it; and Alexander is said to have considered the malady incurable, and submitted to it with resignation and sorrow. To the Emperor Nicholas incontestably belongs the glory of having contended with the evil as none of his predecessors had done. Whoever observes with unprejudiced eyes his exertions, cannot but be impressed by the way in which this man, with iron rigour and tenacity, with unwearied activity and great intelligence, has laboured suppress the outbreaks of the evil, to search for its roots and eradicate them. The Emperor however who really succeeds in effecting this may truly rank himself with St. George, the patron saint of Russia; for this evil is indeed the real dragon that desolates the country. The Emperor Nicholas has never shunned the task, but has attacked the enemy wherever he met it. Will his successors inherit his vigour and noble determination, together with his crown? This is a question of destiny, in the solution of which Russia's true progress or fall may probably lie. But with regard to the present time, many of those who describe the state of things in Russia forget that the Emperor Nicholas has reigned for the last twenty-six years;* they forget, when they remind us of the incredible deficiencies in the numbers of the Russian army of 1827 and even of 1830, that these did not escape the notice of the Emperor, and that he has ever since struggled with the greatest energy against them.

Everywhere in Russia we find traces of the direct influence of the Emperor; in every case, where it is possi-

* The Reader will bear in mind the date when all these remarks were written and first published.—TRANSL.

ble, he acts himself, and spares neither personality nor station if he has once discovered any wrong. Examples of rigorous justice like that visited upon Prince Dadianof, one of his Adjutant-Generals in Tiflis, are not rare, although they do not always come to the knowledge of the public.

From the relentless severity with which Nicholas has contended against peculation and all dishonest practices, we perceive how necessary it is that the Emperor should personally know and inspect the conduct of the officials, in order that the laws may continue effective. Although there may still be much in Russian military arrangements to impede the suppression of these evils (the low pay and luxurious habits of the official nobility,* the union of the command and economy of a regiment, etc.), still these circumstances are rather obstacles to their removal than causes of their existence, and insignificant in comparison with the peculiar moral sources from which the evils arise.

It has been remarked, that one of the principal differences between the national character of the Slaavs and Germans springs from the fact that the former do not possess the peculiar chivalrous conception of honour, which in the West has outlived in so many respects its Christian origin. We must not however conclude that the Slaav is devoid of a sense of honour; on the contrary, some of the Slavonic races are influenced by this feeling in the strongest manner; but their conception of what honour means is originally different. The view

* We must not however confound the Tchinovniks with the Russian Officer corps. The gross peculations which formerly prevailed in the latter, now only occur in isolated cases. A feeling of duty and even of honour is spreading, and the *esprit de corps*, which will not admit officers of bad character to the society of the rest, is already very powerful.

which the Germans entertain of duelling, for instance, and their contempt for certain modes of obtaining worldly advantages, is probably foreign to the unsophisticated national character of the Slaavs. This is certainly the case with regard to duelling among the genuine Russians, and also among certain classes of them with regard to the pursuit of temporal advantages. We have noticed a resemblance between the Russians and the ancient Romans both in civil and military affairs, especially in the latter; and with reference to the subjects here spoken of, the Russian manners have a much greater affinity to those of the classic than the Romano-Germanic times. When did duelling take place at Rome or Athens? and how little did either of these nations censure their great citizens for unjustly acquired wealth!

I have already mentioned the cunning, deceit, and flattery practised by Russian artisans and tradespeople, and that the pride which the German trader takes in his work is unknown to them. They enter into all kinds of business more in the spirit of the horse-dealer, which is sometimes pardoned in the West as a sort of anomaly among men who have claims to respect. As chaffering is not considered disreputable by the Russian tradesman, so neither does the State official, until metamorphosed by Western culture, feel those scruples which in England, and in a large part of Germany, regard the mechanism of control in money-matters almost more intended to satisfy the self-esteem of the officials and maintain the purity of their rank, than to benefit the State exchequer. I say a part of Germany designedly; for whoever has passed an Austrian custom-house knows how depraved morals, lax customs, and perhaps a mixture of Slaavism, affect the integrity of the officials. France

I do not mention, for it is owing to French influence that the national infirmity has been so little abandoned by the Tchinovniks since the time of Peter I.

However sensitive our highly cultivated neighbours on the other side of the Rhine may be on any *point d'honneur*, it is easy to prove from their own literature that they were the first to cast aside that German honesty which was inherited by them from their German ancestors, as an antiquated and ridiculous obstruction to the splendid enjoyments of life, the love of which has spread from Paris like a plague over Europe.

Peter I., with the penetration peculiar to him, probably perceived in the manners of the French Court under Louis XIV. the germs which were fully developed in the time of the Regency, and afterwards of Robespierre. He undoubtedly saw how little that was useful and how much that was destructive the Russians could learn from the French. At a time when all the Courts in Germany were inviting Frenchmen, and every one who laid claim to cultivation and eminence imitated the French, Peter was civilizing his Russians chiefly by means of people whom he imported from Germany, Holland, and England. This was a fortunate circumstance for the Russians, who possess quite sufficient talent for that kind of philosophy which has been so frequently and successfully employed by the leaders of fashion among the modern French,* whether

* Those who, since the publication of the 'Esprit des Lois,' would derive everything from forms of government, say indeed that absolutism has corrupted the French and Russians: others, of different political opinions, make the same accusation against the constitutional monarchy and republic of the French. But what corrupted the Roman Republicans? What preserved North German integrity in absolute Prussia under Frederick William I.,—what in Hesse,—what in constitutional England?

under a legitimate or illegitimate, an aristocratic or military, absolute, constitutional, or republican *régime*. Unfortunately those among the successors of Peter who had the greatest predilection for what was German, were at the same time the most inclined to attribute a love of honesty to the possession of limited faculties. The greatest sovereign who had worn the Russian crown since the time of Peter openly did homage to French frivolity. Catherine II., a German by birth, thought it necessary, from personal policy, to keep aloof from everything German. Under her the French system of education acquired an ascendency over the German, the latter having entirely lost the support of the Court. The principles of the former, with regard to the means of securing wealth and power, found only too favourable a soil in the Russian national character; the theory by which we may forget, in spending riches, how they are acquired, met with apt scholars. With luxury and augmented expenditure the wants of the Tchinovniks increased, but not their salaries. Thenceforth corruption made incredible progress, but it attained its culminating point under Catherine II., at least in the higher spheres of society.

What injury this spirit necessarily produced in the Empire is evident; and the dexterity and audacity with which the Russian official often seeks to conceal the defects of what is confided to him with a deceitful gloss renders dishonesty doubly dangerous. Potemkin however, who, when his Empress drove past, ventured to delude her with scene-painted villages, appears to have perpetrated the perfection of all attempted deceptions. The subsequent Czars were no longer deceived; they were aware of these abuses, but they did not penetrate to the sources of them. Paul indeed was no friend to such

malpractices; but with every desire to abolish them, and with all his efforts, he was far from being equal to the task. Alexander's noble but too feeble character was incapable of applying the requisite energy, and of proceeding with the rigour necessary for effectually checking the evil: he died, it is said, of a broken heart on this account. The spirit of peculation however has been continually decreasing since the death of Catherine II., especially under the Emperor Nicholas, who has punished and repressed it in many ways, effecting also much by rewards and encouragement and the example of noble sentiments.

It would however be in the highest degree unjust to conclude, from what has been said above, that the Russian Empire possesses no faithful and blameless servants; without doubt their number is great, *in toga et sago*. There are among the Russian nobility, both in the army and civil service, many men whose strict honour would do credit to any Prussian or English corps of officers. We ought also to remember that the instances of abuse adduced are usually the most extraordinary, the most prominent and frequently isolated cases, and that these likewise occur among the most upright officials in other countries; we should therefore beware of passing too severe a judgement. But indeed thus much is true, that the proportion of dishonest people in the Russian official class is very large, who impose upon their superiors and circumvent the law,—from the vain man who does it to gratify his ambition down to the man who is actuated by mere avarice.

This spirit of untrustworthiness, in its influence upon the efficiency of the army, affected both the numbers and the physical and moral character of the soldiers. When we consider that even the highest servants of the

State were often notorious extortioners, it is evident that the Russian Emperors must themselves exercise a personal control, and understand and examine the state of things within their dominions. The prolonged government therefore of a man like the Emperor Nicholas is of immense advantage to the State; it facilitates the solution of the great problem. The Emperor, shortly after his accession to the throne, succeeded in discovering among his servants qualified instruments to aid him, and to whom he could confide a part of the work. The Germans from the Baltic Provinces, to the honour of our name, have always furnished a large proportion of these men. This fact causes much jealousy among the Russian nobility, who have no love for the Germans. The former however have been more promoted under the Emperor Nicholas,—a proof that their character is improved,—and it has long been the desire of the Government to advance the Russians.

The mode in which peculation, such as is still occasionally practised, may affect the number and quality of the troops, I cannot describe in detail. Officers in distant garrisons enrich themselves by the labour of their soldiers, while they neglect their military training; they return troops as still on service who no longer exist, send horses to grass and pocket the forage-money. The food and clothing of the soldiers are curtailed, and their health deteriorated, producing sickness and death; the expense of supplying deficiencies is saved, and all the money acquired in this way flows into the purses of the officers.

The occurrence of such evils, and often to a vast extent, has frequently been admitted. The arrangements however and distribution of the army adopted by the

Emperor Nicholas have done much to check these abuses in the active army of operation; and this check will exist so long as Nicholas continues to reign, or if one equally well acquainted with the art of war succeeds him. This part of the army is so stationed that the Emperor can easily, frequently, and unexpectedly visit it.

What we have called the Army of Grand Operations may thus be considered as approaching as nearly to its complement as is possible in Russia, when the difficulty is taken into account of supplying vacancies arising from soldiers leaving the service, and from sickness and death.

Whether or no the old abuses still prevail among the troops of the local armies stationed at a greater distance from St. Petersburg, I have no means of judging; but it is certainly more dangerous than it used to be to perpetrate injustice, as the Emperor Nicholas travels fast, often arrives unexpectedly, and punishes any deception unrelentingly.

The active troops of the Grand Army have frequently been seen in large camps by European officers; and although isolated cases of abuse may have been discovered, the troops have usually exhibited the best appearance, in numbers, material, and discipline. The following estimate of their effective numbers is nearly correct.

In the year 1848 all the soldiers on furlough were called in, and reached, we may presume, their corps engaged in the war in Hungary and Transylvania. No furlough, I believe, has occurred since that time, but on the contrary large recruitments have taken place;* we may therefore conclude that, notwithstanding the great ravages caused by the cholera and fever in Hungary and Transylvania, the active troops are now nearly upon the

* Written at the end of 1850.

usual war footing. When peace however is established, the old arrangement will probably be restored; and I will therefore, after stating the full complement, endeavour to describe the force of the army of grand operations during peace.

Independent of the numerous non-combatants (about fifty servants and train-soldiers, etc.), with the musicians and superior officers, every battalion of a Russian infantry regiment ought to contain from 1000 to 1002 combatants, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers; the rifle battalions 658. The number of officers is about twenty-two, that of the musicians about twenty-five; there being eight rifle battalions, there are consequently in the Grand Army, on a complete war footing, 360 battalions containing about 1050 men, or in all 378,000; 8 battalions of about 700 men, or in all 5600: total number of infantry combatants, 383,600. During peace fifty men of each battalion of the Guard, and 150 of every other battalion, are on furlough. Were the troops summoned to march suddenly, 51,500 would be deducted from the 383,600, leaving 332,100 infantry fully equipped in time of peace.

This statement of course includes the loss arising from the dead who have not been replaced, the men discharged, deserters, etc. A person well acquainted with the Russian army assures me however that the active battalions, in time of peace, have never contained less than 700 combatants each. This would give a minimum of about 260,000 infantry. On an average there are in every cavalry squadron 190 combatants (including the regimental staff, musicians, etc.) on a complete war-footing, or a total of 460 squadrons, with 190 guns, 87,400 men; or, deducting ten men per squadron on furlough,

82,800 regular cavalry fully equipped for war in time of peace.

It is certainly not too favourable an estimate to suppose that each squadron would, in case of a foreign war, arrive at the frontier with an average loss of twenty-seven or twenty-eight men and horses, the majority having very long marches to make. There would thus be a minimum of 70,000 regular cavalry, with which the army would be able immediately to take the field. The number of guns could hardly be diminished, and it is considerably increased by the Cossack batteries.

If therefore Russia had in 1848 been involved in a war with Germany, the Emperor would have been able, in about eighty days after determining to set the reserve corps in motion towards Poland, to take the field in Germany and Hungary with a minimum of 260,000 infantry, 70,000 cavalry, and about 25,000 artillerymen, with 996 guns, or a total of at least 355,000 men, without uncovering a fortress, or withdrawing one man from the war in the Caucasus, and without calling in a single soldier on furlough. Nor must we overlook the fact that the irregular cavalry, with their artillery, the engineer corps, and the non-combatants of every kind, are not included in this estimate; with the addition of these the army would easily reach 400,000 men.

At the present time* 380,000 infantry and 87,000 cavalry, with more than 1000 guns, are probably completely equipped and ready to march, without calculating at least 100,000 men of the Landwehr, which have been under arms since 1848.† We may therefore infer that

* Written during the Dresden Conferences.

† In consequence of an Edict of 1848 about 60,000 men belonging to the active troops, and 90,000 of the reserve, were called in from

Russia could now take part in a European war with an army, including the Cossacks, of 500,000 men, without endangering her position either in the Caucasus or in the direction of Sweden and England.

The Emperor Nicholas applied to Russia some of the principles on which the Prussian Landwehr and War Reserve are based. I have already mentioned that a part of the men belonging to the active troops during peace are on furlough of indefinite duration. These are natives of the eastern part of the Empire, who, after a period of fifteen years' good service, may claim a furlough; in this case they return without pay to their civil avocations, and after twenty-five years' service are discharged altogether, unless a war breaks out before this period has expired, when they are again summoned to join the troops on active service.

The natives of the western parts of the Empire have a right to a furlough after ten years' service. If they claim this (as is generally the case) they leave the active battalions, squadrons, or batteries, and are incorporated in those of the Reserve, which are usually separated from the regiments. These Reserve battalions are represented during peace by skeleton troops of small numbers, commanded by the officers on indefinite furlough, who generally belong to the rural nobility. The Reserve troops on furlough, in contrast to the active troops, are obliged even during peace to assemble from time to time for exercise.

It is evident that the organization of the soldiers on furlough in the eastern parts of the Empire has a considerable resemblance to that of the Prussian War Reserve,

furlough and joined the army. The latter were incorporated in the existing skeleton troops, amounting to at least 10,000 men.

and the Reserve troops to the Prussian Landwehr. Some of the Reserve form depôt battalions for training recruits, as in the troops of the small German States, which usually consist of skeleton corps, recruits, and soldiers on furlough.

The entire number of Reserve troops formed in the manner above described is divided into two great levies, the total amount of which is as follows :—First levy: nine battalions of grenadiers, three of carabineers, eighty-six of infantry of the line, and thirty-six of chasseurs, or a total of eighty-four battalions of infantry, fifty-two squadrons, and twenty-four foot-batteries, or in round numbers 98,000 men, with 192 guns. Second levy: twelve battalions of the Guard, twelve of grenadiers and carabineers, seventy-two of infantry of the line and chasseurs, or a total of ninety-six battalions of infantry, sixty-two squadrons, and twenty-four foot, with eleven horse-batteries, and two and a half battalions of sappers, or in round numbers 115,000 men with 280 guns.

These figures are taken from the official statement, and it would be interesting to learn whether the result of the levy of 1848 corresponded with it; otherwise it is hazardous to express any opinion with regard to the efficacy of this arrangement in Russia.

An analogous system of Reserve prevails among the troops of the Caucasus, which resemble an infantry corps of the Grand Army. These Reserve troops are not all formed into separate corps, divisions, and brigades during peace; and it would appear that they are intended to be joined, according to circumstances, either to the main body of the active army, or formed into separate new or detached corps.

On a recapitulation of the Regular Army of Russia

intended for grand European operations, on a complete war footing, the general result is,—

The Army ready to take the field	.	486,000	men, with	996 guns.
The first levy of the Reserve	. . .	98,000	„	192 „
The second levy of the Reserve	. .	115,000	„	280 „
		699,000		1468

In addition to which there are the engineer troops, train, and the numerous irregular cavalry.

2. *Regular Troops for Special Local Objects.*

In most countries of Continental Europe the troops intended to form the army of operations perform the chief part of the service of the interior during peace,—National Guards or other militia in time of war; but in Russia there is an independent army of regular troops maintained for these purposes, to which the Cossacks furnish the cavalry and artillery. To these troops are assigned the garrison service in fortresses and towns, the protection of certain disturbed frontiers, the war in the Caucasus, the service of the administration, civil and military, and that of the workshops, etc. These troops are not intended to form a part of the army of operation in the event of a European war; but as their number amounts to at least 200,000 men, a large proportion of whom are well-disciplined soldiers, there is little doubt that, if a great war broke out, a part of them would be mobilized sooner than the troops of the second levy.

A recapitulation of the regular troops intended for special local objects gives the following results :—

1. *Active Troops.*—In the Caucasus, 55 battalions of infantry, 10 squadrons of cavalry, and 180 guns; troops-of-the-line, 48 battalions; Interior Guard, about 50 battalions of infantry; Finland, 12 battalions; Orenburg, 10

battalions; Siberia, 15 battalions and 12 guns. Total, 190 battalions of infantry, 10 squadrons of cavalry, and 192 guns,* or about 198,000 men; to which are added:—

2. *Reserve, Invalids, etc.*—26,000 men of the Reserve, 22,000 veterans of the infantry (552 companies of about forty men each), 13,800 invalids of the infantry (138 companies of about 100 men), 40,000 men, artillery and engineers, veterans, workmen, etc. (220 companies of about 150 to 200 men), making a total of 299,800 men. If to these are added the reserves of the battalions of the Line, containing at least 15,000 men, the number will amount to about 315,000. We have calculated the number of the mobile troops at 699,000 men. It follows therefore that the military organization of Russia would enable her to bring under arms more than a million regular troops.†

How nearly this force will ever be actually reached by the troops assembled under arms at the same time is another question; but a Prussian officer, who is well acquainted with the Russian army, calculates that, with the Cossack force, which can easily be mobilized accord-

* The following figures must be substituted for the year 1852:—Caucasus, 71 battalions of active troops, 47 battalions of troops-of-the-line; Interior Guard, 52½ battalions; Finland, 12; Orenburg, 10; and Siberia, 15: total, 207½ battalions, with 200 guns. (*From the last French Edition.*)—TRANSL.

† The European armies have generally been increased since 1798, but few of them in the same degree as the regular army of Russia. According to Gaudy the latter in the time of Paul amounted to 16 regiments of Cuirassiers, 16 of Dragoons, 2 of regular Cossacks, or about 43,500 men, cavalry; 13 regiments of Grenadiers, 62 of Fusileers, and 20 of Chasseurs, together 95 regiments or 190 battalions, or about 177,000; and 104 garrison battalions, about 96,000 men, infantry; or a total of about 317,000 men, of whom however 150,000 men at the utmost could be employed abroad. Under the Emperor Nicholas 355,000 men are ready at any moment, during peace, to be so employed.

ing to the organization introduced by the Emperor Nicholas, a million combatants, with 1800 field-guns, would be raised by Russia in case a European war should break out.

Events alone can determine the efficiency of this army. Whether these will ever arrive,—whether this mighty army will pass away, like everything human, with the noiseless but fairer fame than that acquired in war, of having maintained peace in a time of such confusion by its moral weight alone,—or whether it is first destined to cause new murder, conflagration, and misery in the annals of human woes and errors, are questions which the future must decide. Who knows how near their solution may be?

> "Lingeringly comes the Future on;
> Swift as an arrow is the Present flown;
> Eternally still stands the Past."

Let Europe then, when the future does stand still as the past, not accuse those of her sons who impatiently hastened her steps, whilst she thoughtlessly over-estimated her own power, and taught us to undervalue that of our neighbour.

The corps of officers and high military officials is composed principally of the sons of the nobility, who enter the army voluntarily, and are educated, some in cadet-houses, and others in the regiments; but partly also of non-commissioned officers, who after twelve years' good service have a claim, if they pass a certain examination, to be promoted to the rank of ensigns. Formerly this examination was not necessary, but it is now required from the young noblemen and cadets before they receive their commissions.

The class of non-commissioned officers, soldiers, musicians, and the lower grade of surgeons, the head workmen, etc., is filled in three ways:—1. by recruitment; 2. from the Cantonists; 3. by voluntary enlistment.

Voluntary enlistment formerly supplied a considerable part of the army; the regiments of the Old Guard were enlisted mostly from among the nobility: at present the Finland and Georgian troops alone are enlisted. In the case of the former this circumstance arises from privileges granted to the Grand Duchy of Finland at the period of its conquest in 1809.

The Cantonists are soldiers' sons. Every son of a soldier below the rank of officer, born during his father's active service, is, from the mere circumstance of his birth, bound to serve in the army. The principle, "Pater est quem nuptiæ demonstrant," is carried so far, that even children born in open adultery of soldiers' wives (who are often separated for years from their husbands) are no exceptions to the rule. The illegitimate children of soldiers' daughters and widows are subject to the same obligation; a son however is given to each soldier's widow if she desires it.

The Cantonist system is so far beneficial to the remaining population of the Empire who are bound to military service, that it diminishes the burden of recruitment; the marriage of soldiers is consequently much encouraged and facilitated by the State. The entire number of Cantonists in the year 1842 is described in the Military Encyclopedia as amounting to 292,990, of whom 71,900 were already in the army, 35,450 were completely educated in the Cantonist establishments, and 185,640 were living with their parents; all the delicate children appear to be excluded from these 71,900, being

assigned as clerks to the civil administration, and sent as workmen to the military colonies. The above numbers have probably risen since the period stated.

It is often very difficult, among the forty of the eighty races in the Empire who contribute to the recruitment, to discover the qualities peculiar to each. The Great Russians are docile, and physically well qualified to make good infantry soldiers; but their conduct is said to be usually bad at first, as they have little fear of corporal punishment, from being accustomed to it in their families. They become however in time good soldiers; the manly energy of character and vigour of the race being the cause of the large proportion of Great Russians among the officers and non-commissioned officers.* The White Russians are reputed to be physically weak, until they are brought into condition by good living.

The Letts have none of the warlike spirit of their ancestors: they are reputed to be a stupid, cowardly, and deceitful race; in the army however they assume the Russian character, and are said to be very proud of their *Russiandom*.

The Poles, or rather Sarmatians (for they do not constitute a majority of the Polish subjects of the Crown), are the only race beside the Tatars who have a decided predilection for arms. The Sarmatian is known throughout Europe as a born soldier, especially the Hulan, which character he maintains in the Russian army. The Sarmatians generally belong to the Shliakhta (impoverished nobility), and the political position they occupy is familiar to the reader; but it is also well known that they, like the Magyars, readily forget, in their love of fighting,

* I need scarcely remark that I do not speak of the Germans: otherwise an immense proportion of them would be found among the officers.

for whom it is they fight. Since the year 1831 large numbers of them have been sent to the Caucasus, where they often desert (an offence of late rare in the Russian army), but they are at present found scattered throughout the whole army.

The Little Russians are supposed to be particularly well qualified to act as cavalry. The opinion is prevalent in Europe that the Russians are a nation of horsemen, being confounded with the Tatars and Cossacks; but nothing is less true: the genuine Russian rarely rides,—*driving* is his passion. The regular cavalry was formerly held in least estimation in the army by military men, which partly no doubt arose from the small race of horses, and led to the Cuirassiers being mounted from Holstein in the reign of Paul.

The Mordvins, Tcheremiss, Tchuvash, and Tatars resemble, it is said, the Little Russians: their fear of the stick is much greater, and has more effect upon them than upon the Great Russians, from their being less accustomed to it at home. They are esteemed good cavalry soldiers, particularly the Tatars, who are still a nation of horsemen. Among the other Finnish races are some hunting tribes, who are familiar with fire-arms and good riflemen, but their number is very small.

The Finlanders Proper require slight mention here, not being subject to the recruitment. They furnish practised riflemen, and are likewise the only good sailors in the Empire.

The Jews are subjected to military service,—in Russia since 1827, in Poland since the revolution,—and curiously enough they are said to be the best artisans both in the army and navy. Indeed they are considered the best sailors in the fleet, with the exception of the Great

Russians of Archangel, the Fins, Greeks, and Tchernomorski Cossacks: this is a curious fact if true.

Of the sixty-five or seventy millions who obey the Russian sceptre, about forty or forty-five millions are subject to the recruitment, thirty or thirty-four millions of them being Great Russians. A military ethnographic examination therefore of the latter will suffice to furnish a picture of the Russian soldier. One peculiarity however is common to nearly all the races liable to the recruitment,—very little military disposition, and a great fear of service in the army; the Sarmatians, Tatars, and Caucasians are the only exceptions. The predominant race (together with the large majority of its kindred races) appears psychologically much more adapted to be a peaceful nation of merchants, manufacturers, peasants, and shepherds, than a military power ruling over the world. Instances are not readily found in Russian history—such as that of the West so frequently offers—of a thirst for military glory alone engaging the country in wars. In Russia war seems rather to have borne the character of a means to the attainment of further ends, without which war is unjustifiable. The early relations of the country to the Poles and Tatars prove that the Russians were incited to take up arms, more from their strong religious and national feelings being outraged by their quarrelsome neighbours than by any love of war. The Cossacks form an exception. The Czar being in Russia a representative of the popular will, the conquests he effected were founded upon the necessity of acquiring the sea-coasts, which he perceived to be necessary for the development of his country. The wars undertaken for this purpose therefore did not arise from warlike ambition and caprice, but were regarded as necessary evils.

Does it not seem like retributive justice that the two races who in former times so perseveringly and unjustly waged war against the Russians, the Tatars and Poles, are now subject to the latter, the warlike submitting to the peaceful race?

This pacific character is expressed in a hundred traits of a people, whom we so often term rude, barbarous, and cruel,—so full, on the contrary, of gentle feelings. In the first place, the Russian has no love of fighting; even when intoxicated, he has more tears and tenderness than anger. Floggings indeed abound in Russia, but they are inflicted only as a punishment by the master on his servant, by the father on his son, and half in jest likewise among the members of a family upon one another. Brawls, which in Germany season every popular amusement, are rare. No Russian carries arms, except he who fills an office to which they belong. The pride which the Turk, Arab, Pole, and even the German National Guard feels in his yatagan, sword, or musket, is unknown to the Russian, nor has he the pleasure of the Spaniard in his dagger. The German and French duel indeed has been introduced among the nobility, as well as the shaven chin and modern coat, but among the people the one has found as little favour as the other: the worst kind of fighting is a species of boxing,—more of a spectacle than a real contest. Combats of beasts are unknown; Russia has bears and wolves, but the people only keep doves for their amusement.

In short the Russian has no love of battle for its own sake: he does not take a delight in danger and strife, and has no desire to become a soldier. This is evident from the Russian system of recruitment, which is based upon the Revision, or the number of men liable to taxa-

tion, living at the period of the Revision on an estate, a commune, etc.; it is a tax of so many men in a thousand. If a levy of five recruits in a thousand is ordered in one of the Governments, the proprietor of an estate who possesses two thousand male serfs, according to the last Revision, is obliged to present ten recruits; in like manner the Volosts, or Crown Communes, generally containing three thousand males. They have also to pay a money tax, which was formerly a contribution in kind for the outfit of the recruits; at present it is fixed at thirty-three roubles, but the outfit is now furnished by the State. The recruits do not necessarily belong to the Commune in which they are levied; the State requires the specified number, but it only demands certain physical qualities.

Formerly the landowner himself appointed the persons to be given up to the army, and of course the first chosen were the feeble, useless, and dissolute, or such as were in any way a burden to him. From the service of these the least was to be expected in the way of income, and sometimes their absence was even a gain. It is not to be denied that this power has been, and still is, exercised by unprincipled and avaricious landowners in exactions and oppressions of all kinds. The better class of landowners however have now introduced the system of drawing lots, adopted by the Government in the Volosts, and which they intended to become general. Curiously enough however the lots, it is said, usually fall to those persons whom the landowner most willingly parts with. The peasants who are likely to pay the smallest amount of *obrok* become soldiers. This is the case also in the Volosts; but here the most numerous families contribute first.

We find much the same state of things under the old cantonal institutions of Russia, and in Austria it continued down to our days; in England also it is chiefly the lowest class of the population that enters the army, and the French *remplaçants* (80,000, it is said, out of about 400,000 men) cannot be called the best citizens in the State; but all these people have been, and still are, regarded as first-rate soldiers. The code of the Western armies in the present day punishes many offences with the "loss of the national cockade and incapacity to serve in the army;" but a no inconsiderable number of the delinquencies, which in Germany put the convict-dress upon the culprit, lead in Russia to the soldier's coat: in that country men are condemned to serve in the army, and the regiments formerly received many great culprits in this way. At present the latter class of recruits are consigned to the penal companies of the engineer department, and work in the fortifications and public buildings. Many offences however still bring men into the actual ranks. The degradation of the officers cannot be considered here; but police offences of various kinds, careless driving, vagabondism, repeated pocket-picking, dissolute living, etc., fill the regiments with all sorts of loose fellows, including even gipsies. Men of seventeen to thirty years of age are sent into the army for the above-named offences, and many others. This follows immediately upon their conviction; but they are deducted at the next levy from the number of recruits taken from the estate or Volost to which they belong. The Russian army thus serves also as a reformatory institution.

I must not forget another class of recruits,—the substitutes or Okhotniks (volunteers). These are often pur-

chased at a high price by the rich peasants, to whose lot it has fallen to become soldiers. From the moment the bargain is struck and the money paid, until the day when the service commences, the Okhotnik is not unfrequently the tyrant of the peasants. He threatens to abscond, and the peasants, to retain him, try to captivate him by a life of pleasure: girls are presented to him: he is entertained and flattered. The Okhotnik lives *in dulci jubilo*, generally spending all his money before his departure for the army, and often tries to escape. These loose hirelings frequently desert and seek refuge beyond the frontier or among the Starovertzi. The Countess Novosiltzof made an arrangement by which the purchase was effected for her peasants; the price was fixed at 2500 roubles; of this the Okhotnik received only a small part in hand, another part was placed in the treasury of his company, and the remainder in a bank, reverting to him with interest at the termination of his service. The Countess received an Order of merit for this, and the Government adopted her plan: it advanced 2500 roubles to every volunteer who presented himself, and was repaid the amount by the first peasant who wanted a substitute. This system however is said to have received little favour. The Russian does not willingly become a soldier, or see his money in the hands of the *Tchin;* and according to this plan the chief bait for loose fellows is wanting—a considerable sum of money paid down at once. The system implies the existence of respectable Okhotniks—a contradiction in terms. The Poles and Finlanders alone pursue the trade of Okhotnik in the west and north of Russia.

Some circumstances liberate a man from the necessity of serving in the army; families that have only one

male cannot be deprived of him. Single persons, without families, such as orphans, foundlings, etc. are also free,—a singular arrangement, of which I neither understand nor can assign the motive. The father of three children is likewise free,—one of the reasons, it is said, why people marry so early in Russia. On the other hand, marriage is the cause of additional apprehension in some cases, for two children do not liberate a man from military service; and, although they are deprived of their father, the first children do not become Cantonists, but only those born during the period of his service: the former belong to the landowner or remain in their Volosts. The wife of a soldier who has been left behind, if she hears nothing of her husband for three (according to others for five) years, is allowed to marry again; should she have a son in the meantime, even if the husband has been absent for two years, he belongs to the Emperor as a Cantonist.

The elements thus introduced into the army by the recruitment are,—first, offenders, vagabonds,* and dissolute fellows; then stupid, lazy, and infirm persons; and last of all, respectable workmen. The recruitment thus, as it were, removes the scum from the country, and transfers it to the army; but all these classes of recruits have one thing in common, that none has the slightest inclination for their new heroic career.

Formerly every levy of recruits was accompanied by scenes of violence and despair. Men who believed themselves threatened fled into the woods, and peasants and soldiers were sent with cudgels and ropes to catch

* Men of experience in Germany know very well, but to our young theorists it is necessary to explain, that with strict discipline both these classes make excellent, and in Russia indeed often the best, soldiers.

them. Bloody scenes often occurred. The recruits were frequently better guarded than our convicts. They rarely arrived (I speak of past times) without chains at the depôts. A great improvement has no doubt taken place since the condition of the soldier has been ameliorated, and the period of active service diminished; and likewise since the increase which has taken place in the military spirit of the nation. The severe injunctions however against harbouring recruits* prove how great is even now the aversion to the new profession, and how much the people sympathize with those who escape. To simulate physical infirmities is a common practice even in the West; but the extent to which this is carried in Russia exceeds everything known elsewhere, and is a proof of the natural acuteness of the people. It is not uncommon to see the person chosen as a recruit carried before the military commission, accompanied by his entire family, wrapped in blankets in his bed, like one mortally sick; an hour afterwards he may be seen in perfect health, sitting in the snow, in the half-naked state in which the examination has left him, bewailing his fate, which his cropped head indicates. The examining physician is not deceived by the manœuvres of the would-be invalid, and golden reasons, it is said, frequently assist in discovering defects; the chrysalis is extricated from the web of blankets and covers that surrounded him and declared sound; the word of command to crop his hair (*Lob!*) is heard, and immediately obeyed, and in a few months the raw recruit is transformed into as smart a young fellow as ever followed a drum. In the

* A family which knowingly conceals a recruit must furnish two; if none of its members are adapted to this, the two most implicated in the concealment are sent to Siberia.

meantime however the youth bewails his fate; his father, mother, brothers, and sisters, often even his wife and child, take leave of him as of a dying man, and the women raise the same lamentations over him with which they follow the corpse of a relative to the grave. In Moscow the stone is pointed out where the wives of the recruits bid farewell for ever to their husbands. Nearly all the vegetable huckstresses, a numerous class, are mock *widows* of this kind.

This system of recruiting is extremely adverse to the production of the species of raw material which late German theorizers describe as necessary to the army school, to enable it to train warriors. The physical requisites are probably rarely to be found in perfection; but the usually powerful frames of the Great Russians render defects less frequent than might be supposed. With regard to character, it would appear that Russia sets less value upon the general morality of the recruits than upon that peculiar military *morale* which consists in discipline, with all its powerful appliances, physical and psychological. In Russia indeed no man conceives it an honour to serve in the army; on the contrary, those who are exempted from this service consider their exemption not only an honour, but a particularly agreeable one.

Are the Russians then bad soldiers? History gives us reason to affirm the contrary. We do not however need to read Russian history, to perceive that the system described above does not necessarily produce bad soldiers. Nearly one-third of the foreigners in Frederick the Great's army consisted of vagabonds; and more than half the army indeed during the Seven Years' War is said to have been composed of similar elements; the landowners and Communes at first furnished as recruits only

such persons as were least useful or the greatest burden to themselves. A German proverb says, "Chrischan can learn nothing,—he must be made a soldier!" and Gellert tells us, in his fables, that fathers in his time, when they despaired of good-for-nothing sons, regarded the soldier's coat as almost the last means of reform; "an angry wife" was the last of all! The Russian recruits may be regarded as an intermediate class between the "Unfortunates" who are banished to Siberia for heavy crimes and misdemeanours, and those whom both landowners and Volosts are unwilling to lose; but in England nearly the same results are produced by other forms of recruitment. Frederick's army however had the stick and lash, the English the "cat-o'-nine-tails," and the Russian also the stick, or, as we wrongly term it in the West, "the knout." Russia and England retain the old disciplinary and economical system of our ancestors; they pay no regard to the considerations which, according to German theorists, compensate for the disadvantages of the Prussian system, of consigning a man to the ranks, from whose labour as a citizen the State would derive the means of maintaining three other and frequently better soldiers; they are still of opinion that a bad citizen, by the aid of strict discipline, may become a good soldier. It is not to be denied that both States have had some experience in confirmation of this theory. "But," say the German theorizers, "Jena and 1813 are a practical illustration of the benefit of our system." But what is there that has not been, and will not be, deduced from Jena and 1813? It is often difficult even for a German to comprehend these arguments, and what can we expect of Englishmen and Russians?

Formerly the annual recruitment took place simulta-

neously throughout the whole Empire, which was inconvenient in more than one respect. The population is in some places so scanty that the military commissions and recruiting parties were obliged to make long journeys to collect even a few people together. In the year 1834 therefore the Emperor Nicholas divided the Empire into halves, which were to be subjected to the recruitment in alternate years; at first into a northern and southern, but since 1839 into eastern and western halves. The intention was that each division should furnish every second year about five men in a thousand. As the Emperor Nicholas has not only increased the army, but also keeps up its effective strength, the recruitment, it is said, presses more severely upon the population than in former times. By the establishment of the Reserve indeed the number of recruits levied may have been larger, although the value of their services as workmen may not have been proportioned to their number. The war in the Caucasus however has demanded a large number of men. It is certain that the proportion of five in a thousand has not always been maintained since 1836; the recruitment ukases therefore have usually an explicative and, in some measure, justificative preamble. The two divisions are as follows:—

Eastern Half.—Vologda, Kostroma, Yaroslaf, Vladimir, Moscow, Kaluga, Tula, Riazan, Tambof, the country of the Don Cossacks, Caucasia, Astrakhan, Saratof, Penza, Nizhni Novgorod, Samara, Simbirsk, Kazan, Viatka, Perm, Orenburg, Tobolsk, Tomsk, Yeniseisk, Irkutsk.

Western Half.—Archangel, Olonetz, St. Petersburg, Novgorod, Tver, Smolensk, Pskof, Esthonia, Livonia, Courland, Vilna, Grodno,* Minsk, Vitebsk, Mohilef, Vol-

* Bialystok belongs at present to Grodno.

hynia, Kief, Podolia, Kherson, Taurida, Ekaterinoslaf, Poltava, Tchernigof, Orel, Kursk, Kharkof.

The Imperial Ukase which fixes the number of recruits is generally issued in summer; the levy commences in November, and must be concluded by the 1st of January. Governments are sometimes released from the necessity of furnishing recruits on account of a bad harvest; they are debited however with the amount on future levies, although these debts are not always paid. The military colonies in the south furnish eight men in a thousand every alternate year.

The levies ordered by the Government were, in 1836, for both halves of the Empire at once (an exceptional case), exclusive of Georgia and Bessarabia, five in a thousand; 1837, for the southern half, five in a thousand; 1838, for the northern half, six in a thousand; 1839, for the western half, five in a thousand; 1840 (an exception), for both halves at once, for twenty-five Governments, six in a thousand; for twenty-two Governments, five in a thousand; four Governments being relieved on account of a bad harvest, the average was five in a thousand. It thus appears that each half has furnished, in alternate years, seven and one-fifth per thousand, instead of the five contemplated.

The long marches of 1848 and 1849, and the campaign in Hungary, Wallachia, and Transylvania, together with the cholera, rendered in the latter year a levy of eight in a thousand necessary in the western, and four in a thousand in the eastern, half of the Empire, whose turn had not come.

These ukases always spread consternation among the people; the nobles lose a considerable part of their property, the Sheremetiefs, Demidofs, and Orlofs often

furnishing hundreds of recruits at a time; families lose their best workmen, their fathers, and brothers. The proportion of *mauvais sujets* possessed of the necessary physical qualifications is not sufficiently large to satisfy the Emperor's demand for soldiers.

When the recruit's hair is cut, his separation from his family is complete. Although no longer put in chains (a frequent practice in former times), it would still be too great a risk to remand him, and send him home till his period of service begins; the temptation would be too great for the Russians, who can everywhere find employment and frequently the means of concealment, and, with all their love of country, are little attached to home.

The first period of service is the most severe to the young recruit, and despair often takes possession of him; the Great Russian is not so afraid of the stick, but that many blows are needed to make him docile. Officers however have frequently told me that the recruits, though shedding tears at the commencement, soon become reconciled to their inevitable fate. Tears indeed flow more readily from a Russian than a German eye, and also signify less. To the agitation of mind and the punishment is added an entire change of life. The hair and beard, in which the genuine Russian takes such pride, regarding them as almost sacred, are shorn, leaving only the military moustache; the kaftan is exchanged for the tight uniform and capote; and all this takes place, too, in the severe season of the year. The food of the soldiers, which is not bad, as generally supposed, is superior to what they have been accustomed to only in the case of the White Russians, Letts, Esthonians, and some other peoples who live poorly; the Great Russian has been used at home to better food than that of the army. An

additional evil arises from the slight attention paid by the Russians to the state of their health,—one cause of the great mortality among the children, which does not arise from want of love, but from carelessness and a kind of fatalism. If Russian parents forget their children, can it be expected that Russian officers will take care of the recruits? No wonder the mortality among them is so great: according to some military treatises now lying before me, it is said in former times to have amounted to one-half in the first year, and it is stated to be still one-third,—both estimates certainly much too high. The Emperor Nicholas has paid great attention to this subject,* and has ordered more care to be bestowed upon the health of the soldiers: this care has caused the above diminution of the mortality. I read not long ago that the hair of the recruits was cut only before and during the march to their regiments: these proofs of the Emperor's solicitude give us reason to hope that such a fearful waste of human life† may be still further diminished; much may be effected by injunctions to the officers to attend more to the soldiers' health, and by elevating the character of the medical men, etc.

Those West-Europeans who would attribute every heroic deed of the Russians to the administration of the

* An Imperial Aide-de-camp is sent into every Government at the period of the recruitment; he directs the whole proceeding, receives all complaints, and reports any misconduct or peculation on the part of the local authorities. The recruit now receives better clothes and rations than the soldier; a fur skin and warm boots are given to him on the march.

† I must here observe that this great mortality is denied by some persons, who say that, except in the Caucasus, it is not greater than elsewhere; one who is well informed upon these subjects, who read my book, maintains that the loss of men indicated above is much too high, even for former times.

stick are equally mistaken, whether they do this from a blind predilection or aversion to this important instrument. The Russian carries with him into the army good physical qualities, and strong deeply-rooted sentiments, which prove that the military greatness of a people may be founded upon a more secure basis than the adventurous tendencies of the so-called warlike nations.

The advantages which arise from the peculiar religious temperament of the Russians must first be considered. The union of God, Czar, and Fatherland in the sentiments of the people, which is not destroyed even by sectarian spirit, imparts to the army passions of a depth, strength, and durability which a Mahomet might envy. If the Russian does not combat from chivalric motives, he fights from obedience to God or the Czar, from love to holy Russia and *Russiandom;* for a kind of belief prevails among the Russians, as formerly among the Jews, that they are the chosen people of God; the stoical bearing of the Russian soldier in the midst of danger is mainly founded upon his firm conviction that a heavenly reward awaits him. With this feeling of religion on the one hand, and the national Slavonic character on the other, is united a hatred to foreigners and everything foreign, which is probably not much less efficacious. Slavonic tenacity, obstinacy, and vanity,—Russian docility and associative spirit,—what elements of the *esprit de corps!*

Finally, the physical qualities of the Great Russian must be taken into account, his strong nerves, powerful bones, and muscular frame. The strong inclination of the people to travel over the Empire has very important consequences, and is so universally and extensively indulged, that anatomists profess to find a much greater

development of strength in the legs and lungs of the Great Russians than in their arms. Thus we have a people of the plains possessing qualities which are supposed to be found only among mountaineers, and to obtain which military men in the West so often resort for their recruits to the mountains. Whoever is acquainted with the difficulty experienced in German armies in training people from the fertile plains to walk, and the number of hemorrhages caused by too great an indulgence in this exercise, will be disposed to regard the popular custom of the Russians in the same light as the Marshal de Saxe, who always found the cause of victory in the legs.

The military service in Russia is conducted with a formal severity which has been unknown in Germany since the death of the Elector of Hesse; but this fact is better known, than that this severity and formality were originally imported from Germany. The lighter and more pliant forms disseminated over the military world by the modern French, have had less influence upon the ancient element in Russia than elsewhere; but military tactics have of course been completely changed here also. A remnant of the pedantry which formerly prevailed throughout Europe is carefully preserved in the Russian army; but, on the other hand, it has remained free from those attempts which have been made in Germany by military and civil pedants of an opposite tendency to introduce a dangerous want of forms. The opinion which attributes to the northern character a necessity for forms to enable it to reach the highest military efficiency, although destroying at the same time the individuality of the soldier, has adherents even in Germany at the present day, in reference to German troops: in Russia it is

still in complete activity, and springs either from general theoretical or peculiar national causes. From the docility and willing obedience of the Russian on the one hand, and the severe discipline on the other, a degree of uniformity prevails among the Russian troops which is rarely met with elsewhere; the minutest parts of their dress and their gesture are the same, nay, even the expression of the countenance appears to be a general one. This uniformity is most striking in the regiments of the Guards, in which the men with blue eyes and fair hair, and those with brown eyes and brown hair, are ranged together in companies; but indeed it is very remarkable throughout the whole army. The dominion of fashion alone has the same power in the West, in producing that uniformity among its votaries which we find in the gestures and lineaments of the Russian soldier; Ivan and Alexei touch their cap in precisely the same manner; their attitude is the same when they put back their heads, stretch out their legs, set the muscles of their faces, and raise their eyes, in giving the military salute. It is the same expression, *Slushu!* (I obey), with which they receive every command. Moreover this uniformity appears to originate mainly in national peculiarities: even in ordinary life the Great Russians are an extraordinarily homogeneous race; the language of the whole population of thirty-four millions is, without any perceptible difference of dialect, the same in the north and the south, the east and the west, the same in high and low.

The Russian service requires the most unqualified obedience from the soldier: it is the same theoretically in all armies, but since the time of the Romans it has never been carried to a similar extent. The national character, with its strongly marked respect for established

authority, is well adapted to aid this peculiarity of the system. The Russians, with all their acuteness, do whatever they are commanded, without question. The soldier never asks the reason why. "Such is the command" (*Prikaz*), is his well-known reply, when asked why he stands there, or does this or that, or leaves it undone. Numerous anecdotes are related to show how this exact, punctual obedience frequently confounds, in a comical manner, the letter with the spirit of the command. Were they not Russian soldiers, we might sometimes be reminded of the ironical kind of obedience of those Scotch troops, who when commanded to wear trousers carried them on their bayonets.* We hear of soldiers who, when a boat containing a number of officers was upset on the Neva, were ordered to save them with these words, "Rescue especially all the officers of the Guards." "Are you officers of the Guards?" demanded the men of the first persons they reached; the water already filled the throats of the unfortunate men, and they were allowed to sink. Upon another occasion the parade-ground in St. Petersburg, the streets being very dusty, had to be watered before a review. A sudden shower of rain fell; but the detachment sent to execute this operation proceeded with their work, for "they were so commanded." These and similar anecdotes are told; I cannot vouch for their truth, as the wits of St. Petersburg, a numerous class, are fond of such stories. Something characteristic of the Russians however is always to be found in them; and although we in the West may laugh at the consequences of this pedantry, still when we hear that a soldier during an inundation would not abandon his post, even when

* The Reader scarcely needs to be reminded that to *carry* and to *wear* are the same word in German.—TRANSL.

the water reached up to his neck, and was drowned where he stood, we can imagine what a mighty power is contained in this Russian spirit of obedience. I will only mention two other of these characteristic traits, which I have heard upon good authority. Before the assault of Warsaw two grenadiers were standing at their post: the one, a recruit, asked the other, an old soldier, pointing to the Polish entrenchments before them, "What think you, brother, shall we be able to take those works?" "I think not," replied the old warrior, "they are very strong." "Ay, but suppose we are ordered to take them!" "That is another affair; if it is ordered, we will take them." At the conflagration of the Winter Palace, a priest rushed through the portion of the building which was on fire to rescue the pyx: he succeeded in reaching it, and hastened back; in one of the passages he perceived a soldier through the smoke: "Come away," he exclaimed, "or you are lost!" "No," said the soldier, "this is my post, but give me your blessing." He was immovable; the priest gave him his blessing, and saved himself with difficulty: the soldier was never seen again. There is something antique in this Russian obedience; and every officer of experience would gladly accept its slight inconveniences for the incalculable advantages it offers.

If the source of this devoted obedience, which reminds us of the times of the Roman legions, is to be found in the national character of the Russians, the stick on the other hand plays a more important part in Russia than even the vine-branch, united with Roman courage, did in the incitement of Roman military valour (*virtus*). I have already observed how unjust it is to attribute the courage of the Russian soldier solely to the stick, but

it is still more unjust to decry it as the destroyer of all military virtues.

The army we have described as being in many respects a reformatory institution; but there is no trace in the Russian national character of the fiction which regards a sword-thrust or a gunshot wound as more agreeable than a blow with a stick. To the common Russian a flogging is simply a flogging, neither more nor less. Every person having authority of any kind in common life, especially among the Great Russians, inflicts flogging, without love or friendship being diminished. The whole world flogs,—the father flogs his son, the husband his wife, the landowner or farmer his peasant, without thereby causing either malice or irritation. The back of the Russian is accustomed to be flogged; nevertheless the nerves of that part of his body are more sensitive than his soul; the blows pain, but reform him, if they are justly inflicted. All the officers maintain that the most stubborn *mauvais sujets* are reformed in the end,—the very reverse of the usually supposed effect of the stick in the West. Desertion in face of the enemy is punished by running the gauntlet three times through the battalion, and as many as three thousand blows are sometimes inflicted; elsewhere a bullet would be the fate of the offender. The hard-nerved Russian generally survives his punishment: the blows are not severe, but many.

The knout, that well-known symbol of Russianism with some people, was never used for a military punishment: with very few exceptions, it was inflicted only upon the worst offenders before they were sent to Siberia: it was awarded for crimes which in other countries, previously to the late abolitionist agitation, were

punished with death. A short time ago it was entirely given up.

The Russians, who are so constantly represented as barbarous and cruel, appear to have felt at all times a greater repugnance to the punishment of death than the Germanic and Romanic races. It is awarded in Russia only in cases of high-treason, which is naturally the greatest of all offences in a country where God, the Czar, and Fatherland are so intimately united in the sentiments of the people.

I have hitherto spoken favourably of the use of the stick in Russia, but I cannot do this of the extent to which it is administered. Individual officers have an arbitrary power of inflicting this punishment within very extensive limits. A lieutenant by a simple order can administer one hundred and fifty, a colonel five hundred, blows; passion and a hot temper may often inflict a considerable punishment for offences which have never been committed. This evil is indeed less felt in Russia than it would be elsewhere, from the paternal position which every military superior, as well as every landowner, occupies, according to the ideas of the Russians; these things too invariably look much worse upon paper than they are in reality. In the West however this arbitrary power cannot but be regarded as an evil.

The Emperor Nicholas is said to be of the same opinion; but it is difficult, and often hazardous even for absolute power to change old customs; and we need to know Russian life intimately to be able to judge in any particular case whether the abolition of one evil might not lead to the creation of a greater. The Emperor consequently may have had good reasons for hesitation, before making this punishment dependent upon

a judicial sentence. The newspapers have often announced that this was already done; a generally well-informed journal, the 'Soldaten Freund,' asserts it as a positive fact. If the Emperor Nicholas has really ordered this reform, he will no doubt carry it through, if his life is preserved. The punishment of flogging would thus be upon the same footing in Russia as in England.

The allowance of food to the Russian soldier is said in Europe to be insufficient, not so much from the smallness of the rations as their diminution by the officers. Whatever may have been the case formerly, it is unjust to make this accusation at present. The author of this Work has many times arrived unexpectedly among various bodies of troops, and convinced himself of the good quality and abundance of the soldier's fare: he found it bad only in some parts of the Caucasus; but the supplies are there obtained with great difficulty, and the Czar is at a great distance.

The Russian arrangements with regard to this subject are of a very peculiar kind, and it is difficult to judge of them without some acquaintance with the nature of the *Artell.* This is a common fund, composed of all sums due to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of a company; it arises from deductions made from their pay, allowances by the Government, and the sums received for extra services in public or private works; the latter, in many places, are not merely permitted, but even encouraged: the profit accruing goes to the *Artell.*

The purchase of vegetables and salt, of materials of dress, needles and thread, and such like things, together with the cost of horses and carts for the conveyance of the provisions of a company, are defrayed out of the *Artell.* The soldier receives his share only when he

leaves his company: this is said to amount not unfrequently to 150 roubles (silver?). According to orders recently issued the *Artell* is divided into two separate funds, one of which is set apart for the use of the soldiers on leaving the service, the other may be devoted to general purposes during their period of service. Some non-commissioned officers and soldiers, elected by a majority of votes, have the charge of this fund. This entire arrangement is a striking exemplification of the associative spirit of the Russians, and at the same time a highly efficient means of maintaining and increasing the military *esprit de corps*. The *Artell* is of popular origin, but it has been adopted and encouraged by the Government, which is aware of its value.

Provisions are delivered monthly to the troops: each soldier receives 2 *tchetveriks* (nearly 1½ bushel) of rye flour; 1½ *garnetz* (half a peck) of groats; 12 *veseks* of brandy; 9 pounds of meat: the ration of flour is sufficient to supply about four pounds of bread daily. One pound of bread being generally equivalent to a quarter of a pound of meat, it is evident that the regulation allowance is greater in Russia than in Prussia, and equal to that in England, where it is the most abundant. We must however not lose sight of the fact that the colder climate renders more nourishment necessary, as in the case of the White Russian peasants, who can daily consume as much as seven pounds of bread without any remarkable change in their outward condition.

A glance at the pay of the Russian soldiers shows us that they are less able to supply from this resource any deficiencies in their allowance than the Prussian; in time of peace the Russian receives only from three to six roubles sixty copeks silver annually (the *élite* troops

receive the highest pay), or 1*s.* 8*d.* a month. From this amount are deducted the sums mentioned above, and thus it often happens that literally nothing remains to the soldier. Under peculiar circumstances however the pay is frequently doubled and even trebled in the field. The abundant supplies which are sent to the Prussian soldier from his home, both during war and peace, are wanting in Russia; and it is evident that, even without any fraudulent diminution of it, the food of the soldier must be scanty if confined to the regulation allowance. I am assured however by one who has known the army well for many years, that the soldier has an abundance of everything; and in proof of his assertion he enumerates the four chief sources from which the subsistence of the Russian soldier is derived:—1, being quartered with the peasants; 2, living in barracks and permanent quarters; 3, in cantonments in the military colonies of the south; 4, the concentration of larger corps.

A majority of the active troops, that is, the six infantry corps, are always in a state of readiness to take the field, and are quartered upon the peasants, who have to maintain the troops, in return for the rations which are given to them. The soldier is never stinted as long as the peasant himself has any provisions left, and the latter seldom suffers from dearth. A frequent change of place prevents any excessive burden falling on the peasants.

The Guards, the Grenadier corps, the garrison-troops and those of the line, the army of the Caucasus, etc. live in barracks and permanent quarters. They have usually large vegetable gardens, which they cultivate, and which yield so large a produce, that it is calculated more vegetables are sold than purchased by the Russian troops. This is the more important from the fact, that

the *shtchi*, or cabbage soup, is the chief element of the Russian diet. Garrisons which are particularly unhealthy or indigent receive allowances from the Crown: some of the garrisons in the Caucasus, for instance, have extra supplies of wine, tobacco, and coffee.

Eight divisions of cavalry, with their artillery, are quartered during peace in the military colonies of Kharkof and Kherson. Their food, which is abundant, is provided from the resources of the colony.

It would be an error to conclude, from the shrivelled appearance of the Russian soldier, that he suffers from want. In his tight coat and ugly grey capote* he no doubt forms an unfavourable contrast to the full-bearded peasant in his imposing kaftan; and we may regret that it has been considered impossible to form a European army with the Russian dress. It would be unjust to attribute the attenuated appearance of the soldier to insufficiency of food, vice, and sickness alone; and it must not be forgotten that there is no soldier in the world who endures so many of the fatigues of war during peace as the Russian. Persons moreover well-informed on these points will be inclined to regard this spareness as a sign of good condition, as the sportsman does that of the race-horse.

Tight lacing of the waist was very common in former days, and many liver and eye complaints were caused thereby; it has been much diminished of late. The common soldiers never carried this practice to the ex-

* In the capote we perceive how the climate has prevailed over fashion. It is as long as the kaftan, and longer that the French capote; it constitutes however the principal part of the soldier's dress: the coat is used only on parade or as a waistcoat. On march the soldiers button the skirts of the capote to their knapsack.

tent imagined in the West. The finely formed hips and broad shoulders and chest of the Great Russian give him in the eyes of a foreigner a laced appearance. The principal colour of the soldier's coat is dark green, the Cuirassiers wear white, and some Hussars blue. The arms of the infantry are a simple musket (percussion-locks are not general), and some few battalions have rifles. To shoot well is not usually regarded so valuable a quality as in other countries. The leather articles are of extraordinary beauty, and fit close to the shape without being buttoned; they can thus be put on in a moment, and the battalions frequently take off their armour during a pause in the manœuvres. Since the Turkish war the first line of the Cuirassiers carry lances, and the Dragoons have a bayonet:* each horseman has his pistol, sword, etc. fastened to his body, according to a plan invented by the Emperor Nicholas.

The heavy cavalry and the troops of the line have high-bred horses, which, after the English, are the largest in Europe. Formerly all the horses in Russia were small, and, according to the testimony of Lord Somerset, the cavalry, as late as 1815, had smaller horses than the Prussian. The same General-officer again saw them in 1837, and was astonished at the complete change which had taken place. Such horses as those in the Chevalier Guard are to be found, it is said, in English regiments alone. Light cavalry and artillery horses cost sixty silver roubles (£9. 12*s.*); those of the Cuirassiers of the line 120 roubles.

Arms, powder, clothes, and leather articles of all kinds are made in Russia, many of them in factories belonging

* The Emperor Nicholas formed a corps which could be used either as cavalry or infantry.

to the Crown; the material is also chiefly the produce of the Russian soil, and some (wood, leather, etc.) are extraordinarily cheap. Even in the article of saltpetre Russia is independent of the East Indies, procuring it in large quantities from Little Russia.

The price of articles of dress is generally low; a pair of boots costs seventy copeks; soldiers' cloth, ninety-five copeks the arshine; shirt-linen, nine copeks the arshine. The dress of a soldier consists of one uniform, one pair of winter and one of summer trousers, one cloak, one cravat, three shirts, three pairs of boots, and one cap: these articles together cost the Crown eleven roubles and eighty copeks silver, or seven roubles yearly per head, and remain in the possession of the soldiers after being worn the usual time. The shako (now a helmet) is reckoned among the arms.

These prices are considerably lower than the actual cost, as the materials which are alone taken into the above estimate are delivered to the regiments to be prepared by workmen of their own. The Government in Russia seeks to make the regiments as independent as possible, on account of the great distance of many of the stations from the industrial districts of the Empire. A Russian army does not live by requisitions, and consequently carries with it an immense quantity of baggage: this is the reason of the short marches when large corps took the field.

The entire economical management of the regiments used to be in the hands of the Colonels; but the combination of this with the command nowhere conduced to the advantage of the service, and it has therefore been abolished, or very much curtailed, in the armies of the West. It will be easily understood that the abuse was

greater in Russia than in other countries, although never so great as was believed in Europe. The Emperor Nicholas has subjected it to the most severe control, which must have been much facilitated by the distribution of the army into brigades, divisions, inspections, etc. The Colonels are now responsible with their fortunes for the number and quality of the articles confided to them. Numerous and rigorous inspections have reduced these principles to practice, and abuses are said to be now rare. It was recently reported that the Emperor had transferred the economical management of the regiments from the Colonels to a class of distinct military officials; this indeed would be the most effectual remedy, but I cannot vouch for the truth of the report.

But whatever may be the influence of abuses upon the condition and effective force of the troops, and upon the quality of the outfit, we must not forget that their effect upon the moral character of the soldiers is not such as it would be in the West. From what has been already said upon this point, it is evident that the Russian is not affected by such things in the same degree as the Englishman or North German. The ideas of the Russians with regard to dishonestly acquired wealth are not the same as with us, and a little deviation from the strict limits of *meum* and *tuum* is not instantly punished with contempt. In the Communal system it is evident that perfectly different ideas with regard to property prevail in Russia from those found among the Germans. As I have before mentioned, French Court manners and the peculiarities of the Russian character have combined to regard ancient German honesty as romanticism, and a proof of limited faculties. It would be wrong therefore to infer that a Russian regiment would treat a Comman-

der of suspicious honesty in the same manner as a Prussian or English one, dissembling their indignation and resentment, and only awaiting an opportunity to ruin him. The Russian compassionates an offender punished by the law, and calls him "unfortunate:" he regards in the same light a person whom the Emperor's justice punishes in pursuance of his rigorous measures against financial corruption; thus discipline and subordination remain unshaken.

Subordination is even still more exact in Russia than in England; but whatever the distance between officer and soldier, the separation of the class of officers from that of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers is not the same as in Germany and England, and the circumstance that a part of the Lieutenants are old non-commissioned officers make it still more dissimilar. We must also bear in mind that subordination in Russia does not suffer from familiarity. In England and Germany the officers avoid mingling with the soldiers under their command, not merely from aristocratic pride, but from a fear of diminishing the habit of punctual obedience: it is quite otherwise in Russia. From the anecdotes related of Suvorof we know how familiar he was with his soldiers, and the latter address their officers on march with *Batiushka* (Father), while joining with them in frolic and song. "Your Highness" is the formal mode of address in the service; and the same man who has just exclaimed "Father" in the good-humoured way of the Russians, will receive an order the moment afterwards, in the stiffest military attitude, with "I obey your Highness." The hatred formerly felt toward foreign officers doubtless arose partly from their not conforming to this Russian custom. At Narva and Zorndorf the

foreign officers were massacred by their own soldiers in the midst of the carnage; a change however has taken place, and all who are not Russians seek to be regarded as such.

I must also mention the religious aids employed by the Government. The simple faith of the Russian is not merely indulged, but encouraged: all the soldiers carry their amulets and saints' pictures with them, and each regiment has a large establishment of popes and church apparel. Prayers and other exercises of devotion are frequent, and all the officers, from the Emperor downwards, vie with each other—believers as well as freethinkers—in giving an example of humiliation before God. At nearly every review of the troops the Emperor partakes of the Lord's Supper in the midst of the soldiers, and kisses the pope's hand like the lowest drummer. At the festival of Easter he walks out of his room and embraces the sentry, exclaiming at the same time, "Christ is risen!" The sentry replies, "He is risen in truth!" On one occasion, it is said, a sceptical sentry replied, "So they say." The man was a Tatar, whom chance and the recruitment had placed in one of the regiments of the Guards: since that time none but orthodox Christians have been posted there.

The numerous external marks of distinction may be ranked among the spiritual levers of a no very elevated kind; they follow immediately after the religious ones: "Pray to God, from whom come victories and miracles. God is our leader and General. Let us die for the honour of the Virgin Mary, for your mother the Empress, and the whole Imperial family. The Church prays for those who die, and honours and rewards await the survivors!" These words of Suvorof indicate clearly the sen-

timents of the Russian soldiers, for Suvorof knew them better than any other person, either before or since his time. When Francis II. was in Paris, he ordered the Russian Generals to be admitted to his presence, with the words, "Now let sun, moon, and stars enter!" The Russian system of Orders has been much exposed to ridicule since that time; nevertheless it has been extensively imitated; but it must be confessed that decorations have more effect in Russia than in the West, where all who have no Orders profess to despise them, and with many this feeling is genuine; whilst those who possess them shrug their shoulders—honestly or not—at their ribbons and crosses, a few rare and real marks of distinction perhaps excepted. In Russia, on the other hand, high and low are ready to sacrifice everything to obtain these distinctions, the possession of which they regard as a real honour. I do not however mean it to be supposed that a Russian Order is always a sign of merit: it is as often a mere token of favouritism as in Germany, but no one in Russia ever pretends to regard it as worthless.

In the Russian army we meet with nearly the same titles and grades as elsewhere: a few Russian names occur, such as *Polkovnik* (commander of a regiment, from *polk*, regiment) instead of Colonel; *Podpolkovnik*, Lieutenant-colonel, etc. The pay is as follows:—Lieutenant-general, 1116 silver roubles a year; Major-general, 838; Colonel, 502 to 560; Lieutenant-colonel, 419; Major, 336; Captain, 307 to 419; Second Captain, 282 to 336; Lieutenant, 238 to 307; Second Lieutenant, 224 to 282; Ensign, Cornet, 209 to 238; non-commissioned officers, 10 to 123. In comparison with that of other countries, the pay of the officers above the

rank of Captain is indeed very low; but they receive pay for service, in addition to that for *Tchin* or rank, the former sometimes exceeding the latter, in case the officer commands a battalion. The unattached officers also receive pay for *Tchin*.

The officers of the army, like the official nobility in general, appear to indulge in luxury beyond the means of their pay. The promotion indeed of educated, brave, and well-connected officers is rapid, and arises not so much from the vacancies caused by death and sickness, as from the custom prevalent among the rich nobility of making their rank in the army a step to the more profitable posts in the administration, or a means merely of asserting their nobility, and enabling them to retire to their estates. This is also one of the causes of the great preponderance of the German nobility from the Baltic Provinces in the higher posts, and is a proof that the military profession has itself attractions for the Germans, whilst the Russians adopt it as a means to other ends.

The mode of recruiting the corps of officers has already been alluded to in a general way. The number of sons of the nobility systematically educated in cadet-houses has enormously increased during this century, and is still increasing. Whatever may be said against this kind of education in cadet-schools, it is the only means in Russia of making the army independent of the West, from the want of military science in the country. These institutions are the more important to the army, as the national pride and aversion to foreigners, together with the difficulty of the language, diminish the efficiency of foreign officers, against whom the Russian soldier is disposed to mutiny on critical emergencies,

whereas he never behaves better than under good native officers.

Peter I. gave the first impulse to the military education of the young nobility in his "Companies of Pleasure," and also established a kind of special school for the artillery and engineer corps in Moscow. Marshal Münnich founded what may be called the first military school, named the "School of Officers," with 180 boys, sons of Great Russian nobles, and 50 from Esthonia and Livonia; a naval academy was founded in 1743. These institutions were increased and extended; but officers were still imported in large numbers from the West, until the great development which the system of military schools received under Alexander. Following the example and advice of the Emperor, and incited by the increasing interest in military affairs, the nobility began to found similar institutions for their children. The first was in Tula (1801), and that of Tambof followed the next year. Zeal in the cause increased, and was more than ever encouraged by Nicholas. Individual noblemen founded rich institutions; Count Araktcheyef left a large legacy to the Crown for the establishment of a cadet-school which bears his name. In the year 1835 Colonel Count Bakhtin devoted his whole fortune to this object, 1,600,000 roubles in money and 2700 souls, reserving a life-interest to himself; in 1836 Colonel Tchertikof gave about the same sum, whilst the Crown was continually founding new institutions or enlarging the old ones.

According to the Military Encyclopædia, there are at present in all twenty-eight establishments for the education of officers, one of which is for those of the navy. The number of pupils amounts to nearly 10,000, of whom

1000 enter the service every year; about 800 to 900 of these appear to join the army. The twenty-seven establishments for the education of officers for the army are divided into various classes.

The first difference we find is in the furnishing and arrangement of the institutions; for, as the admission of the pupil is generally conditional upon the services of his father, and the education is defrayed by the Government, the children of Generals are consigned to institutions of a more elegant description than those of the other officers.

The institutions are also classed according to the degree of instruction imparted, and the destination of the pupils. They are as follows:—1. An institution at St. Petersburg, the Alexander Corps, for the education of four hundred children until their twelfth year, chiefly orphans. 2. Seventeen institutions exist in the different Governments for the education of the children of officers and noblemen, generally of twelve to eighteen years of age; but there are separate departments for young orphans, or the children of very poor parents. 3. There is in St. Petersburg one institution for all these seventeen, which serves as a superior school to prepare the students for the officers' examination, and is called the Noble Regiment, with a thousand pupils. 4. Five other establishments for studies of a superior kind. 5. Three establishments for special arms (engineers and artillery). 6. The Military Academy for the education of officers for the general Staff.

The system of instruction in the ordinary institutions is divided into three courses, preparatory, general, and superior. The superior course alone includes a scientific study of military subjects; the two others are more for

general education, in which the modern languages play an important part. With all are united practical military exercises.

The Alexander Corps and one of the Government Cadet-corps are limited to the first course; sixteen of the latter to the two first; the Cadet-corps in the capital comprises all these; the Noble Regiment only the third.

The whole of the military schools—the Cantonist establishments included—form a common administrative system, to which several other schools, arranged like the military ones but for civil purposes, are joined; such as the three institutes for roads and bridges, mines and forests, the Tzarskoselo Lyceum, etc.

Notwithstanding the frequent recruitment of the corps of officers from the cadet institutions, it is not at all equal to the demand. Calculating that on an average one officer is required to forty men, Russia would need, in case she should call under arms the whole of her regular troops (the number of whom we have estimated at a million) about 25,000 officers. But she retains 16,000 to 17,000 officers in the troops of the line belonging to the active garrison-corps and the skeleton reserve troops. About one-twentieth of these are replaced by cadets systematically educated; the deficit is supplied by the young nobles in the regiments becoming officers, and the non-commissioned officers who are promoted after twelve years' good service. The latter however are generally consigned as officers to the garrison corps of workmen. The non-commissioned officers are not excluded from any kind of promotion; but we may conclude that the demand for officers is supplied more and more by young men of regular education, from the fact that considerable premiums are awarded to subordinate officers

who make no use of their right to promotion. We can hardly assume therefore that the majority of the Russian officers are equal in scientific training to those of the standing army of Prussia, except in the case of such as fill the higher posts, in whom this training is of the greatest importance.

The Russian corps of officers however have enjoyed for thirty-five years a species of instruction much superior to what is acquired in the schools, and which has been wanting to the majority of the Western armies,—the Austrian not excepted,—I mean, two great wars and a continual petty war on a large scale. The latter, in the Caucasus, carries off a great proportion of officers, the Circassian sparing his dearest powder for them; the survivors however are all the better soldiers.

The continual concentration of large bodies of troops has likewise given to the Staff a rare dexterity in the handling of considerable masses. A reserve of forty thousand men in St. Petersburg is of common occurrence, and the infantry corps are exercised annually in grand manœuvres. Even if some of these exercises are mere parade practice, as many military critics allege, the Russian officer learns from such reviews the space and time required in manœuvring large masses of troops, not merely from books and calculations, but from frequent personal experience, of which he can avail himself when occasion requires.

Old officers either enter the corps of Invalids or receive a pension, the amount of which depends upon the length of service and the cause and degree of sickness, wounds, etc.

A large number of officers however retire at an early period from the service, when they have attained the de-

sired rank, or with the view of taking higher civil appointments. The majority of the former are obliged to join the reserve troops: a discharge is not always so easily obtained as furlough of uncertain duration. Five years of service (with one campaign) and special domestic circumstances, are required to entitle an officer to apply for the latter: those who receive it are consigned to reserve battalions; but they appear to have a free choice of residence, with only the obligation of keeping the authorities acquainted with it. They receive no pay until called upon to serve, and the time passed on furlough is not reckoned as part of their service with regard to pensions, seniority, decorations, etc.

One peculiarity of the Russian officer's position consists in the punishment inflicted by degradation. This would be regarded as impossible in the armies of the West, but in Russia it has sprung from the necessity of the case; Peter considered it requisite to exercise a direct, and Catherine an indirect, compulsion to induce the nobility to enter the military service, whereas the nobles in the Western countries have at all times courted the profession of arms. To be dismissed or cashiered is the most severe of all punishments, next to death, to the officers in the Western armies; but it is doubtful whether this would not even have been an incitement to the committal of offences among the Russian nobility in former times. In cases therefore which lead to an officer's being cashiered, or even shot, in Western Europe, he is frequently degraded in Russia to the rank of a common soldier. Formerly this punishment is said to have been inflicted at the mere command of the Emperor, and under Paul sometimes for trifling mistakes in exercising the troops, when the fit of excitement was upon that un-

happy but otherwise noble-minded monarch. The pardon of those who had been degraded or cashiered for scandalous offences was still more injurious to the corps of officers.

A complete change however has long since taken place. Degradation and cashiering (the former generally accompanied with a loss of the rights of nobility) now take place only after a judicial sentence, which requires the confirmation of the Emperor. In general they are inflicted only for aggravated offences, although the former is also awarded for death caused in a duel. If the offence is not injurious to honour, the degradation of the officer takes place without loss of rank, and in this case there is no impediment to his restoration; so that, if he distinguishes himself in the field, he often rapidly passes through the degrees in the military service which he had lost. The other officers, too, are said to do their utmost to mitigate the severity of the punishment to these persons. The Emperor frequently commutes the sentence of degradation and loss of decorations into banishment for life, with forfeiture of rank, where the honour of the offender is affected; desiring to deprive him of the possibility of re-acquiring his epaulet; and indeed his desire to implant and nurture chivalrous sentiments is apparent in these arrangements, as likewise in so much else that we meet with in Russia.

Thus it is evident that the degradation of an officer is not so severe a punishment as it appears to West-Europeans, and something may be said in its favour. The fact that more than thirty of the conspirators of the 14th December, 1825, and upwards of three hundred Polish nobles, have at various times been raised in the Caucasus from degradation to the rank of officers, is a proof

that it is not only duellists, or young men whose passions had betrayed them into forgetfulness of their duty, that are re-promoted. How the degradation of these unfortunate men has been decried in the West! In Prussia, for instance, they would have been shot, or have only escaped death to endure the wretchedness of exile. Which of the two is the milder treatment?

CHAPTER XIV.

THE IRREGULAR TROOPS.

COSSACKS.—LITTLE RUSSIAN COSSACKS.—GREAT RUSSIAN COSSACKS.—COSSACKS OF THE LINE OF THE CAUCASUS.—CIRCASSIAN MANNERS OF THE LINE COSSACKS.—MIXTURE OF RACES.—LANCE OR SWORD.—SERVICE OF COSSACKS IN THE ARMY AS A GUARD, AND AS MARAUDERS.—THE MOUNTED COSSACKS' MODE OF FIGHTING.—THEIR AMBITION AND SUPERSTITION.—THE MILITARY COLONIES.—PREPARATION OF THE THEATRE OF WAR.

GERMANY has learned, since the times of Frederick the Great, and the largest part of the European continent since those of Napoleon, that the solid nucleus of the Russian army is surrounded by an atmosphere of swarming warriors, to whom the general name of Cossack is usually given. These formations however, which we have placed under the head of "Irregular Troops," consist of Cossacks only as they deserve without exception the title we have given them. There are Cossacks who are regular troops, and irregular troops who are not Cossacks.

With regard to the two chief races of the Cossacks, the country of the Great Russian Cossacks, on the river Don, is still a Cossack country, whereas that of the Little Russian Cossacks, on the Dnieper, is so no longer.

Little Russian Cossacks.

The origin of the Little Russian Cossacks is probably to be found in that unhappy period of Russian history

when this now powerful race was threatened with destruction by the Mongols and Tatars in the East and the Poles in the West. The islands near the cataracts of the Dnieper offered a refuge, in their distress, to the ardent and zealous patriots, whose country groaned under heathens and Mohammedans, or under those who were heretics in their eyes, although of a kindred (Slavonic) race. As the scattered patriots of ancient civilized Italy took refuge in the Lagunes, and there erected a new state, so did a number of these ardent Russians, on the downfall of their ancient capital Kief, seek shelter in the islands of the Dnieper, preferring poverty and freedom in the desert to slavery at home under a foreign yoke.

The Zaporogians therefore first appeared about the time between Batu Khan's expeditions in the West, in the first half of the thirteenth century, and the conquest of Kief by the heathen Lithuanians in the first half of the fourteenth. The earliest communities of the Little Russian Cossacks were thus probably formed by inhabitants of the ancient capital of the Russians and by Red Russians (Galicians), consisting principally of fugitives and desperadoes: hence their Russian—that is, Little Russian—character, in language, customs, and religion. The perpetual marauding and destructive expeditions of the Tatars, and the oppressions of the Polish and Lithuanian nobles, continually drove many Russians into the new Cossack life in the islands of the Dnieper. From being mere freebooters, they became a bulwark of Poland against the Tatars and Turks, but without ever quite losing their original character. King Casimir united Lithuania with Poland, and raised the Dnieper Cossacks into regular feudatories of the Polish Crown, placing them on an equality with the Polish nobility: hence their

descendants in the Ukraine still call themselves genuine noble Cossacks. The name of Little Russia was at that time given to the districts on the Bug and Dnieper. The Cossacks served Poland as a permanent guard of the frontier territory (Ukraine), and their relations to the former country attained the highest point under Stephen Bathori, which distinguished Prince derived great advantage in his wars from their growing power, succeeded in conciliating them, and gave them a new constitution, based upon the existing one, and conferred upon them many privileges, together with the entire country on the Dnieper and Bug. They appeared in Stephen's army, and that of his ally the Khan of the Crimea, as a light-armed body of cavalry, very similar to those who, in our age, have watered the horses of the Don and Dnieper in the Seine. When Stephen mustered his army before commencing the siege of Pskof (1581), he had two kinds of cavalry, heavy-armed hussars and light-armed Cossacks; but to conclude from this that the Cossacks are a peculiar description of troops, such as Hussars and Hulans, would be even a greater mistake in reference to the Cossacks of that time, than it would be with regard to those people at the present day. The Cossacks still serve as boatmen, and both as infantry and cavalry soldiers, and at the time of which we speak they had fortresses, whence they organized expeditions in their light boats, and kept the coasts of the Black Sea in alarm, where they were long known as enterprising buccaneers, as their brethren of the Don were on that river, the Volga, and the Caspian.

Stephen Bathori determined that only a few thousand men should do service in the Dnieper islands in time of peace. The Russian spirit of association formed them

into a peculiar brotherhood, whose numbers were recruited chiefly from the Ukraine. The celebrated Zaporogians adopted a constitution of their own, which had much affinity to that of the other Cossacks, although in many respects peculiar. They required a life of celibacy from their members, receiving every person into their association who would conform to their usages; whilst, on the other hand, every one was free to leave them without previous notice. At one time they elected their Hetman, at another he was appointed by the Government; when chosen by themselves, it was always for one year, after which he retired into the ranks of the ordinary Cossacks: the officers did the same. Had the Zaporogians not been so entirely of a marauding and unchivalric character, they might have been called the Slavonic Knights of St. John. The fraternity assumed the character of an independent military republic, which in pursuit of its selfish ends did homage sometimes to Poland, sometimes to the Khan of the Crimea, and sometimes to the Sultan. When Hetman Shah made war on his own account upon Moldavia, for which he was beheaded by Stephen Bathori at Lemberg (1578), many thousands of his adherents joined the Cossacks of the Don. The power of the Ukraine Cossacks however was greatly increased by the short-sighted and selfish policy of the Polish republic. The Polish regiments, which were dissolved at the conclusion of the wars of Bathori against Russia, sent crowds of brave men into the Ukraine. Many disputes likewise arose about fugitives from Polish estates; and the mixed settlements of the ambitious Polish nobility, and the democratic and liberty-loving Cossacks, occasioned continual quarrels. The disorders however, which in the times of the pretender Demetrius

again brought Russia to the verge of the precipice, diverted the storms that were collecting in the interior of the Polish republic, at the same time that religious troubles were shaking the German empire to its centre. Russia was saved from destruction: the Peace of Polanovka (1634) freed her, under hard conditions, from her most dangerous oppressor, and from that time dates the fall of Poland.

A powerful military community living within, but independent of, the State, cannot endure tranquillity, especially if national and religious passions place it in a hostile attitude to the Government. Even without social and religious oppression, and perhaps also with less obstinacy and fewer marauding tendencies, the armed Russian community of the Cossacks must sooner or later have come to hostilities with the Polish republic: the storm had long been brewing in the Ukraine, and now came the kindling flash.*

The Poles built a fortress on the Cossack island of Kudak, and garrisoned it with their own troops. The Cossacks destroyed it, and put the garrison to death in 1635: the ringleader in this affair was seized and quartered in Warsaw. Koniecpolski, commander-in-chief of the royal forces, pointing to the fortress, asked the Cossack chief, Bogdan Chmelnicki, and some of his people how he liked Kudak: Chmelnicki, who had just returned from the successful war against the Russians, replied, "There is nothing executed by the hand of man which the hand of man cannot destroy." In December, 1637, the Cossacks took up arms *en masse*, and drove out the Hetman appointed by the King and the Starshinas. The insurrection was again suppressed, and the

* Comp. Herrmann, vol. iv.

number of the Cossacks on the Dnieper was limited to three hundred men; at the same time their marauding disposition was checked, and their liberties and privileges abolished or curtailed. Had Warsaw been the capital of the Russian Czar, and Polish nobles Russian boyars, the Ukraine would perhaps have then become what it is now,—a rich country, with a peaceful agricultural population; but to be oppressed by heretics and foreigners was intolerable to Russian Cossacks. In Bogdan Chmelnicki, whom Koniecpolski himself had elevated to the post of *Pisar* (literally 'writer,' or clerk) of the Cossacks, a competent leader was found, who, being deeply injured both in his property and family relations by the Starosta Tchaplinski, exclaimed, "Tchaplinski has not taken everything from me, so long as I can still wield my sword!"

This was precisely the character whom the discontented and warlike race required. Chmelnicki was not particular about the means he adopted to attain his ends; King Wladislaus IV. instigated him to enter into an alliance with the Tatars, hoping that the Turkish war would thereby be forced upon the Polish Diet, he himself being unable to commence it. The Dnieper Cossacks had at a former period (1516) marched with the Tatars against Moscow. An alliance with Mohammedans against the Roman Catholic nobility of Poland was attended with fewer scruples, and those which still existed were removed by the Greek Archbishop of Kief, Peter Mohilef, who not only sanctioned the war but visited those who were lukewarm in the cause with the anathema of the Church. Exactly ten years after the suppression of the insurrection of 1637–8, (at the same time therefore that the Peace of Westphalia was completing the disruption of Germany,) the terrible war broke out which is

justly regarded as the commencement of the partition of Poland. The Cossacks, greatly strengthened by the inhabitants of the Ukraine, and united with the formidable Crim Tatars (it is said that at least 200,000 Cossacks and Ukrainers and 160,000 Tatar horsemen were in arms), overwhelmed the Polish armies, and Warsaw trembled. The Treaty of Zborow (August 1649) saved the sovereign and his army, and once more restored peace to the kingdom; but the Cossacks recovered their lost privileges to an extent which had long been unknown.

The Russian people of the Ukraine had now shaken off the Polish yoke; they felt their independence and strength, and the weakness of their foreign lords. The conditions of peace, which a few years before might have perpetuated the union between Poland and the Cossacks, were unable to heal the wound now inflicted; and Great Russia regained at the same time a state of internal strength under the second of the Romanofs, Alexei Mikhailovitch, the father of Peter I. Chmelnicki, sixteen years after he had marched as a Polish vassal with the Cossacks against Moscow, offered to enter into an alliance with the Russian Czar. Alexei encouraged the defection of the Cossacks from Poland, and gave a friendly reception to the numerous immigrants from the Ukraine. From them sprang the so-called Slobode regiments on the Russo-Crimean frontier, in the district of Kharkof, which continued a separate Little Russian Cossack colony until 1783, long after the regiments raised among them had been transformed into regulars.

Whilst the negotiations with the Czar were being protracted, a war with the Poles and Tatars, who had been bought over by the former, menaced the Ukraine Cossacks; this decided the breach. In the year 1654

Chmelnicki and the Cossacks subjected themselves at Pereyaslavl to the Czar Alexei, who accepted all their conditions through his plenipotentiary. The war between Russia and Poland ensued immediately afterwards, for the re-conquest of the old Russian frontiers.

The real troubles of the Ukraine now commenced, and were only terminated at the battle of Poltava: they occasioned a disruption among the Little Russian Cossacks, who were never again united as long as these troubles lasted; the majority being found at one time with the Russians, at another with the Poles, and again with the Turks or Tatars, and ultimately even with the Swedes. Kief indeed, and the entire left bank of the Dnieper, together with the supremacy over the community of the Zaporogians, were ceded by Poland to the Czar at the Peace of Andrusof in 1667; but the Little Russian Cossacks were divided by the frontier thus constituted into Polish and Russian feudatories. When Turkey acquired Podolia from Poland, which was weakened by disputes about the throne and other internal troubles, the wavering conduct of the Cossacks entangled Russia in a war with the Porte.

Although it cannot be denied that the effort of the Cossack leaders to establish an independent military state in the country situated between Russia, Turkey, and Poland, was futile, and although some friends of Poland regard the loss of the independent position of the Cossacks as an event of retributive justice, dating from the time of their defection from Poland, and consummated only after the complete destruction of the Polish republic, upon which they had inflicted the first serious blow, still it must be confessed that the liberation of the Little Russians from a foreign yoke first commenced on their

return to their natural ruler, and that this was not too dearly purchased with the loss of the Cossack constitution.

During these contests the Zaporogians maintained an independent position, receiving great accessions to their numbers, and making themselves feared and their alliance sought after. Their Koshevoi Ataman Serko restored to them for a time the reputation of being the bulwark of Christendom, by appearing to support every flag unfurled against the Crescent. Both the Polish hero Sobieski and the Russian Generals received from him valuable aid. On the other hand, a son of Bogdan Chmelnicki, with a large number of Cossacks, did homage to the Sultan; and the ambitious Hetman Doroshenko, aspiring to an independent sway over all the Little Russian Cossacks, allied himself to either side in turn. The Peace of Radzin (1681) at length gave the entire Cossack country, excepting a small part which remained to Poland on the right bank of the Dnieper, into the possession of Russia. Samuel, the last Hetman of the few Cossacks faithful to Poland, was appointed in 1690.

Once more a Hetman of the Little Russian Cossacks was bold enough to aim at the establishment of an empire independent of Russia. Ivan Stepanovitch Mazeppa, a bold, intriguing, and ambitious partisan, who, as Yesaul (adjutant-general) of the Cossacks, had paved the way to the office of Hetman, by sending his predecessor Samoilovitch to Siberia under false accusations, was long a faithful adherent of Peter: but he was incited in his old-age by the splendour of Charles XII. and the still restless disposition of the Little Russian Cossacks, to enter into his famous alliance with the Swedish hero, which led to the ruin of both at Poltava. Peter

punished the faithless Cossacks in a fearful manner, and from that time the Ukraine has been a peaceful province. Two new branches of the Little Russian Cossacks were created by the removal of rebellious individuals from the Dnieper, the Saratof and Samara Cossacks, now merged in those of the Volga. It is well known that 12,000 were consigned, as a punishment, to work on the construction of the Ladoga Canal, and there terminated their career.

The power of the Little Russian Cossacks was in fact now at an end; even the Zaporogians emigrated when their *Setcha* (entrenched camp) was captured by Peter. The sole remains of the Cossack constitution in these districts were abolished in 1784, after the abdication of their Hetman, Kyrill Razumovski, whose post was merely lucrative and honorary, and no longer of any importance. The Cossacks too became superfluous here, when the frontier was extended by the Peace of Kutchuk Kainardji.

Great Russian Cossacks.

The origin of this race probably commenced at the time when the power of the Tatars began to decline. As they appear to have first established themselves upon the Don, this could not have taken place until the dominion of the Tatars below Voronezh was destroyed, unless we regard them as descendants of the Ordinsk and other Tatar Cossacks, a supposition which is negatived by the fact that since their first appearance they have always professed the Christian religion, whilst their manners, customs, and language* have been Russian. The northern

* With the exception of some provincialisms, this is the Great Russian dialect, whilst the Little Russian Cossacks speak the Little Russian idiom.

part of the country of the Don, which is still under a peculiar administration (*Donskoye Voisko*), was their original settlement.

So many branches have sprung from the Don Cossacks that it will be impossible to speak of them all here. The most remarkable is the army of the Line of the Caucasus. The Cossacks who dwell on this Line, which was commenced by Grebensk and Terek Cossacks, have been constituted by the Emperor Nicholas a separate army, with the name of the Line of the Caucasus. They furnish at present, it is said, about 20,000 men for the service. It scarcely needs to be mentioned that these lines have been established against the predatory and warlike tribes of the Caucasus,—against their freedom, as it is said in Europe. I do not mean to dispute this; but, it is surely no legitimate part of their freedom to plunder the plains situated to the north of the Kuban and Terek.

As the regular troops of Russia were educated by their wars with the Swedes, so these Line Cossacks have been trained by their collision with the tribes usually called Circassians. They probably adopted the Circassian clothes, arms, and mode of fighting from the Grebensk and Terek Cossacks. Brave, dexterous, and cunning, like the Circassians, they are the only troops which are equal to the latter in single combat, and are the most chivalrous soldiers in the Russian army: as skirmishers they would be formidable antagonists to any class of European troops. They comprise not only the bravest but the handsomest warriors in the Russian army, and it is not the result of accident that so many handsome, slender forms, and oval faces, so many noble profiles, large dark eyes, and finely-formed lips, are found among

them. Since the time when the Grebensk Cossacks penetrated into the interior of the mountains, many of the Circassian women have probably been married from the *aūl* into the *stanitza*. The war is still waged in the old Cossack manner; the *aūl* is attacked, plundered, and burned, the men cut down, and the women and children carried off; whilst the mountaineers on their side attack the *stanitza* in a similar way. How many a Cossack youth may unwittingly raise his sword against the head that once bent with fatherly tenderness over his cradle! How many a Cossack woman may console herself in the arms of him who shed the blood of her father and brothers, for the vanished hopes of her youth, and for the disappointment of those dreams which fill the souls of Circassian maidens, the objects of which lie not in the Cossack hut on the Terek, but beyond the Black Sea, in the palaces of Ottoman grandees, if not in the seraglio of the Padishah himself!

These Cossacks of the Caucasian Line are also particularly interesting, from the solution which they have given to the question, so often asked and so variously answered, whether the lance should be given to cavalry. Whilst the heavy cavalry in Russia have recently been armed with the lance, the Line Cossacks have abandoned it, and combat like genuine Circassians sword in hand. The Tchernomorski Cossacks and those of the Ural and Don have retained their pikes, but they are by no means so much feared by the Circassians as the Line Cossacks. Whether or not this may be regarded as conclusive against the lance, the Cossacks of the Line have not only adopted the warlike forms but the heroic spirit of these marvellous marauding tribes.

The elements of trouble have almost disappeared from

the constitution of the Cossacks. A species of democratic self-government however still exists in several of their armies, which excites our astonishment at the bugbear of the democrats of the West, that "Europe is to become Cossack."

It has been shown in other parts of this Work that the communal institutions of Russia present the most complete exemplification of the so-called socialistic theories ever reduced to practice.

The chief point in the independence of the Cossacks which has been interfered with, is the right of periodically electing their officers from among themselves: it was a privilege of all the Cossacks, especially of the oldest races, to be commanded and ruled by officers and officials of their own: even now the Hetmans of the Don and Tchernomorski Cossacks are elected from persons belonging to their own race; whilst among all the others, the Hetmans are appointed from the non-Cossacks, and are generally officers of the regular cavalry. This privilege of having officers of their own people is preserved most extensively among the older races, who have no longer however any voice in their election: the Emperor appoints them all—even the lower grades, which are filled exclusively by Cossacks—for life. The appointment of non-Cossacks to the superior posts is based at least as much upon military as political grounds. It has been remarked that the Cossacks are rarely adapted to fill the higher posts, and that they fight much better under foreigners than under their own native officers. The highest Hetmans of the armies are called Kosheviye or Voiskoviye Atamani,—Army Hetmans.

The former ultra-democratic mode of appointment to these posts is at an end, and an hereditary nobility has

been formed among the Cossacks by the Imperial patent. Important and influential families, such as the Platofs, Grekofs, Krasnofs, Kutznetzofs, Orlof-Denisofs, Yelovaiskis, etc., have long existed among them, but the newly created nobility lay claim to the rights of the Russian nobles. As the ancient joint possession of the land, such as still exists among the Ural Cossacks, was abolished in some districts, the Don Cossack nobility began to settle serfs upon their estates. The disputes which hence arose concerning the still existing Communal land led to the Don country being divided into five districts, one only being assigned to the nobility in which to establish their serfs.

Service of the Irregular Cavalry.

The irregular cavalry regiments are especially intended for petty warfare. The security of the Russian army and its communications, the protection of the baggage, prisoners of war, and convoys, the care of the ordnance service and correspondence, relays, etc., are their most important duty: but they have also to attack the enemy in scattered parties; for which kind of service they have great capacity and predilection, as it not only corresponds with their military peculiarities, but presents greater opportunities of profiting by the war. It is related that in 1812–14 a regular line of Cossack posts was formed from the Don to the Seine, without which it would be difficult to understand how the Cossacks carried away those treasures from the West, which were afterwards dedicated to the picture of the Virgin or the beautiful Minka on the Don.

In most armies the service connected with the security of the troops is regularly organized; the order of pro-

viding patrols, outposts, pickets, etc. being exactly prescribed. The Cossacks do not require this; they surround the army, which they guard on all sides, and by their acute senses and traditional military tact, the regular troops enjoy infinitely greater security than the Western armies. Suvorof called the Cossacks "the eye of the army;" he might have called them also its ear and feelers.

This circumstance is the more advantageous to the Russian army, as the regular troops are said to display extraordinarily little aptitude for light service. Thus the strictest division of labour has been observed in their campaigns that has probably ever prevailed in any army: the labour of fighting belongs to the regular, that of guarding to the irregular, troops.

The Cossack is unsurpassed in roving incursions. No European cavalry can make such long marches without sacrificing their horses. In his campaigns in the West the Cossack had sometimes a packhorse with him, but even without this he can perform wonders, and forty miles a day is quite an ordinary achievement for him: he and his horse must be seen, to understand this.* The Cossack is generally a powerful man, and appears too heavy for his horse, although this is not really the case. The sharp withers, the handsome head and stag-neck, the long well-formed bones of the shoulders and pelvis and the short bones of the legs, the handsome chest, the fine and firm hoof, display all the qualities of a good animal. Persons versed in such matters will some-

* Only one thousand regular troops out of the three thousand five hundred despatched on the expedition to Khiva returned; whereas only sixty of the one thousand two hundred Cossacks were lost; the two or three thousand Kirghiz losing even less. This may have arisen from their greater familiarity with the Steppe and its climate, but still it is a proof of the superior strength of the Cossack on the march.

times question his power of carrying a heavy weight, on observing his apparently long though broad loins; but these animals have not unfrequently two ribs additional to other horses, and thus the great distance between the withers and loins is not necessarily a sign of weakness.

A rough exterior often conceals the well-bred descent of the Cossack horse; he has to scrape his fodder in winter from under the snow in the Steppe, and anything he can procure is welcome,—bread, oats, barley, rye, grass, straw, good or bad hay, and hard work. He can climb the hills and swim the stream. At Münnich's assault of the Perekop lines, where the infantry soldiers often clambered over their comrades, making steps of their bayonets, the Cossacks penetrated into the place with the first ranks of the infantry. In 1813, at the capture of Stade, they rode through the old ditches of the fortress up to the rampart, at a place impracticable to any soldier from the West. The Cossack has also a peculiar way of managing his horse; he rides in the Oriental manner, with the knee bent, the stirrup short, the saddle high. The bridle is slack: the horse having been bred in the open air is left to his practised instinct, examining the way with his head close to the ground, and exercising his intelligence to obey his master with as little trouble as possible. Although the knee of the horse is often bent, he rarely stumbles. People in the East cannot understand why we tie up our horses' heads, and bestow so much care in guiding an animal which is not unfrequently cleverer than its master.

The bit as well as the bridle of the Cossack is simple and convenient; he speaks to his horse, who understands his master's language. The Cossack himself displays

unwearied activity, dismounting and leading his horse whenever practicable; the latter is accustomed to feed at any time of the day, and his rider never neglects an opportunity of feeding him. Whenever there is a halt, even under fire in battle, the Cossack may be seen reaching something to his horse, who never despises his food, however indifferent its quality and unusual the time and place in which he receives it. Whoever has once experienced the vexation of seeing his faithful charger, after a severe day's battle, refuse his fodder, whoever has seen a noble animal grow daily weaker under him from rejecting his food, and seen the effect of bivouacking, hard riding, and fodder of indifferent quality, will be able to appreciate the value of this peculiarity of the Cossack horse. He is treated affectionately and managed easily by his master, who possesses a knowledge of his animal, which practice alone can give. The Cossack is the model of a groom and rider of his own horse, as the Englishman is of the high-bred race-horse. The Cossack is bred with his horse; a hearty attachment exists between them, and their common road through life might be regarded as the model of a happy union.

From the acute senses and dexterity of the Cossacks, their extraordinary marches and skill in overcoming difficulties of the ground, the army opposed to a Russian one is as much annoyed as the latter is protected from alarm. Of what avail are the best dispositions of the outposts against soldiers who can elude the dull senses of their enemy? What ground will afford protection against horsemen who are everywhere and nowhere? The enemy must have their baggage-depôts, etc. near them, not too far to the rear, for flying parties of Cossacks can accomplish six ordinary days' march in two, through a

populous country, without being discovered. The campaigns of Tchernitchef in Germany, in 1813, showed the value of Cossacks in this kind of service.

The detachments of an army opposed to Cossacks must either multiply the number of their posts, and have many of them destroyed,* or concentrate them into large bodies, in which case the main army has no rest.

At present some of the Cossacks have trumpeters; formerly they acted without them. When under fire they scatter, and seek to surround and decoy the enemy; then, on a cry, or signal, which is frequently given without any command by a Cossack who discerns the opportunity, they precipitate themselves upon the enemy. They fight well against fire-arms when they have good leaders, although unwillingly, as their principal object is booty. They have a greater passion for decorations than the Russians in general, and vanity has no small share in their valour. With the prospect of a cross, when fighting in the sight of regular troops or an officer of high rank, they display prodigies of valour; but if unnoticed and without encouragement they are less to be relied on than other troops.

Superstition has much influence upon their conduct. The Russian believes in numerous omens, good and evil, but the latter predominate. In the regular army discipline prevents many bad effects which might result from this; but it is different among the Cossacks, with whom much depends upon the *élan* of the individual

* General Von Bismark relates that the Cossacks of the Guard carry their arms so closely attached to their bodies that they make scarcely any noise; the horses too are rarely shod. The officers have bows and arrows, to shoot down noiselessly the enemy's videttes in sudden surprisals. Imagine an outpost on the other side, composed of a German peasant lad or a Parisian tailor!

soldier. If a hare rises, when they are proceeding upon an expedition, it is speedily hunted down and killed with the *nagaika* (a weapon used in hand-to-hand encounters, and against wolves), that the unlucky omen may lose its charm. To meet a priest is also a bad omen. On such occasions they require an experienced leader, who knows but is superior to their weaknesses; and often a well-timed remark or witty observation is as useful as Cæsar's presence of mind in raising the courage of his terrified legions when he fell upon the African strand. A belief in omens may be regarded as one of the many qualities common to the Russian and Roman soldiers; and this superstitious disposition may be the reason why foreign officers have always been more successful commanders of the Cossacks than those of their own race.

To express a general opinion of the irregular troops of Russia, we may describe them as Catalani did Sontag, "Elle est grande dans son genre, mais son genre est petit." We must not however lose sight of the fact, that the Cossacks have sometimes acted most creditably in great military operations; at the assault of Otchakof and Ismail, their volunteers are said to have been in the foremost ranks; and at Leipzig, Count Orlof-Denisof, with the Cossacks of the Guard, rescued in a brave and skilful manner the Allied Monarchs from the attacks of the French Cuirassiers. A detailed military history of Russia would present numerous instances of the same kind.

The formidable reputation however they possess in their peculiar branch of service, is not invariably advantageous. Thus after the battle of Leipzig, it is supposed that more French prisoners would have been taken if the

defeated troops had not so much dreaded the Cossacks; many, who would otherwise have dispersed, exerting their utmost strength to keep up with the columns. The history of the Seven Years' War too abounds in instances of Cossacks compromising the safety of their own army by devastating the country, which did not materially contribute to any decisive result.

The great value of the Cossacks however consists in their relieving the regular cavalry, and enabling them to remain intact for great battles. This strategy is peculiar to the Russian army, and whoever knows how a regiment of cavalry is sometimes reduced on the day of battle by the detachment of troops, will understand its importance.

Military Colonies. Preparations for the chances of War.

It is difficult to add much to what Pidoll* has said in his valuable treatise upon this subject. The circumstances which occasioned the peculiar division of the regular land forces of Russia, the oppressive burden of the recruitment, and the general aversion to service in the army, together with the difficulty and expense of maintaining troops on the western frontier, and the large barren districts capable of cultivation,—have long combined to make the Government desirous of obtaining for Russia the same brilliant results as the Military Frontier has led to in Austria,—brilliant in a fiscal, economical, and military point of view. Alexander, and even Nicholas, it is said, intended to form along the entire western frontier of the Empire a connected line of military set-

* 'A Few Words upon the Military Colonies compared with the Austrian Military Frontiers, etc., by Baron Charles de Pidoll, of Quintenbach.' (Vienna, 1847.)

tlements, with a reference to the chances of a European war, and to colonize in this manner the whole grand army of operations. Any military colonization however on this vast scale has been completely abandoned. Some great experiments have well-nigh miscarried, and even in those colonies successfully established it has been necessary to adopt forms better adapted to the peculiarities of the Russian soldiers and peasants, than those of the inhabitants of the Austrian frontiers; the Russian military colonies are therefore essentially distinguished from those of the latter. The settlements of the Cossacks, and of 2900 soldiers' families established in the Caucasus, alone present any analogy to those of the Austrian frontier.

In all the other colonies the idea was soon abandoned of making the Russian at once a peasant and soldier. It is true that a military administration has been given to these settlements; but the peasant and soldier are two distinct persons, and the latter is only the guest of the former. The peasants are obliged to maintain, directly or indirectly, both the soldier and his horse. Thus the colonies form merely a species of permanent cantonments, and those of the south especially have much resemblance to the peculiar mode of quartering the cavalry which formerly existed, and still exists, in some parts of Hanover.

I have already described an excursion which I made to the colonies of Kharkof, and will refer the Reader for further details to Pidoll, and the authorities from whom I have extracted the following account of the southern colonies. These consist of the colonies in the Ukraine in the Governments of Kharkof, Kherson, Kief, and Podolia, the latter being established for the most part

upon the sequestrated estates of the Polish nobility. In these colonies the troops are thus stationed:—

1. In Kharkof, the first Reserve Cavalry corps, consisting of two divisions of Cuirassiers and Hulans, with forty-eight active and sixteen reserve squadrons. The sixth Light Cavalry Division (belonging to the sixth corps of Infantry, which is generally stationed in the vicinity of Moscow), consisting of thirty-two active and twelve reserve squadrons. To these must be added the Artillery of the first Reserve Cavalry corps, and the Horse Artillery of the sixth Infantry corps, amounting to forty-eight Horse-Artillery guns. Total, eighty squadrons and forty-eight guns, beside the reserves, the workmen battalions, etc.

2. In Kherson, the second Reserve Cavalry corps, consisting likewise of eighty squadrons and forty-eight guns.

3. In Kief and Podolia, a mixed corps of Cavalry and Horse Artillery, belonging to the fifth Infantry corps, consisting of sixty-four active squadrons and four batteries, together with the reserves. Total, two hundred and twenty-four squadrons, with one hundred and twenty-eight horse artillery guns, active troops and reserves.

In addition to these troops from 4000 to 5000 Cantonists have been established in these colonies.

I am assured that the military colonies in the north, in the vicinity of Novgorod, have been complete failures; they were chiefly intended for the Grenadier corps of infantry. It was probably the miscarriage of this attempt which caused the idea of a general colonization to be abandoned. The Novgorod colonies are at present more like a domain placed under the special administration of the Ministry of War.

As far as I can form any opinion, I agree with Pidoll

as to the small fiscal advantage arising from the military colonies, although they may possibly be of some use, both in a military and economical point of view, especially in the case of a war with Turkey.

Excepting the small colonies in the Caucasus, the present military colonies of Russia do little more than form and maintain a numerous and efficient cavalry, at the same time that they extend cultivation over districts hitherto barren. They have been retained only in districts which possess a fertile soil, and the cavalry here will gradually form, in an economical manner, a class of troops intermediate between the loose Cossack rabble of former times and the best fighting cavalry in Europe. Considering the favourable conditions possessed by the colonial districts,—open plains, corn, grass, and hay in abundance, with a climate well suited to horses,—the most favourable prognostics must be formed for the Russian cavalry. The fact that 350 squadrons were manœuvred in 1837, at Vosnesensk, is sufficient to prove its importance.

It has often been asserted that the military colonies would constitute a hotbed of political discontent, and sanguine hopes have even been founded upon this surmise of the internal decline of Russia. It cannot be denied that serious and sanguinary disturbances have taken place, especially in the Novgorod colonies; but these disturbances appear to have been caused solely by the dissatisfaction arising from the bad administration of the colonial institutions,—a cause of discontent which may be regarded as completely removed in the southern colonies. A prætorian significance like that of the Roman *castra stativa* cannot be attributed to the Russian colonies, as they do not comprise the most important arm in war, infantry.

I cannot better conclude my observations upon the belligerent power of Russia than by inviting attention to the arrangements made with a view to the chances of war.

Russia is in a condition to employ two different systems of military operations. One, the cordon system, (which has been stigmatized with proverbial contempt in military and other circles since the time of Napoleon), has been adopted to an extent which Lascy himself can hardly have dreamt of. In the Caucasus, for instance, and the Orenburg Lines, the active forces are distributed into separate lines of small fortresses (*kreposti*), extending over a vast territory, where it would not be difficult for a European army of 10,000 men to conquer the hundred thousands of Russia, from the peculiar manner in which the latter are distributed. A great operation with 50,000 men, carried into the homes of the restless mountain tribes, could only lead to a great sacrifice of men and material without producing any result; but these Lines, which are gradually pushing their approaches into the mountains, in a continual war of blockade, at times interrupted by a razzia against an *aūl* of the enemy, are probably the only means of attaining the object of the war. For although some of the weak and isolated entrenchments may be occasionally forced by the mountain tribes, they are in general too strong to be taken by soldiers who are obliged to spare their powder and unacquainted with artillery, except at a sacrifice quite incommensurate with any advantage to be gained. Their capture too would require so much time, and create such alarm, that the retreat of the captors might easily be interrupted by the Cossacks. The notorious Cordon systems of Lascy may in-

deed be regarded as a result of the defective genius of the Austrian military circles where they originated, which the science of grand military operations has long condemned, and with which these Russian Lines must not be confounded. It would be absurd to carry on war in the Caucasus as Napoleon did in Europe.

There is no doubt that Russia would proceed upon a perfectly different principle in case of a war in the West. She would there adopt that grand and energetic strategy, which renders war in civilized and open countries more dangerous to the existence of States, than oppressive to peaceful citizens and peasants, who, whatever may be said, have usually more regard to their domestic happiness than the greatness or even the independence of their country.

In Turkey and Poland Russian strategy sought to strike great blows; the first disasters in the latter country were partly the result of bad fortune, partly the consequence of mistakes in execution, rather than of any fundamental defect in the plan of operations.* The sudden defection of the Polish army also caused an unexpected want of military supplies, so that, according to Tanski, Russia was with difficulty able to muster 120,000 men in two months against the Poles. I have already mentioned the great change which has taken place, and the experience of 1830–31 is said to have confirmed the Emperor Nicholas in his resolution of making a complete reform in the organization of his grand army. But the importance of the mass of troops always disposable in the West can only be fully appreciated by considering the basis of the grand belligerent power of Russia.

* The Russian army was much enfeebled (more than 100,000 men) by the fearful losses in the Turkish war of 1828–9.

I have already spoken of the importance of Sevastopol in a war either in European or Asiatic Turkey. The fortresses on the Pruth and Dnieper complete the strategic system in that quarter. There is likewise a powerful basis for the fleet in the harbours of the Baltic, the most important of which is Kronstadt.

The fortresses however in Poland, old and new, are of the greatest importance to Europe. I am unable to describe them minutely, either from personal inspection or from any accounts in my possession; but there is no doubt that Russia, especially since 1830, has, by her immense constructions in Poland,—fortifications, arsenals, magazines, etc.—created a more formidable increase of her military power against the West, than by the increase or distribution of the army of operations. This basis in Poland affords the numerous troops equipped there even in time of peace, so great a facility for opening a campaign, especially against Prussia, that the latter country might be regarded as the only Power not in a condition to prosecute successfully a war against her eastern neighbour. This is said of that Prussia, whose greatest Prince, less than a century ago, regarded the enmity of Russia as of little moment, when he—the ruler of seven millions at the utmost—was commencing a war against the half of Europe.

At the first glance Prussia might be supposed to have most improved her basis of operation by the partition of Poland. This was in some measure the case so long as she, and afterwards Saxony, possessed the district of Warsaw, and even until the time when Russia acquired perfect liberty of action in the kingdom of Poland, as established by the Congress of Vienna. We must bear in mind that the eastern point of Silesia during the

Seven Years' War was enclosed in a different manner towards the north, where Posen constitutes the point of junction with the north-east of Prussia, from what is the case at present; East Prussia was then completely separated from the body of the monarchy by the Polish possessions which now form the province of West Prussia. But although the foreign wedge driven into the east of Prussia during the Seven Years' War was larger and penetrated deeper than at present, the smaller one is of incomparably greater strength. It was a comparatively slight disadvantage to Prussia that a part of the feeble Polish Republic occupied *vis-à-vis* to her a position which, under certain circumstances, might have been attended with great dangers: for there was little probability of Poland's taking advantage of this position, as she remained neutral when the hereditary country of her King (Saxony) was being conquered. Although this neutrality was not complete, and the Russian armies during the Seven Years' War established themselves on the Vistula and Wertha in the midst of the neutral territory, these facts had not the importance which might be attributed to them now. A basis of operations established during the course of a war is necessarily more feeble than one prepared systematically during peace. To form this requires time, which is gained by the enemy. The vicinity too of this hostile basis to Berlin was less dangerous at that period than it would be now; for the temporary capture of the Mark and the capital was not then of vital importance to Prussia, nor, with the tactics of those days, was a rapid advance from the Vistula to the Spree to be apprehended. Two campaigns were formerly considered necessary to effect this in great force; one to acquire a basis of operations on

the Oder, the other to advance further. Finally, and this is the most important point, the forces which Russia could muster for a foreign war had not attained their complete development.

An entire change has taken place, by the firm establishment of the Russian power in Poland. Territorial advantages are of no avail unless secured by an army, and the great importance of Poland to Russia in case of a war with Prussia is assured by the large and completely organized military force in the former country.

Before the year 1812 Russian armies took part in German wars only as auxiliary troops. That year showed clearly that the real strength of Russia then lay in her immense line of retreat, and that she requires no fortresses to defend her against the united forces of Europe, being always able to continue her retreat until the enemy is weakened by the detachment of troops and sickness, whilst her own army is reinforced by accessions from the interior, and a balance or even superiority of force is established. At Mozhaisk, although Napoleon had opened the campaign with nearly a fourfold superiority of force, and was so great a master in the art of concentrating an overwhelming mass of troops at the decisive point and moment, the Russian army is said to have been almost as strong as that which he was able to assemble for the battle. At that time too no organization existed on the frontier for supporting the army of operations, and enabling it to counteract the combinations of the enemy.

A consideration of these events of 1812 indicates the views which have led to the establishment of new and the extension of old fortresses in Poland. The latter were doubtless intended partly to strengthen the means

of offence, and partly to repress the revolutionary elements in Poland. The defence of the country is also facilitated by these fortresses; but in case Russia should again permit the troops of a European coalition to assemble unmolested against her, her true defence could only be found in the endless depths of the Empire. It is easy to say that the true defensive basis of the Russian army lies to the south-east of Moscow; but what a dire calamity for the Russian people, and destruction of their internal prosperity, are associated with the idea of a plan of operations, of which the conflagration of Moscow was only a single point, however this event and the retreat of the army may have sprung from a deeply studied system of defence. The basis established on the Vistula enables Russia to adopt measures against a European invasion by assuming the offensive, as Frederick II. did in 1756 by the invasion of Saxony and Bohemia, to destroy the coalition which was forming, but not yet prepared to take up arms, against him. It would also enable Russia, if cherishing designs of conquest, to pursue them in a decisive manner, especially against Prussia.

The above-mentioned basis contains all the materials of war which a Russian army of operation could require in the West. The latter would remain a long time independent of the interior of Russia for its arsenals, munition, recruits, horses, and clothing, and would paralyze a Prussian army issuing from the east of Prussia and Silesia to oppose the junction of Russian corps proceeding from Poland. The fortifications of Posen would afford to Prussia, in case of a sudden outbreak of hostilities with Russia, a convenient rendezvous for the Landwehr rather than an important support to a Prussian counter-operation; and, if I may be allowed to prophesy some-

what boldly, I would say that if such a war broke out, a battle would be fought for the possession of Berlin, before the troops from Eastern Prussia and Silesia could commence operations in the field.

In fact, on a review of these circumstances, it is impossible to resist the conclusion, however melancholy it may be, that Prussia is the only country which could not anticipate a favourable result from a war with Russia. The more astonishing is it to find a war against Austria, Saxony, Bavaria, and Russia recommended to Prussia by persons who profess the utmost fear of the extension of Russian power, as if any more certain means could be imagined for bringing about that very result! The fact that such a war has not broken out, proves more clearly than any theorizing that Russia does not desire for the present, nor indeed for a long time to come, to make conquests in the West, however resolved she may appear to take up arms for the defence and tranquillity of her frontier districts. No better opportunity of conquest for Russia can be imagined than the event of a war between Prussia and Austria, and nothing could have been easier than for Russia in the years 1848 to 1850 to produce such a catastrophe; indeed, according to all appearances, war would have broken out between these two Powers but for her friendly intercession.

It is nevertheless melancholy to a German to see this threatening peril impending over his country, and her safety dependent upon the will of the Russian Emperor. Did we not know that men inflamed by passion are deaf to the lessons of history, we might hope that a remembrance of the danger which Germany has again escaped in 1850 would render the Governments cautious, conciliatory, and united for the future.

How different must a Russian's sensations be on observing the present state of the world! His apparently unassailable country needs not, even in a time of difficulty, as in 1830–31, fear the intervention of the disunited countries of the West, which all know that their most threatening neighbour is in the East, although the continual outbreaks of political passions prevent party hatred from being quenched, even in face of the danger that threatens them. What then must a Russian think, when he reflects that the West, with all its civilization, if blinded by passion, is liable to expose itself to attack, as in 1848–50, when the will of the Czar may alone be left to determine whether the frontier of Russia is once more to be pushed forward into the heart of Europe!

Armed Russia therefore, with better reason than peaceful Russia, may inscribe upon her banners, "I sit upon the shore and await the wind."

CHAPTER XV.

THE NAVAL POWER OF RUSSIA.

HISTORICAL REMARKS.—DIVISION OF THE FLEET.—THE BALTIC FLEET.—MANNING THE SHIPS.—THE BLACK SEA FLEET.—SEVASTOPOL.—SURVEY OF THE FLEETS.

On July 15th, 1836, the festival was celebrated for the first time after a period of one hundred and thirteen years, in which the boat of Peter the Great, regarded as the commencement of Russia's naval power, and said to have been built by Peter himself, was conducted through the fleet. Twenty-six ships-of-the-line, twenty-one frigates, ten brigs, and seven smaller vessels, fired an imperial salute, in the roadstead of Kronstadt, in honour of the tiny "Grandpapa," when he was borne through the line of his descendants on the deck of one of the steamers. An important period in Russia's history has elapsed between the construction of this small boat and that of the enormous Navy, but it has been less brilliant for the latter than for her twin-sister the Army.

Peter ardently desired to render his people powerful at sea, and to consolidate their newly-created position by commerce and a formidable flag. At first the army was regarded as only a means to that end, being destined to conquer the countries on the coast, the scene of the rise and progress of the navy. The result has

not corresponded with these anticipations, and the Navy has remained of secondary importance.

The Navy consists of two divisions, the Fleet of the Baltic, and that of the Black Sea. It will be sufficient to indicate the existence of some armed vessels on the inland waters, such as the Caspian. These two fleets consist of five divisions of large ships, three in the Baltic, and two in the Black Sea, to which must be added the small squadrons of galleys, gun-boats, etc. The divisions, like the English, carry the white, blue, and red flag (an arrangement, I believe, originating with the Dutch), but without the rank of the Admirals being in any way connected with the colour of the flag. Each division of the fleet usually consists of one three-decker, eight two-deckers (two of eighty-four guns), six frigates, one corvette, and four smaller vessels. The Baltic fleet has thus twenty-seven ships-of-the-line, eighteen frigates, and fifteen smaller vessels.

In addition to this force are the steamers. Great efforts have been made to increase this important branch of the service, in which Russia must always be behind the other naval Powers, from her supplies of coal being situated in remote districts, and also from the Russian trade employing a smaller number of private steamers than the other maritime nations, who rely much upon them in case of war. Hitherto the achievements of the Russians in the construction of steamboats have been held in small estimation; the majority of their steamers have been constructed in England, but the 'Bogatir' was built in Russia.

There is a numerous flotilla of oared boats, intended for the service of the coasts. As it is generally regarded superior in numbers, strength of crews, and tonnage, to

the Swedo-Norwegian flotilla, I will give the number of the latter at its entire strength:—28 galleys, 25 gun-shallops, 300 gun jolly-boats, 48 bombards: total 401 Swedish, together with 105 Norwegian gun-boats: in all, 506 vessels.*

Like everything of the kind organized by the Emperor Nicholas, the manning of the fleet is arranged upon a very simple plan. To each ship-of-the-line belongs what is called an equipage of 1100 men, sailors and marines. With this may be manned either—1. A three-decker and a corvette; a first-class captain commanding the first; a lieutenant-captain the second. 2. A two-decker of eighty-four guns and two brigs; the first commanded by a first-class captain; the latter by two lieutenant-captains. 3. A two-decker of seventy-four guns and one frigate; the former commanded by a first, the latter by a second-class captain. The equipage of the Guard is intended for the manning of the war-steamers.

The ships of this fleet are said to be very differently constructed, a circumstance which is explained by the various foreign models necessarily adopted in a country without native nautical genius. The speed of the ships therefore varies very much, and a Russian fleet must always sail slowly in company, as it contains some ships that will sail badly in every quarter and strength of the wind, and by the speed of which that of the others must be regulated.

English seamen particularly censure the handling of the sails by the Russian sailors in manœuvres. The materials, ropes, and cables, are celebrated for their excellence, and the more blame consequently is bestowed upon the handling.

* Compare 'Allgemeine Militair-Zeitung,' 1831.

At present the large ships are usually constructed of oak, but larch was also used formerly. The oak in the north of Russia is of inferior quality to the German, English, and Danish; and from the rapidity with which the navy has been built, it is said to have been used too green. The best wood lasts only twelve to fifteen years, the ordinary kind ten years. The corvettes are still commonly built of larch.

The sailors are levied by the usual recruitment; as many of them however as possible are enlisted voluntarily, and the crews furnished by Finland are obtained altogether in this manner. The Finlanders and the Great Russians of Archangel are, as already mentioned, daring seamen.

The fleet of the Black Sea enjoys a higher reputation among European sailors than that of the Baltic. The coasts of the former have at all times given birth to excellent sailors; the Greeks are said willingly to enter the Russian fleet. The Cossacks of the Sea of Azof furnish daring boats' crews, and Woronzof's measures have been attended with the best results. The ice does not close the harbours of the Black Sea, and although the waves of that enormous lake—if we may so call it—have not the same character as those of the open sea, and do not present the same sphere for the exercise of nautical skill, still they have great and peculiar dangers. The different temperature of the countries situated near these waters,—in summer hot, in winter cold,—produces sudden storms which resemble the squalls met with on the open sea only in the vicinity of the Tropics.

Although the Black Sea fleet is still kept shut up by European policy, and there is little probability of its being able to slip through the Dardanelles in time of

war before the army of the enemy can have reached the Straits,—even Lord Exmouth having found that the batteries cannot be passed with impunity unless they are in a bad condition, and the Turks are said to be now awake on this point,—yet this fleet affords a good nursery for sailors, and ensures the naval dominion of Russia in the Black Sea.

This establishment is being secured by the construction of a naval arsenal at Sevastopol, which, according to the testimony of experienced persons, has scarcely its equal in the world. Should Europe again have a weak moment,—and when will such be wanting after 1848? —and should Russia be inclined for conquest, the establishment of Sevastopol will enormously facilitate an offensive movement against Constantinople, either by the fleet landing troops behind the line of rivers and mountains, situated at right angles to the western shores of the Black Sea, and intersecting the line of approach to Constantinople, or forming a basis for the grand army wherever a harbour can be found. It is impossible to imagine that any Turkish fleet could prevent this, for her best sailors will always be Greeks. Until the Battle of Navarino some reliance could be placed in the Greek sailors of the Porte.

What a change has taken place in the East! In former times Christian Europe exhausted all its efforts to drive back the Crescent into the wilderness whence it came, and the noblest blood of the Christians was shed before it was allowed to lord it over the Cross in Jerusalem. At the present day the Christians alone are to blame that the Crescent has so long retained its supremacy, or the Cross has not been once more erected upon the domes of Constantinople. The Mohammedan dominion

on the Sea of Marmora does not rest upon the power of the followers of Islam, enervated by the historical vices of their country, nor on their number, which in European Turkey was always smaller than that of the Rayahs, nor on the rock-castles of the Hellespont, which the military art of the Christians could soon demolish, but solely upon the fact that the Christian West uses Mohammedanism as a convenient barrier between itself and the Christian East. When the possession of Jerusalem was still in dispute, the politics of Byzantium aided the Saracens in their contest with the Roman Catholic armies; for the last eighty years the English and French have acted in a precisely similar manner towards the Turks. Is it possible that this miserable policy can indicate the approaching dissolution of the Romano-Germanic, like those which preceded the destruction of the last of the Roman, empires?

The strategical position of Russia in a war with the Porte has undoubtedly been immensely changed by the powerful fleet and great harbours which the former has constructed in the Black Sea. In Turkey, where the difficulties of carrying on war arise in a great measure from the maintenance of an army, where twenty thousand men have more difficulty in procuring supplies than two hundred thousand in Germany, the value of the water-communication secured by the fleet between Varna and Viza on one side, and the rich corn-countries on the banks of the Bug, Dniester, Dnieper, and Don on the other, cannot be estimated too highly. It appears to me that the fleet in the Black Sea is of infinitely more importance to Russia than that of the Baltic. The latter will long remain, west of the Skagerrack, too dependent upon the good pleasure of England, and it will find in the Baltic

few points of attack for a fleet of heavy tonnage, whilst the small number of deep harbours, the mud-filled coasts of Germany, and the dangerous rocks of the Swedish coasts would render its operations difficult. Thus no sufficient advantage appears to spring from the existence of this fleet compared with the expense of maintaining it, whereas strong fleets of coasters might be more useful.

Beside the gun-flotillas—the precise number of which I do not know—the fleet of the Black Sea consists of two divisions, which appear to be composed somewhat differently from what is prescribed in the official statement. According to the latter there ought to be two three-deckers, four two-deckers of eighty-four guns, twelve of seventy-four guns, in all eighteen ships-of-the-line, with twelve frigates and ten smaller vessels, independent of steamers.

In 1843 there were three three-deckers, nine two-deckers of eighty-four guns, seven of seventy-four guns; total, nineteen ships-of-the-line, of which seven were fully equipped; further, six frigates, eleven corvettes, brigs, schooners, etc., and six steamers. Three ships-of-the-line mounted 120 guns, nine 84 guns, seven 74 guns; total, 1634 guns; whereas according to the official statement there should have been only 1464 guns. It may however be assumed that the other ships were more below the official statement in the number of guns than in that of sails. But it must be remembered that seven years have elapsed since the period of which we speak, and that many ships may have been built since in the dockyards of Nikolaief.

The largest Russian ships-of-the-line are, the 'Russia,' of 130 guns (Baltic fleet); the 'Twelve Apostles,'

of 120 guns; the 'Three Saints,' of 120 guns; the 'Warsaw,' of 120 guns (Black Sea fleet).

The highly interesting fortress of Sevastopol consists mainly of three large forts; at the entrance of the harbour stand Forts Constantine and Alexander, and in the harbour itself Fort Nicholas. These are the most interesting and important works which military science has constructed since 1830, with the exception perhaps of the fortifications of Paris.

The Black Sea fleet, like that of the Baltic, is exercised annually in great manœuvres, which last a whole month; but it has a permanent service of a very fatiguing and sometimes dangerous character for the smaller vessels, especially for the gunboats of the Cossacks of the Sea of Azof, in the blockade of the western coast of the Caucasus. The most indomitable mountain-tribes dwell here, and the sea has for them a double value, facilitating the import of arms and ammunition, and the export of their women. Prince Woronzof, on undertaking the conduct of the war in the Caucasus, permitted the trade in girls, and thus tranquillized many of the tribes. The slave-market in Constantinople is to these girls what balls, concerts, and theatres are for the daughters of the great in Europe,—a place where a suitable match is sought. These affairs are arranged in European society somewhat in the same fashion, only a little less directly.

The high prices which, notwithstanding their diminished wealth, the Turks still give for pretty slaves, whose value is enhanced by the difficulty experienced in carrying white girls to Constantinople, have been the cause of a falling off in the contraband trade in fire-arms and ammunition. A brisk smuggling trade in the latter still exists; but the permission to sell their girls hav-

ing removed one chief cause of hostility to the Russians among many of the Caucasian tribes, the former trade is decreasing, although it still employs a large number of daring seamen. This contraband trade, and its prevention, furnish an excellent exercise for the crews of the Black Sea fleet, there being no better service for educating sailors.

Annexed is a table of the estimated strength of the two Fleets :—

	Ships-of-the-Line			Frigates.	Corvettes.	Brigs.	Approximate Strength.	Approximate Annual Charge.
	Three Decks.	84 Guns.	74 Guns				Men.	Roubles.
Baltic Fleet . .	3	6	18	18	3	12	30,800	7,000,000
Black Sea Fleet	2	4	12	12	2	8	19,800	5,000,000
Total . . .	5	10	30	30	5	20	50,600	

To these must be added a large number of steamers and flotillas of oared boats, amounting at least to 400 vessels; and in the total we have the descendants of the little boat which, on July 15, 1836, was solemnly borne through the fleet at Kronstadt.

THE CROWN LANDS OF RUSSIA.

CHAPTER XVI.

ESTATES OF THE CROWN AND THEIR ADMINISTRATION.—THEIR ORIGIN AND EXTENT.—GRANTS OF PRIVATE ESTATES TO THE NOBLES.—CROWN PEASANTS.—LAND-TAX.—OBROK.—THE POLISH DISTRICTS.—CONDITION OF THE CROWN LANDS WHEN THE MINISTRY WAS FORMED.—REORGANIZATION.—RESULTS OF THE NEW SYSTEM.—REPORT OF THE MINISTER OF CROWN ESTATES.—EXTENT OF LAND APPROPRIATED TO THE CROWN PEASANTS.—ABOLITION OF SERFAGE.

THE Domains are a material element and play an important part in the public administration of the States of Western Europe; something analogous is found in the Russian Empire,—the so-called Estates of the Crown and their administration. In the latter country however they are materially and fundamentally different from the domains of the Romanic and Germanic States, and ought never to be confounded with them. In Western Europe they originated in private property and private rights; which was never the case in Russia, nor even in the countries annexed to her. In Finland, Ingria, and Carelia, the Domains were never the private hereditary property of the Royal family of Sweden, but the property of the Crown and nation. In Livonia they were ecclesiastical property, which had been secularized, of the Teutonic Order. In Courland indeed, after the Reformation,

they passed into the hands of the Dukes from the families of the Kettlers and Birons; but they were always regarded as national, never as allodial property of these families, nor did they remain in their possession or in that of their heirs after their abdication, but were transferred with the dominion of the country to Russia. Whether the Domains in Lithuania were originally property belonging to the family of the Jagellons, I know not, but I believe the contrary. In the Polish provinces they were generally national property of the Polish Republic, or King, and were transferred as such to Russia.

The origin of the Estates of the Crown in Russia Proper is evident. The idea of a private right of property in the soil is foreign to the ideas and manners of the people: the extensive districts of Russia have always been regarded as the property of the nation, to the usufruct of which an equal right belongs to every individual. It follows as a natural consequence from this idea that there is no private property in the soil, no right of inheritance, nor even a life or temporary right of usufruct in any definite share of the land. This principle, which sprang from the original nomadic life of the people, remained, after their gradual settlement, through all the phases of Russian history. The people settled upon the land and formed family Communes, cultivating as much of it as they required; the country was large, and no one set limits to his neighbours, nor was it necessary at first to think of fixed boundaries. But when the country became gradually cultivated, limitations began to appear, and boundaries of the separate Communes were necessarily constituted. These were established by the heads of families, the chiefs of the country (the mother Communes and their Starostas), and

ultimately by the Czar. A kind of property, or at all events an exclusive possession by the Communes of their territory, was thus gradually created. But however definite it may have been as a limit between individuals and Communes, it never became a stable private right of possession or genuine property, independent of the head of the race, the chief of the people or Czar, but was always regarded as a permissive or assigned right. Within the Communes the principle prevailed that no private property belonged to the individual, but only a temporary share in the usufruct.

Before the Czardom was constituted, the old mother Communes (which afterwards became cities) had been consolidated on an independent footing, and their Starostas and White-heads exercised patriarchal dominion over the mother and daughter Communes, or "the country." The Czars never interfered with them; but on the introduction of Christianity and Western civilized ideas and political views, they sought to transform these ancient mother Communes into cities (in the West-European sense of the term), granting them an increased extent of land and many privileges. The case of the rural Communes was different: there the Czars always remained the direct superiors of the land, allotting a part to each Commune, and imposing upon the latter a tax or obrok for its use. Originally and in principle a land-tax or rent, the obrok became practically a poll-tax in a large number of Communes, as no private property existed within the Commune, and each member had an equal right of usufruct. This obrok the Czars either appropriated to themselves or remitted temporarily, for life, and sometimes, although at first rarely, hereditarily, to their courtiers and warriors. It was a kind of feudal possession, which Peter I.

gave to the nobility in heritage for ever. At the present day somewhat more than half of all the cultivated land, with the peasants living upon it, belongs to the nobility; the other and smaller half belongs to the Crown, the Czar, as father of the people, disposing of it at his pleasure.

More than a million square miles of cultivated land and forests, and upwards of 23,000,000 of the people living upon it, with some two million square miles of uncultivated land, mountains, steppes, etc., in Siberia, America, etc., the importance, improvement, and fate of which still lie veiled in the future, belong directly to the Czar, and are administered as Crown land. These colossal figures must be kept in view, if we would understand the vast importance of the administration of the Crown lands. How insignificant in comparison are the Domains in Western Europe!

I have before me ample materials for a survey of the Russian Crown-land system, but I have taken the principal details from an account of the Imperial Domain administration, drawn from official sources, and communicated to me in manuscript. It is dated the year 1846. The printed annual Reports of the Minister to the Emperor also lie before me, beside much that I have derived from other sources, or have myself seen and collected.

The Crown lands at present united under the administration of a single ministry were until 1837 under several ministries and departments. In that year a new Ministry of the Imperial Domains was formed, to which their organization and administration were assigned. Some parts, such as the salt lakes and works, mines, etc., re-

mained under their former administration. In order to understand the object and design of this organization, so immensely important to Russia, let us consider the following four points:—1. The origin of the Crown land, with a short historical notice of its population. 2. Condition of the Estates of the Crown and their inhabitants, at the period of the establishment of the Ministry of the Imperial Domains. 3. The principles of organization laid down by this Ministry, and their practical application. 4. The results attained from 1837 to 1845, and subsequently.

1. *Origin of the Crown Land, and its Population.*

I have already explained that according to the original conceptions of the Russians all the land belongs to the people, entire and undivided, to the exclusion of every kind of private possession; that the supreme disposition over it all belongs to the Czar, and under him to the inferior authorities, the Communes, serf-owners, and fathers of families.

At an early period the Czars, Grand Dukes, and petty Princes granted land to their courtiers and retainers periodically, for life, and hereditarily, and assigned territory to the towns; but enormous masses of the soil remained, which were given to the use of the peasants united in Communes, the remainder continuing waste and unoccupied. But already in those times the Grand Dukes and petty Princes appropriated villages and small Districts (*Volosti*) to themselves, to supply their immediate wants and maintain their courts. As early as the twelfth century the chroniclers mention grants made to Boyars, convents, and corporations. Possession was usually given to the Boyars and military nobles during life; their estates

formed the commencement of the system of country-seats (*Pomestya*), which was only completely developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Districts of country on the frontiers were assigned to the so-called Boyar sons and Cossacks, who were bound to protect them from hostile attacks. They formed military associations. From the centre of the Empire toward all the frontiers the country was colonized by peasants, who were obliged to pay a yearly tribute, or obrok.

The Boyars and official persons transferred their allegiance for various reasons from one petty Prince to another; their estates reverted to the Princes whom they left, and they received others from their new lords. Property and fixed possession appeared nowhere: it was only after the petty Principalities had become completely merged in the Grand Duchy of Moscow that the possessions of the nobles acquired some stability. The estate of the Crown in the ancient Grand Duchy of Moscow was very much diminished by the grants made from it, but was greatly augmented by the incorporation of Novgorod and the conquest of the Czardoms of Kazan, Astrakhan, and Siberia.

It was only at the commencement of the seventeenth century that the Czars began to convert the landed property of the nobility, which had been previously granted only for life, into hereditary estates, *votchini*. This took place generally on occasions of general rejoicing, at the termination of wars and conquests, the marriages of Czars, etc.

The entire administration of the State was changed under Peter I.; the militia became unnecessary, and ceased to exist, and the European army was formed; the officials received fixed salaries instead of the temporary

occupation of estates; the *Pomestya* were abolished, and all the estates of the official people or nobles were granted to them hereditarily.

Whilst a large part of the estates of the Crown were thus converted into private property, the former were much increased under Catherine II. by the suppression of the patriarchal and conventual estates.* The acquisition of New Russia, Courland, Transcaucasia, etc., likewise materially increased the property of the Crown.

The rural population is divided into free or Crown peasants, and serfs or proprietary peasants. In early times the peasants were at perfect liberty to go where they pleased, but this freedom was somewhat restrained and regulated in 1497. Even at that period however a difference appeared between the peasants on the domains of the Crown and those on private estates. The former maintained their ancient primitive communal institutions, and administered their affairs independently; the others were almost completely dependent on the landowners. In two deeds of gift, one of 1547 to Prince Kubensky, the other of 1550, it is expressly declared that jurisdiction over the peasants should be exercised not by the Communes, but by the landowners. Liberty to go where they pleased was indeed the right of all peasants; the Crown peasants however rarely left the land, and formed permanent settlements; whereas the peasants on private estates appeared as the movable popular mass.

* *Duo si faciunt idem, non est idem!* The suppression of the monastic estates in Russia must not be regarded in the same light as the confiscation of the ecclesiastical property in the West. The Czar had the sole disposal over all property in Russia, and only granted temporary possession of certain estates to the convents, bishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs.

An ukase of 1597 ordered all the peasants belonging to private estates, who had left their homes within the preceding five years, to return to where they were before 1593. This was the commencement of their bondage to the land; afterwards that to the person of the landlord was created.

The Crown peasants (a name given to them by Peter I.) remained free people. The Code of 1550 (*Sudebnik*) declares that the Czarish officials (*Volosteli*) have no right to put any peasant in bonds, that this can only be done by the Starostas and White-heads of the Commune, elected by the people. In each Commune the Starosta levied the taxes and delivered them to the Government: he administered all the affairs of the Commune, and constituted, with the so-called "best people," or White-heads, a tribunal for deciding causes and disputes: all of them were sworn.*

The Crown villages were thus always recognized as communal corporations, dependent indeed upon the higher general police and judicial authorities, but exercising self-government and administering justice among themselves. Except during the four years' government of the Emperor Paul I. they were under the administration of the finance authorities, who however interfered with nothing but the raising of the taxes. The economical administration of the Communes was quite neglected, as the following short survey of the system of taxation will show: the latter always furnishes much insight into a people's economical condition.

In the earliest times of her history, traces of a land-tax are met with in Russia: it was called the plough-tax

* In the Acts of the sixteenth century is found an interesting formula of this oath.

(*sokha*). According to papers of the sixteenth century, the land was divided into good, medium, and bad: 800 tchetverts of good, 1000 of medium, and 1200 of bad land were computed* to each "plough," an expression which was also used as a measure on the introduction of the trade tax. Twelve tchetverts of good, fourteen of medium, and sixteen of bad land constituted what was called a portion. Every plough consisted of a certain number of farmhouses with the land belonging to them.

In the dismal period of the seventeenth century, when war, famine, and pestilence decimated the people, and the land lay partly desolate, its value having diminished very much, an attempt was made to apportion the tax among the separate farms in proportion to their rent, and clerks were appointed to enumerate and describe them. The so-called Clerks' Books are still in existence. We thus find an attempt to establish a registry of lands in Russia, at a time when such a thing had never yet been contemplated in the West of Europe.

This kind of taxation continued until 1722, when the creation and maintenance of a numerous regular army required great exertions and sacrifices from the country. In the indigent state of the finances, the Government conceived the idea of imposing upon the villages the formation and maintenance of the army, by requiring that every certain number of male souls should furnish a soldier. The land-tax already existing was applied exclusively to the maintenance of the troops; and, to facilitate its computation, it was transferred from the land to the heads or male souls among the people, so that each division of troops received from a certain number of males

* The *tchetvert* (quarter) was forty fathoms long by thirty fathoms broad, therefore 1200 square fathoms.

the necessary recruits, quarters, and money for their support. It was necessary however to abandon this mode of supporting the troops, as it gave rise to great embarrassments; but the new mode of taxation by heads, once organized, remained, in spite of its incongruities, from the great facility of levying it. The inequality and injustice of this kind of taxation, which made rich and poor bear exactly the same amount of taxation, were diminished by the whole Commune furnishing the entire sum payable by the separate individuals, the taxes being apportioned and collected among the members of the Commune, not according to heads, but according to their means.

The consequence of this unequally apportioned burden of taxation was a continual state of arrears, neither severity nor relaxation being effectual to put an end to them. The entire economy of the State suffered, and a special Government office was established for the collection of arrears. It was sought to cure the evil by a more uniform division of the land. Where practicable land was given to those Communes which had too small a quantity, and a part of the population was withdrawn from those which contained an excess of inhabitants, and established elsewhere. It was laid down as a principle that a certain quantity of land must be allotted to each male soul; at first, fifteen dessetinas, afterwards eight, and ultimately five, as a minimum; but the application of this principle encountered great obstacles.

The continually augmenting necessities of the State required an increase of the taxes. In 1792, in order to relieve the peasants, the poll-tax was divided into four categories, according to which the Governments were taxed in proportion to their means and resources. In

1797 a new classification of the Governments was undertaken, and again in 1823. These were mere palliatives, and altogether insufficient to cure the evil, as the greatest difference prevails among the villages in the various Governments. A Russian Government is as large as the kingdom of Hanover, and who would think of imposing the same tax upon a village in the Lüneburg Heath and one in the marshes of East Friesland?

This state of things necessarily gave rise to enormous arrears of taxes. In 1737 four million silver roubles were remitted to the peasants; two years later arrears to the amount of 1,600,000 roubles had again accumulated, and in 1741 a stroke was once more drawn through the account by another remission. Ten years later the arrears again amounted to 2,500,000. In 1787 a new remission was necessary, and in 1797 there were fresh arrears of more than seven million roubles. In 1814 thirty millions were remitted in assignats; nevertheless the arrears amounted in 1818 to more than ninety-six millions. Between 1826 and 1836, 66,980,537 roubles were remitted; nevertheless the existing arrears, which had not been remitted, amounted to 63,636,286 roubles! In these arrears we see how the sword of Damocles has been suspended for more than a century over the Russian population.

How injuriously the poll-tax system affected the economical condition of the peasants will be described hereafter. The Government made many attempts to improve their state. The Great Russian peasants still retained all the rights and privileges of free men; but the condition of those in Western Russia, formerly under the Government of Poland, was much more melancholy.

For two centuries the Government had sought to im-

prove the condition of the Crown peasants in Russia. Their freedom was not interfered with; they were allowed to carry on trade and business, to acquire and possess real and personal property, and to live under authorities chosen by themselves; they were at liberty to go where they pleased, and could settle in the towns; they possessed their own tribunals, and had access to the higher courts equally with all the other subjects of the Czar.

An entirely different state of things prevailed in the provinces which had formerly constituted a part of the Polish kingdom. The Domainal possessions were divided into Starosties, and these granted to the Polish nobles for a limited period. The ancient primitive Slavonic communal administration was gradually destroyed, and the right of possession in the soil was withdrawn from the peasants: they were not at liberty to go where they pleased, and could not carry on trade or enter into corporations. Jurisdiction, except in criminal cases, was given to the Starostas and landowners. The Domainal peasants were fixed to the soil like the private serfs, except that the taxes and contributions of the former were not regulated by the temporary possessors of the land, but by the Government; on the other hand they were deprived of the natural care of hereditary lords, who are obliged to attend to the welfare, or at least the tax-paying capability, of their peasants, from a regard to their own interest. The temporary owners of the land of course exhausted their estates as much as possible, knowing that they would be obliged to abandon them again.

When writers in the West used to speak of the serfage of the Crown peasants in Russia, they generally judged of this from the state of things in these Old Polish dis-

tricts. The peasants in the latter however constituted only about one-fifth part of the entire number of Russian Crown peasants, or 600,000 male souls. The number of individuals under the charge of the Ministry of the Crown Estates, according to the Revision of 1833, was as follows:—

	Males.
Crown peasants	8,431,837
Liberated private peasants	126,799
Foreign colonists	167,626
Nomads	760,000
Colonists sent away	7,499
Jews occupied in agriculture	13,000
Since the Revision the excess of births over deaths (1845)	1,076,877
	10,583,638
To which add females	11,641,437
Total	22,225,075

2. *Condition of the Crown Lands and their Inhabitants when the Ministry of the Imperial Domains was established.*

From the preceding survey two decided defects appear in the condition of the Domains previous to 1837:—1. A want of laws for the protection and economical organization of the lands and forests; and 2. A want of a good administration, especially with regard to the peasants. In consequence of these defects, the extent and boundaries of the forests remained undetermined, the rent being almost null; the transcolonization of the peasants ceased from a want of land, or they carried it out themselves in a defective manner. Since 1792, the lands appropriated by the Emperor for the purpose of colonization, consisting of more than 543,234 dessetinas, had not been allotted. The forests were not administered or

protected, and encroachments and devastations of all kinds ensued. In 1837 more than 500,000 dessetinas of land, the property of the Crown, were computed to have been appropriated by private persons, not to mention the encroachments upon the uncultivated lands and forests. Peasants indeed and old soldiers had been stationed as a guard to prevent the devastation of the latter; but the former had generally not the will, and the latter not the physical strength, for this purpose. Moreover their number was small; in the Government of Archangel 175,000 dessetinas (740 square miles) of forest were entrusted to one peasant. In the entire Government of Vologda there were only ten guards for about 3,000,000 dessetinas of forest (12,600 square miles). The whole kingdom of Saxony has scarcely half this extent of forest, but probably more than five thousand foresters and forest guards. In the Government of Viatka 2,840,000 dessetinas of forest were left completely without protection. Entire extensive districts were burned down by the peasants, that corn or flax might be grown upon them for one or two seasons. In the Government of Vilna the landowners in draining their land conducted the water into the forests of the Crown, which were thus converted into a morass. The injury annually inflicted upon the forests of the Crown by theft and burning has been estimated at 4,312,000 roubles; the income, on the other hand, arising from the entire forests annually amounted to 600,000 roubles at the utmost, which sum was rarely received in full.

The civil and political position of the peasants indeed was well regulated, but not their economical condition; and this exercised a more or less injurious influence upon their general welfare.

As already mentioned, all the affairs of the Domains were concentrated in a single department of the Ministry of Finance. In one division of this department were administered the affairs of the Crown lands and peasants belonging to forty-one Great Russian, Siberian, and Transcaucasian Governments; in another those of the twelve Western and Baltic Governments, in which Swedish, Lithuanian, and Polish systems of agriculture prevailed; in a third, the entire woodlands of the Crown. The judicial business and matters of account belonged to special sections.

In the Governments themselves the administration was assigned to finance officers, consisting of one counsellor, one bureau chief, and two clerks; these administered all the affairs of perhaps more than a million peasants; another counsellor administered the forests. That financial matters alone could be included under this system is evident. Of attention to the details of the Communes, or of any improvement in the moral and economical condition of the peasants, there could be no question; indeed a knowledge even of the extent of the Domainal possessions was wanting.

In the Circles within the Government everything was in the hands of the police authorities, chosen by the nobles from among their own number,—men whose sympathies and interests were opposed, almost hostile, to those of the Crown peasants. Even the District administration had a purely police character.

In general no one interfered with the actual affairs of the Communes; but to facilitate the levying of taxes from 300 to 500 souls were united together as a tax-paying Commune, and nothing was done to prevent villages being broken up and other damage caused by this

arrangement. The same want of consideration was displayed at the recruitment, for which a thousand souls likewise constituted a Recruitment Commune. Minor divisions existed for repairing the roads, and other police burdens and services. It is evident that the real Commune, which was founded upon the common possession of the land, must have suffered infinitely from all these divisions. None of the superior authorities took any interest in the state of the Commune, its unity, its economical affairs, the constitution of its government, etc. In some respects this may not have been altogether an evil. Villages consisting of from ten to twelve houses govern themselves well in Russia; but in the larger ones, with numerous communal assemblies, many evils existed, which shook the genuine communal life and unity to its foundations.

Financial objects being alone regarded, the entire official communal administration consisted, first, of a receiver; secondly, of a superintendent of the stores, who was at the same time receiver of the Crown taxes; and thirdly, of an officer for the recruitments, or collector of recruits. In short, the administration of twenty-two million individuals was effected solely by collectors.

From the entire want of superintendence the government of the Communes fell into bad hands. The richer members conspired together and ruled the communal affairs according to their pleasure and for their own selfish objects. Officials of an inferior grade joined them, and all these people, whom the oppressed peasants named *Miroyedi*, or "devourers of the Commune," monopolized the village trade, appropriated the village farms, and even took possession of the communal land, for which they paid a low rent, and let it out to poor

peasants at perhaps three times the amount which they themselves had paid. The finance authorities were often ignorant even of the number of the communal farms.

The want of all superintendence and care has in the last fifty years encouraged and augmented in an incredible manner the radical evil of the country, the love of drink. It was chiefly the Crown villages which the brandy farmers invaded with their shops. In 1837 in the fifteen Great Russian Governments, Vladimir, Vologda, Voronezh, Kaluga, Kostroma, Kursk, Moscow, Nizhni, Orel, Pskof, Perm, Riazan, Smolensk, Tver, and Tambof, there were 4387 brandy-shops for 3,078,155 Crown peasants, or one for 701 souls, whilst in these same Governments there were only 1836 shops for 4,882,051 private peasants, or one for 2691 souls.

In the private villages the landowners superintended the sale of the brandy; but in the Crown villages the officials conspired with the brandy farmers, who bribed them for their connivance. Every communal and cantonal meeting was held before the brandy-shop, and all business transacted glass in hand.

Such was the state of things in the Great Russian Governments, where the farming of brandy was general; but it was much worse in the privileged Governments, where it was confined to the towns and Crown villages, and the farmers had to fear the competition of private distilleries. In these Governments the farmers obliged the Commune to take a certain quantity of brandy per family, or imposed a tax upon the peasants for the privilege of buying brandy wherever they chose. If the Communes resisted, they were accused of unlawful traffic in brandy, and condemned and punished as a matter of course. In the Great Russian Governments the peasants

were tempted to drink; in the privileged ones they were forced to do so.

Notwithstanding the superfluity of land in Russia, its allotment varies infinitely in the different Governments, some Communes having only half a dessetina to each soul, and in others each having twenty dessetinas; there are even some villages, in the Government of Novgorod for instance, where 245 dessetinas are allotted to each male soul.

At the division of the land, especially in the southern Governments and in Perm, the powerful members and officials of the Commune ("devourers") took unfair advantage of the poorer class of peasants, and the latter were often obliged to apply to neighbouring proprietors to let them land, for which they paid a rent. This land in fact frequently belonged to the Crown Domain, but had been hired at a low rent by speculators, who underlet it at three times the amount paid by them. In 1837 more than 500,000 dessetinas were ascertained to be of this kind. Notwithstanding the principle that every person in Russia has a right to a share in the land, and that each belongs to a Commune, there were a large number of impoverished peasants, previous to 1837, who had been deprived of their shares in the Commune by oppression and fraud, and who wandered about in a state of destitution. At that period about 605,675 souls of this class were ascertained to exist, 128,677 of whom were in the Old Polish districts, or between one-fourth and one-fifth of the entire population of the villages in these provinces.

The Finance Chambers attempted to introduce a more equitable division of the land, but this only gave rise to new embarrassments and oppression; in the Government

of Pskof, for instance, it was all divided among the villages according to the number of the population, and thus land which was close to and almost indispensable to a village was taken from it, and given to a distant one which could make no use of it.

The agriculture of the peasants was everywhere in a very backward condition. In the south the three-course system, in the north the exhaustive, or at best the two-course system, prevailed. The cultivation of artificial grasses was unknown; meadows were rare, and consequently the number of cattle was small and manure deficient. The potato was only grown in the Western and Baltic Provinces, 382,000 tchetverts being about the annual produce. Vegetables, except in some districts, where they attained a high degree of perfection, were scarcely at all cultivated; cabbage alone was met with everywhere, being the national dish. The seed-corn was calculated at 13,140,793 tchetverts.

This system of agriculture, which was confined almost exclusively to the cultivation of grain, scarcely yielded any profit. When the harvest was good, the grain was valueless for want of a market; when it was bad, there was no other produce to supply the want of grain, and famine ensued. The Government was then obliged to make great sacrifices; in the years 1833 and 1834 alone thirty million roubles were expended in this way, beside the abatements and remissions of taxes.

The poll-tax system had a very injurious effect upon the agriculture of the peasants; its uniformity was quite disproportioned to their means, which varied as one to twenty-five, and occasionally even as one to sixty. For one person it was scarcely a perceptible burden, whilst for others it was total ruin: hence such enormous arrears of taxes.

As the distribution of burdens and services for the construction of roads, providing quarters for the troops, etc., generally belonged to the Ispravnik, elected by the nobles of the respective Governments, it may easily be conceived that these burdens usually fell upon the peasants of the Crown, that those of private proprietors might be exempted.

In the recruitment system the usual rule was to take the recruits from the most numerous families, which was a severe blow to the patriarchal habits of the people. It is usual in Russia for all the members of a family to remain united in the same household for several generations; but in consequence of the principle above mentioned, numerous families were interested in dividing themselves into as many small families as possible. The welfare of the peasants was necessarily diminished by this division of the property; and as, in the end, the recruits had to be provided at whatever price, the lot fell even among the subdivided families, and sometimes even the sole support of a small family was obliged to become a soldier. It may easily be imagined that the so-called devourers of the Commune were guilty on these occasions of the most corrupt and arbitrary proceedings: to control them was nearly impossible.

The position of the Crown peasants in the western Governments, which formerly belonged to Poland, was much worse than in Great Russia. The Arendators here farmed the Crown estates, which were let to the highest bidders, with the peasants settled upon them. The services of the latter were fixed, it is true, in what were called the inventories, but there was no specification of the lands that should have been assigned to them; the Arendators therefore took possession of as much land as possible,

cultivating it themselves or subletting it to others, whilst the services and burdens of the peasants were undiminished, notwithstanding their having been despoiled of their land. The quantity of land in the hands of the peasantry diminished to such a degree, that in Bialystok, for instance, the share of each family amounted to only one plot of ground. Cattle-breeding ceased almost entirely; of 600,000 souls in these Governments, 150,000 possessed only one beast per family, and 125,000 had no cattle at all.

These people wandered about everywhere in crowds, each family usually contributing one of its members to seek work or beg alms; but no sooner had any money come into the hands of the peasants, than those harpies in the form of publicans came forth to deprive them of it, succeeding often in inducing them to exchange the corn still growing in the fields for the seductive liquor. The Arendatores and Jewish publicans robbed the peasants in this manner by turns. The situation of the foreign colonists was on the whole favourable, after they had overcome the first difficulties of their settlement, but the want of land was becoming visibly felt: the original allotment was no longer sufficient, after the population had increased three and fourfold.

The nomadic peoples remained in their old condition. An attempt had been made to subject the Kalmuks to a more regular system of administration, but it proved unsuccessful and was abandoned.

The description which I have here given of the condition of the Crown peasants—so melancholy notwithstanding their personal freedom—brings me to the question why energetic measures were not long ago adopted to put an end to these evils. Every country requires

time for its development. Russia had only entered the circle of States possessed of a European organization for rather more than a century; the ancient patriarchal forms of Government were not adapted to this new state of things; there was no official class with modern cultivation and organization, in sufficient numbers, to render the accomplishment of great reforms possible. Russia too was obliged to establish a firm external political position, before she could proceed to the work of internal consolidation and reform. The Government therefore, as we have seen above, sought everywhere to effect as much as possible by palliatives: but this was the most important, nay the vital question of the entire State; and a profound and mature consideration of all the circumstances was consequently necessary, before it was possible to form a right decision or accomplish the requisite measures. The question of the cultivation of the country and the re-organization of the rural Communes and peasantry has been discussed in Prussia likewise for more than a century, and efforts have been made for half a century to solve it, but even here the organization is not by any means completed. Error upon error has been committed, and modifications and alterations have been necessary, from the reformers having proceeded in some points too rapidly and too far. At present the Russian Government is accused of having formerly taken too little interest in this extremely important question, and the future may perhaps reproach it with having proceeded too fast. A thorough examination of the subject has been facilitated by long experience; the decision is now irrevocably formed, the accomplishment of the measures is already in rapid progress, and their withdrawal and abandonment no longer possible; the bridges of the

past have been broken down; let us hope that the future course of events may conduce to the welfare of Russia! Goodwill and energy can effect much in that country, as we see written on every page of her history.

Peter I., who once took an oath to expend the first penny he could save upon the civilization of Russia, meditated the establishment of a college for teaching political economy and agriculture. Catherine II. herself worked at a project for the organization of the peasantry. Paul I. established a Department of State Economy and introduced the District administration. In 1811 Alexander I. declared that an improved organization of the peasantry was absolutely necessary, and the Minister, Count Gurief, laboured for years at projects for that purpose.

The present Government has taken a practical view of the question, and entered upon its solution in that spirit. A special administration of the Domains was organized as an experiment in the two Governments of St. Petersburg and Pskof. Two Committees, under the Princes Kurakin, Kotschubey, and Count Cancrin, engaged in carrying out projects for the organization of the Crown estates. Their object, and the basis of all their efforts, was the transformation of the poll-tax into a land-tax. For this purpose however a whole series of reforms was required, nay a complete re-organization of the previous administration: great difficulties had to be overcome. In 1836 the Emperor appointed a Committee, presided over by Prince Vasiltchikof, assisted by Count Kisselef, to examine all questions relating to the subject; and the result was that nothing but a radical reform appeared

capable of solving the question. The Emperor created a new Ministry, to which he consigned the administration of the Crown estates; and all matters relating to the rural economy in general, formerly administered by the Department of the Interior, were entrusted to this new Ministry, which was definitively conferred upon Count Kisselef on January 1st, 1838.

3. *Principles laid down by the Ministry for the Reorganization of the Crown Lands, and their application.*

If the reform had only been directed to judicious economical measures relating to the land, its accomplishment would not have been difficult; the object would have been only to increase the produce of the soil, without exhausting its fertility. But the question also related to the moral and agricultural education of 22,000,000 persons, or more than one-third of the population of the Empire. The increase of the produce was not the object, but only an anticipated consequence, of the general moral and educational progress of the people. It was a vast, difficult, and, for the moment, a thankless question. The entire future moral and economical condition of the population depended upon its solution, and all hasty and superficial results had to be abandoned, and the future alone kept in view; opposition of every kind was to be expected.

The choice of the system was difficult, and public opinion differed. Some persons considered that the economical system pursued on private estates, others that of the Appanage administration, should be adopted as a model. Some also advised the abolition of the patriarchal Communal system, and the introduction of the

ordinary tenant one. All these systems contemplated merely the economical side of the question, the increase of the State revenues rather than the interest of the peasants: the free action indeed of the latter would have been much impeded, and their transference to handicraft and trade rendered very difficult. The continual union of trades and agriculture, peculiar to the national character, would have been also much interfered with.

In Russia agriculture can never be the exclusive occupation of the peasantry; both the national character, manners and customs, and the natural condition of the country prevent this. As an exclusive occupation it does not afford sufficient subsistence, and yields too small a rent. The largest arrears of taxes occurred in the Governments which have the richest soil, and in which the population is almost exclusively engaged in agriculture; the condition of the people in these districts is also worse than in the industrial ones which have a poorer soil. Moreover in the northern districts, with their long nights, agriculture gives occupation to only a small amount of labour. Is the Russian peasant to spend eight months unoccupied? this would be quite contrary to his natural disposition. And shall this admirable national, patriarchal, communal, and family constitution, which has been the basis of the State for a thousand years, be undermined and destroyed? It may have great defects in a purely economical point of view, but its national, moral, and political advantages greatly overbalance these. Too great innovations ought to be avoided in this direction, and the popular element retained, whilst measures are taken to improve it.

This was the principle announced by the new Minister; he desired to avoid all coercive measures, and confine his

reforms to affording the peasants his personal protection and care, and to the amelioration of their condition by instruction, encouragement, and assistance, according to the measure of their capacity. To secure them against ill-treatment, and awaken in them a consciousness of protection, was part of his plan. Their industry was to be aroused, obstacles to it removed, and the desire of instruction which exists generally among the peasantry in Russia to be encouraged. Whilst the fulfilment of their legal obligations was enjoined upon them, the inviolability of their own rights was frankly acknowledged; above all, their religious education was attended to. In order to increase as little as possible the number of officials, the Communal constitution was much strengthened in its self-government.

The Administration was divided into four degrees; Central, Government, District, and Local or Communal. The Central administration, or the Ministry, was divided into four Departments: to the first was assigned the administration of thirty-nine Great Russian Governments; to the second, eighteen Governments, that is to say, the Baltic Provinces, White Russia, West Russia, Bessarabia, and Transcaucasia; the third is the Agricultural Department, to which belong the improvement of agriculture, the registry of lands and the seminaries; the fourth is the Forest Department.

In each Government a Domainal Court, with a president and three councillors, was organized; the first councillor for the lands and buildings, the second for the forests, while the control belonged to the third. There was also an assessor and an officer for special commissions, and finally an educated forester, a civil engineer, two land-surveyors with their assistants, and

an agent appointed for the management of the judicial affairs of the Crown and its peasants in the Domainal Court.

The Governments were divided into Circles or Districts, under Heads of Circles for the management of the lands and peasants; and inspectors were appointed for that of the forests.

The local administration was entrusted to the Communes themselves, whose unity was retained, and the former subdivisions of Taxing Communes, Recruiting Communes, Police-Burden Communes, etc. were abolished. But as Communes, when too small, are ill adapted to attain the objects of their institution, 1500 souls were assumed as the smallest measure of a Commune. If necessary, several villages were united into one Commune; but those which contained more than 1500 souls remained undivided Communes.

The union of Communes into Districts (*Volosti*, bailiwicks), an already existing arrangement which had been found useful, was retained. The Circles finally, from the immense extent of Russia, were as large as German Principalities, and the direct intercourse of the chief of the Circle with forty to fifty separate Communes was difficult and slow. The extent of the Districts was regulated by a population of 6000 souls. The local administration was thus divided into two degrees, that of the District and the Commune.

Each District administration consists of the chief (*Golova*), two assistants, and one clerk. Each Communal administration, when several villages constitute one Commune, has an elder, or *Starshina*, and for each village under him a Starosta; also a tax-collector and superintendent of the Communal store. All these officers are

elected by ballot at the Communal assemblies by the peasants from among themselves: they receive small salaries and certain honorary distinctions and privileges. The Communal assemblies consist of deputies, each elected by five houses; and the District assemblies have a committee elected from those of the Communal, one delegate for every ten houses. These Communal assemblies elect their officers, discuss and decide all affairs, such as the division of the fields, the arrangement of the tenancies, the distribution of the taxes, the audit of accounts, the reception of new members into the Commune, the discharge of others desirous of leaving it, recruiting affairs, the appointment of agents, representations to the higher authorities, petitions, etc.

The Communal assemblies take place regularly three times a year; they may also be called together, with the consent of the Head of the Circle, whenever business of importance requires. By the restoration of this general right of election the power of the "devourers of the Commune" (*Miroyedi*) has been broken, and their influence upon Communal affairs destroyed.

Special village tribunals have been organized in each District and Commune. These consist, in the latter, of two elected members of the Commune, presided over by the Starshina, called "conscience people" (*Dobrosovestniye*); and in the Districts, of two conscience people, presided over by the Golova. Injuries and offences of every kind, and disputes relating to property, come under the jurisdiction of these tribunals; the latter must however first be submitted to arbitrators, who decide them provisionally, and in cases of personal offence endeavour to effect a reconciliation. Only when the parties cannot be pacified is the case brought before the tribunal, which

after an oral examination gives a written decision on the same day. The jurisdiction of the Communes is limited with regard to the punishment of offences; in disputes regarding property the Communal tribunals decide only in cases involving an amount of five roubles, the District tribunals in those amounting to fifteen silver roubles. More important questions may be discussed and decided, but only when both parties desire it. Two general orders exactly prescribe the police and judicial course in these tribunals, and contain all the necessary instructions. Criminal offences, properly so called, are brought before the usual courts of general jurisdiction; but, to prevent any possible injury to peasants of the Crown, the Heads of Circles must be present at the previous investigation and check the whole course of the suit, urging expedition, and assisting the peasants with written declarations and petitions.

The Domainal Courts and Heads of Circles can only exercise a general superintendence over the Communes, affording them protection and assistance; they cannot interfere directly with their internal affairs.

As already mentioned, the poll-tax is one of the greatest burdens under which a large part of the Crown peasants labour. The problem which the new Ministry had to solve was how to convert the poll-tax into a suitable land-tax or ground-rent, a necessary accompaniment of which was the establishment of a land register; but great difficulties were here encountered. Means were wanting for the land measurement, and it appeared hazardous to abolish or transform the poll-tax in the case of the Crown peasants, and allow it to remain in that of private proprietors. At the same time it was evident that in this way alone could a proper system of land-tax be

attained, without which all other measures of reform appeared mere palliatives.

The establishment of a proper register of the land could not be accomplished in a century in Russia; but after a strict examination the Ministry were persuaded that the traditional mode of dividing the land in the Communes offered sufficient means to establish the extent and value of at least that part of it under cultivation. In Russia each Commune is a unity with regard to the possession of the land; and the aggregate number of these amounted to seven thousand; the registry was therefore much easier than in countries like France, where there are twenty million distinct landed properties.

According to the old traditional practice, the land in the Russian Communes is divided into different portions, and these are subdivided into as many equal parts as there are male inhabitants in the Commune. It is thus only necessary to measure the share of a single male, and to multiply this by the total number in the Commune, to find the value of the entire property.

It is not part of the plan of the Ministry to increase the amount of the tax, but only to apportion it more equitably, by converting the poll-tax into a land-tax. After the completion of the valuation therefore the Communes will be compared, and the total amount of the poll-tax in one Government converted into a corresponding land-rent. The subsequent operation, of the establishment of a just proportion between all the Governments, would not be so difficult. However practicable, and comparatively easy, this operation may appear to be in the Great Russian Governments, it assumes quite a different character in the districts formerly under Poland, where the ancient Communal constitution was destroyed, and

the land of the peasants had fallen for the most part into the hands of the Arendators. In the case therefore of a large number of the peasants the poll-tax, if converted into a land-tax, would be reduced to nothing. In these provinces the peasants must first have grants of land, and their economical relations be regulated. The written inventories of the Crown estates in that part of the Empire contain complete surveys of the land, according to its quality; it is therefore possible to divide it suitably among the peasants and to impose a land-tax, but time is necessary to effect this. The people, in consequence of the abuses of the Arenda system, had been rendered quite incapable of carrying on an independent system of peasant agriculture; it was therefore necessary to prepare them for this, and gradually to educate them to a knowledge of farming. Accordingly it was ordered that a small portion of land should be assigned to each peasant, and that the duties and services which the latter had to perform to the Arendator, as well as the amount of the future land-tax, should be fixed according to the valuation contained in the inventories above mentioned. The Arendators, in lieu of certain advantages secured to them, are bound to place (under the superintendence of the Government) all the peasants upon a money-rent, and to relinquish all services and dues. It is ordered that this change shall be completed within twelve years, when the Government intends to bestow the Russian Communal constitution upon the villages in these districts. The same system is to be adopted in the Baltic Provinces, where a money-rent is also to be introduced.

So long as the poll-tax existed, the Government, or rather the finance authorities, had no immediate interest

in considering whether the villages possessed sufficient land, whether settlements (transcolonizations) were undertaken, and whether waste land was brought under cultivation or not. The question was merely considered whether the number of souls increased or diminished. All these points assume a different aspect as soon as the poll-tax disappears and a ground-rent takes its place. An interest is awakened in the moral and physical welfare of the peasants, for this secures the tax; the question of a better allotment of the land, and of transcolonization, assumes a great importance, for every dessetina of land rendered arable increases the amount of ground-rent. All the money expended is repaid by the increase of the latter. In consequence of these considerations the following measures were adopted:—

1. The villages, which had more than their due proportion of land, were permitted to retain as much as they were able to pay a ground-rent for; the remainder they had to give up to those peasants who had too little land. Thus, without coercion, a more equal division will be effected.

2. Land was to be given to those Communes which had too little, on their undertaking to pay a proportionate land-tax.

3. In order to employ the superfluous population as much as possible in the cultivation of the land, a new plan of settlement was formed. All waste, uncultivated districts were carefully examined and enumerated, and ordered to be divided into suitable allotments, each being destined for a future village Commune. The transcolonization of the peasants is voluntary, but having been always customary among the Russians, and promising important advantages to them, it will increase rapidly. The

settlements are effected under the superintendence of the authorities, and the commencement is made by one of the families who have announced themselves as settlers sending one of their members to their new destination to provide shelter for themselves and fodder for the cattle. When everything is ready the rest of the family follows. The Government provides gratuitously the necessary draught cattle, and a sum of money for the first establishment of the family: 500,000 roubles are set apart annually for this purpose.

The arrears of taxes due in the place of their previous residence are remitted to the new settlers. They are free for six years from having soldiers quartered upon them. For four years they remain entirely exempt from taxation; the four following years they pay half the usual tax; and finally they are liberated from all military duty at the three first recurring recruitments.

In order to test the practicability of the leasing system, special lots of ground are to be assigned in the new colonies to such families as desire them in return for a fixed money-rent.

Under the former system of levying the taxes, many vexatious circumstances had arisen. The peasants paid poll-tax and obrok, the provincial and communal imposts, and many other small items, for the peculiar expenses of the Commune. Reforms have been introduced to remedy these abuses.

It was determined to establish schools in all the Communes, which, beside moral and religious teaching, were to give instruction in an improved system of agriculture. The instruction is gratuitous, and is given by the clergy of the Communes. In the clerical seminaries a distinct professorship has been established for agriculture.

In all those districts of the Empire distinguished by a peculiar soil and climate agricultural schools have been established, in which young peasants pass through a course of theoretical and practical training, cattle-breeding, and a knowledge of business. After the termination of this course, model-farms are assigned to them in their native villages. Their number will gradually increase very much, and it may be confidently expected that this teaching and example will not be without their influence upon the condition of agriculture. Similar measures for the improvement and dissemination of garden culture and that of silk and wine have been adopted, schools having been specially appointed for that purpose. In the same way much has been effected for the cultivation of the potato,* the increase of seed-corn, and the planting of commercial produce, especially tobacco. Small rural banks have been established, which lend money to the peasants for the improvement of their agriculture. Savings-banks have also been established. It cannot be expected that all these measures for the improvement of the country should have immediate and striking results: the seed-corn lies long in the ground before it germinates, and from the germ to the ripe grain there is a still longer period.

I will now briefly allude to some subordinate subjects, which however belong to the harmony of the whole administrative system. The personal services of the Crown peasants were badly regulated; but a change has been

* The introduction and planting of the potato has undoubtedly produced immense effects upon Europe, in the moulding and culture of which it has probably operated more powerfully than any other material object. Singular it is that the Starovertzi in Russia regard the potato as a sinful plant, a production of the devil, and to eat it is as criminal as to eat the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge.

effected, and they are now placed upon the same footing as the other classes of the peasantry. The administrative measures adopted for this purpose have been arranged and settled with the Ministry of the Interior. The most important of all services, the recruiting, has been organized anew on an entirely different system. The former one of succession was very uncertain and extremely irritating to the entire rural population. The circumstance that all young men from their twentieth to their thirty-sixth year might be claimed at any moment as recruits, kept half the village population in constant agitation and anxiety. How often was a husband obliged to leave his wife and children perhaps for ever! The task of the Ministry in this respect was, on the one hand, to correct the uncertainty of the law, and, on the other, to pacify in some measure the minds of the country-people; the system of succession has therefore been abandoned, and recruitment by lot introduced instead. By this means everything has been simplified, and each one knows his fate immediately. Rapidity of decision, chance, and hazard, are in conformity with the national character. Whoever has been declared free by lot is free for ever. Only sons, and those whose sons or brothers are already in the service, are in general exempted from drawing lots.

The Ministry has likewise adopted measures to improve the villages and peasant farmhouses, as well as the communal buildings, bridges, ferries, etc. Information has been collected regarding the style of building in the different districts of the Empire, and plans and drawings made, retaining and improving the existing models. An atlas of 117 pages lies before me, with plans for the buildings, which are communicated to the Communes.

The civil engineers are required to afford their assistance gratuitously; money too is given to the peasants who wish to build according to these plans.

It is calculated that a large proportion of all the peasant farmhouses in the Empire are burned down annually. Several regulations of the police have been adopted to prevent this evil, and an insurance-tax introduced, of four copeks each soul. The wood required for building is furnished gratuitously from the forests of the Crown.

The extent of the Empire and the difficulty of communication necessitate measures to meet the scarcity which ensues upon a bad harvest, and stores of provisions have been everywhere established. 1. Local stores in each Commune. Every male soul is obliged to contribute to them, so that in the course of eight years a supply of two tchetverts (11½ bushels) must be laid up for each. 2. Central stores, on points affording easy communication with the various parts of the Empire, at the sources and junction of rivers, whence the provisions can be easily forwarded to the necessary points, to be either distributed as a loan or sold at a low price. At the same time a considerable provisioning capital is collected for cases of extreme want, to supply which neither the local nor central stores are sufficient. Each male is obliged to contribute to this forty-eight silver copeks. The collection of contributions for the local stores, their custody and distribution in times of scarcity, are entrusted to the Communes. The central stores are under the immediate direction of the Ministry, which buys up provisions at a low price, and distributes them in a time of dearth at cost price.

The Ministry also superintends the health of the people,

especially as regards inoculation with the cowpox and midwifery.

Many persons reside in the villages not actually peasants of the Crown,—petty officials, merchants, citizens, and soldiers whose period of service has expired, the Polovniki in the north, the Odnodvortzi of the western Governments, and the Gipsies. It is permitted to what are called the mixed classes of these people (subordinate officials, merchants, and citizens) to establish their relations by special arrangements with the Communes, subjecting themselves to the communal administration; but if they refuse to do this, they are obliged to leave the villages. Discharged soldiers are permitted to establish themselves at their pleasure in any Crown village, to take one of their sons (Cantonists) with them, and to enter the Commune, receive a share of land like the rest, and special aid in money, a capital being collected and appropriated to their particular use.

The Polovniki, Odnodvortzi, and Gipsies, are permitted to establish themselves permanently in the villages of the Crown, and receive land and assistance in money. Something has been done for the nomadic peoples, and a special administration has been established for the Kalmuks, and measures taken to facilitate their permanent settlement; mixed colonies of Russians and Kalmuks have been established along the principal routes of their migrations, as an inducement for the latter to settle.

The Kirghiz are much further removed from civilization, but some arrangements have been effected to unite them more closely with their Russian fellow-subjects.

I have hitherto chiefly considered the measures which relate to the peasants, and now turn to the landed possessions of the Crown. In the first place every precaution

has been taken to ascertain their extent and protect them against attack. The organization of the forests was of immense importance; their vast extent did not admit of any determined plan of scientific management. In European Russia there are more than five hundred thousand square miles of Crown forest. The largest part of this enormous space belongs to the future of Russia; which at present cannot use it. An organization of the forest such as exists in other countries could not serve as a model where a purely Russian one was required. European Russia is accordingly classed into six divisions, placed under six Inspectors. Each division is subdivided into Governments, under Government foresters, with whom a forester specially acquainted with the subject and a superintendent are associated. Each Government or province is divided into departments under a forest-officer, these into Districts under mounted subordinate officers, and the latter finally into smaller Departments under forest-guards. Three Generals, seven hundred Staff and superior Officers, constitute the corps of foresters; one thousand mounted subordinate officers and six thousand rifles form the permanent forest-guard, everything being upon a military footing, in accordance with the spirit and genius of the Russians. The attention of this administration can for the present only be directed to the outskirts of the immense forests. In the south and centre of Russia there is an almost total absence of forest, and it has been necessary to commence planting and sowing; substitutes for wood as fuel, such as coal and turf, have been sought and partially found.

4. *Results attained from* 1838 *to* 1845 *and subsequently.*

Let us now turn to the results already attained from

this re-organization of the Imperial domains, and of the population inhabiting them. It has of course been introduced gradually. After the adoption of a general plan, the administration was established, the necessary funds procured, and operations were commenced. How difficult the commencement of this re-organization was, with what abuses, obstinate prejudices, personal interests, as well as folly and ignorance, the Government had to contend, may be easily conceived: and the contest is not yet by any means ended. It is evident therefore that, after only twelve or fifteen years, it is not possible to speak of great results. Tendencies only have been implanted and germs sown,—the results will not be manifest until after several generations. Beneficence, goodwill, a sense of justice, a spirit of investigation and insight, have undoubtedly presided over the work, and ensured to it a blessing.

The new arrangements encountered aversion, misunderstanding, and opposition on every side. The existing Government and local authorities were deprived of nearly all their influence and of many advantages, allowed and not allowed. The landowners suffered in many ways; they had profited by the disorder, the unregulated condition of the Imperial domains, and the uncertainty of the boundaries, but they must have had a foreboding of a future reaction of these evils upon their own relations with their peasants.

The class of townspeople who were mingled with the peasants, and the peasant oligarchy which had been constituted with the title of "devourers of the Commune," lost all their influence, their advantages and prospects. This was another cause of opposition to the new measures, as these people exercised much influence upon the

peasants. The latter likewise found it difficult to reconcile themselves to the new order of things; it appeared hard that they should be prohibited from devastating the forests, and could no longer sell in a clandestine manner land which belonged to the Crown. The brandy-farmers, a powerful and influential class, made the greatest resistance to the new arrangements. To these causes of opposition were added political opinions and considerations, this being indeed the most important of all questions relating to internal politics. Nevertheless the Emperor was inflexible in carrying out the decision which he had maturely weighed and formed.

In the first place, forty-eight Domainal Courts were established in the Governments, and 296 Circle administrations placed under them. The organization of the Communes was more difficult, as the most exact local knowledge was required for that purpose: 7397 Communes were formed from the 88,000 villages, and 1449 Districts from the former. The number of the Communes was thus diminished one-half, and that of the Districts one-third.

A juster system of proceeding was immediately introduced into the administration of the Communes, the persons placed at their head being elected by those really interested in the welfare of the members, and possessing the general confidence. It was difficult to find the needful assistants or clerks; but this deficiency was remedied by obliging the popes to give instruction in writing to young peasant lads. At the present time, clerks are readily found everywhere.

The establishment of village tribunals was difficult; but the greatest opposition to them came from a superior class, whilst the peasants accepted the institution with

joy and confidence; as a proof of this I may mention the fact, that more than fifty-three thousand causes are annually decided by these courts, not including the number of cases which were formerly settled by agreement: five to six hundred appeals at the utmost were brought before the usual courts.

It is worthy of remark that the peasants sentenced by these courts not merely always submit without a murmur to the punishments awarded to them, but generally beg as a favour that their offences may not be permanently recorded in the penal register.

It appears that the present administration has in general gained the confidence of the peasants in a greater degree than any previous one; the immense number of petitions and complaints indicate, on the one hand, the grievances past and present of the peasants, and, on the other, the confidence which the latter repose in the new Ministry. Formerly few complaints or petitions were presented, not because there was no ground for them, but from the full persuasion in the minds of the peasantry that they would be of no avail, or might even be the cause of injury to them. The number presented from the Great Russian Governments has annually increased: in 1845 it amounted to about forty thousand. The subjects of the petitions are, requests for larger grants of land, for settlement, and for adjudication of leases. The complaints generally refer to the inequality of the taxes, or the tribunals, but very rarely to the local administration. It is evident therefore that the direct relations of the peasants to the Ministry increase, in the same degree as the Communal institutions gain strength.

In the Great Russian Governments the number of the memorials has been as one to 818 of the inhabitants; in

the western Governments on the other hand, where the whole organization is still very backward, as one to 4925. The petitions of the peasants relate in general precisely to those evils for the remedy of which the reorganization was introduced, such as the want of land and inequality of taxes. It will not be denied that great evils, frauds, and oppressions are still perpetrated by the officials; but whereas they were formerly the rule and almost openly tolerated, at present they are, when proved, severely punished.

The introduction of the land-tax, the establishment and carrying out of the system of new grants of land, and the transcolonization of the peasants, required scientific knowledge. On the establishment of the Ministry there were only seventeen engineers, and these were taken from the army. Formerly about 39,056 dessetinas were measured and surveyed annually. The survey of each dessetina cost the Crown 18½ silver copeks. In 1845 the Ministry had 497 civil engineers at their disposal. From 1838 to 1845, 3,134,149 dessetinas were annually measured and surveyed; in all, 21,939,043 dessetinas. Every dessetina cost the Crown not more than one and a half to two silver copeks. In the Western Provinces, where the preparation of an economical inventory was united with the survey, the expense amounted to ten silver copeks the dessetina: 88,435,933 dessetinas have been copied from the old plans of general measurement.

These preliminary labours have rendered it possible almost to complete the transformation of the poll-tax into a land-rent in the Governments of St. Petersburg, Voronezh, Tambof, Penza, Riazan, and Tula, which contain a population of Crown peasants amounting to 1,216,417 souls. The survey and valuation has been everywhere

carried out with the assistance of the peasants themselves, who either gave their assent to every measurement or protested against it; they had thus a personal share in the regular taxation of their land. Everything is completed in the Governments of St. Petersburg and Voronezh: in the former the land and occupancy tax was fixed at 18·8 per cent., in the latter at 13·27 per cent. of the net proceeds. The adjustment of the Communes in the interior of each Government is thus carried out; the Governments themselves will afterwards be adjusted.

In the Western Provinces the so-called lustration (regulation) has been completed on 374 properties, with a population of 134,824 souls, and containing 5,673,448 dessetinas. 681,830 dessetinas of land were found, which the Arendators had secretly occupied without any right, or paying any rent, or even indicating its existence to the Government. According to the new inventories promulgated, the obligations of the peasants have been reduced about twenty to forty-five per cent. Nevertheless the income of the Crown, in consequence of the increased grants of land, and by securing what had been appropriated by private persons, and other advantageous circumstances, is thirty-five per cent. larger than it used to be. In these provinces, too, down to 1845, 103,567 souls (one-sixth of the whole population) were already placed upon obrok (money-rent); statute-labour has been abolished, and the Great Russian communal constitution introduced among them.

After centuries of slavery the peasants here are again free, and the heavy yoke of the Arenda-system is removed from them.

In the seven years previous to the termination of 1844 land was allotted to the peasants and colonists, and

thus made arable, amounting in the Great Russian Governments—to the peasants, to 153,484 dessetinas; to the colonists, to 125,676; in the West Russian Governments, 43,476: total, 322,636 dessetinas. From Governments which had too large a population and too small a quantity of land, 93,775 souls have been transferred and settled as colonists elsewhere, with grants of land amounting to fifteen dessetinas per soul, in all therefore to 1,729,252 dessetinas, which after the years of free occupancy have expired will yield a not insignificant increase to the land-tax receipts.

It has been shown above that the various communal taxes have been blended together into a single tax, out of which are defrayed for the maintenance of the Government, Circle, District, and Communal administrations 1,080,920 silver roubles; for the maintenance of the communal schools, 347,638; for surveys, 96,229; and for the establishment of provision stores, 508,000. The surplus and several newly-discovered sources of income, such for instance as the proceeds of the so-called *Pachtartikel*, which had been raised in 1844 to 529,639 silver roubles, have enabled an agricultural capital to be accumulated, which is to be expended for the use of the peasants, and amounted, on the 1st of January, 1845, to 3,041,609 silver roubles.

In the years 1842–1844, 2160 communal schools were established in the Domain villages; in 1845 the number of pupils amounted to 107,349. The peasants everywhere contributed with the greatest readiness to the establishment of these schools, voluntarily giving money and land on which to build them.

Five model farms have been instituted in the Governments of Mohilef, Tambof, Vologda, Saratof, and Ekate-

rinoslaf, a model establishment for breeding sheep in the Government of Kherson, and one for bees, by the landowner Prokopovitch, in the Government of Tchernigof. Several others have been either completed or are in preparation. Until 1845 these establishments had already trained and discharged 296 pupils. In Muharatch, in the Crimea and the Caucasus some schools have been instituted for teaching the cultivation of the grape, which is increasing very much in Russia generally. In 1844 the Government of Taurida alone furnished 685,810 kilderkins of wine.

The Ministry has sought to increase the quantity and improve the quality of the seed-corn by encouragements and rewards of all kinds. It has ordered considerable quantities of Wasa rye to be imported from Sweden, barley from England and the Himalayas, potatoes of all kinds from every country, tobacco and the seeds of commercial products from America, Persia, and Turkey, the eggs of silkworms from China, etc., and distributed them among the farmers.

From 1838 to 1845 the winter and summer seed sown has increased thirty-four per cent., the potato seed thirteen per cent. The cultivation of tobacco had increased considerably, especially in the southern Governments; but the greatest improvement is taking place in the quality, and the price, compared with former times, has risen sevenfold (two roubles eighty copeks silver per pood).

The Ministry has done much to encourage the improvement of agricultural implements, and not without success. The manufacture and sale of these improved implements had increased sixfold in seven years, the import of agricultural machines and implements threefold.

The breeding of horses has greatly increased in Russia.

In a few years seven large new studs, containing 5278 horses, had been instituted. Sixteen stables have been established, with 810 stallions, where the mares of the peasants are covered gratuitously. In the breeding of cattle also something has been done.

The Ministry has established 140 peasant banks, and poor's funds with savings-banks connected with them, in seventy of the Districts. From its novelty it is impossible to judge of the success of this arrangement.

In the New Russian Governments (South Russia) agriculture is of a more varied character, and the spirit of enterprise greater; consequently a considerable loan-office has been established here, in addition to the above-mentioned peasant banks. The brandy-tax capital existing in these Governments has been used for this purpose.* Advances have been made to the peasants amounting to 30,000 roubles: but security is required for their repayment, which few of the peasantry can furnish; it has therefore been sought to constitute the whole Commune security. The Ministry, by way of experiment, has invited the peasants in six Governments (St. Petersburg, Poltava, Tchernigof, Ekaterinoslaf, Taurida, and Grodno) to make a collection among the Communes, and unite their capitals together for agricultural improvements. In 1845, 471 Communes had already accepted this proposal, and collected 230,249 silver roubles. It is yet uncertain whether this system will be generally adopted. Exhibitions, at which prizes were awarded for agricultural

* Formerly the Crown peasants in New Russia paid this tax for the privilege of distilling brandy. Afterwards, when the farming of brandy was introduced into New Russia, the Government abandoned to the peasants the use of the capital arising from the tax for three years, and it was finally applied to the above purpose.

products, took place in 1843 and 1844 at Odessa and Goldingen, with, it would appear, some success. Nine agricultural associations already existed; down to the year 1845 three new ones were established. To encourage trade, manufactures, and handicraft, samples of foreign produce have been imported for the use of the peasants. The boys in the model farms are also instructed in handicraft. The number of factories in the Crown Communes had increased, in 1845, to 5174, with 5964 masters and 40,695 workmen. Trade at the fairs has greatly increased: formerly the sales were reckoned at seventeen million silver roubles; in 1844 they amounted to twenty-three millions.

The necessary preliminaries have been arranged for placing the peasants of the Crown upon an equality as to service in kind with the other classes of the people. The new recruiting system has been introduced into twenty Governments, to the satisfaction, it would appear, of the parties interested.

The construction of the villages and farmhouses according to the new plans appears to have made progress, in consequence doubtless of the numerous fires; down to 1845, 1274 villages were already rebuilt. Mutual fire-assurance associations have been introduced into several Governments. The indemnifications amounted,

In 1839	to 889,507	silver roubles.
1840	342,248	„
1841	181,138	„
1842	180,803	„
1843	190,728	„
1844	267,051	„

818 new provision stores have already been established in the Communes. In 1844 the purchase of grain commenced for the newly-established central stores

in the Governments of Mohilef, Orel, Poltava, Yaroslaf, Kazan, and Tambof. In 1845 8,455,098 tchetverts of grain were deposited in the Communal stores, and 64,338 in the central stores; total, 8,519,436 tchetverts. The provisioning capital amounted at that time to 1,579,407 silver roubles, and that destined for the establishment of the stores to 1,484,250: total, 3,063,657.

These provisions and this capital enabled the Ministry in the years of scarcity, 1839, 1840, and 1844, to advance large sums and give much assistance to the peasants. There were granted,

In 1839–40 .	1,437,762	tchetverts of corn, and	2,129,475	silver roubles.
1841 . .	969,230	,,	548,552	,,
1842 . .	1,086,259	,,	50,357	,,
1843 . .	449,514	,,		,,
1844 . .	453,806	,,	224,860	,,
	4,396,571	,,	2,953,244	,,

If we add these figures to the supplies still existing in 1845, which we have indicated above, we shall obtain a total amount of 12,916,007 tchetverts of corn and 4,532,652 silver roubles, to collect which from 7397 different points (the number of Communes), to preserve and distribute them, has doubtless cost much trouble and labour, and proves the activity of the administration.

189 physicians, among whom were forty veterinaries, had been appointed down to 1845. The number of individuals educated for and entrusted with inoculation was 5089: there will soon be one in each Commune. Much has been done for the education of midwives, and hospitals have been instituted, to which the peasantry contributed much assistance.

In consequence of the regulations made for the maintenance of the various classes of strangers residing in the

Imperial Domains, there have been settled in the Crown villages,—

Soldiers, discharged	13,232
Polovniki	887
Odnodvortzi and Citizens of Western Governments	4,747
Gipsies	11,551
Liberated peasants formerly belonging to the class of Odnodvortzi	3,923
	34,340

Crown peasants who have joined other classes from 1838 to 1845 :—

The Learned Professions	441
The Clergy	785
The Mercantile class	6,345
The Citizen class and Guilds	16,815
As volunteer Seamen in the New Russian Governments	2,834
The service of the Post	23
The service of the Mines	6
The Civil Service of the State	5
	27,254

A portion of the forests, pastures, and desert spaces belonging to the Crown is no longer under the direct administration of the Ministry, in consequence of the grants made to the peasants and other causes. But the revenues have been much increased by their extent and value being ascertained, and by order and economy: previous to 1838 the revenues amounted to 598,980 silver roubles, in 1845 to 1,387,787, or 788,807 additional.

Great difficulties were encountered in the reorganization of the forest administration. In 1844 the forest-corps consisted of 221 scientifically educated officers, the permanent forest-guard of 1979 mounted guards and riflemen on foot. Attacks on a great scale upon the Crown property have not often occurred since that time.

On the other hand, 617,034 dessetinas of land and wood, 6664 peasants, 596,187 silver roubles in capital, eighteen houses, and twenty-one mills have been reclaimed from private persons who had appropriated them, and have been restored to the Crown by a judicial sentence. The injury and burning of the forests, it is said, have considerably diminished since that time. The loss sustained by timber being felled and stolen amounted in 1840 to more than 700,000 silver roubles; the loss by fire to 131,779; on the other hand, in 1844, the former amounted to only 184,697 silver roubles, the latter to 31,314. Before the establishment of the forest-corps, the damage caused by felling and fires is said to have amounted to 4,312,000 silver roubles in one year.

A completely organized administration has been introduced by way of experiment in different Governments in forests extending on the whole to 900,000 dessetinas.

The total income arising from the Crown woodlands was formerly reckoned at 600,000 silver roubles; in 1844 it amounted to 1,019,560 silver roubles.

I have here given a survey of the reorganization of the Crown estates and their population, in order to show that much can be effected in Russia by decision and energy. For a hundred and twenty years this reform has been in contemplation; the committees frequently appointed for that purpose have spent tens of years in merely discussing its elements, without being able to come to any final resolution. The Emperor Nicholas soon decided the question, and within a year and a half all the organic works, from the establishment of the general principles down to the smallest details of the internal mechanism,

from the functions of the Ministry to the duties of the lowest decemvir in the villages, were completed; the knot was not cut through, nor the whole organization arbitrarily formed upon an artificial model, nor the natural relations of the people interfered with; but it was laid down as a principle that the popular manners and customs and the law of the country must be respected.

The preceding Treatise had been completed, and was in the Press, when I received a copy of the Report of the Minister of the Crown Estates to the Emperor for the year 1850. Being unable to insert the information it contained at the proper place, I introduce it here. It furnishes a survey of what has been effected in this immensely important branch of the national economy of Russia.

The new organization of the Crown estates has been in operation for more than twelve years, and it is no longer doubtful that it has in every respect established a new state of things. The entire educated and half-educated part of Russia at first regarded it with a suspicious eye, with reluctance and repugnance. The peasants too unwillingly adhered to the change; but, after the Russian fashion, and perceiving it to be unavoidable, they soon submitted, and have everywhere sought to facilitate the establishment of the new system. The whole organization rests upon just, and, were this noble word not so much misapplied, I would say truly liberal principles; everything has been effected without harshness, but with determination and intelligence; let us therefore hope that it may conduce to the welfare of Russia and her people! *Per ardua ad astra!*

The following details regarding the progress of all branches of the administration will probably be charged with being mere statistics, the truth of which can never be guaranteed in Russia. I certainly do not intend to guarantee them all; but it is growing very difficult and dangerous in Russia to deliver false reports to the Emperor; and the Minister has undoubtedly done his utmost to establish the correctness of the figures which are laid before him. That many false returns may have been furnished by subordinates is probable enough; but even were every figure uncertain, still on the whole, and in the inferences to be drawn from them, these details are undoubtedly correct, and furnish a true picture of the present state of things.

The entire extent of land appropriated to the use of the Crown peasants amounted in 1850 to 80,390,601 dessetinas (340,000 square miles); in that year 3,456,743 dessetinas were surveyed and registered, making a total of 35,254,680 dessetinas; in 1845, as shown above, there were only 21,939,343. The number of Crown leaseholds amounted in 1850 to 10,302, and had increased since 1849 by 394: in 1837, on the establishment of the Ministry, they produced to the Crown 819,918 silver roubles; in 1850, 1,677,995. The number of the communal leaseholds amounted in 1850 to 21,479, an increase of 361 since 1849. They produced in 1837 103,000 silver roubles; in 1850, 602,958 silver roubles, or sixfold the former sum.

The survey and regular administration of the forests were in progress. Crown woods were allotted to Communes which had too small a quantity, and their extent was being increased by new plantations, reclamations

from persons who had appropriated Crown wood, confiscations, etc. In the year 1850 153,028 dessetinas had been acquired; the total amount was then 115,495,430 dessetinas. In 4448 Communes the boundaries of the forests were completely fixed, and comprised 14,509,721 dessetinas. 209 new mounted forest-guards were appointed; in all 2580 mounted and foot-guards and 38,295 peasant guards held appointments. For some years previously wardens of the forest, with their families, had been established, the peasant guards having furnished an insufficient protection; in the year 1850 118 such families were appointed, making in all 1333 families. As the institution progresses, more and more of the peasant guards will be discharged. In a district of 2,941,906 dessetinas of forest (124,000 square miles) a regularly organized administration had been established. In the steppes of Southern Russia 7704 dessetinas (more than thirty-two square miles) had already been planted, and apparently with success. The revenue from the forests, which at the establishment of the Ministry amounted to only 603,674 silver roubles, in 1850 amounted to 1,190,063, of which 892,063 arose from wood exported.

In 1850 eighty-four new churches and sixty-seven chapels were built in the Crown villages, ninety were in course of construction, and 165 of repair. The peasants contributed 159,858 silver roubles, the Crown 142,755 silver roubles, for this purpose. Land for the maintenance of the popes had been increased in various places during the year to the total extent of 818 dessetinas.

There were 2642 schools under the direction of the popes, with 85,227 pupils, among whom were 4781

females, a thing unheard of in former days. The pupils were in the proportion of five to 1000 souls; in the German colonies 213 to 1000. The increased attendance at the schools for the Mohammedan Tatars, and the gradual approximation of the latter to Russian manners, are remarkable; they are now beginning to send their daughters to school; there were 134 of these schools with 3227 pupils, 580 of whom were girls. Schools have been established among the Nogais and the Kirghiz, and lately also among the Kalmuks, to disseminate the Russian language among them.

The newly-established system of Communal Courts is succeeding remarkably, and increasing in extent and popularity. In 1850, 56,849 private causes were brought before them (10,545 more than in 1849), of which 3531 were settled by agreement between the parties, the others by the verdict of the court: 77,343 individuals (12,140 more than 1849) were punished; 372 individuals were placed under tutelage for extravagance and disorderly lives.

For some years past much has been done for the regular rebuilding of the villages, and the more judicious arrangement of the steadings and peasant houses. In 1850 917 plans were formed for improved villages, and 493 villages were built and arranged according to them (probably to replace others burnt down). In 135 villages the farmhouses which stood too near each other were removed to a greater distance. Instead of the former simple log-houses, 374 peasant houses were built of brick, and 500 of clay. In order to facilitate and extend the use of bricks, especially for chimneys, 4,128,414 tiles and bricks were given to the peasants gratuitously from the Imperial brick-kilns.

Frequent fires occurred from the dryness of the summer; ten churches, sixty-six communal buildings, and 20,471 peasant steadings were burnt down, valued at 3,571,494 silver roubles, 482,410 roubles more than in 1849. The Crown contributed toward this a sum of 537,991 roubles, and wood *in naturâ*. The new law upon insurances has been already introduced on several domains in various Governments: it appears judicious, and will soon be established everywhere. It permits each householder to insure his house for two-thirds of its value: the premium amounts to three-quarters of a copek per rouble, which is somewhat high.

In seventeen Governments the harvest in 1850 was nearly sufficient to supply the wants of the people. The four Governments of Ekaterinoslaf, Saratof, Penza, and Riazan however had already suffered three successive bad harvests. Extraordinary measures had to be adopted to save the seed; 147,949 tchetverts were accordingly supplied gratuitously from the stores, and 927,870 tchetverts as a loan, and, in addition, grain at the lowest prices valued at 2,153,638 silver roubles. In the Governments of Saratof, Penza, and Riazan, on account of the difficulty and expense of transport, additional assistance was furnished by the Crown to the amount of 282,264 roubles, of which however only 44,317 were used.

On the 1st of January, 1851, there were 9,742,377 tchetverts (383,146 more than in 1849) in the communal stores, and 2,910,878 roubles (758,010 more than in 1849). In the year thirty-one stone and eighty-one wooden communal stores were erected, and 205 were in course of construction. In all there were 2113 built according to the new plans; 1541 remaining of the old

kind: total, 3654. A capital of 879,748 roubles was disposable for the building of stores.

194 physicians and 315 surgeons were appointed for the use of the Crown peasants. There were 5665 persons charged with inoculation, and 685,062 children were inoculated. Instruction in inoculation and the general principles of surgery was given to 927 pupils. There were 399 hospitals for idiots, blind, deaf, and cripples, into which 24,000 persons were received. The Administration has under its care 69,855 orphan children: their property, estimated at 2,074,832 silver roubles, is secured to them.

The transformation of the poll-tax into a land-rent is progressing rapidly: it was completed in 1849 in the eight Governments of St. Petersburg, Voronezh, Tambof, Penza, Orel, Tula, Riazan, and Kursk. In 1851 all the preparatory work was finished, the amounts fixed, and it only required to be finally adopted, in the six Governments of Moscow, Pskof, Ekaterinoslaf, Kherson, Kharkof, and Smolensk. It was expected that before the next Revision the entire transformation of the poll-tax into a land-rent would be completed.

The change of the *corvée* into the tenant or obrok system among the Crown peasants in the Western Governments approaches completion.

In 1850 eleven new village banks were established; there were at that time 515 banks, and 162 assurance offices for the Crown peasants.

In the agricultural schools there were 130 more pupils in 1850 than in 1849; in all there were 1037 pupils.

The breeding of horses is one of the most important branches of agricultural enterprise in Russia, and the Imperial studs were recently placed under the direction

of the Ministry of the Crown lands. The expenses of the general administration of the studs formerly amounted to 65,000 silver roubles; in 1850 they had been diminished to 33,000 roubles. There were seven large Imperial studs, in which, on the 1st of January, 1851, were 6291 horses and 1446 grooms; 643 horses were sold in that year for 64,453 silver roubles. Trials and races were instituted to prove the respective qualities of Russian and English horses. In Moscow the English were superior, but in St. Petersburg the victory was gained by the Russian horses.

The establishment of a Ministry for the management of the Crown lands, and the organization thereby effected of that half of the peasantry which belongs to the Crown, but above all the solemn expression and acknowledgment of the great national principle of law, the freedom and independence of the Russian Commune, as the real basis of the entire national constitution, is the greatest event which has occurred in Russia since the time of Peter I. It is an event the importance of which for the future of Russia is quite incalculable,—a true organic legislation, in contrast with the idle manufacture of constitutions in the rest of the continent of Europe. But it does not announce itself pompously as a *charte-vérité* and genuine guarantee of the welfare and happiness of mankind; it only prepares the ground for a future harvest, committing the germs to the soil and affording them shelter, that nature, air, and sun may do their part, and succeeding generations derive the benefit.

The establishment however of these principles and this organization merely applies to the smaller half of the

village Communes. To bring the relations of the second half gradually into harmony with the first is the next great task of the Government. That it has perceived the necessity of this is evident from the ukase of April 2nd, 1842, and several decrees issued subsequently, in which however it has been careful not to infringe upon existing rights, but has merely pointed out the way, and established forms by means of which the parties interested may make arrangements with each other.

The Government has announced a great principle of law, which must gradually produce important consequences. According to the principle of serfage, the serf can have no property of his own; everything belongs to his master, who is only bound in return to provide him with the means of support. The serf therefore has no power of disposition by law; he can conclude no contracts, make no will, etc. Since the ukase of April 2nd, 1842, however, Russian legislation has conferred upon the peasants the right of making contracts, and has thus virtually abolished serfage. A basis of peasant right has been established in Russia, the further development of which belongs to the future. Freedom ought never to be bestowed gratuitously; it is a noble possession, which can only be the reward of good conduct, labour, and exertion. No man of sense in Russia imagines that serfage could be abolished suddenly. An abolition effected in this manner in the Baltic provinces, the constant field for experiments in Russia, has not produced favourable results, and efforts are still making there to give stability to the social state. Immediate abolition of serfage would be an incalculable calamity to Russia.

If it were established by law that certain classes or categories of serfs,—merchants, artisans, manufacturing

workmen, etc. (to the exclusion at first of those engaged in agriculture),—should have the right, after a limited period and under certain conditions, of purchasing their freedom, a sufficient foundation for further change would be established, and it might then be left to time and the people themselves to effect the rest.

With regard to the physical condition of the people, and especially the chief basis of their social life and principal employment—agriculture—the case is different; here the interference of the Government is becoming every day more necessary. We have seen above how solicitous it is to improve the agriculture of the Crown peasants; example alone however will be insufficient to awaken imitation on the part of the private proprietors, and legislative measures will be necessary to produce the requisite improvement throughout Russia, both among the Crown peasants and the private serfs.

I have already mentioned that agriculture is generally of an inferior kind in Russia; the people dislike its regular and severe labour. Meadows are everywhere wanting, the cultivation of fodder is unknown, and consequently there are not sufficient cattle and little manure. The ground is slightly cultivated, insufficiently manured, and completely exhausted.* In former times, when wood existed in superfluity, the custom was to leave the exhausted soil, burn down an additional part of the forest, and cultivate the cleared space as long as it would yield a crop; and when this too was exhausted, to clear and cultivate another part of the forest.

The Government has established a class of officials for

* The excellent soil of the Government of Tula, which with sufficient manure and careful cultivation would yield twelve to fifteen times the seed, generally yields scarcely four times.

the administration of the Crown lands; but the private estates ought to be brought into harmony with those of the Crown: the nobility ought to improve the cultivation of their land, and instruct their peasants in a better system of farming. In order to infuse the needful tendencies into the nobility, little would be required except the distinctly expressed wish of the Emperor, and an earnest exhortation from him. If the Government would remove existing difficulties, and afford the necessary assistance in the establishment of companies for effecting improvements, merely retaining the supreme direction and superintendence, with as little as possible of direct interference, I am persuaded that great results would be attained without further co-operation on its part.

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