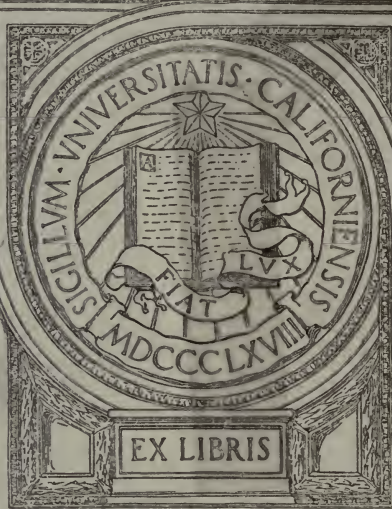




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Russia. Komitet ministrov. Kantsele

STATESMAN'S HANDBOOK  
for  
RUSSIA.

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Edited by the Chancery  
of the Committee of Ministers.

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Vol. I. II.

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## I N D E X.

	Page.
Preface . . . . .	I—II
Unity of the Russian Empire . . . . .	1—2
State organization . . . . .	2—16
General principles.—The Sovereign State Power: Rights. — Prerogatives. — Succession. — Institu- tions of the Imperial Family. . . . .	2
Rights of subjects . . . . .	16—49
Acquirement and loss of nationality.— Rights of subjects according to classes. — The origin of classes. — Class divisions since Peter the Great.— Class rights at the present time . . . . .	16
Rights and duties of Russian subjects in gen- eral: Freedom of religion.—Inviolability of prop- erty.—Inviolability of the person . . . . .	31
Heterogeneous races: Eastern races.—Jews.— Finns. — The rights of foreigners in Russia. . .	42
State administration.	
The higher institutions of State . . . . .	49—74
Council of State.— Council of Ministers.— Com- mittee of Ministers.—Committee of Siberian Rail- way. — Committees of various kinds. — Ruling Senate. — Holy Ruling Synod.	
Ministries . . . . .	74—103
Their history. — Present organization. — Separate Ministries . . . . .	74
Institutions in direct cognizance of the Mo- narch: Ministry of the Imperial Court, (Russian Orders). — Special Chancery of HIS MAJESTY the Emperor, (Table of Ranks). — Chancery of Peti- tions presented in the Imperial name. . . . .	88

## Separate branches of State administration.

International relations . . . . . 103—115

State defence . . . . . 115—154

Military service . . . . . 115

Land forces.—Cossacks.—Their history.—Organization of military administration (Ministry of War) . . . . . 120

Naval forces.—Administration of the Navy (Ministry of Marine) . . . . . 141

## Material resources of the State.

1. Finances . . . . . 154—192

The relation of the Budget to the national revenue.—State and local expenditure. . . . . 154

Direct taxation . . . . . 159

Indirect taxation. . . . . 169

State credit. . . . . 178

Table of State Budget for 1896. . . . . 188—191

2. Agriculture and rural economy in general . . . . . 192—275

Importance of agriculture for Russia. . . . . 192

I. Distribution of landed property. . . . . 196

1. Peasants' proprietorship.—Peasants' Agrarian credit.—Migration to free territories.—Siberia.—Organization of petty rural credit . . . . . 197

2. Private land.—Hire of village labourers.—Long and short credit for landowners . . . . . 217

II. Distribution of the different kinds of land.—Forests.—Law of 1888 for the protection of forests.—Systems of cultivation and auxiliary pursuits.—Rural economy in the Caucasus, Siberia and Toorkistan.—Extent of production of cereals . . . . . 230

III. Agricultural education . . . . . 257

IV. Improvements of rural economy: Irrigation.—Dessication . . . . . 263

V. The grain trade.—Export.—Internal routes of the grain trade.—Freights . . . . . 266

## P R E F A C E.

Midway between Western Europe and Asia stretches a vast State, occupying more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  of Europe and  $\frac{1}{3}$  of Asia, or  $\frac{1}{6}$  part of all the land of the globe (about 19,000,000 square versts). This State, having in the 13 and 14 centuries screened European civilization from the frequent incursions of Huns and other barbarous Asiatics, and having accepted that same civilisation for its own 120 million inhabitants, is now planting European culture among the denizens of Asia itself, and uniting in one compact mass a large number of races and peoples from the shores of the Baltic and Black Seas to those of the Pacific Ocean.

With all its variety of inhabitants, (over 140 different races), this State is the inheritance of the Russian people, who have gradually but persistently spread to the West, South, and East, and who comprise more than 70% of the total population. This is no artificial unification of separate and distinctive regions, but the Russian Empire, strong in unity and disinterested devotion to its Emperors.

Its importance from the civilizing, national, and political points of view stamps the Russian Empire as a first class power, and attracts the attention of foreigners to everything taking place in the political, social, and economical life of our country. Therefore foreign governments, statesmen, scientific men, and publicists now possess pretty accurate, and even detailed, information on

## II

everything which concerns Russia; but among the majority of intelligent people in Europe and America this information has not yet taken any definite shape, owing to the want of a book in foreign languages, which would give a general and more or less popular picture of our organization as a State.

The present work is intended, to a certain extent, to supply that general picture. Here the reader will find an exposition of the principles underlying the organization of the State, and the rules which regulate the separate departments of government. This book, however, does not profess to give all the details of government business, nor the fullest statistical data on every question: the facts, historical details and figures which it affords are simply by way of supporting and illustrating the narrative.

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The first volume contains an account of the principles of Russian State organization; a description of the higher institutions of State and those attached to the person of the Emperor, and likewise the branches of administration: international relations, State Defence, Finances and Agriculture.

The second volume contains a sketch of industry and trade; ways of communication; church administration and popular education; different branches of the police of security (public charity, national food supplies, preservation of public health, etc.); justice, and finally, the organization of local administration and local self-government.

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## I. UNITY OF THE EMPIRE.

Unity has always constituted the basis of the power and stability of the Russian Empire. The kingdom of Poland, an inseparable part of that Empire, consists of territories, which, prior to their annexation, did not form a special state. Even the boundaries of Poland were till then undefined. The Vienna Congress called the inhabitants of the Polish territories, annexed to Russia—Russian subjects, and left it to the Russian Emperor to establish the organization of these territories. The Polish territories were annexed to Russia on June 20<sup>th</sup>, and the Constitution of the kingdom of Poland was granted by the Emperor Alexander I only on December 25<sup>th</sup>, 1815. After the insurrection of 1830, namely in 1832, this constitution was repealed and, after the revolt of 1863, the complete incorporation of the Polish Governments with the other provinces of the Empire was effected.

The unity of the Empire is in no way impaired by the independence of the institutions, granted to the Finns by the Russian Emperors. Before being annexed to Russia, Finland did not exist as an independent State. Its present territory was divided between Sweden and

Russia. Besides being devoid of autonomy, the Swedish part of Finland did not form a whole, but was broken up into several provinces, or *lens*. By the treaty of Fredericksham Sweden ceded to Russia, not Finland as a whole, but only several provinces; it being expressly stated, that «these provinces henceforth pass into the possession and holding of the Russian Empire and are, for ever annexed to it.» In the summer of 1808 the population of Finland took the oath of allegiance to the Russian Sovereign, and only subsequently, did the Emperor Alexander I, of his own free will, convoke the Diet, or *Seim*, at Borgo, and grant the organization of that institution, which had never before existed in Finland. Thus only special institutions were established, and not a separate Sovereign power, such as would have transformed this land into an independent state.

## II. STATE ORGANIZATION.

### 1. GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

The principles of the state organization of Imperial Russia are set forth in the fundamental laws of the Empire. According to article 1<sup>st</sup> of these laws «the Emperor is a Monarch, autocratic and unlimited». The sovereign power in its entirety is concentrated in his person. The term «unlimited» points to the absence of any laws, restricting the ruling power of the Emperor. An exception is formed only by the laws of the established religion, and the order of succession to the throne: the



Emperor must profess the orthodox faith, and, on ascending the throne, he pledges himself to strictly respect the laws of succession to it.

The Russian Emperor is called autocratic to distinguish him from constitutional Monarchs, as he does not share his Sovereign rights with any institutions or class in the State.

Consequently, the government of the Russian Empire rests upon a firm foundation of law, proceeding from the autocratic power. This fact gives to the whole order of the State in Russia a lawful character, which thereby differentiates it from arbitrary forms. It implies, that in Russia the law alone determines both the rights of power and the obligations of subjects. Such a rule is in no way opposed to the principle of autocracy, as it always lies in the Sovereign power of the Emperor to abrogate this or that law. Yet it serves as a reliable guarantee to his subjects, that a law, issued in regular form, is indeed an act of Sovereign power, binding on all other powers in the State. To the Sovereign power this principle of law is of no less importance: the wide expansion of the functions of the State make a complete system of subordinate institutions unavoidable; these may not, however, be permitted to use their own discretion; while, at the same time, the personal control of the Sovereign, considering the vastness of the territory, is fraught with extreme difficulty. It is therefore indispensable to regulate the functions of subordinate institutions by certain general rules, determined by the law. Only with this condition will they be organs of Sovereign power,

and not independent authorities, acting in their own interests.

The necessity of written laws for the government and the administration of justice was admitted in Russia at an early date. What has survived of the legislation of Novgorod and Pskoff does credit to that epoch. In North-eastern Russia the princes used to issue so called regulation charters. The Codes of the Moscow Sovereigns, and the Statutes of the Tsar Alexey Mihylovitch had in view the protection of the people from the arbitrariness and extortion of the judges. Peter the Great regarded the codification of the laws as the principal condition for attaining promptness in the administration of justice and good administration. And Catherine II in her Instructions, or *Nakaz*, given to the Committee, formed for drawing up a new Code, was of opinion, «that the political freedom of a citizen lies in the peace of mind, proceeding from the belief, entertained by each, of his safety. To enable the citizens to enjoy this freedom it is necessary, that the administration should be such, that one citizen should not fear another, but that all should fear the laws and them only.»

The honour of issuing a Code of laws, founded on separate legislative acts, promulgated previously, which forms the basis of the entire government of the Empire, belongs to the Emperor Nicholas I, under whose direction this extensive task was accomplished in 1832 by Count Speransky.

## 2. ON THE SOVEREIGN STATE POWER.

## a) Rights of the Sovereign power.

The rights of state power in their entire extent belong to the Sovereign Emperor. But the Emperor does not directly exercise all his rights. Catherine II explained in her Instructions, or *Nakaz*, that «the fundamental laws of the State necessarily assume middle channels, i. e. institutions, through which the Sovereign power is exercised». Hence the division of the government into supreme and subordinate. In the supreme government the power of the Sovereign operates in a direct manner. In subordinate government a degree of power is entrusted by him to persons and institutions, acting in his name, by his orders, and within the limits, laid down for them by law. The general principle, defining the sphere of direct application of the Sovereign power, is clearly deducible from what has been stated above as to the law and its significance in the organization of the State. The direct application of the Sovereign power is indispensable either when a single matter cannot be determined by existing laws, or when the general necessity of altering a law presents itself, whereas all, that is sufficiently defined by the law, is subject to the jurisdiction of subordinate powers.

Consequently the Imperial power acts directly in the first place in legislation; no state institution can independently establish a new law, and no law can be carried out without the confirmation of the Sovereign power. But even in the administration it sometimes becomes

necessary to take measures, which, owing to their importance, can be put into force only by the Sovereign power. Such are, firstly: the most important external relations, as the declaration of war, conclusion of peace, of conventions and treaties with foreign countries; secondly—general internal measures in extraordinary cases, as for instance—in matters, concerning the public peace and safety, public alimentation, the building of railways etc.

As representative of Sovereign power in the State, the Monarch is the source of all distinctions and privileges: preferment to the dignity of nobility, the granting of hereditary titles and other callings, ranks, orders and forms of distinction, all depend on him.

As head of the State, the Emperor disposes independently of all the personal and material forces of the Empire. He commands the army and navy, appoints to all offices in the civil service, the army and the navy, and confirms the appointment of officials to certain posts in the provincial, municipal and class administrations. The Sovereign power alone can impose general taxes and contributions, can order the employment of state funds, by confirming the estimates of state revenue and expenditure, etc.

As head of the government, the Emperor has supreme supervision over the course of the whole government of the State; therefore the ministers and governors present annual reports to HIS MAJESTY, showing the course of affairs in the departments, entrusted to them.

Finally, as a christian Sovereign, the Emperor acts with supremacy in Church affairs, in as far as they refer to civil relations, independently of dogma and internal

hierarchal administration. He is supreme defender and protector of the dogmas of the established Orthodox Greek-Catholic Church.

He therefore protects the orthodoxy and purity of the Church, and assumes the right of appointing bishops from among candidates nominated by the Synod and of controlling the functions of ecclesiastical institutions.

The same rights, exclusive of the protection of the purity of creed, belong to HIS MAJESTY in respect to other christian and unchristian religions, existing in the Empire.

Though the duty of Justice consists exclusively in the exact application, under HIS MAJESTY'S authority (by Ukas), of the acting laws to separate cases, nevertheless the Monarch confirms the verdicts of the Courts of Law, as far as regards the deprivation of the rights of nobility, officials, church functionaries and all persons, possessing orders or badges of distinction; as no subordinate power can enforce deprivation of what has been granted by the Sovereign power.

As the source of mercy, being above Justice, the Sovereign has the right of pardon and mitigation of punishments beyond the limits assigned to Justice itself. Finally, in certain cases even proceedings may not be instituted without Supreme resolution, namely, in violations of duty by high dignitaries, as these persons are appointed by direct selection of the Sovereign.

## b) On the prerogatives of the Sovereign power.

As distinguished from the rights of the Sovereign power in the regions of legislation, administration and

justice, stand the prerogatives, enjoyed by the Monarch, which raise him above all persons and institutions in the State. To these belong:

1, Exemption of the Monarch from the action of the general laws, as these laws proceed from himself, and personal impunity in breaking them, as the power does not exist, which could call the Sovereign to account.

2, Inviolability, consisting in the appointing of especially strict punishments for attempting the life, health and honour of the Monarch

3, The Imperial Court. The Monarch has his Court, i. e. persons for the purpose of executing his honorary service. These persons enjoy all the privileges pertaining to the state service. The Imperial Court is maintained by the State.

4, As prerogatives of honour—the Monarch's title and coat of arms.

The title of the Russian Monarch is Emperor and IMPERIAL MAJESTY. Originally the Russian Sovereigns bore the title of grand dukes. With the uniting of Russia under the dominion of Moscow, the title of Tsar began to be used, and was definitely adopted by Ivan IV, in 1547. This remained the title of the Russian Sovereigns till 1721. In 1721, by the peace of Nishtadt, the Great Northern war, carried on so successfully by Peter the Great, was concluded. In celebration of this event, the Senat and Synod resolved to beg Peter I to accept the titles of Emperor, Great, and Father of his Country. A supreme Ukas was issued to that effect, on November 11,

1721, which gave rise to a protest on the part of many European states, as it placed the Russian Sovereign on the same level with the Emperor of Germany, the sole Monarch of that rank then existing. First to acknowledge the new title were Prussia, the Netherlands and Sweden, last—Poland, in 1764.

The Coat of Arms has for its principle element the two-headed eagle, adopted by the Grand Duke Ivan III, after his marriage (in 1472) with Sophia Paleolog, niece of the last Byzantine Emperor. On the eagle's breast is depicted the coat of arms of Moscow: St. George on horseback, slaying the dragon with a golden spear.

### c) On the Succession to the Sovereign Power.

In its substance the Sovereign power is perpetual i. e. its functions do not terminate with the death of the Monarch, as by the law his rights are immediately transferred to his Successor. The order of succession to the state power in hereditary monarchies, as in Russia, is determined by the laws of succession to the throne.

In contemporary European states there exist three systems of succession to the throne, distinguished by the degree of female participation in them: firstly, the system of complete exclusion of females and female issue, called the Salic system. This system was adopted by the Salic Franks in cases of succession to landed property, but it has survived principally in state law, and is in practice at present in Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Italy, Denmark and Prussia.

In England females are admitted to the succession to the throne in the following order: male heirs in the same degree of relation exclude females; so if, for instance, the daughter of the king is older than the son, still the son succeeds to the throne. But if the king leaves a daughter and a nephew, then the daughter succeeds to the throne, as being in a closer degree of relationship. Besides England, this system is in practice in Spain and Portugal. It is called the cognate, or Castile system.

Lastly comes the third system, occupying, as it were, the middle between the two foregoing: females and female lines are not absolutely excluded, but the male heirs enjoy superiority in all the lines and all the degrees of relationship. Only in the case of the entire extinction of the male descent in all the male lines, does the throne pass to the female line.

This system, called the German—Dutch, was established originally in Austria by Leopold I, in 1703. At present it is in practice, except Austria, in Holland, Greece, Bavaria, Würtemberg and likewise in Russia by the act on the succession to the throne, April 5, 1797.

Several systems had hitherto been used in Russia. Previous to the growth of Moscow, i. e. during the Kief period of Russian history (from the end of the X-th till the middle of the XIV-th century), there existed in fact no system. By a general rule the inheritance belonged to the whole family of the Grand Duke: each brother had the right to a part of the domains and a throne in a certain town. The throne of Kief was considered the



principal one, and it passed with the dignity of Grand Duke to the eldest brother. But the seniority becoming obscure, through the numerous growth of the ducal family, the birthright led to armed strife, when not unfrequently the elder would submit to the younger.

In the Moscow period single succession was gradually attained. But in 1598, the dynasty of Rurik came to an end, and the throne was ascended by Boris Godoonoff. The electing system prevailed during the whole of the Turbulent Period until 1613, when the Romanoff dynasty was elected to the throne, as being the most proximate to the Rurik family, the mother of Theodor Ioannovitch, the last Tsar of that dynasty, having been a Romanoff. In this dynasty the throne passed at first from father to son by the right of primogeniture, till Peter the Great, urged by the opposition which all his reforms met with from his eldest son, the Cesarevitch Alexey Petrovitch, determined to adopt the system of bequeathment. He died however intestate, but his nearest successors adhered to this plan, giving not unfrequently rise to riot and discord.

Consequently in 1742, Elizaveta Petrovna, issued a manifesto, declaring the heir to the throne to be her nephew, the duke Peter of Holstein, «as nearest by blood» to the Empress; and subsequently the Empress Catherine II, on ascending the throne, ordered the oath of allegiance to be taken to her and to her son, the grand duke Pavel Petrovitch, lawful heir to the throne of all the Russias.

Thus the principle of succession to the throne by

law was again proclaimed, the legal order only of succession to the throne was unestablished. This was accomplished by the Emperor Paul I by an act on the succession to the throne, which established the following system:

The right of succession to the throne belongs to the members of the now reigning Imperial House. Both the sexes are admitted to the succession, though the preference is given to the male sex. The Emperor is immediately succeeded by his eldest son, after whom comes the entire male issue of that son, namely: the grandson, great grandson etc., till its complete termination; then the throne is ascended by the second son of the Emperor, followed by his male issue; upon that the third son etc. At the extinction of the last male line of the Emperor Paul I, the throne passes into the female lines, according to their degrees of proximity to the Emperor, who reigned last. In each of the female lines, preference of male over female heirs is shown according to the general rule.

The person, possessing the right to the throne, may ascend it only if he or she professes the orthodox faith. In the event of belonging to another creed, orthodoxy must first be embraced.

It is permissible to abnegate the rights to the throne, provided only no complications in the succession to the throne arise. Whereupon, when the abnegation is proclaimed and made law, it may not be withdrawn.

The heir ascends the throne immediately after the death of his predecessor, but he begins to reign, only

on coming of age. The heir is held to be of age at 16 years, earlier than the subject (21), as is likewise the case in other European states.

In the event of a minor Emperor ascending the throne, a guardianship and an administration are established.

The new Emperor publicly proclaims his accession to the throne by means of a special manifesto. In the manifesto the lawful heir, if he already exists, is announced.

On the appearance of the manifesto, all male subjects, from the age of 12 upwards, are summoned to take the oath of allegiance, each according to the rites of his creed. The oath is taken to the Emperor and to his lawful heir, even though he is not mentioned in the manifesto. The ceremonies of coronation and anointment of the new Emperor are then performed in the Moscow Cathedral of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin, in the presence of the highest state institutions and classes, summoned for this purpose by Sovereign power.

#### d) The Institution of the Imperial Family.

By their right to the throne, a special privileged position is created for the members of the Imperial House.

At the head of the Imperial Family stands the Sovereign himself. He is its perpetual supreme guardian and protector. The members of the Imperial House on coming of age take the oath of loyalty to their Sove-

reign and Country, and swear to maintain the rights of succession and the family order. Therefore each member of the Imperial Family owes the Emperor, as to the head of the House, and as to an Autocrat—absolute respect, submission, obedience and subjection.

All persons of both sexes, proceeding from the Imperial blood in the male line, and in lawful marriage, are considered as members of the Imperial House. The rights of the male persons are communicated to their wives, who thereby likewise become members of the Imperial House, but without the right of succeeding to the throne.

Thus the principal condition of belonging to the Imperial House is lawful marriage. In order to be lawful these marriages require the observance of certain special conditions, different from those set down for ordinary subjects. Namely, it is indispensable, firstly, to have the sanction of the reigning Emperor; secondly, that the persons about to be married should be equally high born and thirdly, a person of the male sex, with the possible right of succeeding to the throne, may marry a person of another faith, only on condition that she embrace the orthodox faith.

The prerogatives enjoyed by the members of the Imperial House are diverse.

The highest position belongs to the Empress, who by sanction of the Emperor is crowned, either together with him, or separately, if the marriage take place after the coronation of the Emperor. But the dowager Empress takes precedence over the wife of the reigning Emperor.

The next position in the line of the members of the Imperial House belongs to the Heir Apparent of the throne, and to his wife. He bears the title of Heir-Apparent Cesarevitch, Grand Duke, and Imperial Highness. The wife of the Heir-Apparent is called Cesarevna and Grand Duchess, her title being Imperial Highness.

Then follow, firstly the Emperor's sons, daughters and grandchildren (children of his sons); they enjoy the title of Grand Duke, Grand Duchess, and Imperial Highness. Secondly, the great grandchildren of the Emperors in the male line, and all the senior male descendants of the great grandsons, i. e. the eldest sons of the great grandsons, the eldest sons of their eldest sons etc; they have the title of Princes and Princesses of Imperial blood, and Highness. And at length, thirdly, all the remaining members of the Imperial House, consequently the younger sons and daughters of the great grandsons etc., all entitled to the calling of Princes of the Imperial blood, but with the title of Serenissime.

The other prerogatives of the members of the Imperial Family vary according to the difference in station and titles.

They possess the right to the Imperial Coat of Arms, orders, a court staff, and other distinctions.

For the maintenance of the Imperial Family special landed estates and a fund are appointed under the name of Appanages. The appanage property was founded by the Emperor Paul I, in 1797, and a special institution was established for its superintendence — originally the Ministry of Appanages, at present Head office of the Ap-

panages, forming a part of the Ministry of the Imperial House.

As a subsidy to the appanage estates certain sums are furnished by the State Treasury for the maintenance of the Empress, the Heir-Apparent and his wife, all the other sons and daughters of the Emperor and the Heir-Apparent, till they come of age, and also for supplying the marriage portions of the Grand-Duchesses and Princesses of Imperial blood.

Besides the enumerated prerogatives, all the members of the Imperial Family without exception enjoy an enforced protection of the law: offences against their life, liberty, health and honour are punished with the same strictness, as those attempted against the person of the Sovereign Emperor.

### 3. ON NATIONALITY.

#### a) The acquirement and loss of nationality.

Prior to investigating the rights and duties of Russian subjects, it is necessary to determine who is considered a Russian subject.

There exist three modes of acquiring nationality:

1<sup>stly</sup> by birth: all persons born of Russian subjects in Russia or abroad are considered Russian subjects;

2<sup>ndly</sup> by marriage: a foreign subject (female) marrying a Russian, becomes a Russian subject, and

3<sup>rdly</sup> by naturalization, i. e. by changing from foreign to Russian nationality.

The adoption of Russian nationality is accompanied by an oath of allegiance.

Russian nationality is lost by marriage, when a Russian subject (female) marries a foreigner, and by the adoption of foreign nationality, which can only be effected in each case with the sanction of the Emperor. Voluntary adoption of foreign nationality is interdicted under penalty of severe punishment.

#### b) The rights of Subjects according to classes.

With the conception of nationality is associated the idea of certain rights and duties.

But by virtue of the historical conditions and development of Russia, as in other states, the rights and duties of subjects are not identical. Russian subjects are therefore divided into groups. Thus, in the first place, the so called *inorodsy*, or heterogeneous races, on account of their origin, are separated from the general mass into a special category, and include several eastern races, the Jews, and the inhabitants of Finland, who enjoy special rights. All the remainder are termed natural subjects, who in respect of their rights, are divided into classes. The law recognises four such classes:

1) nobles, 2) clergy, 3) inhabitants of towns, and 4) rural population.

But before considering the rights of these classes, it will not be superfluous to point out briefly the origin in Russia of class distinctions.

## 1. The origin of classes.

Ancient Russia, prior to the formation of the State of Moscow, scarcely knew any classes, seeing that there did not even exist subjects in the proper sense of the word, i. e. persons, having permanent connection with certain territory. Even the Princes themselves were not settled, but moved from place to place. Their servants and attendants were bound to them by personal agreement or contract and could at any time quit their service. Under these conditions it was impossible to form corporations or classes of persons in service. The remaining portion of the population did not in general owe any subjection, and all enjoyed the right of passing from one principality to another. Although slaves and so called servitors existed in ancient Russia as well as freemen, slavery and bondage were not state institutions. Every free citizen was liable, on account of debt, to become dependent on his creditors.

The present idea of subjection and of class distinctions dates from the accession to power of the Tsars of Moscow, who, for the unification of the Russian territories, stood in need of the permanent services of the Boyars, and of regular payment of taxes and dues.

In consequence of this, the Moscow Princes, commencing with Ivan III (1462—1505), began to prohibit persons in service from removing to another principality, under penalty of criminal punishment. At the same time the maintenance of serving people underwent a change. At first the Prince himself clothed and fed his military



company, or *droojina*. In the Moscow era they were allotted a certain extent of land. Each serving man received a property, for which he had to render service; and consequently he had no right of quitting the land.

The remainder of the population had to provide the State with material means, by paying taxes and dues on land, trade and industries. The land, on which taxes were charged, was called taxable land. In the towns were taxable houses. A Government, standing in need of the regular payment of taxes, was bound to see that each taxable ward, and each domicile, had its tax payer.

This was why residents in towns and the rural population gradually lost the right of removing from place to place. At first terms or periods were fixed for removal. In the year 1497 all these terms were transferred to Iurief day\* (26<sup>th</sup> November), and subsequently, in the year 1598, the Iurief day term was abolished. In this manner was established from the XVII century a strict delimitation of the three classes, according to the character of their duties. The highest duty was that of service and, consequently, the serving class occupied the first place. It rendered service on a special kind of property;—on estates and patrimonial land, and soon acquired the exclusive right of owning such property, «in order that the land should not go out of the service». The proprietor of each estate was bound to furnish a certain number of men from among the local peasants, who in consequence of this became his serfs. Lastly,

\* St. George's day.

in fulfilling this service the land proprietor, by virtue thereof, was exempted from all other taxes and dues.

The inhabitants of towns paid taxes: a) on town domiciles and b) on trading enterprises. This inaugurated the regulation, that town domiciles and trading enterprises in towns could only be owned by persons, who paid town dues, i. e. by townsmen.

The third class consisted of peasants, who were bound to the soil.

There were also in Moscovite Russia bondsmen servitors, who possessed no personal or proprietary rights.

Altogether apart from the other classes stood the clergy. On the adoption of Christianity the church appeared in Russia with special privileges, which it enjoyed in the West and in Byzantium. Its mission was to convert a heathen community into a Christian one, and therefore it had to gain influence over all classes, not excepting the Princes, and to take up a privileged position. In this manner there was formed a class of churchmen, who were placed under the jurisdiction of an exclusively ecclesiastical court. This class of churchmen included 1<sup>stly</sup>, clergy in the strict sense of the word and 2<sup>ndly</sup>, laymen, who were placed under the protection of the church, as, for instance, physicians, the blind, lame, widows &c. It must not be thought however, that the clergy formed in the very beginning an exclusively hereditary class. Priests and psalmsters were selected by the parishioners or appointed by the landowners and confirmed in their post by the bishop. But hereditary succession in this calling became established of itself.

A certain training was required for the clerical office which could only be imparted to their children by clergymen themselves.

Such was the position of class distinctions in Russia prior to the accession of Peter.

## 2. Class divisions since Peter the Great.

Peter the Great, even more than the Tsars of Moscow, required the strict fulfillment by the several classes of their obligations and duties. The nobles who failed to appear to do service to the Tsar, were threatened by him with branding; for the remainder there was established a new order of exacting taxes and dues. Before the accession of Peter taxes and dues were imposed on land, domiciles, and shops. It was necessary to attach the payer to a certain property or trade. But very many were not thus registered. Free, or «leisure» people, without any definite occupation, paid no dues, and servitors, as the personal property of their owners, were also exempt from taxation. Meantime the taxes were raised, and it became quite unprofitable to own property. The result was a general exodus and a loss to the State. It was on this account that Peter I, instead of taxing the soil, taxed the individual and introduced a poll tax, which was obligatory on everyone, wheresoever he might be. Thanks to this, menials (servitors) and peasants became intermixed, and «leisure» people disappeared. A revision of the whole population in 1719 formed the taxable class.

Exemption from taxation began to distinguish the

the noble from men of the lower orders, who were amenable to taxation.

But to become a noble in the reign of Peter was a far easier matter than previously. In 1722 was promulgated the famous table of ranks, or a list of grades, which each servant of the State had to pass through. This table did away with the filling of appointments by right of birth, as was formerly the case.

Further, it gave to everyone access to the rank of noble. A person, attaining the first grade of officer in the military service, and the 8<sup>th</sup> class in the civil service, became an hereditary noble. The lower civil grades conferred only personal nobility.

At the same time, during the reign of Peter, the nobility obtained the final character of a class body under the general designation of gentry. A titled class was also formed, on whom nobility was conferred by the Emperor. The rights of nobles to the exclusive ownership of serf-peasants and real estate were also confirmed.

The privileges, conferred and confirmed by Peter I were maintained by his successors. But the duties and obligations of the nobility became gradually less onerous. Obligatory service, which Peter watched over with such vigilance, was found to interfere with economic pursuits. Privileges were increased, until at last, in the year 1762, the nobles were entirely exempted from obligatory service.

Catherine II confirmed the immunity of the nobles. In her famous *Nakaz* she designates the nobles «by a special term as an appellation of honour, distinguishing the

common people from those adorned thereby.» Consequently, the nobility were invested with a special class distinction, on account of their honourable origin. This idea is very clearly expressed in the Charter, given by the Empress to the nobility in 1785.

The next class in order after the nobility came the clergy. The Russian clergy are divided into monks, or so called black clergy, from among whom are selected all the higher dignitaries of the church: bishops, archbishops and metropolitans,—and parochial, (married) or white clergy.

In course of time the rights of the clergy were considerably extended: thus, during the reign of Peter they were exempted from the poll tax and military conscription, and subsequently from corporal punishment. At length, in the reign of Paul I, the clergy commenced to receive decorations—an important privilege, inasmuch as an order conveyed with it hereditary nobility, and consequently the right of owning estates and serfs.

Inhabitants of towns, as the centres of industry and trade, were regarded as sources of state revenue; and to elevate Russian trade was one of the chief aims of the Reformer. It was he, who first distinguished merchants from the general mass of the town population, by dividing them into two guilds. Catherine II, like Peter I, had in view to raise the class level of the town population, but with other objects, i. e. the creation of a middle class,—«a middle kind of people, distinguished from the masses not by service, but by rectitude and industry». This idea of the Empress served as the basis for the first Municipal Statute of 1785.

With regard to the peasantry, the revision of 1719 united them with the former bondsmen and «unoccupied» people in one taxable, and at the same time, serf class.

Simultaneously with such an extension of the rights of serfdom, the rights of the peasants were limited. They were interdicted from owning real estate, undertaking contracts and monopolies, and giving bills of exchange. The authority of the landproprietors over the serfs increased. The cause of this augmentation of authority consisted in the fact, that the landowner was responsible to the government for the due payment of the poll tax; and in demanding payment from the proprietor, the government had no ground for interfering in his affairs. In 1742 the right of the peasant to leave the landowner for military service was rescinded; in 1747 the landowners were permitted to sell their peasants as recruits; in 1760 they were allowed to deport their peasants for settlement in Siberia, and in 1765—to hard labour; while, in 1767 the peasants were deprived of their last means of protecting themselves against their owners—the right of petitioning. The penalty prescribed by law for lodging petitions was the knout, and deportation with hard labour without term.

As the result of such a policy very serious agitations arose amongst the peasantry. Even Catherine II commenced to issue Ukazes, directed towards restraining the licence, which the landowners permitted themselves. Very significant was the Manifesto, promulgated by the Emperor Paul I, under date of the 5<sup>th</sup> April 1797, which prohibited the compulsory labour of peasants on

Sundays, and divided the remainder of the week equally between the proprietor and the peasant, i. e. the latter was bound to work for his master only three days in the week.

On the accession of Alexander I a strong reaction set in against the right of serfdom in general. It was expressed in the famous law of 1803 respecting freeholders; which law allowed the landowners to free their peasants with the allotment of a plot of land. The success, however, of this Ukaz was not great: down to the year 1855 the number of freeholders amounted only to 116,000 men, freed by 384 proprietors. Besides the Ukaz of 1803, Alexander I emancipated the peasants of the Baltic Provinces, but without any allotment of land.

In the reign of Nicholas I some measures were also taken for the limitation and control of the landowners' authority. On the proposal of Count Kisselieff, who established rural communities in Moldavia and Wallachia, the government subjected the State peasants to a special department and special laws. With this object, in the year 1837, the Ministry of Imperial Domains was created. Nor were the peasants of landed proprietors left without attention. In 1841 and 1843 an Ukaz was promulgated, prohibiting the sale of serfs apart from their families and without land; and in 1848 peasant serfs were allowed to purchase real estate with the sanction of the landowners.

The Crimean war of 1853 — 56 retarded for a time the further progress of government measures with regard to the rural condition. But this was only

a temporary interruption. As early as 1856 the Emperor Alexander II expressed to the Marshal of the Nobles of Moscow his unswerving determination to abolish serfdom. In 1857 a special Committee on peasant affairs began to sit, under the personal presidency of the Emperor. Earlier, during the coronation (in 1856), the Minister of the Interior entered into negotiation with the Marshals of nobility respecting the impending reform. The most satisfactory of the propositions submitted were those of the Marshals of nobility of the Provinces of Kovno, Vilno and Grodno. In consequence of this by a Mandate, dated the 20<sup>th</sup> November 1857, the nobles of the enumerated provinces were permitted to elaborate projects for the improvement of the condition of the peasants. In each province preparatory Committees were formed, and the labour of all the Committees had to be submitted to the Commission in the town of Vilno. At the same time the Committees were furnished with general instructions to the effect, that the landowners were to retain proprietary rights over the whole land, and the peasants over their holdings, which they could subsequently buy out. The arable land was to be utilized by the peasants in consideration of a certain tax or of labour for the benefit of the landowner. Before a month had passed, copies of the Mandate of 1857 were sent to all the Governors, in view of any of the nobles in their respective provinces expressing a desire, similar to that of the nobility of Vilno. An application in this sense was soon received from the nobility of the province of St. Petersburg. Subsequently came the answer



to the summons of the Emperor from the nobility of Nijni-Novgorod and Moscow, and later, in 1858, from all the other bodies of nobles.

The projects, drawn up by the Provincial Committees, had to be submitted to the revision of the Chief Committee on peasant affairs. On the 18<sup>th</sup> October, 1858, the first meeting of this Committee was held under the personal presidency of the Emperor, and by the end of November the main basis of the reform was elaborated as follows: the peasants were to receive personal freedom; to be divided into rural communities with the management of their own affairs, and to acquire land, which at the outset they could utilize by payment of a tax to the landowner; with the aid of the State they were also given the means to buy out their holdings. As the projects, submitted by the Provincial Committees, were of different kinds, an Editing Commission was established, February 17<sup>th</sup> 1859, for their elaboration.

Notwithstanding the wide scope and difficulty of the task, the work was finished by the autumn of 1860; and October 10<sup>th</sup> the Commission was closed. On the same day began the sessions of the Chief Committee, under the presidency of the Grand Duke Constantine Nicholaevitch, which met almost daily up to January 1861. The scheme, drawn up by the Committee, was examined by the Council of State, under the presidency of the Emperor himself; and on the 19<sup>th</sup> of February 1861 was signed the famous and memorable Manifesto whereby serfdom, which had existed for 268 years, was abolished for ever.

At first 16,7 per cent of the whole number of liberated peasants undertook the redemption, or purchase, of their holdings from the landowners. Subsequently, in consequence of the high rates charged on the loans made by the peasants for that purpose, in comparison with the actual value of the land and the income which it afforded them, the operation of redemption proceeded much slower, and not as before, on the basis of a mutual agreement between peasants and landowners, but principally under pressure from the latter.

These disproportionate rates of interest, in comparison with the small remunerativeness of the land, led to the accumulation of arrears of payment, and the ruin of the peasantry and their homes. On the other hand, down to the year 1880, more than 15 per cent of the peasantry had not yet undertaken to buy out their land, and therefore still remained temporarily bound to their proprietors.

An end was finally put to this state of things by the late Emperor Alexander III, who issued a decree,\* dated 28<sup>th</sup> December, 1881, reducing payments on the agrarian loans granted to the peasants, by 27 per cent, and rendering redemption from 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1883, compulsory on all those who still remained in the above mentioned condition of temporary subjection, which otherwise threatened to become permanent.

This last measure completed the great act of the emancipation of the peasantry from serfdom.

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\* On the proposal of the Minister of Finance Mr. Boongue.

## 3. Class rights at the present time.

The emancipation of the serfs was followed by a series of reforms, which considerably modified class privileges. The most important modification in this respect was the introduction, in 1874, of general military conscription and the abolition in 1885 of the poll tax.

The first named reform imposed on all classes the obligation of military service. The second abolished in principle the division of classes into taxable and untaxable bodies. The latter category included persons, formerly exempted from the poll tax, i. e. nobles, clergy, and honorary citizens; the first category embraced the remaining classes. Thus, if one consider the rights, enjoyed by separate classes at the present time, a somewhat different picture is obtained from that, which existed formerly.

As a matter of fact, prior to the year 1861 only nobles were able to own land and serfs;—at the present time there are no serfs, and land may be owned by everybody. Formerly the nobles were exempt from military service and poll tax;—now the first privilege no longer exists, and the nobles are taxed according to their property, equally with other classes.

As a remaining privilege the nobles have the right of entering the service of the State, although this right is also enjoyed by certain other classes, and generally by all persons, who have obtained a diploma from the higher or middle educational establishments.

We have referred here only to the rights, enjoyed

by individual nobles. The nobility, as a class and a community, enjoy very important rights in the sphere of local government. These will be referred to in the review of the organization of the same.

The rights of inhabitants of towns also underwent a considerable modification in respect to what existed formerly. According to the first municipal law of Catherine II, 1785, inhabitants of towns were divided into eminent, subsequently called, honorary citizens, merchants, guildmen and boroughmen, or *possadskie*. These were town inhabitants in the exact sense of the word, and into their hands the whole management of the town was transferred. In 1870 a new municipal law was promulgated, which enunciated an entirely different principle, viz: that the management of town affairs should be participated in by the inhabitants without distinction of class, seeing that such management was established for the economic needs of the town, equally dear to all the residents. Thus, at the present time, the municipality comprises persons possessing real estate in the town, on which a tax is levied in favour of the civic treasury. The rights of town inhabitants in the strict sense acquired a purely class character. For instance, although honorary citizens are termed a town class, many of them have no connection with town life, as, for example, the son of a country priest, who may become an honorary citizen.

Merchants, according to their grade, have the right to engage in trade; those of the 1<sup>st</sup> guild-wholesale, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> guild-retail. But these guilds are now open to persons of all classes excepting the clergy, if they pro-

vide themselves with the necessary licences. In each town the merchants form a special mercantile community, which has its Assembly and Board, consisting of an Elder and 2 assistants

The burghers, personally, do not enjoy any special rights, and those, residing in settlements, are amenable, in respect of police and courts of law, to the same regulations as the peasants. In each town the burghers form a corporation, which elects a burgher Elder and his assistants.

Lastly, special rights enjoyed by the peasants resolve themselves into the following: in affairs relating to their property and families, they conform to local usages, and are amenable to special peasant tribunals. Their corporative organization is closely connected with the whole system of local government, which will be treated of in a subsequent chapter.

### e) The rights and duties of Russian subjects in general.

Class rights and duties must be distinguished from the general rights and duties, appertaining without distinction to all Russian subjects.

Among rights of this nature must first of all be mentioned **freedom of religion**. The fundamental laws recognise as the foremost and dominating faith in the Russian Empire—the Orthodox Eastern Faith; but at the same time all subjects of the Russian Empire, not belonging to the dominating church, and likewise foreigners in

the Russian service, or temporarily residing in Russia, enjoy everywhere freedom in celebrating their faith, and in religions worship. Moreover, freedom in profession of faith appertains not only to foreign christians, but also to Jews, mahommedans and heathens.

Freedom of religion was originally conferred on the unorthodox by the Manifesto of Peter the Great in 1721. When inviting the Swedish prisoners to enter the Russian service, the Emperor promised that they and their posterity should retain their native faith, and possess their own chapels and clergymen. Later, by Ukaz of the year 1735, it was elucidated, that freedom of religion conferred on the unorthodox, signified only the right of celebrating worship, but not the right of preaching with the object of converting Russians to unorthodox tenets. Hence arose the rule, that only the Orthodox Church could propogate its faith among the members of other religions bodies. All dissension and departure from orthodox faith is regarded as an offence at law.

Supporting this principle of the predominance of the orthodox faith, the law enacts, that in mixed marriages, i. e. between orthodox and others, the children shall be brought up in the orthodox faith. An exception to this last rule is made only for Finland.

Securing in this manner the predominancy of the Orthodox Church over all other christian faiths, the Russian laws take under their protection all christian religions against non-christian faiths. Apostacy from christianity entails the establishment of a trusteeship over the property of the apostate, exhortation to return to

christianity etc. Christians, with the exception of protestants, may not intermarry with non-christians. The adoption however of any christian faith by disbelievers is not interdicted.

A distinction is made by the law between the recognised unorthodox faiths and various sects. In order to protect orthodoxy from internal dissension, the law prohibits the formation of new sects. But, as is well known, there exists in Russia a great number of sects, which to a certain degree are recognised and tolerated. These are the so called sects of dissenters, who from time to time fell away from orthodoxy.

The commencement of the schism must be referred to a very remote period, but it only became actually developed in the XVII century, when books of religious worship were first printed. Certain dissenting interpretations were imperceptibly introduced into these books and, when later (in 1654), the Patriarch Nikon set about correcting these interpretations, the dissenters declared, that the alterations were innovations. The open revolt of dissenters even went to the extent of creating public disturbances.

One common feature is exhibited in a greater or lesser degree by all the dissenters. They adhere to all that is ancient, which is to say, all venerable observances from the time of S<sup>t</sup> Vladimir (988), down to that of the Patriarch Nikon. Consequently, they pronounce and write the name of the Son of God in the ancient style *Исусъ*, and not *Иисусъ*. They recognise only the cross with eight points; the sign of the cross they make

with only two fingers; they do reverence only to ancient icons, whilst their new icons are always copied from ancient designs, and all their rites are performed according to the ancient ritual. Soon, however, the dissenters commenced to differ in their views in regard to their relations to the Orthodox Church and they then became divided into two main sects, namely: those, admitting priests-*Popovtsy*, and those, without priests-*Bez-Popovtsy*. The primary difference between the two consisted merely in the first sect, allowing the rites of the church to be performed by priests, who had been ordained prior to the Patriarch Nikon; whereas the priestless sect allow rites to be performed principally by laymen. When, however, in course of time, all the priests of the old ordination had died out, the *Popovtsy* decided to accept priests, who had deserted from the Orthodox Church, even though they had been ordained after the time of Nikon. The priestless sect *Bez-Popovtsy*, on the other hand, remained altogether without any clergy. This material difference exercised a most important influence on the further development of the character of both sects. The sect with priests commenced by degrees to approach orthodoxy. Recognising the necessity of three grades of clergy, namely, bishops, priests and deacons, this sect could not remain satisfied with fugitive priests, who were persons of doubtful character, and were regarded by the sectarians themselves with great suspicion. Consequently, the whole history of this sect is one of a quest for bishops, who could furnish a regular supply of priests. But this quest was not attended with success: not a



single bishop could be persuaded to join the dissenters. This induced the «Old-Belief» monk Nicodemus, at the close of the last century to draw up a petition with the terms, on which certain of the Old-Believers would agree to join the Orthodox Church. He asked that the anathema, which had been pronounced by former councils against the ancient ritual, should be withdrawn, and that the Old-Believers should be given a bishop. This petition was received with favour, and in 1800 the Emperor Paul I confirmed the, so called, *Edinoverie*, points of conformity, which were regarded as a step towards orthodoxy. Permission was also granted to establish parishes of conformists, but special bishops were not appointed. These parishes of conformists were placed under the jurisdiction of the local bishops.

Such conformity, however, was very far from being acknowledged by all the members of the sect. Almost at the same time that the monk Nicodemus presented his petition, other members of the sect *Popovtsy* assembled at the well known Rogosh cemetery in Moscow, and decided not to seek for bishops, but to reconsecrate the fugitive priests. This reanointment of priests was very extensively practised during the reign of Catherine II, the Government having abandoned the persecution of the fugitive priests. The authorities even attempted to entice back into the Orthodox Church the Old-Believers who had fled from the country, by promising them freedom of worship and the gift of 70,000 desiatines of land on the river Irgiz, in the province of Samara, where three monasteries for monks and two convents

for nuns, with their respective churches, were built and where nearly all the priests of the Old-Believers were reconsecrated. Finally, in the year 1822, the Government issued new regulations for the priests and the houses of prayer, according to which the Old-Believers were permitted to maintain fugitive priests, and these, in their turn, were allowed to keep registers.

But it was not for long that the *Popovtsy* enjoyed these privileges. On the accession of the Emperor Nicholas I, the Government began the enforcement of a long series of restrictions. The new fugitive priests were ordered back and the monasteries on the Irgiz were closed. These measures deprived the *Popovtsy* of their clergy down to the 4<sup>th</sup> decade of the present century. Then recommenced the former search for bishops, which led to the foundation in 1846 of the Bielokrinitzkaya eparchy in Austrian Bukovina, where a number of fugitive dissenters from Russia had long before settled in two colonies: Bielaya Krinitza and Klimoff. When the search for bishops began in the «forties», attention was attracted towards Bielaya Krinitza, and delegates were despatched to Austria from the Russian Old-Believers, who solicited the permission of the Austrian Government to establish an eparchy in that country. Although this eparchy was soon abolished at the demand of the Russian Government, it speedily came into existence again clandestinely. In the year 1859 it was officially recognised by the Austrian Government with the sole condition only, that it should have no connection with the Russian Old-Believers; but of course this stipulation was not

observed. As far back as 1849, the Bielokrinitzky metropolitan furnished Russia with a special bishop, who took up his residence in Moscow, and thenceforward new bishoprics began to appear in Russia almost yearly among the Old-Believers. Moscow became the central point of the movement, where «an ecclesiastical and consecrated assembly or council» was established. In this manner the management of the Old-Believers passed finally into the hands of apostate priests of the Orthodox Church. Such a state of things called forth strong protests from some of the *Popovtsy* and particularly the *Bez-Popovtsy* (priestless sect). The latter believed that the reign of Antichrist on earth had begun and consequently refused to recognize that the new clergy had been properly organized, insisting that there was no longer any sanctity in the rites, practised by the priesthood. These views were set forth in a long series of publications. The *Popovtsy* were not slow in replying, and in 1862 they published a «District Message», in which they affirmed, that the true priesthood was preserved by the Greek Church and that the error of the Russian Church lay not in its rites, but in those anathema, which, as far back as the XVII century, it had pronounced against the ancient ritual. But this view, which directly suggested reconciliation with orthodoxy, was strongly protested against among the *Popovtsy* themselves. A violent polemic ensued, which ended in the division of the sect into «District» and «Anti-District» parties, so that, at the present time, out of 19 «Old-Belief» bishops—13 are «District» and 6—«Anti-District». At the head of both

parties are two Moscow bishops. All connection with the Bielokrinitzky eparchy has ceased since the year 1874. The Government does not persecute the «Old-Belief» bishops, so long as they abstain from converting the orthodox to their faith, but it does not recognise their ecclesiastical rank.

The *Bez-Popovtsy* possess an entirely special character. Having from the outset, renounced all clergy, they gradually lapsed into greater and greater difficulties, reaching at length extreme fanaticism. Being convinced, that Antichrist was on the earth and reigning in the Russian church, these sectarians, especially at the beginning of the schism, exhorted their followers to burn themselves, in order to escape from the chastisement of Antichrist and his agents, or to starve themselves to death, and thus the sooner to enter the kingdom of heaven. With the appearance on earth of Antichrist, every thing Godly had ascended to heaven, where the true sacraments were administered by the angels. Consequently, orthodox baptism was not baptism at all, and those joining the sect should be rebaptized, as if they were heathens. Not possessing holy sacrament, the *Bez-Popovtsy* receive sacrament in faith and hope of salvation and make confession to each other before the icon of our Saviour. Marriages also are not recognized, seeing that they can be officially annulled. However, in this respect, certain concessions were subsequently granted. The *Bez-Popovtsy* do not reverence icons and relics, because, in their opinion, the virtue of these symbols has departed.

The chief centre of this sect is situated in Moscow

at the Preobrajensky Cemetery. It is spread in Siberia and on the Northern Sea coast in the Olonetz region.

This sect is subdivided into numerous smaller sects. The chief of these the *Pomorsky* (Sea coast), *Fedoseieftsy* and *Filipoftsy* recognise in common those principles, which we have cited above. Several of these sects go to an extreme degree of fanaticism and cruelty; such as the *Skoptzy* (Self mutilators), *Khlysty*, (flagellants), who approach heathenism, the *Stefanovtsy*, who abandon their children in forests to be devoured by wild animals, the *Raziny* (Gapers), who, on Maundy Thursday stand with open mouths in expectation, that the Sacrament will be administered to them by angels, etc. Latterly, under the influence of rationalistic teaching, another sect has appeared in the South of Russia, called the *Stundists*, who refuse to recognise the priesthood, or the sacrament, and reject all outward forms of worship. Prior to the *Stundists* there appeared the *Molokany* (Milk drinkers), *Doochobortsy* (Wrestlers of the Spirit), who deny the Holy Ghost, and various other sects.

The attitude of the state authorities towards the dissenters has varied at different times. Up to the end of the XVII century they were persecuted, tortured and executed. During the reign of Peter the Great their civil status was recognised, but double taxation was imposed on them and they were ordered to wear a special dress &c. Since the time of Catherine II the measures, adopted against the dissenters, have been less severe and are at the present moment directed exclusively towards their conversion by means of missions, ecclesiastical fraternities, discourses, publication of books, &c.

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May 1883, soon after the accession of Alexander III, a law was passed, which radically changed the position of dissenters and sectarians among the orthodox population. They were permitted to celebrate public worship and perform the religious rites of their respective persuasions both in private houses and other buildings, specially appointed for that purpose, and were only forbidden to form public and religious processions in clerical vestments, to carry sacred images in public, except in cases of burial and to sing sectarian hymns on the streets and public squares. Their pastors and other persons may freely perform the rites of their community, but are not allowed to spread their errors among the orthodox.

As far as concerns their civil rights in general, in alteration of previous limitations, the sectarians are permitted to occupy public positions and to engage in trade and industry. Passports also are issued to them for residence in all parts of the Empire.

Only the *Stundists* and those sects, which are distinguished by particular fanaticism, are entirely prohibited.

Together with freedom of worship, an essential right enjoyed by everybody is the **inviolability of the person**. No one, having committed a crime or offence, can be deprived of his rights, or restricted in regard to them except by decisions of a Court of law. Punishment for crimes and offences is inflicted in exact accordance with the law.

This general rule, however, is subject to certain exceptions. In the first place there are certain petty offences,

which do not reach the court—various violations of excise, customs, postal regulation &c. In such cases a protocol is sufficient, and fines are imposed by the administrative authorities. In the same category of exceptions are included also certain offences against public safety, such as violation of sanitary, quarantine regulations, &c.

Furthermore, pending the investigation of offences committed, the suspected offender may be arrested by the police authorities or Criminal Judge. But every Judge or Prosecutor, who, within the limits of his jurisdiction, becomes convinced of the improper detention of any person, is bound to liberate the person arrested without delay. Persons so detained may lodge complaints in the District Court, which investigates such complaints at the earliest session.

Besides the cases indicated, special measures for the prevention of crimes against the State are adopted by the administration. These measures consist in placing persons under police surveillance, prohibition to reside in the capital, and other places, and the expulsion of foreigners from the country.

Lastly, in exceptional cases, certain places for a certain period are declared to be in a state of enforced defence, during which the representatives of the local administration (Governors-General and Governors) are invested with the right of placing private persons under arrest, of imposing fines, and of submitting certain cases to the investigation of Courts-martial, &c.

At the present time this state of defence extends to the Provinces of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Harkoff, Kief,

Podolia and Volhynia, several localities in the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan, and the Don Cossack Region, and to the towns of St. Petersburg, Odessa, Cronstadt, Nicholaeff, Rostoff on the Don, Taganrog and Nahitchewan. During the time of the fair at Nijny-Novgorod, the latter town is also placed under a state of defence.

Besides inviolability of the person, the law also protects the **inviolability of property**. The confiscation of property is not permitted even as a punishment, decreed by a Court of law. It is only in certain cases, and by virtue of special enactments, that property is liable to sequestration for participation in revolts, or plots against the Sovereign power, or for high treason. But, in consideration of equitable compensation, the compulsory expropriation of real property is authorized for state or public requirements.

Among the general obligations of Russian subjects, the first place must be assigned to general military service, the second to the duty of serving on juries, which devolves on all classes, and the payment of various taxes and dues in favour of the State, communes, municipalities, etc. More detailed information in respect to the obligations of subjects are set forth below in treating of the military, judicial and financial organization of the Empire.

#### d. Heterogeneous races, *Inorodsy*.

##### 1) Eastern races.

As stated above, at the beginning of this section, there are certain races, including the inhabitants of Fin-



land, who are distinguished by their rights and obligations from the general mass of Russian subjects.

Under this designation are classed certain races, of the east and north of Russia, as the Mongolian, Iranian and Finnish, and also the Jews.

The law divides these eastern races into 6 categories: 1, tribes of Siberia, 2, those inhabiting the Commander Islands, 3, the *Samoyeds* of the district of Mezen in the province of Archangel, 4, the nomadic tribes of the province of Stavropol, the *Nogaitzy*, *Kara-Nogaitzy*, etc. 5, the *Calmucks* and 6, the *Ordintzy* of the Transcaspiian region.

The privileges and exemptions from the general laws of the Empire, conferred on these races and tribes, are relics of the past.

As a matter of fact Russia of the period, in which the city of Kief predominated, lost her independence through the influx of tribes and races, who advanced into Europe in an endless stream of migration from the steppes of Central Asia. Moscow, on the other hand, grew up as the new political centre of Russia under the oppression of the Mongolian yoke. During the second half of the XV century it succeeded in throwing off this yoke\* and in the XVI century conquered two important centres of Tartar supremacy, viz: the Tsardoms of Kazan (1552) and Astrakhan (1554).

But the russification of different tribes and races proceeded very slowly, and they were always ready to

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\* The battle of Koolikoff under Dmitry Donskoy against Mamay in 1380 and the reign of Ivan III (1462—1505).

rise in revolt. Moscow was therefore content, if it succeeded in securing peaceful relations with them in respect to Russian trade and Russian landowners on its eastern confines. Thus originated the privileges, which from time immemorable came to be enjoyed by the tribes of the Tsardoms of Kazan and Astrakhan.

Moscow, however, had not succeeded in gaining complete control over these eastern tribes before the beginning of a period of tumult, when all, who were discontented with Moscow, rose in rebellion, including the tribes in question, and these latter were suppressed with difficulty. Hardly had Russia time to recover from the perturbation of these disorders, when there appeared from central Asia new hordes of *Calmucks*, whose raids undermined all security in the Tsardom of Astrakhan and rendered it impossible at first to find means of defence against them. Although during the reign of the Tsar Mihyil Theodorovitch, (1616—1645), and Alexey Mihylovitch, (1645—1676), treaties were concluded with the *Calmucks*, securing the integrity of Russian territory, yet these treaties were not observed. Peter the Great adopted measures for the unification of the tribes with the native population. The exclusive position of the former was modified principally by the introduction of the poll tax, which was also extended to them. But after the death of Peter the Great his successors found it difficult to keep matters within the limits, which he had established. During the reign of the Empress Anna Ioannovna (1730—1742), fresh hordes of *Kirghiz* and *Bashkirs* made their appearance. These hordes, as well as

## THE JEWS.

the former tribes, took an active part in all insurrections. The vast proportions attained by the Poogatcheff revolt (1773—1775), in the reign of Catherine the Great, was due to the part taken in it by those tribes.

In consequence of this character of the tribal population, the Government was only able to enforce its laws cautiously and by degrees; which is the reason why certain tribes, especially those in Siberia, enjoy particular administrative and financial privileges down to the present day.

The settled tribes, as regards their rights and duties, are placed on an equal footing with native Russian subjects, according to their respective classes, but in regard to the management of their affairs they enjoy certain insignificant immunities.

The nomadic tribes have been placed on a level with the peasantry, but their affairs are managed according to the usages and customs of the Steppe, which also guide their courts of law.

The nomadic and wandering tribes have land assigned to them for their use and property, and native Russian subjects are prohibited from settling on such land.

### 2. The Jews.

The Jews occupy quite a special and peculiar position among the heterogeneous races in Russia. In the Moscow period Jews were not admitted into the country. During the reign of Peter the Great no general laws concerning the Jews were passed; but the Ukaz of 1727

decreed the expulsion of all Jews from Russia and forbade them to return.

This Ukaz was subsequently confirmed in the year 1742 by the Empress Elizaveta Petrovna. But in the reign of Catherine II the Jewish question assumed a different form owing to the annexation of several provinces of Poland, where the policy of king Casimir the Great had led to the permanent settlement of a very large Jewish population.

It was then that a delimitation of territory for the residence of Jews was first established, and they were confined, in respect of permanent residence, to certain provinces. Later, in 1804, during the reign of Alexander I the first general enactment respecting Jews was promulgated, the main object of which was to induce the latter to engage in productive labour. To this end each Jew was obliged to join one of the existing unprivileged classes, and Jewish landowners were accorded certain privileges. On the other hand, Jews were strictly prohibited from keeping gin shops and inns in villages and settlements.

In the year 1835, a new edict respecting the Jews was promulgated of a similar nature. At the same time, however, certain other measures calculated to strengthen their exclusiveness were adopted. Thus, by the enactment of 1835, they were permitted to have elected Boards i. e. *cahals*, for the assessment of rates and taxes. These official measures, which were, however, repealed in 1844, merely served to cover the existing ancient system of the *cahal*. Later, in 1844, a new Ukaz was issued esta-

blishing Jewish schools by means of a special *Korobotchnoy* tax, levied on the Jews.

On the accession to the throne of Alexander II, the measures, adopted by the government regarding Russian Hebrews, were again modified and directed towards removing the hitherto existing restrictions of their rights, with the object of assimilating them with the native population. The main object of these means was to induce the Jews to engage in productive labour.

According to existing laws, Jews are permitted to reside in all the 10 provinces of the Kingdom of Poland; in the provinces of Bessarabia, Vilna, Vitebsk, Volhynia, Grodno, Ekaterinoslaf, Kovno, Minsk, Mogilief, Podolia, Poltava, Tchernigof, Kief, Kherson and Taurida, with the exception of the following towns in those provinces, Kief, Jalta, Nicholaef and Sebastopol, where only Jews, who are merchants, are permitted to reside. In the province of Courland only such Jews, as have settled there before the year 1835, have the right of residence.

Jews are furthermore prohibited from settling within a distance of 50 versts from the frontier, which is a measure adopted in order to prevent smuggling. By the law of 1882, they are likewise prohibited from settling and acquiring or taking on lease or mortgage any real estate outside of towns and hamlets. In all other parts of the Empire Jews are only permitted to remain temporarily for purposes of business. A very large number, however, are allowed freedom of residence, viz: 1, those belonging to the first guild of merchants for a term of not less than five years, 2, those holding learned degrees, or such

as have passed the curriculum of the higher educational establishments and 3, students in such establishments, etc.

In general, Jews may not enter the service of the State, with the exception of those, possessing learned degrees, and medical men in places assigned for the residence of Jews. Furthermore, they are not permitted to take part in the election of communal and municipal representatives.

It must be noted that all the above mentioned restrictions refer only to the Rabbinical Jews; the Karaims, who form a most useful and industrial element, have enjoyed all rights, appertaining to native Russian subjects from the time of Catherine II.

The number of Rabbinical Jews in Russia at the present time amounts to 5,000,000.

### 3. The Finns.

Finnish citizenship is acquired:

- 1) by birth from an inhabitant of Finland,
- 2) in the case of women, by marriage with a Finn,
- 3) in the case of foreigners, by naturalization, and
- 4) in the case of native Russians, by reinscription.

Finland possesses a nobility of its own (in all 240 families), the rank and titles of which are conferred by the Monarch. The remaining classes, — the lutheran clergy, townsmen and peasantry — are not distinguished by any special rights.

The population of Finland, in 1890, did not exceed 2,380,000 individuals.

e) The rights of foreigners in Russia.

Foreigners are subject to the laws of the Empire in as far as those laws may affect them, as, for instance, they pay taxes on property equally with Russian subjects, but are not liable to military conscription. On the other hand, the law confers on foreigners certain rights enjoyed by Russian subjects.

Thus, foreigners, in the first place, may enter guilds and industrial corporations and enjoy all the rights of trading.

Further, they are permitted to acquire personal property and real estate.

This latter right, however, is partly modified by the Ukas of 14<sup>th</sup> March, 1887, which, for political reasons, prohibits foreigners from acquiring or taking on lease any real estate outside of towns in 21 provinces, adjacent to the western frontier.

The personal rights of foreigners are recognised according to their own laws. Lastly, as regards political rights, they are only allowed to enter the service of the State, in positions of an educational, scientific and technical nature.

### III. STATE ADMINISTRATION.

a) The higher institutions of State.

The sphere in which the direct functions of the Sovereign are exercised, is called the region of supreme administration; and the region of subordinate administra-

tion is confided to subordinate institutions, each possessing a certain degree of power defined by the law.

In the region of supreme administration the Sovereign receives the cooperation of a number of higher institutions of the State.

These are, firstly, the deliberative organs: — the Council of State, the Council of Ministers, the Committee of the Siberian railway, the Council of War, the Council of the Admiralties, the Board of Trustees, and the Committee of Civil Service and Awards. The decisions of these institutions are confirmed by the Sovereign himself.

Two other institutions with determining power also belong to the higher offices of State, viz: the Ruling Senate and the Holy Synod. Through them the Sovereign power takes direct effect in all the regions of civil, and ecclesiastical administration.

#### 1. The Council of State.

The Council of State as organized by its founder, the Emperor Alexander I, is a deliberative institution for the purpose of assisting the Monarch in drawing up and promulgating laws. It would scarcely be correct to regard the former Councils, which surrounded our Sovereigns, and whose functions were of a very miscellaneous nature, as the predecessors of the present institution. The former grand-ducal councils (dooma) pronounced their opinions on all the subjects, presented for the personal decision of the Grand Duke. The same must be said of the Council of boyars of the Moscow



period, which was an institution, exercising legislative, administrative, and judicial functions at one and the same time. The extent of its power was undefined, some matters being determined independently by it, others required the confirmation of the Sovereign. In the reign of Peter the Great the Council of the boyars was abolished. In 1711 the Senate was organized, with the command to submit to its orders, *ukas*, as to the personal orders, *ukas*, of the Sovereign. The Senate was an independent institution with the power of deciding questions, whereas the Council of State is a purely consultative organization.

The idea of a consultative body for legislative purposes was first started in the reign of Catherine II. It was realized however, only in the reign of Alexander I. On March 30, 1801, an Ukas was issued, proclaiming the establishment of an institution «for the examination and consideration of State affairs on the footing of a perpetual council.» In the oath of allegiance, taken by its members, this council was then called the council of State. Though the Ukas intimated, that it was established solely for legislative purposes, yet, from the very first, judicial matters were likewise submitted to it for examination and from 1804 they grew to constitute the sole subject of its jurisdiction. Thus, ceasing gradually to exercise all vital influence over State affairs, it became quite incompatible with the subsequent organization of the different Ministries. This circumstance pointed to the necessity of a radical reform of the institution, consequently, on January 1<sup>st</sup> 1810, a new organization of the Council of

State was published. The legislator intended «it to establish gradually a process of government, firmly based upon solid and unfailing principles of law, for the purpose of introducing and spreading uniformity and order in the state administration».

After 1810, certain alterations were made in the organization of this Council and in the extent of its jurisdiction, but in principle, the character of the Council of State, as a consultative institution for legislative affairs, has remained unaltered.

According to a law now in force, the Council of State is called a corporation, in which legislative questions concerning all branches of state administration are examined. These questions pass through the Council to be placed before the Emperor. The examination of laws is not the sole occupation of the Council: it is the Emperor's Council for many other matters, although legislative questions play the chief part in its work.

The affairs of the Council can be classified under eight heads:

1, Legislative affairs, to which belong the projects of new laws and of various supplements and commentaries to the acting laws.

The Council has only the right of examining into projects of laws, and may not of its own accord start questions as to the necessity of any alterations in legislation. But while examining the projects brought before it, the Council has the right to modify and complete them, and these alterations are often very considerable.

2, All special enactments in favour of individuals or

institutions, which are exceptions to the general laws, are brought before the Council of State for preliminary examination. These include: a) the establishment of joint-stock companies with special privileges, b) the expropriation of private property for state and public requirements, c) the confirmation of distinctions of honour, i. e. the titles of prince, count or baron.

3, Laws, on being issued, have to be collected and classified. This necessitates the publication of Collections, Codes of law and statutes. For this purpose in 1810 a Committee for the elaboration and arrangement of laws was organized in the Council of State. In 1826 it passed into the department of the Private Chancery of His IMPERIAL MAJESTY under the name of II<sup>nd</sup> Section. In 1882 the II Section was again annexed to the Council of State, under the name of the department of Codification and on January 1, 1894, this department was abolished and replaced by a special department for the Codification of laws in the Chancery of State under the direction of the Secretary of State.

The first Code of laws of the Russian Empire was published in 15 volumes in 1832. But since then a number of new laws have been issued, which considerably affect parts of this Code; so that it became necessary to publish separate supplements to the different volumes of the Code and to undertake a new edition of the whole. The last complete edition appeared in 1857, but the last editions of separate volumes are of a much later date.

4, The opinions of the Council of State are received by the Sovereign on certain higher questions of admini-

stration, such as: a) general instructions for the successful enforcement of the laws, b) extraordinary measures in exceptional cases and c) the more important measures of foreign policy—declaration of war, signing of peace etc. In reality, however, this last category of subjects is hardly ever brought before the Council of State, as the questions of taking extraordinary internal measures and of directions for carrying out the laws are debated in the Committee of Ministers. Important external measures are brought before the Council of State only when circumstances admit of their preliminary discussion, which is naturally very seldom the case.

5, The scope of state administration includes matters, which in all states are under the control of the legislative institutions, namely, the higher questions of finance. Our laws strictly maintain this principle; all financial measures therefore, requiring supreme confirmation, are first laid before the Council of State, which thus takes cognizance of the State Budget, the various Ministerial estimates and demands of different institutions. In the next place, the Council enquires into all demands of credit for different institutions, above the estimates already made. Exception is made only for extraordinary credits, required by war or policy, especially when prompt despatch or secrecy is necessary; also in cases of extraordinary credits for the Imperial Court, and of special sums to be paid to various persons by direct command of the Sovereign. All these credits are solicited directly by the Ministers without reference to the Council of State.

The financial matters, brought before the Council, also comprise: the revision of the accounts of state revenue and expenditure; questions of cancelling various crown charges; the transfer of state property or revenues into private hands, and, in fact, all extraordinary financial measures. Formerly, before the introduction of local self-government *Zemstvo*, local financial questions were likewise brought before the Council of State, which inspected the estimates of income and expenditure of provinces and districts. At present these estimates are presented to the Council only by the authorities of provinces, which have no such local public institutions, while in the others the *Zemstvo* deals with them independently.

6. Mention has been made above of the rights of Sovereign power within the sphere of Justice. Some of these rights are exercised through the medium of the Council of State. In the time of the old form of procedure, although the Senate was considered to be the final Court of appeal, yet certain cases were laid before the Emperor through the Council of State.

Since the introduction (1864) of the new Courts of law and the establishment of Departments of Cassation, in the Senate, the number of judicial matters before the Council has been considerably reduced. There remain the petitions of private persons against the final decisions of other Departments (not of Cassation) of the Senate, which are reviewed at special Sittings of the Council of State.\* At these Sittings, however, the Council only determines

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\* These sittings consist of members of the Senate under the presidency of a member of the Council of State.

whether there exists sufficient cause for bringing such matters before the Plenary Sitting of the Senate.

7. The jurisdiction of the Council of State extends to cases of responsibility for violation of duty on the part of members of the Council of State, Ministers, General-Governors and others of equal rank.

8. Besides the categories enumerated, which form the normal sphere of duties of the Council, it may be empowered with extraordinary authority. In the event, for instance, of a prolonged absence of the Sovereign, the Council is empowered to act with special authority, entrusted to it by the Sovereign for that occasion. By special Supreme order, matters can be brought before the Council, which in no way come under its ordinary jurisdiction.

The Council consists of three departments and the Plenary Assembly.

Each department consists of not less than three members, who are appointed by the Emperor for the term of half a year. The Law Department reviews all projects of general laws; the Civil and Ecclesiastical Department controls all judicial matters and those of religious and police administration, while the Department of State Economy enquires into questions of industry, science, trade and finance.

On certain questions the resolutions or decisions of these departments are presented directly to the Sovereign, though in the majority of cases they first pass before the Plenary Assembly of the Council.

The Plenary Assembly consists of the members of departments, all the Imperial Ministers, and other mem-

bers, who do not belong to the departments. In principle the presidency belongs to the Sovereign himself; but in reality the Sovereign has very seldom occupied the chair, which is therefore taken by one of the members, with the title of President of the Council of State. His authority is renewed annually.

The business of the Council is transacted by the State Chancery under the superintendence of the Secretary of State.

The recommendations of the State Council receive the Supreme assent and confirmation in various forms.

The personal confirmation of the Sovereign is required for:

- 1, all new laws,
- 2, the assessment and abolition of taxes,
- 3, lists of newly appointed officials,
- 4, the State budget, and

5, the expropriation of personal property for state or public requirements.

Of these, all new laws are sanctioned by the sign-manual of the Sovereign; the rest have the words «so let it be» in the handwriting of the Emperor on the resolutions of the Council. If HIS MAJESTY agree with the opinion of the minority or issue his own decision, he signs a special Ukas. In all other affairs the Imperial sanction is thus expressed: «HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY was pleased to confirm the opinion of the general assembly or department of the Council of State on such and such an affair, and has ordered it to be carried out».

This resolution is then signed by the President of the Council.

This variety of confirmation is of great practical importance, inasmuch as an Ukas, once signed by the Sovereign, and duly promulgated, can only be countermanded, according to law, by another Ukas.

Therefore, if any Minister announced to his subordinate authorities a merely verbal decree of the Sovereign, which abrogated a law already confirmed by the Emperor's signature, such subordinate authorities would be bound, before carrying it out, to report thereon to the Minister, and in the case of the Minister repeating it, they would be obliged to bring the matter before the Senate for final decision.

## 2. The Council of Ministers.

The Council of Ministers was established in 1857 for the purpose of uniting the functions of the different Ministers. All the most important reforms, except the abolition of slavery, at the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Alexander II, were previously elaborated by this Council under the personal supervision of the Sovereign. According to the law of its organization, issued in 1861, the Council of Ministers receive the original propositions of the various Ministries for modifying or repealing any of the existing laws.

These propositions are here discussed by all the Ministers in a body and the resulting project is carried before the Council of State. Among matters of administration, discussed by the Ministerial Council, are projects



## THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS.

for introducing perfection into this or that branch; questions of removing important difficulties, and measures, requiring the general cooperation of different departments. The Council is informed of the most important steps taken in all the departments, that each Minister may be aware of the principal actions of all his colleagues. The Council may likewise examine their accounts, reports on the progress of organizing different parts of the administration etc.

But all these matters can only be brought before the Council with the sanction of the Sovereign, specially granted in each case, the object of the Council being to unite the administration of the State under the personal direction of HIS MAJESTY. On the other hand, the Council may, by Supreme order, investigate all other matters; but, at the same time, it in no way limits the jurisdiction of the Council of State or the Committee of Ministers. The affairs, examined in the Council of Ministers, do not escape being brought before the Council of State or the Committee of Ministers, if by the law they belong thereto. The Sovereign himself occupies the chair. The Council consists of: the Ministers, their equals in rank, the chiefs of separate branches of the administration, the Secretary of State, who gives explanations on questions of legis'ation, and other persons, deputed by Supreme appointment.

The affairs are reported either by the Ministers or by the Superintendent of the affairs of the Committee of Ministers.

## 3. The Committee of Ministers.

Matters relating to the higher administration of State are examined in the Committee of Ministers.

Its establishment was effected at the same time with the establishment of the Ministries, in 1802. In the manifesto on the establishment of the Ministries it was stated amongst other things, that the Ministers were members of the Council of State, and that ordinary affairs were to be discussed in a Committee, consisting exclusively of the Ministers; for more important affairs the other members of the Council were to be invited once a week.

This shows, that the Committee was originally a kind of more exclusive assembly of the Council, consisting only of the nearest councillors of the Sovereign,—his Ministers. Count Speransky, the best authority on state institutions of that period, says, that «the reports of the Ministers were presented separately or conjointly. Special days and hours were appointed for the presentation of the report of each Minister separately, whereas the joint presentation of reports was made at a general meeting of the Ministers in the presence of the Sovereign, which was called the Committee; so that this Committee was not a special institution, but simply a method of presenting ministerial reports.»

The first regulations for determining the functions of the Committee were issued on September 4, 1805, in consequence of the departure of the Sovereign from

St. Petersburg; and the same mode of procedure was ordered to be maintained as that, observed during the Supreme presence.

At the same time the Committee was empowered, on the responsibility of all its members, to give the Ministers authority to take measures in urgent cases without obtaining the Supreme permission.

In 1808 the jurisdiction of the Committee was still further extended by being entrusted, besides its ordinary duties, with those of a superior police authority in regard to assuring the peace and tranquility of the citizen, and in the matter of public alimentation.

Therefore, the Minister of the Interior, and all the other departments of the administration, were obliged to supply the Committee with information, referring to the welfare and safety of the State.

At the same time, however, the personal attendance of HIS MAJESTY at the Sittings of the Committee was discontinued. Nevertheless, the Emperor Alexander I did not cease to follow closely the work of the Committee, often instigating and directing its actions.

The war with Napoleon I was the cause of the rights of the Committee being secured to it together with a still greater extension of power. On March 20, 1812, the Emperor Alexander I, before leaving for the army, sanctioned a new organization of the Committee, which gave it a special power in all affairs, generally relating to the State administration. A special president of the Committee was also appointed, and, besides the Ministers, the Commander in Chief of the city and the presidents

of the Departments of the Council were commanded to attend at the sittings.

Certain temporary rights, with which the Committee was invested on account of the departure of the Sovereign, were naturally afterwards withdrawn. But the ordinary competency of the Committee was being constantly extended, especially during the reign of the Emperor Nicholas I, by the transference into its jurisdiction of affairs of various categories.

At present two classes of subjects come before the Committee of Ministers:

1. Matters relating to the current affairs of all parts of the administration of the Ministries and especially those, which exceed the degree of power, entrusted to each Minister in particular. They are brought before the Committee in the event of it being beyond the jurisdiction of the Senate to pronounce any decision upon them. Moreover, matters are brought before the Committee by the Ministers, which seem doubtful to the Ministers themselves, or the execution of which necessitates the cooperation of several parts of the administration.

2. The second category consists of matters, the very nature of which places them under the jurisdiction of the Committee, and which are so various, that they can hardly be classified. The Committee was entrusted with them by degrees, as the necessity arose. They are questions, concerning public safety and tranquility, public alimentation, and all other important circumstances; certain administrative measures for the protection of orthodoxy; affairs relating to ways of communications, industry and

finances, especially concessions for building railways and the principal measures for working them, and also matters, concerning the establishment of joint stock companies, etc.

As a higher administrative institution, the Committee examines the reports of Governors and General-Governors, determines the order and mode of their presentation, and supervises the fulfilment of remarks made upon them by the Sovereign.

The Committee takes cognizance of the reports of Ministers and decisions of the Senate regarding reprimands to be made to Governors and the provincial administration. Within the region of local self-government the Committee has the right to annul or modify the decisions of the Rural, *zemsky*, Assemblies and Town-Councils, if they do not tend to promote the welfare of the State or if they clearly oppose the interests of the population. Finally, in the Civil service the Committee decides on matters, concerning the increase of pensions and, until 1891, had the granting of Imperial rewards, etc.

As the Committee is a deliberative institution, all its decisions, with a few exceptions, as, for instance, the suppression of injurious books, have no force without the Supreme confirmation, neither has the Committee any executive power. Its decisions are put into execution by the Ministries.

The Committee consists of the following persons, who are members by right of their station: 1, all the Ministers and their equals, the Chiefs of separate parts of the administration; 2, the presidents of the departments of the Council of State; and 3, the Secretary of

State. The Sovereign may appoint other persons to be members.

The Chancery or Office of the Committee of Ministers is under the management of the Superintendent of the affairs of the Committee.

Subsidies, guarantees, and other privileges made to railways by the Government are investigated by a Joint Assembly of the Committee of Ministers and the Department of Economy of the Council of State, presided over by the President of the Committee; the Department of Economy being the one which examines all financial measures. The management of the affairs of this Assembly is entrusted to the Superintendent of the affairs of the Chancery of the Committee of Ministers.

#### 4. The Committee of the Siberian Railway.

All general matters, relating to the construction and working of railways, are investigated by the Committee of Ministers; but in view of the special importance of the Siberian railway and its influence on the colonization and industrial development of Siberia, the late Emperor was pleased to appoint a special Committee on the subject for the general management and unification of different departments, engaged in building this line and for the purpose of deciding all questions connected with it. These questions relate to the colonization of districts bordering the railway; the opening up and development of Siberian industry, especially, coal-mining, production of iron, steel, cement, etc., also the promotion of steam navigation on lake *Bykal* and rivers, intersecting the

railway and otherwise connected with it. At the same time it was found necessary to make a careful investigation of certain districts, still insufficiently explored. All these matters come before the Committee of the Siberian Railway, of which the Heir-Apparent Cesarevitch, now reigning Emperor Nicholas II, was appointed President.

In opening the first sitting of the Committee, on February 10<sup>th</sup>, 1893, the August President was pleased to remark that, though beholding the magnitude of the task before them with profound trepidation, the love he bore his country and an ardent desire to further its prosperity gave him the necessary strength to accept his dearly beloved Father's mission.

On ascending the throne His MAJESTY retained the presidency of the Committee, and at the first sitting in his reign stated that the cheap, prompt and steadfast accomplishment of this peaceful act of enlightenment, begun by his never to be forgotten Father, represented not only his sacred duty but also his most earnest desire.

The Committee of the Siberian Railway is composed of the following members: the President of the Committee of Ministers, the Ministers of Interior, of Agriculture and State Domains, of Finances, of Ways of Communication, and of War, also the Director of the Ministry of Marine, and the Comptroller-General. The Committee may invite other persons to assist them in their deliberations.

For legislative affairs is convoked a Joint Assembly of the Committee of the Siberian Railway and the departments of the Council of State.

## VARIOUS COMMITTEES.

The management and transaction of the business of the Committee are entrusted to the Superintendent of the affairs of the Committee of Ministers and its Chancery.

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Besides the above enumerated institutions of higher administrative functions, various other Committees have existed at different times. Thus, in the beginning of the reign of Alexander I, a prominent place was occupied by the well-known «Unofficial Committee», consisting of the following persons intimately known by Alexander I: Count Kotchoobey, Novossiltseff, prince Tchartoryisky and count Strogannoff. This Committee investigated not only the most important current affairs of State, but even all the projects of radical State reforms of that period.

Later, during the «Patriotic War» (with Napoleon) a Committee of Finance was organized, which exists to the present day. Then again, in 1821, a Siberian Committee was formed for investigating Count Speransky's reports of his inspection of Siberia. It was here that his project for organizing the administration of Siberia was discussed and finally confirmed in 1822. The realization of this project naturally rendered superfluous the existence of the Committee and it was, therefore, transformed into a Special Institution for investigating Siberian law-projects and reports. In 1838 this Institution was closed, but was reestablished in 1852, when a new census of the Siberian provinces and territories was undertaken, and it continued to represent the higher debating institution on all matters relating to Siberia, until 1864, when it was annexed to the Committee of Ministers.



## VARIOUS COMMITTEES.

A similar Committee existed for the Caucasus, (1840—1882).

The revolts in Poland, of 1830 and 1863, caused two Committees to be opened: a Western Committee in 1831, and a Committee on the higher executive affairs of the kingdom of Poland. The first was convoked «for the purpose of finding means to submit the Polish provinces annexed to Russia to the administrative order existing in the other Russian provinces». It was closed in 1848 and reopened for 2 years at the end of 1862. The second Committee was established in 1864 and in 1881 its functions were transferred to the Committee of Ministers.

Finally, there are the Committees that are called in extraordinary cases of emergency, as the one of 1891, during the general bad harvest, presided over by the Heir-Apparent-Cesarevitch, the present reigning Emperor Nicholas II. Of the functions of this Committee we shall have occasion to speak in the chapter on public alimentation.

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In the general review of the organs of supreme administration mention has been made of other existing deliberative institutions for the Monarch's use, as, for instance, the Board of Trustees, the Council of War, the Council of the Admiralty, and the Committee of Civil Service and Awards; but in view of the connection between these institutions and certain special branches of administration, it will be more appropriate to speak of them, when reviewing the Ministries and other executive organs, which are placed at the head of these branches of administration.

## 5. The Ruling Senate.

The Ruling Senate is a supreme institution, to which all departments and official functions of the Empire are subordinate, with exception of the higher State institutions, such as the Council of State, the Committee of Ministers, etc. It has no special President, as the person of HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY is supposed to preside over it. Hence the power of the Senate is limited solely by the power of the Sovereign. The Senate's orders, *Ukasy*, are obeyed by all subordinate persons and offices of administration in the same way as the personal orders, *Ukasy*, of the Sovereign. The explanation of this importance of the Senate is to be found in its history.

The Senate was established, on February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1711, by the Emperor Peter the Great, who, on leaving for the Turkish war, deemed it necessary to create a superior state institution with extraordinary and extensive power.

All branches of the administration, supreme supervision over the execution of justice, and superior power and legislative initiative were concentrated in the Senate.

Subsequently, under Peter the Great's successors the powers of the Senate were restricted by two institutions, following closely upon each other, namely, the Privy Council—in the reigns of Catherine I and Peter II, and the Cabinet—in the time of Anna Ioannovna. But on the accession of the great Reformer's daughter, the Empress Elisaveta Petrovna, the Senate recovered its former significance, which, with the single exclusion of legislative matters, it retained during the ensuing reigns. When

the Ministries were formed in 1802, the Senate necessarily lost a considerable share of influence over the various branches of State administration. Its participation in the executive functions of the Government was also greatly curtailed on the establishment of the Committee of Ministers by the Emperor Alexander the Blessed in the same year (1802). Nevertheless, the Senate has retained its essential rights and duties in State administration down to the present day, and continues to constitute the high Court of Justice for the Empire. Peter the Great established the post of Attorney General in the Senate, with the intention, that it should form the connecting link between the Senate and the Sovereign. It was named by Peter I «The Tsar's eye in the affairs of State». The Attorney General was invested in the reign of Catherine II with great power, Prince Viazemsky, who held the post, concentrating in his hands many of the functions of the central administration. On the establishment of the various Ministries, the office of Attorney General was transferred to the Minister of Justice, who became responsible for the legality of the decisions, rendered by the Senate, and the accuracy of its proceedings.

At present the Ruling Senate is composed of eight Departments, two of which are Courts of Cassation, (one criminal and the other civil), and one—the Department of Heraldry. These Departments, irrespective of their separate functions, also act together in Plenary Meetings and Sessions. According to law, as was mentioned above, the person of HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY may alone preside over

the Senate. There is therefore no president in the 1<sup>st</sup> Department, which has to deal with the more important class of questions, while in all the others the chair is taken by a Senator, specially appointed by Supreme command. The Ministers or their assistants may be invited to attend at the sittings of the Senate in cases of certain importance. In each Department the proper transaction of business is superintended by a legal officer or *Ober-Procuror*, who in the Department of Heraldry bears the title of Master of Heraldry. The *Ober-Procuror* has charge of the chancery of his Department and is directly responsible to the Minister of Justice.

The competence of the Ruling Senate is of an extremely varied character. The jurisdiction of the 1<sup>st</sup> Department, which affords the most striking instance in this respect, extends to the promulgation and elucidation of laws; the supervision over all offices of the central and local administration, and the determination of all disputes and conflicts between them; the indictment of higher officials; and to matters of so-called administrative justice, relating to complaints of the illegality of orders, emanating from different administrative departments and persons in authority not excepting even the Ministers themselves. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Department elucidates the meaning of regulations concerning the peasants, and investigates complaints, made against peasant institutions in the provinces. The Department of Heraldry manages all matters, relating to the rights of the nobles and honorary citizens. It is also charged with the duty of composing coats of arms and of compiling the Armorial Register of the nobility.

The 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Departments of the Senate undertake the management of judicial, civil and criminal affairs in places, where the new judicial institutions have not yet been introduced, as for example, Siberia and Toorkistan. These Departments have, furthermore, the conduct of special matters, relating to land surveying, and commercial lawsuits, brought before the Senate from the commercial Courts.

Judicial cases coming before the Senate from places, enjoying the operation of the new judicial institutions, formed by the law of November 20<sup>th</sup>, 1864, are subject to the jurisdiction of the two Departments of Cassation, civil and criminal respectively, each Department being subdivided into several independent sections.

In regard to the General Assemblies of the Ruling Senate, it must be mentioned, that the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Assemblies examine exclusively matters, laid before them either by Supreme command, or by the Departments, in consequence of a divisions of opinion amongst the senators, or by means of protest on the part of the *Ober-Procurors*.

The General Assemblies, whether of the Departments of Cassation only, or of the 1<sup>st</sup> Department and Departments of Cassation,—are convoked for the decision of questions of a judicial-administrative character, specially subject to their jurisdiction. In addition to these, the more important matters, connected with the control over courts of law and judicial administration, are distributed between the united sessions of the 1<sup>st</sup> Department with the two Departments of Cassation,

and the so-called High Court of Discipline. Finally, a special Court is formed in the Senate consisting of six senators and four class representatives for the trial of crimes against the State.

#### 6. The Holy Ruling Synod.

The general significance of the Synod, which was established by Peter the Great in 1721, is set forth in the fundamental laws, which state that in church administration the autocratic power acts through the medium of the Holy Synod.

Thus the rights of supreme power within the sphere of church administration are determined by the competency of the Synod. In order to form a correct idea of the jurisdiction of the Synod it must be borne in mind, that the Russian Church is a local one and only a part of the Ecumenical Orthodox Church; and is, therefore subject to the dogmas and regulations of the Ecumenical councils. The Synod has taken the place of the former Patriarch of Russia as the chief administration of the Russian Church, and, consequently, only matters of church administration come under its jurisdiction. The Synod is, therefore, in the first place, the guardian of the purity of faith; it sees, that all the members of the clergy perform their duties in the spirit of Orthodoxy; it concerns itself with the extermination of dissent and superstition, and superintends the publication of religious books. In the second place, the Synod takes charge of public religious education and the propagation of Ortho-

doxy; it also has control over religious educational establishments, and, since 1885, over church parish schools for laymen. Thirdly, the Synod is the highest court for all ecclesiastical affairs whether administrative or judicial; and it decides all matters, relating to marriage.

The Synod is composed of permanent members with the Metropolitan of St. Petersburg as their president, and temporary members, who are bishops, appointed to attend the Synod periodically. The *Procuror* General, or Attorney General, of the Synod has the power of a Minister in matters of church administration, and serves as the medium between the Synod and all other state institutions.

The *Procuror* General has an assistant and a chancery, or office. He is also at the head of a number of other establishments, namely: 1. the Committee of Spiritual Education, which governs the institutions of religious instruction; 2. the Council for Parish Schools, belonging to the Church; 3. the Censorship of religious subjects; and 4. the Economical Department and Control of special funds of the Synod.

Besides St. Petersburg, the Synod has two other offices, one for Moscow, and the other for Georgia — Imeritia.

## b) THE MINISTRIES.

## a) Their history.

The history of the Ministries begins only in the XIX century. As central institutions, entrusted generally with the management of all parts of the administration, their place was previously filled in Russian history by the *Prikazy*, or Offices of the Moskow period, and the Boards, *Kollegii*, of Peter the Great.

1. **The Offices, or Prikazy**, were first established in Moscow when the Grand Dukes, who were engaged in gradually uniting the territories of Russia under one ruler, found it impossible, even in the chief town, to attend personally to all the duties of State, so complicated had those duties become. It was, therefore, found necessary to exclude certain matters from their personal superintendence, and, according to the literal meaning of the word *prikaz*, to «order» them to be undertaken by servitors of the Crown. Hence the name of *prikaz*, «order» or «command», applied to the various Offices or duties, thus laid upon different members of the Tsar's Court. The number of these Offices increased with the growth of the Tsar's power and splendour; but at that time they had no definite limits of jurisdiction, as there was no exact notion of the objects of power. This is evident from their very organization. They were founded on considerations, not of state utility, but of temporary expediency. In the first place, these Offices administered general state affairs as well as the private affairs of the Tsar. For instance, the Office of Secret



Affairs which was established for superintending the operation of the entire administration, also took charge of the Tsar's Hunt. Out of the total of 36 Offices under Alexey Mikhailovitch, 13 of them, more than one third, superintended the Tsar's Court. The next largest number of Offices were occupied with matters of War and Finance, namely 9 and 5 respectively, as the principal aims of the State at that time were defence against its foes, and the accumulation of material resources. There were no Offices for the care of public education, or the economical welfare of the population.

**2. Boards, or Kollegii.** Peter the Great turned to the western nations for models of better administration, and found a superior kind of organization in the system of Boards. Originally 10 Boards were established, embracing all parts of the administration; and these were finally increased to 12. At the head of all of them was placed the Senate, which, however, could not in reality serve as an organ of general supervision, being in itself a part of the administration, although of the higher rank.

At first this circumstance led to no inconveniences, as Peter the Great himself, with his unflagging energy, performed the duties of President of the Senate, and personally directed all its functions. Subsequently, political complications, wars, etc. absorbed the Emperor's attention, and diverted it from the business of the Senate, which thus deprived the latter of the necessary guidance, and soon exposed the unfavourable side of its organization. It was owing to this, that Peter I entrusted the most important affairs of State not to the Se-

nate, but to statesmen, enjoying his special confidence. «Il est très remarquable,» wrote Minich, «que ce grand Prince, dont la pénétration et les maximes d'Etat étaient des plus remarquables, avait toujours en vue le grand vide, qu'il y a entre la souveraineté du Monarque de la Russie et l'autorité de Sénat, et c'est par cette raison qu'il choisissait toujours une personne, capable de diriger le Sénat et de gouverner, surtout dans son absence, tout l'Empire.»

These words contain the principal reason for the appointment in 1722 of a *Procuror-General*, or Attorney general, to the Senate, with subordinate Attorneys. In all more important affairs Peter the Great relied solely upon the *Procuror-General* and communicated with the Senate or the Boards only through him.

The defects of the Board system lay partly in the practical absence at that time of all organized local administration, although Peter the Great had undertaken its reformation. The Boards, i. e. the central institutions, had, therefore, to take upon themselves all the details of local administration, which was naturally a task far exceeding their powers. Furthermore, the Boards in theory guaranteed the regular operation of the administration; but as all their best energies were employed by the army, the personal staff of the civil administration was very deficient. Minich, in a letter to the Empress Catherine II, stated openly that the vast Empire of Russia has long been governed by the secretaries and head secretaries and not by either the president of the Boards or the councillors.

During the reigns of Peter the Great's successors, down to the time of Alexander I, no consecutive reorganization was undertaken; but in all the alterations introduced subsequently, there is the tendency to replace the Boards by institutions, in which the power should be centered in one person. Catherine II, in particular, enlarged and strengthened the power of the *Procuror-General*, by concentrating in his hands all branches of internal administration, while the Senate, divided into Department, was entirely excluded from any active participation.

Moreover, Catherine II, from the very beginning of her reign, had the intention of reorganizing local administration. «The whole» said she—«cannot be good, if the parts are in disorder.» Consequently, in 1775 appeared the new provincial organization, which transferred all the Boards (with the exception of the Boards of war, foreign affairs and the admiralty) to the provinces under the name of *palaty*, etc.; and, by the end of her reign, the central Boards practically ceased to exist. The entire administration was entrusted to separate persons.

The Emperor Paul I, Catherine II's successor, returned to the system of Board administration. Certain of the former Boards were in fact reestablished, but at the head of each was placed a chief Director with authority over the president and councillors. This functionary alone reported to the Sovereign and announced the Supreme orders to the Board. On the other hand, the power of the *Procuror-General* grew still greater, al-

though the financial business was taken from him and submitted to the State Treasurer Count Vassilief, who may thus be considered to have been the first Minister of Finance.

Shortly afterwards, a special institution for communication by water was established under Count Sivers. At length, in 1797, the first Ministry, that of the Appanages, was founded, followed in 1800 by the Ministry of Commerce.

**3. The Ministries.** The organization of the Ministries was completed in the reign of the Emperor Alexander I; but in 1802 the first institutions of this kind still bore the characteristics of a compromise between the old and the new systems of administration. In fact they were no Ministries, but only Ministers, amongst whom the duties of all the Boards were distributed. The Ministers had the right of reporting personally to the Sovereign on all most important matters, but not without the consent of the other Ministers. Superior control over the Ministries was entrusted to the Senate, which examined the accounts of the Ministers and reported on them to the Sovereign.

The principal object of the establishment of the Ministries is clearly stated in the Manifesto of February 10, 1802, which says: «We have found it necessary to separate the affairs of State into different sections, according to their natural connexion.» Another object to be attained was expressed by Alexander I in a letter to Laharp, viz: «The measure we have discussed so often is in full operation,—the Ministry is organized, and has been going on well for more than a month. Affairs

have thereby acquired greater lucidity and method, and, whenever anything goes wrong, I know immediately whom to blame».

Thus, on the one hand an effort was made to obtain an effective distribution of business and on the other, to invest the organs of administration with responsibility.

In 1803, Prince Kotchoobey, the Minister of Interior, presented a report to the Sovereign, pointing out the inconvenience of retaining the Boards on account of their slowness of procedure, insufficient distribution of labour, redundance of formality, and lack of responsibility. This report led to the abolition of all the Boards, except those of War, Marine, and Foreign Affairs, and the substitution in their place of departments, or institutions of a bureaucratic nature.

In 1811 a reorganization of the Ministries was effected on the plan of Count Speransky, which obtains down to the present day.

### b) The present organization of Ministries.

Ministries are institutions, by means of which the Supreme power operates in executive order. Consequently the Ministries in their action are directly subordinate to the Monarch, who conducts through them the whole administration.

In this sense the Ministries constitute the organs of Supreme government. But, at the same time, they enjoy very extensive independent authority and stand together with the Senate at the head of the whole subordinate administration.

They enforce the execution of laws and orders by subordinate institutions, supervise the action of such institutions, and decide, by virtue of the law, all difficulties and doubts, arising in the administration.

In special cases, in which the existing laws are found to be inadequate, the Ministers report to the Emperor and solicit his decision. But in cases, not admitting of delay, they may even exceed the limits of their legal authority, and are only bound subsequently to prove the urgency of the measures adopted.

The legislation of late years has more and more frequently left it to Ministers to issue orders not only for the fulfilment of existing laws, but also for their amplification, as the law determines only general principles, and necessitates the elaboration of details by means of Ministerial Circulars.

Each Minister, on taking possession of his post, is required to revise his Ministry, and submit to the Emperor a plan of improvements in the department confided to his care, and, subsequently, he must report from time to time on the extent to which the plan indicated has been carried out. In addition to this, an annual report must be drawn up in each Ministry, and examined first by a special commission, and then by the Council of Ministers. Pecuniary Accounts are audited and verified by a special institution, called the State Comptrol.

The examination of reports may lead to a Minister being held responsible for any illegal action on his part thereby disclosed.

Moreover, the question of responsibility may arise

on the complaint of private persons, or in consequence of charges brought forward by the local authorities, etc. But all declarations in respect of the illegal or irregular action of Ministers cannot be proceeded with further without the approval of the Emperor. Ministers are responsible 1<sup>stly</sup> for exceeding their authority, and 2<sup>naly</sup> for inaction.

Transgression of authority, however, is not punishable, if the Minister can prove the urgency of the extraordinary measures adopted by him.

Even a law that is harmful, although it may have been submitted by a Minister, does not entail the responsibility of the Minister after it has been accepted and confirmed in due course of legislation, as this confirmation, of itself, removes such responsibility. Lastly, a Minister is not responsible for any executive measure proposed by him, if it be accepted by the Senate, or approved by the Emperor, unless he shall have wilfully misled the Senate or the Sovereign power.

The rights accorded to Ministers, bring them into contact with all the institutions of the State—legislative, judicial and executive.

In the first place, Ministers may not of themselves issue any new law; they can only give notice of the necessity of a new law, or the repeal of any existing law. In the next place, as members of the State Council, Ministers participate in the discussion of legislative projects; and lastly, they enjoy the right, equally with other high dignitaries, of announcing verbal decrees of the Sovereign. Such are their relations to the legislative authorities.

In principle Ministers may not try any person, or impose punishment. But in detail this general rule is subject to certain material exceptions. Thus, numerous violations of the customs, revenues and other regulations are punished by administrative authority. Each institution possesses also important disciplinary powers in respect to its employés. The most extensive powers of the Ministers are of course those appertaining to them as executive organs, in view of the fact, that the organization of the higher State administration, according to the plan of Count Speransky, was based on the principle of a division of authority — legislative, judicial and executive, and the latter confided to the Ministries.

At the same time, in the sphere of administration, in the strict sense of the word, certain rights appertain to the Committee of Ministers and the Senate. These institutions take cognizance of such cases, the decision of which exceeds the authority of individual Ministers. Certain of these cases may be decided by virtue of the law, as, for instance, when a uniform order is required from all the Ministries simultaneously. Such a measure manifestly exceeds the authority of one Minister, and must be issued through the Senate. But cases occur in which the laws are inadequate, and an Imperial decree is then necessary. Such cases come before the Committee of Ministers, and are thence submitted to the Emperor.

There are several Ministries, and amongst them the whole task of administration is divided. At the same time all the Ministries constitute one administration, al-



though no Minister may encroach upon the jurisdiction of another. Unity among the Ministries is maintained by the Sovereign power, and the means for this purpose, it will be remembered, is the institution of the Council of Ministers. Each Minister is entrusted with a certain branch of administration, and he can demand from his subordinates precise and unquestioned obedience in carrying out his orders. But such compliance should not be merely passive, but within the limits of the law. Every official, on receiving instructions from a Minister, revoking any law whatsoever, is bound to notify the Minister to that effect and if the latter repeat the order, the matter must be submitted to the Senate. This course is followed even in cases, in which a Minister announces a verbal Imperial decree in disagreement with existing laws. Furthermore, persons, subordinate to a Minister, are not obliged to execute his instructions, if in substance they belong to the jurisdiction of another Ministry. Such cases have to be submitted for the decision of the latter.

Ministers are provided with Assistant Ministers, who of themselves, with certain exceptions, do not possess any executive authority, although a Minister may entrust to his Assistant the decision of certain series of questions or the management of any section of the Ministry. During the absence or illness of a Minister, his duties are generally fulfilled by the Assistant.

A Minister is invested with the power of decision. But before arriving at a decision, each case must be carefully discussed and reported. The reporting of cases devolves on the Departments and Chanceries, of which

there are generally several in each Ministry, according to the nature of its business, and the Departments in their turn are subdivided into sections.

In criticising the organization of the Ministries in 1802, Count Speransky observed, *inter alia*, that with the abolition of Boards and their substitution by Departments, the Ministries lacked a consultative body, which would secure mature deliberation. This want was supplied by Ministerial Councils.

The Ministerial Council consist of all the Directors of Departments and Chanceries and of persons, specially appointed by Imperial decree. Extraneous individuals, specialists and experts in various matters etc. may also be invited. The Minister presides at the Council and, in his absence, the Assistant Minister. The Council examines all the most important affairs of the Ministry, projects of new laws, yearly budgets, the principal economic regulations, complaints, lodged against officials, the prosecution of offenders etc., and generally all such matters, as the Minister himself may consider it necessary to refer to the Council.

The resolution of the Ministerial Council is not obligatory on the Ministers, who may adopt a decision contrary to the opinion of the Council, but in such a case, in submitting the affairs to the State Council, to the Committee of Ministers etc., a brief statement of the Ministerial Council is annexed.

## c) Separate Ministries.

In 1802 Ministries were formed, as we have seen, by distributing among them the various Boards, giving over to each Ministry the Board that most resembled it in respect of the objects, for which it was created. In this manner 8 Ministries came into existence, namely: of War, of Marine, of Foreign Affairs, of Justice, of Internal Affairs, of Finance, of Commerce and of Public Education. Later, in 1810, a rearrangement of Ministries was adopted on the plan of Count Speransky, who maintained, that the general grouping of the work of administration should correspond with the division of the laws into Civil and State laws, and the latter into public, external and internal. From the first arise external relations and state defence, from the second — «public economy» and internal safety. In accordance with this plan 5 principal sections of administration were obtained: 1, external relations, 2, external security, 3, internal security, 4, Courts of laws and 5, public economy. There were also ecclesiastical matters, which cannot be relegated to any one of these categories. For external relations the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was established, for external security — the Ministries of War and of Marine, for internal security — the Ministry of Police and for the Courts of law — the Ministry of Justice. The most extensive group was that of public economy, to which belonged the Ministries of Public Education and of Finance, the Revision of state accounts, the State Treasury, the supervision over the Ways of Communication, the Posts and the Mini-

stry of the Interior, under which agriculture, factories and trade were placed. Subsequently, a chief Department for the ecclesiastical affairs of foreign creeds was also added to this Ministry.

The rearrangement of 1811, however, was not of long duration, and in 1826 the whole internal administration was again divided into 3 groups: 1, administration of Justice, 2, receipt and expenditure of state revenues and 3, public security and welfare. Each of these groups was entrusted to several Ministries. This division with certain important modifications, however, has survived down to the present time.

There are 14 Ministries and similar institutions in Russia at present:

- 1, The Ministry of the Imperial Court and Appanages.
- 2, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- 3, The Ministry of War.
- 4, The Ministry of Marine.
- 5, The Ministry of Interior.
- 6, The Ministry of Justice.
- 7, The Ministry of Public Education.
- 8, The Ministry of Finance.
- 9, The Ministry of Agriculture and State Domains.
- 10, The Ministry of Ways of Communication.

The following institutions, though not bearing the name of Ministries, are yet of a similar nature to them.

11, The Office of the Orthodox faith (its Chief is the *Ober-Procuror* of the Holy Synod).

12, The Special Chancery of HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY for the institutions of the Empress Mary.

## SEPARATE MINISTRIES.

13, The State Comptrol.

14, The Head-Office of the State Studs.

In the course of the present century, besides the above enumerated institutions, there existed in Russia, as mentioned above, a Ministry of Commerce and a State Treasury, subsequently incorporated with the Ministry of Finance; a special Ministry of Police, and a Head-Office for the Church affairs of foreign religions, both now forming a part of the Ministry of Interior. In 1826 the department of the higher police, however, was separated from it and entrusted to the III Section of the Special Chancery of HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY, but in 1880, the III Section being abolished, the affairs of the higher police were again transferred back to the Ministry of Interior. From the very beginning of their existence in Russia post institutions formed a separate administration; in 1865 a separate Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs was created, (the telegraphs before that belonged to the Ministry of Ways of Communication). But in 1868 this Ministry was incorporated with the Ministry of Interior; in 1880 it was once more separated from it, forming the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs and Church affairs of foreign religions. This institution existed only till 1881, when it was again incorporated with the Ministry of Interior. The Chief Office of the Appanages was also a separate institution till 1826, when it was joined to the Ministry of the Imperial Court.

The Ministry of the Court, must be considered apart from the rest, as being under the direct and immediate cognizance of HIS MAJESTY the Emperor. Besides the

Ministry of the Court, there are 2 Imperial Chanceries, i. e. the Special Chancery of HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY, and the Chancery of Petitions presented in the Imperial name.

We will, therefore, begin with these in describing the organization and province of separate Ministries.

### 1. The Ministry of the Imperial Court.

The Ministry of the Court was established in the year 1826, and embraced in one institution all the former separate branches of the Court administration.

The Ministry of the Court is under the personal cognizance of HIS MAJESTY the Emperor and, therefore, renders account of all its affairs to HIS MAJESTY alone. Consequently, the State Comptrol has no concern with this Ministry, and complaints against it must be brought not before the Senate, but directly before HIS MAJESTY, through the Chancery of Petitions.

The Ministry of the Court consists of: 1, the Minister himself, 2, an assistant Minister, 3, a Ministerial Council, 4, general sections, 5, special sections, 6, a chapter of Imperial orders, and those of the Tsars, and 7, the Chief Department of Appanages.

The, so-called, general sections of the Ministry comprise 6 institutions, beginning with the Cabinet of HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY, which has under its direction the personal staff and the economical part of the Ministry, the management of the Altay and Nerchinsk metallurgical Works, the Imperial China and Glass factories, the Ekaterinburg granite Works, and the Principality of Lovitch

in the Kingdom of Poland; it, furthermore, has custody of the Imperial regalia, the crown jewels, the Generalogical Book of the Imperial House, and, in certain cases, the Wills of the Members of the Imperial family.

The Altay and Nerchinsk Works, under the management of the Cabinet, are so important in the metallurgical industry of Russia, that it will not be out of place to say a few words here respecting their origin and production.

The district of the Altay metallurgical Works comprises 4 out of the 6 districts of the Province of Tomsk: Kainsk, Barnaul, Kooznetzk and Biesk and also the southern part of the Tomsk district with a population of about 560,000 persons. The numerous remains of the mines of the ancient Tchood race long ago indicated the metallic wealth of the Altay region, and in fact the name itself signifies «golden mountains.» The first attempts of the Russians to avail themselves of this wealth date back to the end of the 17 century, but it was only at the beginning of the 18 century that mining in the Altay was properly started by Akinfy Demidoff, son of Nikita Demidoff, a Toola blacksmith. By Imperial Ukas of 1<sup>st</sup> May, 1747, all the works and mines established by Demidoff in the Altay were placed under the management of the Cabinet of HIS MAJESTY, and from that time the work of mining developed very rapidly. Down to the end of the 18 century a large number of new mines were opened and 9 new works were constructed. At the beginning of the present century 2 more works were started. Nearly all the works of the Altay are engaged in silver smelting, the only exceptions being the

Tomsk and Goorief Iron foundries and the Suzun Works, which produces copper, as well as silver.

The chief wealth of the Altay district is silver, of which about 600 poods were smelted there in 1891, or more than 70 per cent of the whole quantity smelted in Russia. In the «fifties» and «sixties», however, the quantity of silver smelted was considerably greater reaching up to one thousand poods per annum. But on the emancipation of the local population from compulsory labour at the works, and the exhaustion of the local supply, the production diminished to such an extent, that on May 20<sup>th</sup>, 1893, an order was given to close several of the silver smelting works. The output of lead decreased together with that of silver. Formerly the Altay produced up to 100,000 poods of lead, whereas in 1891 the output was only 11,000 poods, which still represented about  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the whole production in Russia.

The other metals and minerals, obtained in the Altay, namely, gold, copper, iron and steel are of less importance.

According to all appearance, the coal industry in this district has also a very brilliant future, if we may judge from the enormous deposits which have been prospected in the, so-called, Kooznetsky depression, covering an area of about 44,000 square versts. The proximity of the iron ore mines to the coalfield justifies the prospect of an extensive development of the iron industry.

In respect of valuable stones, the Altay region has become famous for its porphyry and jasper of various colours, which, after being polished and cut at the Ko-



livain polishing Mill, are sent to the Imperial Court at St. Petersburg.

At the present time in the Altay there are 8 quarries at work, producing porphyry, azure and green jasper, granite, white and different coloured marble, breccia, topaz (rauchtopaz) quartz red, rosecoloured and blue, agate and calcedon.

As regards the works at Nerchinsk in the Zabykal region, their chief production is also silver and lead. Rumours reaching Moscow of the existence of silver mines along the banks of the rivers Shilka and Arguin, estuaries of the Amoor, Peter the Great sent Greek miners to Siberia; in 1698 they discovered there layers of silver-lead, which they commenced to work, and in 1704 the Nerchinsk Silversmelting Works were constructed. In view of the fact, that the country round Zabyka! was wild, and inhabited only by nomads, it was necessary to send Russian labourers there and at first the metallurgical industry developed very slowly. But with the opening of new mines the smelting of silver during the period of 1763 — 86 attained 629<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> poods annually, after which time it gradually diminished under the influence of similar conditions to those in the Altay district. At present only 10 mines are being worked and the one smelting works of Krutomorsk turns out about 50 poods of silver per annum. On the other hand, the extraction of gold in the Nerchinsk district is far more considerable, extending to 120 poods annually. The remaining metals are the same as in the Altay district, but the production is less.

Besides the Cabinet, the general sections of the Ministry of the Court comprise: the Chancery of the Minister, the Control, the Cash department, the Medical Inspection section and General Archives.

Its special sections or institutions are very numerous. These are:

1, Section of the Marshal of the Court, for the provisioning of the Imperial Court and the arrangement of receptions.

2, Expedition of Ceremonies.

3, Chancery of HER IMPERIAL MAJESTY the Empress.

4, The clergy of the Court under the direction of the Protopresbyter of the Cathedral of the Imperial Winter Palace and the Cathedral of Annunciation in Moscow.

5, The Court choristers.

6, The private library of HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY.

7, The Imperial Hermitage and its Museum of Arts.

8, The Imperial Academy of Arts, founded in 1757, consisting of 2 sections, one for painting and sculpture, the other for architecture. Besides preparing artists, the Academy holds periodical exhibitions of pictures and possesses a permanent art museum.

9, The Imperial Archæological Commission, which supervises all archæological research in Russia.

10, Direction of the Imperial Theatres in St. Petersburg and Moscow.

11, The Imperial band of Musicians.

12, The Imperial Stables.

13, The Imperial Hunt.

14, The electrotechnical section, superintending the lighting of the palaces etc. and

15, The Corps of Court Grenadiers, instituted for distinguishing and rewarding meritorious soldiers. These grenadiers perform sentinel duty at certain monuments and in the palaces etc.

Among the special institutions of the Court Ministry must also be reckoned the Chancery of the «General on duty near the person of HIS MAJESTY», and the palace police under his direction, also the whole administration of the Imperial palaces and all the palaces of Their Imperial Highnesses the Grand Dukes and Grand Duchesses.

The chapter of orders is under the direction of the Chancellor of Orders—the Minister of the Imperial Court, and includes the Grand Master of Ceremonies and the Chancery. Temporary assemblies of knights of Orders, under the designation of knights' *Dooma*, are also included in the chapter of orders. These assemblies are composed of several knights of an order, under the presidency of the senior member, who meet to discuss questions, respecting the bestowal of certain orders for special merits, as prescribed by the statutes. The resolution of the assembly of knights is submitted for Imperial confirmation by the Chancellor of Orders.

In Russia there are 8 orders, viz:

1, **The Order of St. Andrew the Apostle** established by Peter the Great in 1698 in honour of St. Andrew the Apostle, «who took the first steps towards enlightening our domains by baptism.»

2, **The Order of St. Catherine**, or of liberation (for

females). This order was founded in memory of the delivery in 1711 of the Russian army from danger during the Prout campaign, when, surrounded by the enemy 10 times more powerful, the Empress Catherine I, by her presence sustained and encouraged both the army and the Tsar. The order was established on November 24, 1714, and consists of 2 grades, each composed of: 12 Ladies of the Larger Cross (besides members of the Imperial House and of the other reigning families) and 94 Ladies of the Smaller Cross. The Chief of this Order is HER MAJESTY the Empress, remaining so during the course of her whole life, even in the event of widowhood. The title of *namiestnitsa*, or Deaconess of this Order, is held by the Wife of the Heir-Apparent or by the Empress herself, if the Dowager Empress is the chief of the Order.

3, **The Order of St. Alexander Nefsky.** In 1724, when the relics of St. Alexander Nefsky were transported from the town of Vladimir to St Petersburg, Peter the Great intended to establish an order of the name of that «conqueror of the Swedes,» but died before carrying out his intention. The Order was established in 1725 by his wife, Catherine I, in memory of her husband, and was first granted on May 21, 1725 to Charles Frederick Duke of Schleswig-Holstein on his marriage with the Cesarevna Anna Petrovna.

4, **The Order of the White Eagle.** This is one of the oldest Polish Orders, its foundation reaching back to 1325 in the reign of King Vladislaf the Short. The Emperor Alexander I, on the annexation of the kingdom

of Poland to Russia, used to grant this Order to natives of Poland, but on November 17, 1831, the Emperor Nicholas I ordered it to be added to the list of Russian Orders.

5, The Military **Order of St. George the Martyr and Victor**, founded exclusively for the recognition of military services on November 26, 1769, by the Empress Catherine II. It has 4 grades, besides special badges of distinction for privates, of which there are also 4 grades.

In addition, generals, staff-officers, and subalters are presented with gold sabres and swords with the inscription «for bravery»; these weapons, when conferred on generals, are ornamented with diamonds.

6, **The Order of St. Vladimir, co-equal with the Apostles**, awarded in recognition of special services rendered to the State. It was founded in commemoration of 20 years' reign of the Empress Catherine II in honour of the Grand Duke Vladimir, Saint and co-equal with the Apostles, «who had undertaken so much labour for the enlightenment of Russia by means of the Holy baptism.» Has 4 grades.

7, **The Order of St. Anne** was established by the reigning Duke Charles Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein in 1735, in memory of his deceased wife Anna Petrovna. Since the arrival in 1742 of Peter III, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein (grand-son to Peter the Great) in Russia, the Order of St. Anne used to be granted by the Russian Sovereigns. and in 1797 the Emperor Paul I had it added to the list of Russian Orders. It has 3 grades and one besides that is worn on the sword with the

inscription «for bravery» on the hilt, and a sword knot of the ribbon of the Order of St. Anne; this Order has, moreover, a special badge of distinction for soldiers.

8, **The Order of Stanislaf** was founded on May 7, 1765, by the King of Poland Stanislaf-August (Ponia-tovsky) in honour of his patron saint. On the annexation of the Kingdom of Poland to Russia, the Emperor Alexander I used to bestow this order upon natives of Poland and subsequently, on November 17, 1831, it was added by the Emperor Nicholas I to the list of Russian Orders. Has 3 grades.

There are also badges of distinction for irreproachable service, military medals for saving life, etc.

There exists, besides, the **Badge of the Red Cross**, established on February 19, 1878. It is bestowed upon females, who have devoted themselves to the care of wounded and sick soldiers, and is also granted for rendering special services to the wounded and sick to persons who are known to be of high moral qualities. There are 2 grades, both granted by the Empress herself, with the sanction of the Emperor.

The Chief Direction of Appanages (formerly Department) was established as far back as 1797, simultaneously with the promulgation of the institutions concerning the Imperial family.

The Department of Appanages was originally placed under the direction of a special Minister, but in 1826 it became subordinate to the Minister of the Court, who, therefore, bears the title of Minister of Appanages. At the present time the Department has been transformed

into the Chief Direction of Appanages, which has under its management all the appanage estates and also the estates of the Emperor, several of the palaces and the Imperial stone-polishing factory.

Eleven local appanage districts have been established under the management of directors. But several estates (Livadia, Murgab, Massandra etc.) are placed under special managers, directly subordinate to the Chief Direction.

## 2. The Special Chancery of His Majesty the Emperor.

This Chancery, established as far back as the reign of Peter the Great, was during the reign of Nicholas I a most complex organization, consisting of 6 Sections, each of which enjoyed the signification of a special Ministry. But since then the staff of the Chancery has gradually diminished: the II Section has been converted into the Codification section of the Council of State; the III Section, which supervised the higher police, has been incorporated with the Ministry of the Interior; the IV Section was formed into a special Chancery for the institutions of the Empress Mary; the V Section was transformed into the Ministry of State Domains, and the VI Section, relating to the Caucasus, has been entirely abolished. There only remains, therefore, the I Section, placed under a Director with an assistant.

The Chancery includes an Inspection Section, established in 1894, which took the place of the Inspection Department of the Civil service, abolished in 1858. The Inspection Section, under the direct management of the assistant Director of the Chancery, watches over the

precise and uniform observance of the Statutes of the Civil Service. Cases of promotion, awards and nominations are submitted to a special Committee of the Civil service, under the presidency of the Chancellor of Russian Orders, the Minister of the Imperial Court; it consists of the Manager of the special Chancery of HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY and of 4 other officials, appointed by the Tsar. The Committee is also attended by assistant Ministers on matters, connected with their service.

In addition to the Inspection Department the special Chancery of HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY includes a Committee of Benevolence for deserving Civil officials quitting the service on account of grave and incurable disease. The Committee grants pensions, in addition to the pension from the State, provides pecuniary aid, places orphans in schools and supports a special asylum for widows and orphans of meritorious civil servants.

The resolutions of the Committee are confirmed by the Emperor.

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It will be appropriate in this place to say a few words respecting the grades or ranks, obtaining in Russia for officials in the service of the Government, seeing that so much depends upon them in regard to the enjoyment of various rights and privileges; a servant of the State without a grade, or occupying a post above his grade, is an exception; and he can enjoy the rights appertaining to such post, only as long as he occupies it; whereas the rights belonging to a grade are permanent, and are retained by officials after their retirement



Persons possessing a grade are eligible for employment in the service of the State. The grades also regulate the class of rewards and orders, and the amount of pension to be received. They determine the civil status of officials and their families; the acquirement of the rank of nobility, of honorary citizenship, and various other honorary titles; the questions of precedence at ceremonials, and of reception at Court, etc.

The grades, at present existing, were created by the Table of Ranks of Peter the Great, which was promulgated on the 24<sup>th</sup> of January 1722. The total number of civil grades is 14, of which the XIII and XI have since been abolished, thus leaving only 12. In the subjoined list they are set forth in the order, corresponding with the degrees of rank in the Army, Navy and Imperial Court:

Class.	CIVIL RANKS.	MILITARY RANKS.
I.	Chancellor or Actual Privy Councillor of 1 <sup>st</sup> class.	General Field Marshal.
II.	Actual Privy Councillor.	General of Infantry. General of Cavalry. General of Artillery. Engineer General.
III.	Privy Councillor.	Lieutenant General.
IV.	Actual Councillor of State.	Major General.
V.	Councillor of State.	<b>Staff officers.</b> —
VI.	Collegiate Councillor.	Colonel.
VII.	Aulic Councillor.	Lieutenant Colonel.
VIII.	Collegiate Assessor.	—
IX.	Titular Councillor.	<b>Subaltern officers.</b> Captain. Captain of Cavalry.
X.	Collegiate Secretary.	Second Captain. Second Captain of Cavalry.
XI.	Abolished.	—
XII.	Provincial Secretary.	Lieutenant.
XIII.	Abolished.	—
XIV.	Collegiate Registrar.	Sub-Lieutenant. Cornet.

NAVAL RANKS.	COURT RANKS.	Titles appertaining to the ranks.
1st High Admiral.	—	
Admiral.	Lord Grand Chamberlain. Lord High Marshal. Grand Master of the Hounds. Grand Cup-bearer. Grand Equerry. [hold. Lord Steward of the House-	High Excellency.
Vice-Admiral.	Marshal of the Court. Equerry. Master of the Hounds. Grand Master of Ceremonies. Grand Carver.	Excellency.
Rear-Admiral.	Chamberlain.	
—	Master of Ceremonies.	High-born.
Captain.	} Gentleman in waiting.	} High well-born.
Master & Commander.		
—	—	
Lieutenant.	—	
—	—	
—	—	
Shipman.	—	Well-born.
—	—	
—	—	

Persons possessing the hereditary titles of Serenissime (Counts and Princes) do not enjoy the titles of their official rank.

### 3. The Chancery of Petitions presented in the Imperial Name.

The Chancery of Petitions replaced in 1884 the previously existing Commission of Petitions; and is since 1895 put under the direction a special Manager in chief, who receives all petitions and complaints lodged in the Imperial name, to wit:

1, Complaints respecting final decisions of Departments of the Ruling Senate, with the exception of those of Cassation. They are first laid before a special section in the State Council (vide above page 55);

2, Complaints against the higher state institutions, Ministers, Governors General, and others. These complaints are submitted by the Commander of the Tsar's Military Staff to the Emperor for HIS MAJESTY'S decision, whether to refer them to the State Council, the Committee of Ministers or the Senate.

3, Petitions for grace and clemency are referred, with the sanction of the Emperor, to the competent Ministers, and lastly,

4, Petitions for pardon or mitigation on behalf of persons condemned to punishment or fulfilling their sentence, are referred to the Minister of Justice, War or Marine, (according to the nature of the case as far as it relates to the Military or Naval Courts) and these Ministers report thereon to the Emperor.

The Chancery has moreover a special section for affairs relating to family disagreements.

## I. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

(The Ministry of Foreign Affairs.)

To write the history of Russia's international relations would necessitate the writing of the greater part of the general history of Russia, and that, of course, could not be done in this book. We shall, therefore, restrict ourselves to a few remarks only on the most prominent features of the subject. Thus it is well known, that even prior to the Tartar invasion (XIII century) Russia of the Kief period was apparently in the most active relations with both the East and the West. Kief was a town with a flourishing trade and foreigners flocked to it from all parts. The treaties of the Grand dukes Oleg and Igor with the Greeks (X century) have descended to us as undoubtable proofs of the fact. Vladimir, subsequently canonized, was visited by envoys from Germany, Byzantium and the Caliphate with the purpose of inducing him to embrace their faith, and Anna, the daughter of Yaroslaf the Wise, married the French King Henry I (1048). Russia's martial fame had spread far and wide, and Oleg, gaining a famous victory over the Greeks, even nailed his shield to the gates of Constantinople (907).

Such was the state of things in the south, in Kief; Novgorod, the northern centre of trade and commerce,

was in equally active relations with north European countries and with the towns of the Hansa union.

The feuds among the grand dukes and especially the Tartar invasion caused a long interruption in the development of Russia. Her merit, internationally, however was very great: though subjugated by the barbarians, Russia stopped their further advance westward, whilst the Tartars, after 2½ centuries spent amongst the Russians, lost to a considerable extent their barbarity and were influenced by Russian culture; and this culture at last enabled the Russians to shake off the Tartar yoke. A new state centre was then established in Moscow, which shortly afterwards succeeded in uniting all the scattered territories under its power. The new State soon felt the want of friendly connections with its neighbours and in the XV century the interrupted relations were again resumed.

In 1489 the German Emperor Frederick III sent an envoy to Moscow to solicit for his nephew Albrecht, Margrave of Baden, the hand of one of the daughters of the Grand duke Ivan Vassilievitch. In the same year the Grand Duke of Moscow despatched to Austria a Greek, named Trachaniot, with his comrades to establish free intercourse between the two countries and to institute mutual embassies.

During the XVI and XVII centuries Russia entered into still closer relations with Austria, treaties of alliance being concluded between them to oppose their common foes—Poland and Turkey.

In the north the same motive—defence against the

enemy—led to the alliance of Moscow with the Duchy of Prussia and the Markgravate of Brandenburg.

Unfortunately, at about the same time with the fall of Great Novgorod the former active commercial relations of Novgorod with the Hansa towns came to an end.

But Moscow concluded treaties not only with her nearest neighbours, and their motive was not always defence.

In the reign of the Grand duke Vassily Ivanovitch, in the XVI century, certain Dutch merchants received a document, securing to them free trade and passage in the State of Moscow. In 1553 a similar right was granted to Chensler, an English merchant, who established in England a «Russian Company» for trading with the State of Moscow. Dating from this year an animated interchange of embassies between England and Russia sprang up, and in the beginning of the XVII century mention is already made of an English consul in Moscow. The English even succeeded in obtaining the right of a trade monopoly in Russia.

At length, under Peter the Great, Russia becomes an indispensable member of the European international society, and during the XVIII and XIX centuries no international question of any importance is decided without her. We shall not speak here of such well known facts, as Russia's participation in the 7 years' war, her victories over the Turks, the great importance she gained on the Balkan peninsula under Catherine II; neither shall we do more than mention the fact of all Europe having been freed from the rule of Napoleon with the

assistance of Russian forces. We intend but to pause before those principles of international rights, to the development and solidification of which Russia rendered the most powerful aid.

One of the most important of these principles is the idea of neutrality. We find its origin only in the XVI century, though glimpses of it appeared already in the middle ages.

The rights of neutral states during war were recognized only on dry land. At sea neutral trade was subjected to all manner of violence.

According to a prevailing rule the neutral flag could not protect the enemy's goods, i. e. the latter being subject to confiscation, though on a neutral ship. This circumstance gave the combating nations the possibility of stopping and searching neutral vessels on the open sea. These very constraining measures called forth a reaction, the initiative of which belonged entirely to Russia. On the proposal of the Empress Catherine II in 1780 and subsequently in 1800 were formed the first and second Unions of armed neutrality, which proclaimed, that the enemy's goods on neutral vessels should be considered free, except in cases of military smuggling. Two camps were formed upon this in the views taken of the rights of neutrality, as England and partly the United States continued to keep to the former principles. But on Napoleon I applying to everything, that bore an English name, the continental system, which was in fact but a consecutive continuation of the former rules, England altered her intention and in 1856 signed in Paris the international



declaration, by which the «Russian international Code» of 1780 was raised to the level of an obligatory law.

Russia has, moreover, the honour of taking the first steps towards the task of the Codification of laws and customs of war.

Laws, determining the rights and obligations of armies in the enemy's country, were first promulgated in different European States only in the XVI century. They were however, mostly unpractised, having to become universally known and based upon common agreement before they could be generally recognized. Such an agreement Russia succeeded in attaining in 1868, when, at her instigation, all the civilized States pledged themselves not to use in time of war explosive bullets, weighing less, than was stipulated by the convention (400 gr).

Later, in 1874, at the Emperor Alexander II's initiative, a conference was called in Brussels for the codification of all the rules and customs generally of war. The declaration arrived at by the Conference was not confirmed, owing to political complications, yet it should be regarded as the best expression of these rights and customs.

At the same time the Russian Government made an attempt to lay certain limits even to reprisals, i. e. violence practised in response to the enemy's violence, but often considerably exceeding the boundary of mere retaliation.

Russia not only advocated humane principles, but practised them. In 1877, when entering upon Turkish ter-

ritory, the Grand Duke Nicholay Nicholaevitch, Commander in Chief of the Russian army, declared the peaceful inhabitants and their property inviolable, and threatened with severe retribution all violation of the Geneva convention of 1864 respecting the protection of wounded and sick enemies. All through the war the military authorities demanded from the inhabitants provisions for the army not otherwise than in return for payment, and not a single case occurred of town or place being laid under contribution. Moreover, in spite of all the brutality of the Turks (Bashy-Boozooks and Tcherkesses), the commanders of the Russian forces could recur to reprisals only with the consent of the Commander in Chief and after informing the Commander of the enemy's army.

Great principles of philanthropy and civilization governed Russian politics in the east. In the well known treaty of Kootchook-Kynardjy, concluded by Catherine II with Turkey in 1774, a whole number of paragraphs refer to the inviolability of the Christian faith, according to which the Russian Ambassador at the Porte has the right of intercession for her own (Turkish) Christian subjects. Wishing to put an end to the influence Russia had in the east, the European powers directed their attention to this circumstance in Russia's relations with Turkey, and, according to the Paris treaty of 1856, the Turkish subjects were proclaimed enjoying freedom of faith, and the right of other countries to interfere was abrogated. But shortly afterwards (in 1860 and 1867, owing to insurrections in Syria and Candia) the European powers themselves came to the defence of the Christians,

and thus, through force of circumstances, were obliged to follow in the footsteps of Russia.

In 1877—78 Russia once more came forward to defend the Christians in the east, as the freedom of faith proclaimed by the Paris treaty in 1856, had not, apparently, taken root in Turkey. The war concluded by the liberation of Bulgaria.

The European powers at the Berlin Congress of 1878, to mar these successes, confirmed, openly already this time, the principle of collective protection in favour of the Christian Turkish subjects, thereby in fact taking but a step forward in the direction, in which Russia had led the way.

In the far east—in Central Asia—the civilizing influence of Russia is but the continuation of the historical process, which, having begun in European Russia in the XIII century during the Tartar invasion, had as its natural issue, when the Tartar Tsardoms of Astrakhan and Kazan and then Siberia were taken—the constant assimilation of the heterogeneous tribes, *inorodsy*, with the Russian population.

The construction of the Siberian railway, which will remain for ever connected with the name of the late Emperor Alexander III, undoubtedly represents an historical moment of this great process of civilization.

If England took the first steps towards suppressing the slave trade in the west, in the east that merit is due entirely to Russia.

In Central Asia the Russian Government is struggling down to the present day with unfailing energy

against the capturing of people and their sale into captivity, by including into the treaties of peace paragraphs, obliging liberation of slaves and abolishing slavery for the future.

Defence of peace and peaceful trade was the cause that led to the subjection in 1873 of the khanate of Khiva, the inhabitants of which had, during many centuries, robbed the Russian caravans and sold the captured traders into slavery. The khanate is put under Russia's protectorate; the Khan calling himself «the humble servant of the Emperor of all the Russias», and renouncing all direct relations with the neighbouring states. A greater independence is enjoyed by Bokhara, which, however, is likewise under the protection of Russia, and the Emir of Bokhara, when visiting St. Petersburg in 1893 received from the Emperor Alexander III the title of «serenissime.»

The peaceful policy of Russia, which was formerly regarded perhaps with suspicion by some of the European powers, was in the past reign admitted by all. A month after his accession, Alexander III declared to the foreign powers his intention to guard the general peace, and to apply himself above everything else to the business of internal state development. Only the duty of defending her honour, said the despatch, can divert Russia from this work.

«The reign of Alexander III», said the Marquis of Salisbury, about a month after the death of that monarch, in addressing a meeting of the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations, «has not been

a long one, and during I think I may say the greater part of it I was in a position to appreciate the working of his character and the motive of his acts. Beginning, as I confess I did, with some doubt of the attitude he would assume, the force of facts and of constant experience strongly convinced me, long before my official connection with the Foreign Office had terminated, that Europe owed to him a debt, which it was difficult to express, for the peace which his restraint and his Christian character had secured to us. He has left behind him a record for which all nations are bound to be grateful, and which our future rulers in all lands, whether monarchical or popular will do well to study and to follow.»

It is hardly necessary to mention that Russia takes part in mostly all the conventions bearing an international character. These are, firstly, the Geneva convention of 1864 for the protection of wounded and sick soldiers and the thence resulting institution in Russia, as in other States, of the Society of the Red Cross. On May 25, 1893, Russia signed an international sanitary convention drawn up in Dresden by the representatives of the European powers for the purpose of guarding the health of the people during the cholera epidemic. Russia likewise joined in all the postal conventions, beginning with the one at Bern in 1874, when the General Postal Union was established. In 1875 in St. Petersburg the convention, introducing the General «Telegraph Union» was signed, and in 1890 Russia together with Germany, Austria, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, etc., con-

cluded in Bern a convention for the international railway transmission of goods of direct connection.

We shall not touch upon commercial treaties, as they belong to the province of the commercial policy of the State. Suffice it to say that Russia has concluded these treaties with almost all the European states. These treaties from an international point of view are very important in defining the rights of trading foreigners, securing to them equally with the subjects of the country the defence of the laws.

In the sphere of civil law Russia has concluded a whole row of conventions for the delivery of property remaining after deceased seamen and Russian civil laws determine the execution in Russia of contracts drawn up abroad and the resolution of foreign courts of law.

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The external relations of the Empire are transacted through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was preceded in the Moscow period of Russia's history by the so called *Possolsky Prikaz* or Embassy Office, and later, from Peter the Great till 1832, by the Board of Foreign Affairs.

The general duties of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs consist of:

- 1, Political relations with foreign governments.
- 2, Protection in foreign countries of Russian trade and Russian interests.
- 3, Protection of Russian subjects in their affairs abroad, and

4, Assistance rendered to foreigners on their legal claims in business transactions in Russia.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, who sometimes bears likewise the calling of Vice-Chancellor or Chancellor, is at the same time the Keeper of the large State Seal, which is affixed only to the most important State acts.

The Minister has, besides his Assistant, certain councillors, who together with the Directors of Chancery and Departments form the Council of the Ministry.

The Chancery has the correspondence on political matters. Of the 3 Departments, one is for all relations of Russia with European States, another—the Asiatic Department—for relations with the East, and the third—for the staff and the business, connected with the appointment and dismissal of the employés, for managing the financial affairs of the Ministry, etc.

The foreign institutions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs consist of embassies and missions, and consulates. The first two are for political relations, the last chiefly for commercial and economical matters. Permanent representatives of Russia in foreign States date only from Peter the Great. At present there are embassies in Austria, Great Britain, the German Empire, France, Italy and Turkey: their chiefs are called ambassadors—(extraordinary and plenipotentiary) and they alone are considered as the representatives of the Person of HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY.

In other countries Russia has missions, under the management of extraordinary and plenipotentiary ministers, resident ministers, political agents and *chargés d'affaires*.

The consular institutions consist of general consulates in the principal towns, consulates, vice-consulates and agencies.

The chief duty of the consuls consist in furthering the advantages of Russian trade and navigation. They have therefore to render Russian war-ships and trading vessels all possible assistance and aid. The consul by his calling already is the mediator in lawsuits and disputes amongst Russian merchants/ skippers and their crew, and in fact amongst Russian subjects in general, if the parties at variance appeal to him.

The consuls in the eastern States are empowered with special judicial rights.

Besides taking care of the private interests of Russian subjects, consuls are obliged to further by all the measures in their power the development and facility of Russian relations with the State wherein they reside. They therefore present to the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and of Finance their opinions and remarks on trade and navigation, send the prices of goods and of bills of exchange, give general surveys of the progress of trade and navigation, provide information on customs tariffs and on the other measures taken in the Country, where they reside. In agricultural countries the consul has to report annually on the harvest, on the advance of the corn trade, on the prices of agricultural products, etc.

Finally it is their duty to telegraph immediately of all symptoms of infectious diseases that may appear in their district, and to inform all passing Russian vessels of the fact.



## II. STATE DEFENCE.

(The Ministries of War and Marine).

### 1. Military service.

The foundation of a permanent army and navy in Russia was laid by the Emperor Peter the Great. Prior to that time most of our military forces consisted of temporary levies of militia, *opoltchenie*, some of which were composed of nobles and the sons of boyars, who were distributed according to localities, and compelled to appear for service mounted, fully accoutred, and provisioned, at their own expense.

Another portion of the militia was composed of, so-called, «given people», *sdatochny*, taken from among the peasantry, and sent home at the end of a war. Permanent service in time of peace was performed by the *streltsy*, town cossacks and bombardiers, principally in towns and fortresses. From the time of the Tsar Mikhail Feodorovitch (1616—1645), it became the custom to hire foreigners; and these at first, and afterwards the nobility and «sons of boyars»,\* were employed to form special regiments of cavalry and dragoons. During the reign of the Tsar Alexey Mihailovitch regiments of infantry, composed of volunteers, were organized, but there was still no regular, permanent service. Those who served were engaged during most of the year in agriculture or industry, and were called together for only very short periods of drill.

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\* A class next in rank to the class of boyars.

Peter the Great in forming a regular army introduced general obligatory service from the very beginning and entirely on his own idea, while the ranks of all the other European armies were being filled by conscription, and the system of general obligatory service was adopted only a hundred years later.

By *ukas* of Peter the Great, in 1699, the first operation of recruiting was carried out; and with the 32,000 recruits then collected were formed 27 infantry, and 2 dragoon, regiments, divided into three divisions.

The recruiting was not personal, but communal, that is to say, each rural or urban commune had to furnish a certain number of recruits, and the selection of them was left to the communes themselves. Only the nobles, without exception, were compelled to serve for life until prevented by complete exhaustion or old age. Thus, the system adopted by Russia at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, was very different from the methods employed by the military authorities of West European countries, in which volunteer recruits were enlisted, and sometimes pressed into the service, or enticed into it by various forms of deception.

The obligation of military service in Russia extended to all classes of society. But in the course of time exemptions began to be made, as service for life was a grievously heavy burden; and these exemptions were gradually granted to all the higher classes of society, namely, the nobility, honorary citizens, merchants, and clergy. Exceptions were even made among the artisans and peasantry. The inhabitants of whole localities were some-

times relieved of the obligation of serving, which thus fell upon only four-fifths of the total population.

The wars at the end of the XVIII and beginning of the XIX century, however, compelled all the principal European States, except England, to replace voluntary recruiting by compulsory for military service. Armies began to be formed, not of volunteers, but of citizens, called upon by the law to fulfil a sacred duty to their country.

The obligation of military service was made personal, not admitting of exemption by payment or substitution, and it became compulsory for the whole male population of a certain age capable of bearing arms; but, at the same time, the service was limited for everyone in time of peace to the smallest term necessary for military instruction, and the formation of trustworthy cadres, wherewith to complete the army in time of war.

In Russia general compulsory service replaced the recruiting system in 1874, and the chief principles on which it was established are as follows:—

All the male population capable of service, from the ages of 21 to 43, enter into the composition of the armed forces of the State. Some, however, belong to the regular, permanent troops, while others are counted as militia, *opoltschenie*, and are called out only in time of war, and then principally for service in the rear of the regular army.

The general term of service in the regular army is 18 years, 4 of which are passed with the colours, and 14 in the reserves, which correspond with the Prussian Landwehr.

It must be noted, however, that the term of active service is considerably diminished in proportion to the degree of education, the shortest being only one year.

Although military service is considered obligatory on everybody, nevertheless, in Russia, as in other States, a great many exemptions are made; as the full number of conscripts afforded by the whole population is not necessary to complete the cadres in time of peace. For instance, the cadres of the Russian army on a peace footing represent about 900,000 men, called out for 4 years; consequently  $\frac{1}{4}$  of that number, or 225,000 conscripts, are required annually; but in view of completely filling up the ranks of the army in case of war, the yearly contingent is fixed at 265,000 men. At the same time the population furnishes yearly 880,000 men of 21 years of age, which is three times the required number. Therefore the remaining  $\frac{2}{3}$  have to be relieved in some way or other from the duties of active service.

The principal ground for exemption is physical incapacity; and for this reason about 290,000 conscripts are made free of military service every year. In the next place, the privilege is granted for domestic reasons; as, for instance, in the case of an only son of a family, or an eldest son assisting his father when his brothers are unfit for work, etc.

By right of their vocation the clergy of christian religions are entirely exempt. Medical men, dispensing chemists, teachers etc. are at once included in the reserves for 18 years. Finally, a great many other persons are permitted to postpone their military service for physi-

cal and domestic reasons, and for the purpose of completing their education.

The remainder of superfluous conscripts are exempted by drawing lots.

Out of the yearly contingent of 265,000 men, about 6,000 are placed in the Navy; the remaining 259,000 being included in the regular land forces.

A special regulation regarding military service is applied to certain heterogeneous races at the Caucasus, who may pay a tax of money instead of furnishing conscripts. A special arrangement is also established for the Grand Duchy of Finland, according to which the term of service is only 3 years of active duty and 2 years in the reserve, while these troops are compelled to serve exclusively in the local army.

As to the peculiarities of military service among the Cossacks, we shall have occasion to refer to them in subsequent remarks.

The burden of military service is lighter for the population in Russia, than in other States, both in the proportion of the annual number of recruits and in respect to the vast immunities that in Russia are granted on family grounds. Thus of the male population of 21 years of age

	enter the service yearly, about:	are yearly exempt from serving	
		through incapacity, about:	on family grounds, about:
France . . . .	76 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	23 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	0 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
Germany . . . .	45 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	42 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	2 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
Austria . . . .	34 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	57 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	4 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
Russia . . . .	31 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	12 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	51 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>

## 2. The land forces.

All the land forces, according to the nature of service, are divided into regular troops, and Cossacks; and this permanent army is supplemented in case of war by the soldiers of the militia reserves, who are called out and organized into the formation units of the *opol'tchenie*.

Every unit of formation (regiment, battalion, battery, etc.) has two establishments, one for peace, and one for war. In time of peace only the cadres of the army are maintained, and from those the full strength of its organization is developed in wartime. As no state is in a position to maintain its army permanently on a war footing, all armies in time of peace do not represent more than  $\frac{1}{4}$ , or even  $\frac{1}{5}$ , of the entire armed strength of the country. At the same time, the greater the importance of certain parts of the army in time of war, the nearer their cadres approach to the war establishment in time of peace.

For this reason all units of formation are kept up in the field army or active troops, from the company and squadron to the army corps, and full staff of commanding officers and administration.

It, therefore, only becomes necessary in time of war to add about one half the rank and file and a small number of junior officers. In the reserve and fortress troops a much smaller proportion of the war establishment is maintained; and the reserve troops are only organized in time of war. The same differences in the cadres exist in other separate branches of the army. The peace establishment of the army is placed on a war

footing by means of mobilization. All officers and privates of the reserve are then called into the service. The requisite complement of horses is furnished by the population under compulsory regulations, and paid for out of the Exchequer. Finally, the additional material required for the full expansion of the army is supplied from the reserve stores, which are kept intact, and consist of material property representing the extra requirements of the war service as compared with the peace establishment.

The greater the strength of the cadres in time of peace, the quicker and more easily can the units of formation be mobilized, in other words, the fewer men and horses have to be added.

In Russia the cadres of the peace establishment amount in round figures to 860,000—900,000 men, which is more than in all other Continental States of Europe. In Germany, for instance, there are 599,000, in France 572,000, in Austria 335,000 and in Italy 222,000. But when the cadres in Russia are compared with the great distance and extension of her frontiers, one is inclined to call them comparatively restricted.

The field forces of various arms are united in the highest strategical unit,—the army corps. As a rule each corps consists of 2 infantry divisions and one cavalry division with the corresponding artillery. Rifle and sapper brigades are not included in the army corps. There are 22 army corps in all, 19 of which are composed of troops of the line; the remaining 3 being the corps of the Caucasus, the Grenadiers, and the Guards.

The Finnish troops, consisting of 9 rifle battalions and one dragoon regiment, receive their full complement of men on a special basis from among the local inhabitants, and are stationed in Finland. They are under the orders of a separate Commander of Finnish troops. The Guard Corps is specially remarkable for the complexity of its composition.

The Russian Guard was first formed in the time of Peter the Great from the Preobrajensky and Semenoffsky regiments, and gradually grew to the present number of 12 infantry and 12 cavalry regiments, 4 rifle battalions, a company, *sotnia*, of Ural Cossacks, 21 field, and 6 horse, artillery batteries, the detachment of guard marines, and a squadron of gendarmes of the Guard. All these troops enter into the composition of the Guard Corps, in addition to which the following are also included. HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY'S Body Guard of 2 squadrons of Cossacks from the Kuban and 2 squadrons from the Terek under the orders of the Commander of the Imperial Military Household; a company of Grenadiers of the palace under control of the Minister of the Imperial Court; a life-guard sapper battalion, and reserve detachments.

Such is the composition of the regular forces, to which, as we see, are attached certain regiments and batteries of Cossacks, who, by virtue of the character of their service, belong to the irregular troops.

As regards the latter their origin must be referred to a very remote time.

It is well known that a numerous military popula-



tion gradually appeared on the south and south-eastern confines of Russia under the name of Cossacks.

The word «Cossack» is Turkish, and means a «free man,» a «free lance». The first Cossacks were settlers of various races on the river Dnieper. When Russia, after the invasion of the Tartars under Battuiy in the XIII century, became divided into Moscovy and Russian Lithuania, a great many inhabitants of the present Little-Russian provinces, having lost their country, retired to the islands of the Dnieper, guarded by rocks, impassable reeds and swamps. Here they welcomed every one who was oppressed, and in general all refugees from all countries and peoples. Out of this free population in the region of the Dnieper gradually arose a martial christian society or knighthood, calling themselves «Cherkess», and subsequently «Cossacks». They soon became divided into two castes, — married men, and bachelors. The married Cossacks settled throughout Little Russia and the Ukraine, where they took to agriculture, and became a kind of Polish nobility. This helped the Polish government in its efforts to bring the Cossacks under subjection. Accordingly, at the end of the XVI century, under Stephan Bathory, a decree was issued, which created a body of free Cossacks of 6000 families from among the population of the Ukraine, with the right of electing their own Colonels, but with dependence upon the Hetman of the Crown. Thus the Cossacks were to be transformed into a small force of militia; and those, who did not enter its ranks, were reduced to serfdom. But this reform did not completely

succeed. Besides the Cossacks recognized by the government, there appeared other free and independent Cossacks, who retired to inaccessible islands beyond the rapids of the Dnieper, where they constructed a fortress called the *Syetch*.

To the military society formed in this way they gave the name of *Kosha*, which means a «camp». Entry into the association was entirely free, the only necessary condition being a profession of the Orthodox faith. The life of the association was based on the complete equality of its members and self government. The members were divided into groups called *koorien*, a kind of fellowship of persons, coming from the same country or district. Each *koorien* chose an ataman, and the chief of the entire association was the elected Ataman of the *kosha*, aided by assistants, military judges, clerks and captains. The life of these Zaporogian Cossacks was distinguished by remarkable simplicity. Its most prominent feature was celibacy. The introduction of women into the *Syetch* was forbidden under penalty of death. Owing to the proximity of the Tartars, it was impossible for these Cossacks to engage in agriculture; and therefore their only occupations, besides war, was hunting and fishing. At the outset they all lived together in the *Syetch*, each *koorien* having its own tent of tree branches covered with horse skins. The members of each *koorien* kept house in common, with a common table. Order was preserved within the *Syetch* by severe discipline. Theft, committed within the bounds of the association, was punishable by death. Disputes and quar-

rels among its members were prohibited. These features, of course, obtained only during the first period of its existence, and were subsequently very much changed.

At first the principal force of the *Syetch* was directed in the South against the Crimean Tartars and the Turks. But Poland fearing war with Turkey tried to put a stop to the raids of the Zaporogians, whereupon the latter turned against Poland itself. This movement was strengthened by the reinforcement of serfdom in the Ukraine, and the introduction of the Uniate Church, which caused the population of the lower Dnieper to escape and join the ranks of the Zaporogians, who finally became the champions of the national religion against the Uniates and Catholics, when their Hetman Konashevitch Sagaidatchny succeeded, at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in establishing an Orthodox Hierarchy. Here were henceforth organized all the revolts against Poland, which ended in the liberation of Little Russia, at the time of Bogdan Khmelnitsky, and its transfer to the power of Moscow. At the same time the *Syetch* recognized the Tsar of Moscow, but would not submit to the Hetman of Little Russia, although he called himself Hetman of the Zaporogian troops. Nevertheless, in the following years these troops took part in all the seditious movements of Little Russia down to the reign of Peter the Great. In spite of the warning of that Emperor, the Zaporogian Cossacks lent their assistance, in 1709, to Charles XII. For this defection the *Syetch* was stormed and captured by the Russians, and the Zaporogians were forbidden to enter Russia. They then took

service of the Khan of the Crimea, although, at the same time, they made efforts towards a reconciliation with Russia. These efforts led to no result until the reign of the Empress Anna Ioanovna, when the Zaporogians were permitted to form a new *Syetch*, not far from the former one; but there was no stability in this new establishment on account of continual disorders, and the anxiety which it gave to the Government. The Zaporogian Cossacks were still indispensable to Russia, as long as she was threatened by danger from the side of the Khan of the Crimea. The latter was much weakened by the wars of 1769—1774, and finally conquered by Russia. In 1775 Russian troops occupied the *Syetch*, and the Zaporogian Cossacks were suppressed. Some of them fled to Turkey, and organized a *Syetch* in the Dobroodja, which existed till 1828. Those who remained in Russia, were in 1783 formed into the troops of the Black Sea.

As regards those of the Little Russian Cossacks who did not belong to the *Syetch*, they were very numerous as early as the time of Bogdan Khmel'nitsky, and formed no less than 34 regiments. At the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century there were only ten regiments left, and these were reformed in 1783 into Carabiniers. Such in Russian history was the remarkable appearance of the Western Cossacks, who have now ceased to exist.

The most numerous and also the oldest body of existing Cossack troops are those of the Don. They grew into a military society at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century from among refugees from all parts of Russia,

principally Cossacks of Riazan; and in 1570 these troops received a charter from John the Terrible. At first the Don Cossacks, like the Zaparogians, led a free life, and submitted to no authority. Even after they had submitted to Russia, their freedom was by no means put an end to, especially during the seditious period of 1612, when they made a raid to plunder Moscow. From the time of Peter the Great, however, the Cossack troops of the Don have frequently shown examples of their loyalty and affection, particularly in 1812—1814, under the leadership of Count Platoff.

In the XVI and partly in the XVII century fresh emigrants from the Ukraine and the Don formed the Volga, Yaik, Astrakhan, and Greben Cossacks troops; and the survivors of the Cossack bands of Yermak, who conquered Siberia in 1581, became the progenitors of the Siberian Cossacks.

The significance of the eastern Cossacks consisted in the strong barrier which they constituted against the invasion of Russia by the peoples and hordes of Asia. Continuous fighting developed in them a martial spirit, inured them to hardship, gave them a special aptitude for outpost duty, and in general made of the Cossacks the most suitable troops for so-called minor, or partisan, warfare.

In course of time the greater part of the Cossack troops lost their original importance; but the Government has always endeavoured to preserve their military organization and martial spirit for the purpose of reinforcing the regular army with cavalry and thus curtailing the regular contingent of this expensive branch of the ser-

vice. At the present time the Cossacks population of the Empire occupy several extensive territories, and comprise 11 different bodies of Cossack troops. These are, reckoning from west to east, the Don, Kooban, Terek, Astrakhan, Ural, Orenburg, Semiretchie, Siberian, Transbaikal, Amoor and Oossoory-Cossacks. The most numerous are those of the Don, Kooban and Orenburg.

The fundamental idea of the present regulations of military service, which is obligatory service for the entire male population,—has been the chief rule for the Cossacks from the earliest times. They all possess definite and considerable allotments of land, and enjoy various privileges, in return for which one and all are bound to serve as soldiers.

Each body of Cossacks has its own service constituent and militia reserve. The service constituent is divided into 3 kinds, namely, the preparatory, active and reserve, troops. Cossacks from 18 to 21 years of age are reckoned in the preparatory contingent, and from 21 till 33 in the active troops. Active service, however, lasts only 4 years, during which the Cossacks thus serving are reckoned in the 1<sup>st</sup> category. They must provide their own uniforms, equipment, and horses.

At 33 years old the Cossacks pass into the reserve, and after 38 into the militia reserve, *opolchenie*.

The Commander in Chief of all the Cossack troops, with the title of Ataman, is the Heir Apparent Cesarevitch. Each separate Cossack body is under the immediate command of a Deputy Ataman, who also governs the local civil administration. Wherever there is a Governor

General, the above title belongs to him, and special deputy atamans act under his orders.

In time of war the various Cossack populations furnish: His MAJESTY'S Body Guard, 146 cavalry regiments, 39 separate squadrons, 20½ infantry, or, so-called, platoon battalions, and 38 horse artillery batteries, representing the regulation total of 176,000 rank and file. In peace only one third of these regiments, battalions and batteries are in service, the rest being allowed the privilege of exemption.

The irregular cavalry also include besides Cossack, other variously named bodies of troops formed among the native races of the Caucasus, and the Transcaspian region. Some of these perform principally local service and have no permanent or uniform organization. Of this character are the Dagestan cavalry regiment, the militia regiments of the Kooban, Terek, Dagestan, Kars, and Batoon; and the division of irregular cavalry of Turkoman.

### 3. Organization of Military Administration.

Supreme command over all the military forces of the Empire is concentrated in the person of His MAJESTY the Emperor.

The indications of the Supreme power in relation to the land forces are carried out by the Minister of War, to whom is subordinate the administration of Military circuits in their respective localities, having the management both of the troops, and all establishments, necessary for the army and defence of the State.

Next in order below the administration of circuits

come the command of the troops in formation and the management of military establishments, that is to say, separate branches of military administration.

The command of the troops in formation is so simple, that it scarcely needs any description. It naturally follows from the very character of military service that the command is here invested always in one person, who is responsible for the particular formation of troops under his control; such persons being commanders of companies, squadrons, battalions, regiments, brigades, divisions, and army corps.

In regard to the military circuits, of which there are altogether 13,\* these, as already stated, are territorial units, in which command over all the troops is also concentrated in the hands of one person, commanding the troops of the circuit.

But as the duties of this officer are very complicated, and concern not only the management of the troops, but every branch of military administration, it becomes necessary to have a great many institutions and establishments, each having its own circle of authority, under the general guidance of the commander of the troops. Therefore, in every circuit there is first of all a circuit Staff, and then circuit departments of the commissariat, of artillery, engineers, and medicine, and a circuit court martial. There is also a Military Council of the circuit, which is the highest institution for matters

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\* Namely: St. Petersburg, Finland, Vilna, Warsaw, Kief, Odessa, Moscow, Kazan, Caucasus, Toorkistan, Omsk, Irkootsk and Pri-Amoorsk. On this basis is administered the Transcaspian region and on a special basis the Territory of the Don Cossacks.



of military economy within the circuit, and is composed of all the chiefs of separate departments and one representative of the Minister of War, under the presidency of the Commander of the troops or his assistant.

The relation of the circuit administration to the circuit is the same as that of the Ministry of War to the whole Empire; directing, as the latter does, the action of all local organs and superintending all branches of military administration.

At the head of the Ministry is the Minister of War. He reports to the Emperor on all matters of military administration, signs Imperial orders, and announces the commands of the Tsar to the military authorities.

The Ministry itself is composed of several parts, differing in rights and organization. It contains two superior institutions, called the Military Council, and the Chief Military Court of Justice. The Military Council discusses all legislative matters and the more important affairs relating to economical administration. In matters of legislation concerning only military jurisdiction, the resolutions of the Council are submitted directly to the inspection of the Emperor. Other resolutions are placed before the Council of State. Economical questions are decided, for the most part, by the Military Council on its own authority. The Council is directly subordinate to the Supreme power, and assembles under the presidency of the Minister of War.

Attached to the Military Council are two superior Committees, one of Military Codification, for the inves-

tigation of legislative questions,\* and the other of Military Sanitation.

Another superior institution of the Ministry is the Chief Military Court of Justice, which acts as a Court of Appeal, and also examines the projects of laws relating to courts martial in general.

The remaining central institutions of the Ministry of War are of a bureaucratic character. First of all in this category comes the Grand Staff, in which are concentrated matters relating to the personal composition and completion of the ranks of the army, its organization, instruction, distribution, and economy. Then comes the Chancery, or Office, for matters which are decided directly by the Minister, and for the work of the Military Council. For separate parts of military administration there are several superior departements, similar to those of the military circuits, namely: 1, Commissariat, 2, Artillery, 3, Engineer, and 4, Military Medical Departments, 5, Military Educational Department, controlling all military educational establishments, besides the Academies, Officers' schools, special and Younger schools which are subordinate to the Grand Staff, or corresponding superior departments of artillery, etc., 6, Superior Department of administration of Cossack troops, and 7, Superior Department of military Justice, under the authority of the Military *Procuror*, which is something like a Ministry of Military Justice and which superintends all *procurors* and courts.

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\* The military laws and regulations are published in a special code of 6 parts and 24 volumes.

As the command of the army is concentrated in the person of the Emperor, an institution is attached to HIS MAJESTY for the purpose of taking his personal orders, and of carrying out special instructions. This institution is the Imperial Military Household, or Staff, which is composed of its Commander, all Adjutants General and Generals of HIS MAJESTY's suite, aides-de-camp, and several other officers constituting the war staff of the Emperor. The Imperial Staff also includes an Office, and HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY's Convoy, or Body Guard. The duties of the Commander include all arrangements for journeys of the Emperor, for distribution of the members of the Imperial Staff, and for their supply of provisions. When the Minister of War is not in attendance on the Emperor while travelling, the Commander of the Imperial Staff receives the orders of HIS MAJESTY on military matters, and reports them to the Minister of War.

The military administration has to do with such a great number of people and their multifarious requirements, that a complete system has to be organized for the satisfaction of their peculiar wants and necessities. It is enough to mention that about a fourth of the Budget (288,000,000 roubles) is absorbed by military expenditure.

First and foremost, of course, are the arrangements for victualling the hundreds of thousands of persons composing the army; and for this purpose a sufficient quantity of provisions and fodder must be prepared. This is no easy matter. Prices are often so high

in consequence of bad harvests, that the Commissariat authorities are put to considerable trouble and have to make purchases through their own special commissioners, instead of from the usual contractors. At the same time, the slightest difference in price makes an essential difference in the total of about 40,000,000 roubles worth of provisions, and 16,000,000 roubles worth of fodder. The fluctuation in price is often very considerable. In 1881, for instance, provisions were twice as dear as in 1888.

Provisions prepared by the Intendant, or Commissariat, authorities are kept in special warehouses. A very large quantity has to be stored in reserve in the frontier districts in case of mobilization; and there is great difficulty in keeping it always fresh. As flour in particular soon spoils by keeping, a portion of the bread stuff is stored in the grain, and converted into flour and bread as required in military steam flour mills and baking ovens on the spot.

The preparation of clothing, boots, etc. is not less difficult, when it is considered that the expenditure for this purpose exceeds 20,000,000 roubles annually. But besides this, there are the paramount requirements of the troops in weapons, cannon, ammunition, etc.

After the war with Turkey in 1877—1878, all the materials and the armament of the troop was found to be either useless, or very imperfect. The late Emperor Alexander III, who was convinced of this, devoted the whole of his reign to the reorganization and rearmament of the fortresses, the rearmament of the

troops, the improvement of their instruction in formation drill, etc.\*

It will suffice to note that the ordinary assignment for improvements in artillery amounts in Russia to 11,000,000 roubles. For the rearmament of the troops with the latest pattern of rifle from 23 to 34 million roubles have been allotted during the latter years.

It is impossible to order rifles and shells from private factories, as such factories either do not exist or, at any rate, are very few. There are some articles of which the manufacture, in the interests of the State, cannot be entrusted to private persons, such as the new rifle of the latest pattern, smokeless powder, etc. Therefore the military authorities must maintain factories and arsenals of their own, and independently conduct the complicated administration of such establishments. There are three such rifle factories, the most celebrated of which is at Toola; also the St. Petersburg Artillery Factory, 3 powder and pyroxaline factories, cartridge and rocket factories, and 3 arsenals at St. Petersburg, Briansk and Kief respectively.

The engineer authorities have equally complicated work to perform, such as, the construction of fortresses, barracks and, so-called, strategical roads. The Ministry of War has also constructed entire lines of railway, like that of the Transcaspian, which is still under the direction of the military authorities. Even the civil administration of certain regions is under the control of the

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\* The introduction of this reform was superintended during the whole reign of the late Monarch, by General Vannofsky, Minister of War.

Ministry of War, especially in territories close to the Central Asian frontiers, such as the Transcaspien, Toorkistan and Trans-Bykal provinces, and also where the population consists principally of Cossacks, as on the Don, the Terek and the Kooban. Consequently, very extensive and varied knowledge is required of those serving in the military administration, and this necessitates the existence of an entire system of military education.

In the first place the moral, as well as fighting, qualities of the army depend to a very great extent upon good officers and non-commissioned officers; but this is not enough. The recruits can hardly become good soldiers without at least some rudimentary instruction; and in this respect the military service becomes a powerful aid to national education, especially in States where this is very little developed. In Russia about 75 per cent of the conscripts are totally unable to read or write. In other words, out of 265,000 men drafted into the army every year, 200,000 are in this state of utter ignorance. On entering the army they are taught to read and write in their respective companies and squadrons. They are instructed in elementary information necessary to every private, which consists in a knowledge of certain prayers, of the meaning of the soldier's calling, the oath, the flag, the titles of the members of the Imperial Family, etc.; so that compulsory military service converts 200,000 of the population every year into men able to read and write.

Some of the more capable soldiers are sent into

the company schools, where they learn arithmetic, as well as reading and writing.

For the purpose of preparing privates to become non-commissioned officers, each regiment has an «educational command», or detachment.

Finally, in addition to the position of non-commissioned officer, there are other auxiliary duties devolving upon members of the rank and file, which also require a certain amount of preparation and instruction, such as those of the regimental scribe, or *feldsher*, assistant surgeon, etc.; for which there are a large number of special schools. In the Cossack provinces the Ministry of War has introduced military trade schools.

The establishments in which young men are prepared to be officers are divided into 3 categories. In some of them elementary education is given to the degree necessary only for service in separate branches of the army. These are the Younker schools of the infantry, cavalry, and Cossacks. In other establishments, or, so-called, military schools, the instruction in military science is on a more extensive scale. Of these there are two for infantry, two for artillery, and one each for the cavalry and engineer troops and military topographers.

Preparatory instruction for admission into the military schools is given in 23 corps of cadets, with a course of study lasting 7 years, and partaking of the character of the education in modern gymnasiums.\*

Among this number of Cadet Corps there are two,

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\* Modern gymnasiums, as distinguished from classic gymnasiums, are those where no classics are taught.

namely, the Imperial Corps of Pages, and the Finnish Corps, — which possess the addition of special classes taking the place of the military schools. The Corps of Pages educates children of persons, who have served the State, and they generally leave that establishment to take service in the guards.

The third category of military educational establishment comprises the military academies for furnishing officers with the highest class of education necessary in special branches of the service. The first of these is the Nicholas Academy of the Grand Staff, with its geodesical section; after which rank the Michael Artillery-, and the Nicholas Engineer,-Academies, and the Academy of Military Jurisprudence. Superior officers, who have served several years, are admitted into the Academies on examination. The course of study lasts 2 or 3 years, with a supplementary course. For the preparation of officers for service on the Eastern confines of the Empire there is an officers' course of study in oriental languages of 3 years duration, in connection with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Besides the educational institutions above enumerated, 3 schools have lately been established for giving officers a perfect knowledge of the various arms of the service, and for preparing them to occupy independent posts among the troops of formation. These are the Rifle and Cavalry Schools, and the Artillery School for practice in firing, with a fortress section. The Cavalry School also trains expert non-commissioned officers as riders and smiths. Among the engineer troops the officers'



electrotechnical class plays, to some extent, the part of a school for officers.

The following are the regulation numbers in the above-mentioned institutions.

In 23 corps of cadets* . . . . .	8,135 men.
In 14 Younker schools . . . . .	3,590 »
In 7 military schools . . . . .	2,045 »
In 4 schools for officers . . . . .	270 »
In 4 Academies together with the class for oriental languages . . . . .	509 »

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14,549 men.

In 1893—2,372 young men left these institutions with the rank of officers; and as the diminution in the number of officers during that year was not more than 1,651, the military educational institutions, in this respect, are fully capable of satisfying the demand.

The total expenditure of the Ministry of War on military education amounts to 9,000,000 roubles.

The enormous numbers of the army give rise to two more military questions, namely, the preservation of the health of the troops, and the care of invalids.

The average number of sick in the army during the last few years has been about 25,000 men daily. For their care and treatment there are 25 permanent hospitals, and 165 lazarettos with altogether 28,000 beds. In places where no lazarettos exist, they are organized among the troops themselves. In the event of war, this

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\* Besides these there is a school (in Volsk) for inefficient cadets, and (in Irkootsk and Khabarovsk) 2 preparatory schools for qualifying the sons of local officers for the Omsk Cadet Corps.

accommodation for the sick is considerably increased by the addition of field and fortress hospitals, the ambulances of the Red Cross Society, etc.

The one deficiency which makes itself felt is the inadequate number of doctors, chemists, veterinaries, and *feldshers*, or assistant surgeons, although the military authorities have their own Academy of Military Medicine for 750 students, and schools for assistant surgeons, or *feldshers*.

On the other hand, the general sanitary condition of the troops is much better than in former years. In the «forties» of the present century the rate of mortality in the army was every year as much as 37 per 1000. It has ever since continued to decline, and in 1892, in spite of cholera, there were not more than 9 deaths to the 1000. But it still stands higher than in other European States, as, for instance, in Germany, where in 1880 and the following years the death rate was not much more than 3 per 1000.

A few words must here be added in reference to the benevolent institutions of the military authorities.

The chief establishment of this character is the Alexander Committee for the wounded, founded in 1814 with the object of protecting officers and privates wounded in battle or otherwise in the exercise of their duties. This Committee is under the presidency of the Grand Duke Mihail Nicolaivitch, and its protection consists, for the most part, in granting pensions out of the capital for invalids; besides which it places the wounded in military asylums, procures them various occupations, and

also pecuniary assistance for hiring apartments, for servants, and for the cure of their wounds, etc.

The asylums of the Alexander Committee are very numerous. The most important is the Chesma Asylum in St. Petersburg for 476 inmates, and that of Ismail at Moscow for 458. As regards size these rank next to the celebrated Hôtel des Invalides at Paris for 5000 inmates, and are larger than the homes for invalids in Berlin and Vienna. Next comes the Lopookhin Asylum for invalids in the district of Porkhoff, Government of Pskoff, for 50 men, and a number of separate houses in commemoration of various persons or events, as well as several small houses of charity not under the control of the Alexander Committee.

But the concern of the Government for its invalid soldiers is not confined to placing them in hospitals and asylums. Many privates receive help from the exchequer at the rate of 3 roubles per month, and some are placed under the care of trustworthy persons who are paid a certain remuneration.

#### 4. The Naval forces.

The creation of the Russian navy was initiated by Peter the Great. In 1688, while inspecting the flax barn of his great grandfather Nikita Ivanovitch Romanoff in the village of Ismailofsky near Moscow, he noticed among a quantity of old things a boat, which that boyar had received as a present from certain Englishmen, and which had been used for pleasure trips on the water by the Tsar Alexey Mihailovitch. The old boat was re-

paired by a Dutchman, named Karston Brandt, and launched on the Yaoosa. Peter watched the power of the sail and the action of the rudder with enthusiasm. He then ordered the construction of several vessels on the lake of Pereyaslaf, where he himself worked with an ax, and soon fitted out quite a flotilla. Subsequently, in 1693—1694, Peter saw some English ships for the first time at Archangel, and became possessed of the idea of creating a fleet for the purpose of more convenient communication with Europe. The first sea-going vessels were built on the Northern Dvina, whence the Tsar sailed on the yacht «St. Peter» into the White Sea, and visited the island of Solovetsk. On the return voyage the vessel was nearly lost in a terrific storm; but Peter was not alarmed. At the same time he began the construction of a fleet at the other end of his Empire. He visited Voroneje and ascertained that there was an abundant supply of timber for ship-building in the neighbourhood, and that the river Voroneje was navigable. Thereupon, stocks were laid down, and vessels were built with great success in the presence of the Emperor himself. By the spring of 1696 the newly created fleet comprising one large vessel, 2 fire ships, 23 galleys, and a few dozens of Cossack boats, was able to blockade the mouth of the Don against the Turks, and cooperate in the capture of Azoff. Having thus proved the utility of a fleet, the idea of increasing it never left Peter's mind. During his visit to Holland (1697—1698), he learned ship building in practice while working as a carpenter. In England he acquired theoretical information, and

widened his views on the maritime power of the State. But, meanwhile, the Tsar did not forget Voroneje, and often sent instructions there. Unfortunately the vessels built at Voroneje and other southern wharfs did not last long on account of the bad quality of the timber used in their construction; and the final blow was given to this fleet by the campaign on the Prout, in 1711, when Russia lost Azoff by the treaty of peace. The flotilla of the Caspian remained, and took part in all our wars with Persia. On the other hand, our fleet in the north continued to develop. In 1702 the Emperor issued an ukas for a vessel to be built on the Syas «for defence, and for repulse of the enemy's, Swedish, troops». Later, in 1703, the first sailing frigate of the Baltic fleet, «the Standard», was built in Olonets on the river Svir, and subsequently, several other vessels were constructed here. In the same year two Swedish ships with 18 guns were boarded and captured at the mouth of the Neva by the bombardier Captain Peter. This was the first action of the young Baltic fleet; and Captain Peter and Lieutenant Menstchikoff were rewarded with the order of Saint Andrew. Soon after this victory the city of St. Petersburg was founded; and here the work of ship-building on the new stocks was greatly increased. At first the Baltic fleet acted exclusively on the defensive; but in 1708 it made a descent with a landing party on Borgo, and subsequently rendered valuable support to the land forces at the capture of the fortress of Viborg. At the same time, the building, arming, and equipment of ships went on rapidly under the direct supervision of

the Tsar at Olonets, New Ladoga, St. Petersburg, and Archangel; and several vessels were purchased in England and Holland.

We will not expatiate further on the success of the Baltic fleet during the Northern War, which came to a close with the peace of Nystad in 1721; although that success was very remarkable in view of the fact that the Baltic fleet, from its very cradle, so to speak, entered into a contest with the fleet of an enemy representing then a first class naval power, and sustained it with honour for more than 19 years. When Peter died in 1725, Russia had 3 ports in the Baltic sea,—St. Petersburg, Cronstadt and Reval; and employed her own shipwrights and workmen in shipbuilding. Irrespective of the vessels from Voroneje, which had become useless, there were as many as 100 vessels on the Caspian, and 40 ships of the line, 10 frigates, and about 100 smaller craft and galleys in the Baltic.

The first captains were foreigners, principally Dutchmen; but in order to educate Russians to be captains and officers, Peter sent young noblemen for several years of practical instruction to England, Holland, France, Italy, and Venice. With the same object he established a school of mathematics and navigation in the Sookhareff Tower at Moscow, and a Naval Academy at St. Petersburg for 300 men.

The power and importance of our navy declined under Peter's more immediate successors, and it was not before Catherine II that Russia became a first class naval power. As soon as she ascended the throne the

Empress appointed the Heir Apparent Cesarevitch — General Admiral, and then laid down fixed regulations for the peace and war establishments of the navy, the guiding principle of which was, «that the Russian fleet «should not only be equal to each of the fleets of Denmark and Sweden, but more powerful in the number «of ships of the line.» We will not enumerate the victories of the Russian fleet under Catherine the Great: those of Chesma, Otchakoff, Hochland and Rotchensalm have covered it with unfading glory. In relation to the development of our maritime power, the establishment of a fleet in the Black Sea played a specially important role. After the subjugation of the Crimea, in 1783, Catherine considered the organization of that fleet as her first duty. The chief port of the Black Sea was established at Sebastopol, and in 1787 the Empress was greeted there with the thunder of the guns of the new fleet, which soon afterwards gained several brilliant victories over the Turks. The successor of Catherine II, the Emperor Paul, as General-Admiral devoted much labour and thought to the development and organization of the navy. In 1797 new statutes were issued, which required the fleet to consist of 12 ships of 100 guns, 36 — of 74 guns, 12 — of 66 guns, and of 45 frigates, besides other smaller vessels.

Under Alexander I this regulation number was somewhat curtailed, because, in reality, there were far fewer vessels, than appeared on paper; but, at the same time, improvements were made in naval construction, in the training of pilots, and in naval artillery; and subsequently,

a special flotilla was established in the sea of Okhotsk, (now the Siberian flotilla). It must also be mentioned that steamboats began to be built in 1817. Then for the first time Russian ships began to circumnavigate the world. Krusenstern made the first voyage of the kind in the schooner «Hope», in 1803—1806; voyages for scientific purposes also increased (Kotzebue, 1815—1818; Kotzebue and Lenz, 1823—1826; Bellingshausen, 1819—1821). On the accession of Nicholas I, naval construction was further developed. After the glorious battle of Navarenn (1827) that Emperor desired to «place the «maritime power of the Empire on a sound basis, and «more in keeping with the condition of one of the leading fleets of Europe;» and in fact towards the end of the «forties» our war navy comprised 120 battle ships of different classes, distributed in all seas, but principally in the Baltic and Black Sea.

But unfortunately for Russia in 1853 began the Crimean War: though it proved the heroism of our sailors at Sinope and in the defence of Sebastopol, the treaty of Paris (1856) deprived Russia of the right of maintaining a fleet on the Black Sea, with the exception of the smallest vessels for purposes of defence. The Baltic fleet remained, and was the object of special attention. In 1863 the construction of ironclad ships began in Russia under the direction of the General-Admiral, the Grand Duke Constantine Nicolaievitch, whose object was to render the building of iron and ironclad vessels from the very beginning independent of foreigners. The entire Admiralty was completely rebuilt; new



slips and workshops were constructed, and entirely new works sprang into existence. From 1861 a complete revolution was also effected in naval artillery. The old breach-loading cannon gradually gave place to the modern breach-loading rifled guns. At first, the Naval authorities were obliged to resort in this matter to the assistance of Krupp; but subsequently, on the establishment of the Obookhoff Works, this necessity was obviated.

As regards the Black Sea fleet, in 1871 Russia threw off the restriction imposed upon her by the Paris treaty. Unfortunately, when soon afterwards the war with Turkey broke out (1877—1878), the Black Sea fleet consisted of only two vessels for coast defence (the Popofkas) an Imperial yacht, 9 schooners, 20 different steamboats and 4 floating batteries. Nevertheless, the exploits of Baranoff, Doobassoff, Shestakoff, Skridloff and others, had the effect of restraining the powerful fleet of Turkey from all action throughout the war.

During the reign of the late Emperor Alexander III the development of our fleet in the Baltic, and the resuscitation of the fleet in the Black Sea made rapid progress under the direction of the new Great Admiral the Grand Duke Alexey Alexandrovitch with the help of the Marine Ministers the Admirals Shestakoff and Tchikhatchoff. Beginning with 1881 a large number of ironclads and cruisers were built, and also torpedo boats, which were first introduced in Russia in 1878. In 1885 the statutes of the navy, and the superior regulations of the administration of the naval authorities were revised. At the present time our war fleet consists of 6 Imperial yachts,

15 squadron ironclads, 23 ironclads for coast defence, 23 cruisers, 66 torpedo cruisers and other torpedo vessels, 25 gunboats, 4 training ships, and 97 torpedo boats, without counting transports and harbour vessels of various kinds.\* In point of numbers, Russia now occupies the third place among European nations after Great Britain and France, as Italy and Germany are only superior to Russia in the matter of torpedo vessels, their ironclads and cruisers being less in number.

A perfectly peculiar position is occupied by our Volunteer Fleet, which in time of peace is engaged in purely commercial work. This fleet sprang into existence in 1878, when the threats of war gave rise to the collection of subscriptions for the acquisition of fast-going steamers, capable of being employed as cruisers. Money, beginning with kopeks and ending with hundreds of thousands of roubles, began to flow in rapidly; and by September 1878, the subscriptions already exceeded 3 million roubles. This sum was at once employed in purchasing 3 ocean steamers, which were then included in the war fleet. When the danger had passed those 3 steamers were returned to the Committee of the Volunteer Fleet and engaged in transporting our troops from Turkey. In 1880—1881 the steamers of the Volunteer Fleet again formed part of the War fleet, joining the Pacific squadron in view of political difficulties with China. With exception of these two occasions, the

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\* Vessels at present in the course of construction: 3 squadron ironclads, 1 ironclad for coast defence, 4 cruisers, 21 torpedo cruisers and other torpedo vessels, 2 gunboats and 1 training ship.

activity of the Volunteer Fleet has been entirely of a commercial character. At present it consists of 9 steamers, and 4 in construction, several of which represent the very latest improvements and inventions in naval science, and will bear comparison with the best cruisers of other nations. These steamers carry on a regular mail, commercial, and passenger, service between St. Petersburg, Odessa and the ports of the Pacific, and also with Kamtchatka and the Sea of Okhotsk, for which the Government grants a subsidy.

#### Administration of the navy.

The administration of the navy, in its system of general organization, closely resembles that of the army. In the navy, as well as the army, a distinction must be drawn between the management of vessels and the effective force of the fleet, and the administration of naval institutions, connected with definite localities. The unit of formation is each ship separately, with its commander, one superior, and several junior, officers.

The ships, together with their officers and men, are brought together in *equipages*, or crews of 900 to 1100 men, each under the orders of the commander of the most important vessel of the group.

The *equipages* of the Baltic Fleet are 18 in number, excluding the Guard *Equipage* under the chief of the Naval Staff. The Black Sea Fleet form 7 *equipages*; besides which, there are *equipages* for the local flotillas of the Caspian Sea and Siberia.

These *equipages* of the fleet are united in divisions under the command of flag officers. There are 2 such

divisions in the Baltic, and 1 on the Black Sea. In addition, the vessels sent to the Pacific compose the Pacific squadron under a special flag officer.

The Military ports, of which there are 9, are local institutions of the fleet. The principal are: Cronstadt, St. Petersburg, and Nicholaief, and 6 ports of the second class — Reval, Sveaborg, Sebastopol, Batoom, Baku and Vladivostock. On the Caspian there is the naval station of Astrabad, and at Libau a military avant-port.

As a military harbour Cronstadt occupies the chief position in the Empire. It protects the entrance to the mouth of the Neva by numerous batteries, and guards the safety of the capital.

Of great importance among the other ports is that of Sveaborg, with its unapproachable rocks, and narrow entrances from the Finnish Gulf into the harbour of Helsingfors; and also Sebastopol, with its glorious reputation of heroic defence against the allies in the Crimean War. Sebastopol, which possesses one of the finest roadsteads in the world, was made an exclusively military harbour in 1892 for the war ships of the Black Sea. Vladivostock also has excellent roadsteads sheltered from the winds.

In the matter of administration, Cronstadt and Nicholaief are on a special footing.

The flag officers of the Baltic are subordinate to the Commander in Chief of the port of Cronstadt, and the Black Sea Fleet, and all the ports of the Black Sea, to the Commander in Chief of Nicholaief. These officers may, therefore, be compared with the commanders of the

military circuits of the land forces. For economical purposes the military ports are the centres of equipment and victualling of the fleet, although, in the strictest sense, this position belongs only to the principal ports, and to Sebastopol and Vladivostock, among those of the second class. In all these ports there are provision and clothing stores, and reserve material for artillery and marine mining operations, etc. There are port offices for managing economical matters; and for ship-building, the fitting of machinery, all kinds of submarine mining, constructive and hydraulic work, there are building stocks, docks, workshops, and a large number of occupations carried on by ship-wrights and others. At Cronstadt there is a special steamship works, and at St. Petersburg a factory for manufacturing pyroxaline. Finally, the ports superintend the general sanitary conditions of the fleet by means of medical inspectors and hospitals, the latter being of various dimensions, according to the size and importance of the port. There are 5 hospitals, with altogether 2,370 beds, besides which, many of the ports have lazarettos and medical wards for the reception of patients. The officials at the ports also control the shore lighthouses and floating signals, life-saving stations, and warning, or, so-called, directing signals.

Besides all kinds of workshops and factories at the ports, the Naval authorities also possess separate factories, namely, the Admiralty, the Ijora, and the Baltic Ship-building and Mechanical Works, and the Obookhoff Steel Works.

The superior administration of the Navy is sub-

ordinate to the Ministry of Marine, which has taken the place of the former Admiralty Board. Its organization is somewhat different from that of the other Ministries, inasmuch as, although the head of it is a Director with the rights of a Minister, the supreme control belongs not to him, but to the General-Admiral, at present the Grand Duke Alexey Alexandrovitch, who is the chief authority over the Navy and the Admiralty. In this capacity His Imperial Highness presides over the Admiralty Council, of which the Director of the Ministry is only vice-president.

The Council of the Admiralty considers projects of new laws and regulations for the Navy, besides those concerning the Naval Court, and projects of new regulations, regarding technical and naval construction, economical matters, etc.

The projects touching matters of naval construction and technical questions, are submitted directly from the Council to the Emperor for Imperial confirmation, while projects of regulations, regarding the numerical establishment and pecuniary estimates of the Navy, are first submitted to the Council of State. Other questions are decided independently by the Admiralty Council.\*

Another institution is the chief Naval Court, which has a sphere of jurisdiction similar to that of the Chief Military Court of the Army. At Cronstadt, Nicholaief, and Vladivostock there are Courts of first instance.

Then follow:

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\* The laws concerning the Navy are published in a special Code of Naval Orders.

## ADMINISTRATION OF THE NAVY.

1, The Chief Naval Staff, at the head of which is the Assistant to the Director of the Ministry of Marine, in all that concerns the discipline and fighting readiness of the Fleet;

2, The Chief Hydrographical Department, controlling all measures for securing the safety of navigation;

3, The Chief Department of Naval Construction and Equipment;

4, The Naval Technical Committee;

5, The Chancery, or Office;

6, The Department of the Chief Medical Inspector of the Fleet;

7, The Administration of the Chief Naval Court, under the management of the Chief Naval *Procuror*;

8, The Section of the «Emeritus» Savings Bank of the Navy; and

9, the Archives.

For the maintenance of the Fleet and the Ministry of Marine the sum of about 58,000,000 roubles is allotted annually.

As in the Army, the Navy also has its educational and benevolent institutions.

Elementary instruction of sailor-conscripts is carried out in the Navy on the same basis as in the Army. A certain number are then placed every year in the educational detachments of the artillery, the marine mining engineers, and others. Such detachments, schools and classes are very numerous, as the special duties of the sailors are of the most varied description.

The educational institutions for preparing officers of

the fleet are of two categories. Those of the lowest class are the Naval Cadet Corps for about 400 pupils, and the Technical School at Cronstadt for about 80.

The higher category includes institutions, corresponding with the Military Academies of the Army, namely, the Nicholas Naval Academy, consisting of 3 sections, for hydrography, mechanics, and naval construction respectively, (20 persons), and 2 classes of 20 officers each, for marine mining and artillery. Officers of the Navy also enter the Military Academies, and the Mining Institute.

As regards benevolent institutions, there are the Home for Invalids of the Emperor Paul at St. Petersburg for 90 men, and a large number of small houses for invalids of the Black Sea Fleet. These latter were first established in 1862, and now number altogether 28. Near Nicholaief there are 21, with one family in each, and near Sebastopol 7, each holding 2 families.

### III. THE MATERIAL RESOURCES OF THE STATE.

(The Ministries of Finance, Agriculture and State Domains, Ways of Communication, the State Comptrol, and the Chief Administration of Imperial Studs).

#### 1. The Finances.

The Finances embrace the entire economy of the State in the widest sense of the term. They, therefore, include the revenue and expenditure, not only of the State Exchequer, but also of all those organs of self-government which are charged with the performance of



various administrative functions, and, consequently, have their own budgets and separate money offices. Such are the institutions of the *zemstvo*, or territorial assemblies, of the towns, the *volost*, or rural district, and the institutions of the peasants.

The general source of State economy is represented by the national gain or revenue, a portion of which is devoted to the needs of the State. The expenditure of the State may be burdensome for the following reasons: In the first place, the population may be called upon to sacrifice a larger portion of their income than they can afford; secondly, the State expenditure may not be replaced by a corresponding development in the productive strength of the nation, and thirdly, the taxes may be so unequally imposed, as to take less from some than from others, to the detriment of the welfare of the latter.

In regard to the first question, it should be observed that our budget, which 40 years ago was not more than 360,000,000 roubles in the currency of that time (exclusive of Poland and the Transcaucasia), has gradually grown till it now reaches the imposing sum of 1,362,000,000 roubles, thus having increased almost 4 times. The same increase is to be seen in other States.

We cannot, however, judge of the burden of State expenditure by these gross figures. The growth of national prosperity must be taken into account, representing an increase in national revenue. In France, for instance, in 1830, when the budget did not exceed one milliard francs, the national income was reckoned at 8,808,000,000

francs. Therefore, the budget represented about  $\frac{1}{9}$  of that sum. The latest total of the national income of France is about  $26\frac{1}{2}$  milliards, and consequently the budget, (3,300,000 francs) represents  $\frac{1}{8}$  of that amount. In this way we observe an almost parallel increase of the budget with the wealth of the nation.

As regards Russia, such a calculation is impossible. There are no figures to give even the least approximate estimate of the national income of former times.

In recent years it has been estimated by some statisticians at 10 milliards of roubles, which would make our State budget of 1,362 millions represent, as in France, a little more than  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the national income.

But further consideration of this subject requires the explanation of one point. Every expense of the State administration is intended to satisfy some necessity or requirement of the State. In this sense all State expenditure must be recognized as absolutely productive in respect to the object of its allotment. Some expenses, however, have a direct, and others only an indirect, influence on the increase of national prosperity. For example, the more the State spends on ways of communication, the better can they be kept up, and the greater the possible number of roads, etc. The more money allotted for education, the greater the possible number of schools, and persons able to read and write. On the other hand, the protection of internal order and security requires more expenditure in proportion to the failure of good manners or morality to guarantee that order and security. Prisons are more necessary where crime is most

THE FINANCES.

prevalent. Finally, the chief expense of this nature, namely, for defence of the country,—continues to increase in exact ratio to the growth of mutual distrust among the nations. It clearly follows, therefore, that the budget is comparatively light for the population of that State, in which the first kind of expenditure predominates, as the material and moral forces of the people grow simultaneously with the expenditure, and augment the sources available for the means of the State.

If we turn to figures for the elucidation of this question, and compare the latest budget of Russia with the budgets of other countries, we shall find that from this point of view our State expenditure is in no way exceptional. In point of fact, we spend about 8% of our budget on the Church and clergy, national education, agriculture, and the other branches of industry and ways of communication (the railways excluded), i. e. less than France, and less than Great-Britain (11%), but as much as Prussia disburses for the same purposes (8%) and more than Italy (7.3%).

This matter, however, can only be thoroughly considered by reference to the local budgets, which are as follows:

	State budgets:	Local budgets, about:	Percentage:
In Russia . . .	Rbl. 1,362,000,000	Rbl. 195,000,000	14%
» Prussia . . .	Mr. 2,311,000,000	Mt 523,000,000	23%
» France . . .	Fr. 3,300,000,000	Fr. 1,255,000,000	38%
» Italy . . . .	Lir. 1,634,000,000	Lir. 644,000,000	39%
» Austria Proper	Fl. 566,000,000	Fl. 227,000,000	40%
» Great-Britain	£ 90,000,000	£ 70,000,000	78%

Thus, while, as stated above, the needs of the State in Russia absorb almost the same proportion of the national income as in France, the local budgets in France are much heavier than those of Russia. It must be borne in mind, however, that the expenses of local institutions are devoted mainly to productive purposes, or, in other words, to the satisfaction of local requirements, such as the construction of roads, schools, hospitals, and the care of the poor; and, therefore, the increase of local budgets cannot be considered always as unfavourable for the population. According to accounts of the expenditure of *zemstvos*, towns, *volosts*, and peasant communes in the 46 provinces of European Russia, out of 153 million roubles of general expenditure, 70 millions, or 46% is devoted to the repair and maintenance of roads, to public health, public charity and education.

A third element in the burdensomeness or lightness of the budget is the character or the sources from which the State, or its local organs, draw their resources.

In this respect financial authorities have expressed different opinions. This is certainly not the place to discuss them, and we shall only refer to the chief principles underlying our present financial economy, and to certain historical facts by way of explanation.

The economical conditions of Russia were considerably changed in the early years of the reign of the Emperor Alexander II. Prior to that time our financial administration had to deal with an enormous population of serfs without rights. The emancipation of these placed the Government in relations with a vast number of new tax payers.

The first requirement therefore of the new epoch was the reform of taxation. But in order to appreciate its significance we must first refer to what existed previously. Before the advent of Peter the Great we meet with a system of taxation which was fairly organized for the time. The taxes were levied on the plough, (the German *hufe* and English *hide* of ancient times); in other words the tax was levied upon a certain extent of arable land. The plough tax was not uniform, but differed according to the quality of the soil and the industrial income of the owners, while in towns and settlements a certain number of families were reckoned as a unit of liability for the payment of this tax. Therefore this tax per plough was at one and the same time an impost on land, houses and industries. But this system was very much disorganized by the political disorders of the interregnum (1598—1613), and subsequent wars.

For this reason Peter the Great considered the poll tax, as it existed in the XVII and XVIII centuries in many States of Western Europe, a much simpler form of collecting revenue. Consequently, the poll tax, with the creation of, so called, taxable classes, namely, peasants, burghers, and merchants, was introduced into Russia in 1724. After that no essential alteration was made in the organization of our direct taxation, with the exception perhaps of the exemption of the merchant class from payment of the poll tax during the reign of Catherine II, in exchange for a tax on commercial capital. On the accession of the Emperor Alexander II this system included:

- 1, The poll tax proper;
- 2, The Zemsky taxes, principally also per head, or poll; and
- 3, The land taxes from the State serfs, which were in reality a payment for the use of Government land, and represented an addition to the poll tax.

The inequality of the imposition of this tax per soul, or per head, became apparent as soon as «souls» ceased to have any particular value. It is true, that within the bounds of the village the distribution of the poll tax was left to the commune itself, and levied according to the land and income of the individual peasants. But the amount levied on each village was fixed according to the number of souls registered by the revision of 1857, which disagreed altogether with the actual numbers; and therefore in some villages the «revised souls» were five times more numerous than the actual male inhabitants.

At the same time, the principle of «collective liability» for the payment of taxes was established, and extended itself to all payments of the peasantry in general. This «collective liability», consists in the responsibility for due and proper payment of Government taxes being laid upon the entire rural commune collectively instead of its individual members; and arrears of payment are, therefore, exacted, not from the actual defaulter, but from all the inhabitants of his village indiscriminately. Such a system of taxation required, on the one hand, the binding of the peasants to the soil by means of passports, so that they could not evade payment, while, on the other, it led to a tendency to arbitrary absen-

teeism in search of more profitable occupation. In the end the arrears of taxes grew to such an extent, that in some provinces they exceeded the total amount of taxes to be levied.

Firstly, in 1863, during the financial administration of Reutern, the burghers, one of the least prosperous classes of town inhabitants, were exempted from the poll tax, and in exchange a duty was placed on landed property in towns, settlements and hamlets. As regards the peasantry the poll tax continued to exist until the «eighties» of the present century, although they were also partly freed from one or the other of the various imposts, levied in the manner of the poll tax. Thus, as far back as 1859, the land tax on the State peasants was transferred from the «soul» to the land. Subsequently, beginning from 1864, the Zemsky poll taxes were almost everywhere replaced by taxes on land and landed property, and a portion of them, included in the State estimates for 1875, were called State land taxes, i. e. taxes on land, independent of the class or condition of its proprietors. Finally, in 1879 an Imperial decree was issued ordering the consideration of a repeal of the Government poll tax. The realisation of that important State measure belongs to the reign of Alexander III during the financial administration of M. Boongue. The preliminary step was taken in 1883 by the exemption of various categories of persons, for whom the tax was particularly onerous; and from the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1887 the poll tax was repealed for all classes in European Russia. The poll and peasant land taxes

are still in force in Siberia, where there is no exact data of landed property; but there also a beginning has been made in transferring the Zemsky poll taxes from the «souls», or male persons, to the land. The inconvenient passport restrictions, which were closely connected with the system of the poll tax, have been considerably lessened by the new passport regulations of 1894; and at the same time, in accord with the indications of the late Emperor, the financial administration has begun to prepare for the reform of the means and methods of gathering the taxes from the peasantry.

At the present time, therefore, the principal taxes of our fiscal system are the State taxes on land and landed property in towns, settlements and hamlets, which have nothing in common with the class taxation of former times.

The essential feature of the collection of these taxes is that each province is called upon to furnish a certain sum, which the organs of local self-government levy by distribution of payment among districts, towns and individuals on the basis, established for the distribution of local taxation in favour of Zemstvos and towns.

From the foregoing explanation it will be seen, that we have no general cadastral survey for the whole Empire; no exact description of the profitableness of landed estates, with definition of the character of holdings, cultivation and so forth. But this is not surprising, considering that in France, with her comparatively small territory a cadastral survey took 43 years to make. Besides this at the present time in Western European States



cadastral surveys are much facilitated by the fact that the precise definition of the quantity and quality of landed estates is of great value not only for the financial authorities, but also in the interests of the proprietors themselves, as a basis for the mortgage system, which is so important for assuring the rights of proprietorship and the organization of agricultural credit.

Wherever the system of registering landed property for the purposes of loans, mortgages, etc., exists, the ground is already prepared for making a cadastral survey, and the cost is consequently much less. But in Russia, with the exception of Poland and the Baltic provinces, this system does not exist.

In general, however, despite the difficulty of introducing such a complicated matter as the distribution of direct taxation, which is not quite satisfactorily established even in the rich and enlightened countries of Western Europe, our Zemstvo institutions have attained results in this respect surpassing expectation. Existing defects depend chiefly upon the meagre character of the regulations laid down on the subject by the law. Consequently, in 1893 regulations were issued for the valuation of fixed or landed property, with the appointment of provincial and district commissions of valuation, composed of representatives of the authorities of finance, the zemstvos, and towns. This law of 1893 differs from previous regulations in requiring the valuation of landed property to be made according to the average net revenue which it is capable of yielding, and not its actual value; and rules in detail are laid down for the procedure to

be observed in such valuation of various kinds of immovable property.

In respect of its proportion our State taxation of land and landed property cannot be considered heavy or burdensome: on the average it does not exceed 4<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> of the productive profit of such property, whereas, for example, in Austria the land taxes amount to nearly 23<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> of the net profit of the land.<sup>1</sup> But it must not be forgotten that to the 25,000,000 roubles of Government taxes are to be added the zemsky and municipal taxes, the private class obligations of the communities of nobility, the taxes of the peasant communes for meeting the requirements of rural and *volost* communities, and finally, the land redemption payments; with these additions, the total sum of pecuniary taxes from land and landed property exceeds 200,000,000 roubles\*, or 30<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> of the revenue; while at the same time only 73,000,000 roubles are derived indiscriminately from all kinds of immovable property, 2 millions represent the special payments of the nobility, and the remaining 128 millions are drawn from the land of the peasantry. Another not unimportant addition is the contribution in kind, which is also borne principally by the peasants; especially the obligation to repair roads, furnish carts for the journies of the police and other authorities, etc. The Zemstvos

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\* Including (in 52 provinces and territories of European Russia)

Government taxes . . . . .	25	million	roubles.
Town                    » . . . . .	8	»	»
Zemsky                 » . . . . .	40	»	»
Nobility                » . . . . .	2	»	»
Peasant                 » . . . . .	40	»	»
Redemption payments . . . . .	88	»	»

have the right to replace these contributions in kind by money payments, and have largely availed themselves of the right wherever possible, but the alteration has by no means taken place everywhere. It must be observed that the above mentioned sum of 128,000,000 roubles contributed by the peasants includes 88 millions on account of redemption payments, of which we have already had occasion to speak in the chapter on classes. These payments represent the amortisation of advances made to former proprietary peasants by the Government to enable them to pay their former masters for their land. Since 1887 the State peasants also pay them to the Exchequer for the purchase of their land, in lieu of the former land tax. The operation of redemption will be completed by the year 1931.

As far as regards the direct taxation of trade and industry, Russia has had in operation since 1824 the patent or license system, borrowed from France, which consists in the levy of a uniform tax for each guild for the right of trading, irrespective of the amount of capital. Besides this, there is a «ticket» or license tax, levied according to the number of shops belonging to each trader, that it should conform with the extent of circulating capital invested in the commercial or industrial enterprise.

The main deficiency of this system is its extreme inequality. Although the taxes for certificates and licenses differ in amount, according to the kind of trade or industry, and to the locality, it not infrequently happens, that commercial and industrial establishments with a

circulating capital of millions do not pay more than enterprizes that only deal in thousands.

In order to correct this inequality, and at the same time to increase the Government's revenue from trade and industry, a supplementary duty was established in 1885; during the financial administration of M. Boongue, which is of two kinds. In the first place a separate tax of 5% is levied on the net profits of various share companies and joint-stock associations. All other commercial and industrial undertakings contribute towards a total sum, that is fixed for each province every 3 years, and divided annually among the districts and taxpayers according to their expected profits, by special taxing bodies assisted by members selected from among the taxpayers themselves.

Statistics show a considerable increase in our taxation of trade and industry during the last 30 years. In 1863 it did not exceed 6.2 million roubles, while in 1893 it reached 40.5 millions, thus showing an increase of nearly 7 times the first sum, although the supplementary taxes furnished only about 13 million roubles. Nevertheless this taxation cannot be considered excessive when it is remembered that trade and industry bear very little of the local taxes for the benefit of Zemstvos and towns, altogether not more than 20 million roubles. On the other hand, if we take into account that, exclusive of the new taxes (the 5% and distributive taxes), the growth of State revenue from taxation of trade and industry continues to diminish, that in 1863—83 it amounted on the average to 11% a year,

and in 1883—93 only to 3.60%,—it becomes clear that this taxation has reached a limit beyond which, under the present organisation of the taxes for certificates and licences, it cannot go. This circumstance has led to the question of a general radical reform of commercial and industrial taxation. The question was raised as long ago as the «eighties», and became the subject of a special Commission, appointed in 1892, in the Ministry of Finance.

Besides the revenue received from land, landed property, and trade and industry, there is also revenue derived from pecuniary capital lent out to others. In every State there are large numbers of persons, who live upon the percentage received from various kinds of bonds, obligations, Government funds, shares of joint-stock associations, and so forth, and taxes were imposed upon this kind of income in Western Europe long ago. In Russia this tax was established in 1885, and is now levied at the rate of 5%.

The enumerated taxes exhaust the chief categories of duties placed upon separate sources of income. In Western Europe, however, at the beginning of the current century the form of a general income tax was introduced, consisting in the taxation of every kind of income from land, houses, capital, industry, and labour in proper proportion after deducting the amount necessary to the existence of the taxpayer and his family (*existenz-minimum*). The extreme difficulty of estimating or calculating the total income of each taxpayer is at present an essential obstacle to its introduction in Russia. Never-

theless, the fundamental idea of an income tax has to some extent been applied by the introduction of a tax on the rental of apartments in towns and town settlements, which was established in 1894 by the Minister of Finance M. Witte, and which was based upon the principle that the rent of living apartments generally corresponds with the means possessed by the tenant. This tax is of course very far from being a general income tax, seeing that it excludes all persons not residing in towns or town settlements, and this is a point of no small importance in view of the insignificant development of urban life in Russia as compared with Western Europe.

After reviewing all that has been done during the last two reigns for the organization of a just and regular system of direct taxation, it is impossible to lose sight of the difficulties with which our financial authorities often had to deal after the Crimean War and the Eastern campaign against Turkey. In spite of such difficulties, however, the poll tax has been abolished, and together with it the class character of our system of taxation; correct principles have been introduced into the distribution of the taxes on landed property and on the profits from trade and industry; a considerable amount of income has been brought within the sphere of taxation, which was entirely exempt before, and, finally, the first step has been made towards the establishment of a general income tax.

As regards the last reign in particular, an idea of its financial history will be obtained by a cursory glance at the following figures, which speak for themselves.

THE FINANCES.

I. Contributions from the taxable classes.*	According to the Estimates for:		
	1881.	1895.	
	In millions of roubles.		
Poll tax . . . . .	59	1	— 58
Land tax. . . . .	35	2	— 33
Redemption payments . . . .	72	88	+ 16
	<hr/>		
Total . . . . .	166	91	— 75
II. Taxes levied on all classes.*			
Taxes on land, landed property, etc.	16	32	+ 16
Taxes on trade and industry . . .	19	41	+ 22
Tax on money capital . . . . .	—	13	+ 13
Succession duty. . . . .	—	6	+ 6
Lodging tax . . . . .	—	3	+ 3
	<hr/>		
Total . . . . .	35	95	+ 60

At the same time the reigns of Alexander II and Alexander III have been prolific in reforms of indirect taxation.

Indirect taxes in Russia are taxes levied on articles of consumption. Some are levied within the Empire, such as the excise duties on wine, tobacco, sugar, products of naphtha, and matches, and formerly on salt; others are collected on the frontiers from imported goods, and constitute the customs duties. While falling upon expenditure, these taxes in an indirect manner are drawn from income.

From a practical point of view, indirect is more convenient than direct, taxation, as the first does not

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\* Irrespective of taxes in Poland which have not undergone any change.

require any compulsory measures, but is contributed in small amounts in proportion to the consumption of taxable products. For this reason indirect taxation plays a predominant rôle in all European budgets.

On the other hand, indirect taxation has its unsatisfactory side. The more these taxable products represent articles of prime necessity, the less the expenditure in the form of their consumption corresponds with the income of the consumers. In this sense taxes on bread, salt, and meat, are most unjust, because they fall alike on rich and poor, and may compel the latter to diminish the consumption of these necessaries. Formerly there were a great number of such indirect taxes, and even to-day they exist in some countries. In Russia the former duty on salt belonged to this category, inasmuch as it weighed heavily on the population, and was detrimental to cattle breeding and other branches of industry.

The Emperor Alexander II, therefore, desiring to «give the people a fresh proof of concern for their welfare in the unfortunate year of famine», repealed the salt excise duty from the 1<sup>st</sup> of January, 1881, and ordered a corresponding decrease in the customs duty on imported salt. The results of that excellent measure soon became evident: the yearly production of salt increased on the average from 53 to 78 million poods, and in consequence the price sank much lower even than the amount of the previous excise duty. The financial administration of Russia now shows to advantage, as compared with many countries of Western Europe, in the complete absence of duties on articles of



vital necessity. Thus has been realised the advice of the Tsar Alexey Mikhailovitch to his posterity «not to tax articles of food».

The most important in amount of all the indirect taxes is the duty on liquor. This duty alone gives 260 million roubles, or about 80% of all indirect taxation, without counting the customs. It represents the largest figure in the State revenue, not, however, in Russia alone, but also, for example, in France.

We have no exact knowledge of when the sale of spirituous liquors in Russia first became a source of Government revenue; but it is certain that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century Government liquor stores existed in towns, and that in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the sale of spirits, beer, and mead was an exclusive privilege of the State. The sale of these liquors took place in shops which were either under Government direction, or let out to others. Both systems in their turn lasted pretty long. In the provinces of Great Russia the farming-out system prevailed exclusively from 1827. The subsequent practice, previous to the repeal of this system, was for the Government to receive the liquor from private producers on contract, and to give it out for sale to those, who purchased the right and who were regarded as commissioners of the Exchequer. These persons received a certain reduction in their favour. Such a system had the advantage of placing the Exchequer in immediate relations with a small number of monopolist commissioners; but in reality it was a very unprofitable method of gathering liquor revenue, and ruinous for the economical welfare of the

people. The absence of competition placed the population in the power of a few monopolists, who were free to sell bad liquor at high prices, while their agents, engaged in the extermination of secret production or sale of spirituous liquor, oppressed the people. These were the reasons for the abolition of the Government system of farming-out, which took place in 1863 during the financial administration of Minister Reutern. From that time the liquor revenue has been gathered in two forms: 1) An excise duty on each degree of distilled, anhydrous spirit, and 2) a license tax on distilleries and establishments for the sale of drink. Besides this, we have another excise duty on beer and mead, while *vodka* and other products of spirit are taxed with an additional *banderole* duty.

The excise system produced good results. The liquor revenue considerably increased, especially lately, in consequence chiefly of the increase of duty from 3 — 4 to 10 kopeks per degree.

In the next place the process of distilling improved. Primitive distilleries gave place to establishments of the newest and most improved construction; more spirit was extracted per pood of material; and instead of corn, a considerable quantity of potatoes, and even beet-root sugar refuse began to be used in distilling. The production, however, was concentrated for the most part in large distilling factories. The smaller ones, which are very important for agriculture as a source of cattle-feeding and landmanuring, unable to compete with the large establishments were mostly obliged to cease operations. This result induced the Government in 1890 to

issue a law, rendering all possible facilities to agricultural distilleries.

The sale of strong drinks was proclaimed a free trade on the introduction of the excise in 1863. Subsequently, in view of decreasing drunkenness among the people, the opening of liquor-houses was made dependent upon the permission of town and village communities; but these bodies began to take money for such permission, and, instead of creating a free trade, they developed a private monopoly in the hands of the drink-shop proprietors. The complaints of drunkenness, therefore, did not cease. Consequently, in 1885 the communities were deprived of the right of licensing; and in order to encourage the people to consume their liquor at home, the drink-shops were converted into shops for the sale of liquor not to be drunk on the premises. But the rural communities, being thus deprived of their former profits, regarded this new measure with disfavour, and began to encourage secret traffic in liquor, without license.

The present Minister of Finance M. Witte, has sought to remedy this state of things by the introduction of a Government liquor monopoly.

With the establishment of this State monopoly for the sale of intoxicating liquors by the Government, it is hoped that the encouragement given to drunkenness by the drink-shop keepers, the sale of liquor on credit or in exchange for various articles bartered or deposited as security, etc., will no longer be practiced. The class of drink-shop keepers, who now exercise a large influence

in rural districts, will also disappear. Furthermore, the quality and refinement of spirituous liquors will be improved; for at present the drink-shop keepers not only sell badly refined spirit, but also adulterate it with different injurious ingredients. Special supervision, which is to be exercised over the sobriety of the people in each province, will likewise further the task of inculcating the consumption of liquor in moderation. In the opinion of the Ministry of Finance this moderation, as is always the case, will increase the total quantity of the product consumed, and at the same time increase the revenue of the State. By this measure it is also proposed to assist agriculture, as a very considerable quantity of spirit to be furnished to the Government will be taken from agricultural distilleries.

This general principle has already received the Imperial approval, and from the 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1895, the sale of spirituous liquors by the Government was introduced by way of experiment in the provinces of Perm, Ufa, Orenburg and Samara. During the next 3 years it will be extended to the provinces having a Jewish population, that is to say, to the Southern, Western, and Polish, provinces.

The Ministry of Finance does not conceal from itself the great difficulty connected with this introduction of a State liquor monopoly, as shown by the experiments in this respect made in Russia from 1819 to 1827, when it was difficult to find trustworthy employés for the purpose. There is no doubt, however, that during the past 70 years there has been a great change in the views of

society regarding the duties of the service, and the Government can now have more confidence in undertaking administrative and economical tasks of this kind, which were formerly regarded as difficult to carry out, for example, the exploitation of railways.

Without dwelling on a description of the other excise duties on sugar, tobacco, naphtha and matches, it will suffice to note that altogether they produce about 85 million roubles.

In ancient Russia, external indirect taxes, or customs duties, as at present understood, hardly existed. There were trade taxes, taken not only from foreigners on the frontiers, but also from local merchants in each town or settlement, and at each river ferry where there was an internal barrier. This barrier system, which was a great hindrance to trade, existed, as we know, all through Europe in the middle ages, and partly in later times. In Russia it was abolished only in 1753. As regards external customs of the modern kind, as payment for the passage of merchandise across the frontiers of the State, if they existed at all towards the close of the Moscow period, it was only in the form of a certain item of State revenue obtained equally from imports and exports.

Peter the Great, on the contrary, who wished «in every way to improve and extend trade», gave a protective character to the tariff by placing higher duties on those kinds of foreign goods which could be produced in Russia. A certain correlation was in fact established between the higher tariff and the degree of development, which had been reached in the production of

any given article. From that time our customs policy was always in a state of fluctuation. At the close of the «fifties», under the influence of an unsatisfactory state of trade in connexion with the severe tariff of the XIX century, the ideas of free trade prevailed, and led to the lower tariff of 1857. In the end, however, the influx of foreign goods increased to such an extent, that the balance of trade turned against us. Therefore the protective system began to take deeper and deeper root, beginning from the tariff of 1868, which was compiled with the assistance of the Heir-Apparent Cesarevich, afterwards Emperor Alexander III. This was especially shown in 1877 by the decree, establishing the receipt of all duties in gold, which increased them by 30%. Such a wholesale increase, and subsequent repetitions of it, naturally only made existing inequalities all the more conspicuous, and a revision of each article of the tariff was felt to be necessary in order to conform it to the actual needs of Russian industry. On this ground a gradual modification of the tariff rates was begun in 1882 under the Minister of Finance, M. Boongue, with the result that, while duties were raised on coal, iron, and other manufactures, the duties on raw, and half wrought foreign materials, necessary for our industries, were in certain cases altogether abolished. Subsequently, in 1891, a new ultra-protective tariff was issued, which closely affected the commercial interests of Germany, and called forth a number of hostile measures against us on the part of that country. Our relations became so bad, that in 1892 Germany concluded commercial

conventions with several States, by which she gave them low rates of duty on articles which constituted our export, and these advantages were given principally to our competitors in the wheat export trade. A war of customs tariffs ensued, during which the duties were raised on both sides. Meanwhile, in 1893, Russia gave up her one tariff for all States alike, and adopted the double tariff system of Western Europe. This consisted in a minimum tariff for those nations, which in return gave us the benefit of their lower tariff, and a maximum tariff for others, including Germany. Finally, a special conference met at Berlin to clear up the misunderstanding.

The result of its deliberations was the commercial treaty of 1894, by which Russia and Germany agreed to allow each other the rights of the most favoured nation for a long period, till 1903. This firm establishment of commercial relations constitutes a very important achievement. The treaty in question secures equality of advantages for our agricultural produce on international markets in competition with the same produce of other countries, and enables the agricultural classes to live through the present difficult period of low prices for wheat with less inconvenience and embarrassment. This result was of course only obtained by means of several not unimportant concessions in the form of reduced duties on German products.

In concluding this sketch of the sources of State revenue, we must enumerate other different kinds of taxes, namely, stamp, deed, and judicial taxes; also taxes on documents in official departments, on passports, on

railway passengers, and railway freights by express speed, and on insured property. Altogether they furnish about 50 million roubles. Of revenue from mining, minting, posts, telegraphs and various kinds of State property, we shall have occasion to speak in other parts of this work.

We have thus sketched out the fundamental principles of our financial administration in the sphere of taxation; and we must now say a few words on the budgets and credit of the State. The utilization of the credit of the State, in more or less permanent form, began in Russia not earlier than the reign of the Empress Catherine II. That credit, down to the «sixties» of the present century, took the following shape: 1) foreign loans, mostly on very unfavourable conditions; 2) borrowing from deposits in government banks; and 3) the issue of paper money. There were also internal percentage loans, but comparatively seldom, as in general all operations of credit at that time were confined to the deposits in official banks, which in their turn were placed to the credit of the government on loan or on the security of landed estate. In regard to paper money, the issue of excessive quantities of it, and continual wars at last reduced the value of the rouble of 100 kopeks to only 25 kopeks, and enormous labour was required to put our finances in order. This was accomplished chiefly owing to the fact that from 1817 there were no new issues of paper and at the same time, together with the paper money (*assignatsii*) the circulation of coin was permitted according to the rate of



exchange, both in private transactions and in payments to the Exchequer. Consequently, as the coin did not all go abroad, it regulated the exchange rate of *assignatsii* on internal markets. This rate certainly rose very little, but it became pretty firm, and rendered it possible, in 1843, to effect without disturbance the exchange of the old *assignatsii* for new ones, at the rate of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  roubles of old *assignatsii* for one rouble new paper money, exchangeable for silver coin.

Only 10 years later, however, our monetary system received a new and heavy blow. This was the Crimean War, which in the four years, 1853—1856, created the enormous deficit of nearly 800 million roubles. It was, of course, quite impossible to cover such a deficit by means of taxation, seeing that arrears were continually on the increase. Foreign loans were also not easy to obtain at a time, when we were at war with nearly the whole of Europe. We therefore had to content ourselves with borrowing from the Government banks to the extent of 220 million roubles, and by falling back on the last resource, — fresh issues of paper money. These issues increased the amount of paper from 311, to 735 million roubles, while, at the same time, the free exchange of paper for silver had to be stopped, and all transactions and payments in metallic roubles forbidden. It seems that these measures were intended to support the value of the paper rouble; as a matter of fact, however, with the efflux of coin abroad, the exchange began to depend principally upon the balance of payment, which, in view of considerable in-

debtedness and small development of the export trade, could not be in our favour.

In this way the rate of exchange in 1866 fell to 76 kopeks metal for one paper rouble. All efforts to withdraw a portion of the paper from circulation led to unsatisfactory results; and an attempt made in 1862 to reestablish free exchange, only led to exhaustion of the metallic fund of the State Bank and to fresh loans to support it, as the coin did not remain in the country, but was immediately sent abroad. If, therefore, the rate of our exchange began to improve after 1866, and in 1874 rose to 87 kopeks, it was chiefly due to the general financial measures of the reign of the Emperor Alexander II, and our peaceful relations with other powers during that period.

The attention of the Government, from the time of the Minister of Finance Kniajevitch, and especially during the tenure of office by M. Reutern, was mainly centered, in addition to taxation reform, upon the antiquated system of credit, which gave no support to the productive forces of the nation. Here, as everywhere else at that time, the principal means of reform was looked for in the development of individual initiative, and the widest field was allowed to all kinds of private institutions of credit. The former official banks were abolished, and in their place the present State Bank was founded «for the purpose of giving an impulse to trade and industry». Since that time fresh tasks have been imposed upon the system of State credit by the general development of industry, trade and social activity. For-

mer loans were contracted principally for the purpose of covering chronic deficits, or extraordinary military expenditure. In later years a large number of enterprises, conceived on a wide scale of operation, have come to the fore, and changed the entire economical situation. It was necessary to assist the peasants in buying out their allotments of land, and to cooperate with a lavish hand in the construction of railways, the scarcity of which was felt so keenly during the Crimean War. The vast sums required for these purposes, naturally increased the total debt of the State. The land proprietors were paid by the Government for the allotments, made to the peasantry not in actual money, but in Government bonds, on which the Exchequer paid interest and amortization in return for the redemption payments due from the peasants. For the purpose of aiding railway enterprise by payment of the interest, guaranteed by the Government on the shares of the railway companies and the purchase of their obligations, it was necessary to resort to fresh loans. Nevertheless, without taking into consideration that the redemption operations constituted a clear pecuniary gain for the Exchequer, it must not be forgotten that, when the Emperor Alexander II ascended the throne, there were only 979 versts of railway, and at the time of his decease — 21,228 versts.

The Government then began to recognize that, with the deficiencies of control and the secrecy surrounding everything connected with the finances, it was impossible to secure perfect confidence in such matters.

Consequently, in 1862, it was decided to publish

the State Estimates for general information, and a detailed mode of procedure was established for their examination by the Council of State. At the same time unity of the cash office, or depository, of the Exchequer was introduced on the model of Western European States, so that all sums were concentrated in the coffers of the Ministry of Finance, whereas only  $\frac{1}{4}$  of all official payments were previously lodged there (75 millions out of 275 million roubles); the remaining  $\frac{3}{4}$  being deposited in the cash offices of various departments, almost entirely without control. This unity established the general principle of proper control, and since 1866 the report of the State Comptroller on the execution of the estimates is also published for the information of the world at large.

Altogether the conditions above enumerated produced favourable consequences. The deficits, which were referred almost every year, and which in 1866 had reached to 61 million roubles, were almost first to disappear from our budgets; and in 1871, 1874 and 1875, at the end of the administration of Minister Reutern, there were even surpluses, amounting, for example, in 1875 to 33 million roubles.

But at that moment began the movement of fresh political interference in the Balkan peninsula, leading to the war with Turkey in 1877—1878. The entire expenditure necessitated by that war, from 1876 to 1880 inclusive, amounted to about 1,075,000,000 roubles, and produced an extraordinary increase of national debt. It is worthy of remark, however, that this time the mi-

litary and other expenses led to the issue principally of internal loans. Between 1876 and 1881 there were two issues of Bank Bonds and three Eastern Loans, which produced 901.6 million roubles. Of course the difficulties of the situation were not surmounted without the issue of fresh paper rouble notes for 543 millions. Still a portion of these notes were soon withdrawn from circulation, and in 1881 only 400 million roubles remained of that temporary issue. The rate of exchange, notwithstanding fell to 63 kopeks per paper rouble, and in 1880 chronic deficits again began to appear.

The Emperor Alexander III, therefore, turned all his thoughts towards the attainment of a stable equilibrium in the budget by means of reasonable economy, and his reign effected the realisation of those principles of a correct system of accounts, which were elaborated in the «sixties».

A special obstacle to the execution of the estimates consisted in extra credits demanded by various departments without the least consideration of available means. Consequently, all Departments or Ministries, not excluding even the Ministry of War, were informed of the Imperial will, that they should regulate their expenditure in conformity with the credits allotted to them in the estimates, and not present measures for Imperial sanction, which required further outlay, without first requesting the necessary credit. In effect, this supernumerary expenditure was considerably lessened, and is now almost discontinued.

Strict economy and financial reforms, by increasing

the State revenue by one half of what it was before, have produced beneficial results. The execution of the budget of 1880, as we have seen, resulted in a deficit, and such deficits continued to appear down to 1888. But from that year, when the Minister of Finance Vishnegradsky was in office, ordinary revenue began to exceed ordinary expenditure, until in 1894 this excess reached 158.6 million roubles.

The State Exchequer thus began to have free capital at its disposal, and was enabled in 1891 and 1892 to spend upwards of 154 million roubles in aid of the sufferers from the failure of harvests. And notwithstanding the temporary exhaustion of this free capital, it still amounts at present to 271 million roubles, of which 120 millions will go to cover the purposed extraordinary expenditure in 1896, and 151 millions will remain over.

The increasing confidence in Russian finances has created incomparably better conditions for State loans, besides rendering Russia more and more independent of foreign markets. For example, in 1880 we borrowed money abroad at  $5\frac{1}{3}\%$ , in 1883 at as much as  $6.1\%$ , while recently we were able to obtain it at only  $4.1\%$  and even  $3.7\%$ .

The sum total of State debt amounted on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1881 to 3,840,000,000 roubles. The increased transfer of railways to the State, the construction of new lines, and other productive expenditure, raised this amount in 1895 to 5,589,000,000 roubles. Meanwhile the payments

on State loans have only increased from 238 to 257,000,000 roubles; which is to say, that the amount of debt has been augmented 45%, and the payments thereon only 8%, or 5 times less. This result has been obtained chiefly by means of the conversion of State loans, or in other words, by lessening the percentage paid on the loans. These conversions were begun by the Minister of Finance Vishnegradsky, and continued by his successor M. Witte. Our loans, which were made at 5½%, 5% and 4½% when interest on borrowed money was higher, no longer corresponded to the new conditions of the money market, and the growing confidence in Russian finances. Consequently the Government proposed to its creditors to agree to accept 4%, or to take back their capital. The majority naturally consented to receive the smaller rate of interest, as the investment of money at any higher rate would be difficult and not without risk.

The most brilliant conversions were undoubtedly those of the 5% Bank Bonds and the Eastern Loans for 1,014,700,000 roubles into 4% rente, which, without almost any increase of the capital amount of the debt, will effect a saving annually of over 23 million roubles. At the same time these internal loans in the form of rentes have finally secured a position within the sphere of our State credit, and as we know, offer the advantage of being redeemable at the discretion of the Government, either by return of the capital or by purchase on the market at the current rate of exchange, if that be more profitable, instead of fixed conditions as to term and proportion of payment. This kind of loan is certainly

only possible where there is great confidence in the finances of the country, and therefore at the present time it is the form of loan, that most prevails in western European States.

Without entering here into the organisation of State credit on land, in connexion with the institutions of the Nobility and Peasant Banks, the reform of the State Bank, and the wide development of Savings Banks, — as these questions are economical and not financial, let us note the beneficial influence, which the good order introduced into the finances has exercised on our currency. The most important effect is undoubtedly to be seen in the comparative stability of the rate of exchange, which during the past three years has kept pretty firm at 67 kopeks per rouble. The total reserve of gold concentrated in the hands of the Russian Government has grown from 291 millions on the 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1881, to 685 million roubles at the present time, covering 61<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> of the nominal value of the paper notes now in circulation.

Finally, the Government during the past year has taken important measures in the direction of clearing the way for a metallic currency. Thus, to facilitate the ingress from abroad of metal into the country, it has permitted transactions to be concluded in gold value. Moreover, it has been decided to accept payment in gold of excise duties in the cash offices; this is shortly to be extended to all payments, and lastly, a sale and purchase of gold is opened in the institutions of the State Bank, and deposits of gold are accepted there under deposit receipts, exchangeable at sight.



## THE FINANCES.

Economy, serious financial reforms, the improvement of credit, and attainment of stability in the currency, — these are the results of the peaceful policy of the Emperor Alexander III, thus again proving the truth of the words of Baron Louis, Minister of Finance to the Kings of France Louis XVIII and Louis Philip: «Faites — moi de la bonne politique et je vous ferai de bonnes finances».

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The following table contains the State Budget for the year 1896.

# STATE REVENUE.

Ordinary revenue:	Thousands of roubles.	Percenta of the whole s
1. Direct taxes on:		
1) Land, landed property, and other taxes . . . . .	48,024	3.5
2) Trade and industry . . . . .	43,353	3.2
3) Income from capital . . . . .	13,159	1.0
4) Succession . . . . .	15,411	1.1
	119,947	8.8
2. Redemption payments . . . . .	89,000	6.5
3. Indirect taxes:		
1) Internal . . . . .	385,586	28.3
2) External (customs) . . . . .	153,876	11.3
	539,462	39.6
4. Duties . . . . .	49,864	3.7
5. Regalia (revenues of posts, telegraphs, mines, minting and Government sale of liquors). . . . .	76,021	5.6
6. State property and capital:		
1) Railways . . . . .	232,328	17.1
2) Other property . . . . .	62,580	4.6
	294,908	21.7
7. Compulsory payments of private railways . . . . .	14,822	1.1
8. War indemnities. . . . .	3,138	0.2
9. Various . . . . .	52,310	3.8
Total of ordinary revenue . . .	1,239,472	91.0

# STATE EXPENDITURE.

Ordinary expenditure:	Thousands of roubles.	Percentage of the whole sum.
System of State credit . . . . .	269,228	19.8
Higher State institutions . . . . .	2,434	0.2
Holy Synod . . . . .	17,488	1.3
Ministry of Imperial Court . . . . .	12,965	0.9
» Foreign Affairs . . . . .	4,693	0.3
» War . . . . .	288,522	21.2
» Marine . . . . .	57,966	4.3
» Finances . . . . .	186,811	13.7
» Agriculture and State Domains . . . . .	32,180	2.4
» Interior . . . . .	90,025	6.6
» Public Instruction . . . . .	24,863	1.8
» Ways of Communication . . . . .	196,412	14.4
» Justice . . . . .	28,010	2.1
State Comptrol. . . . .	5,956	0.4
Chief Administration of Imperial Studs . . . . .	1,536	0.1
Unforeseen expenses . . . . .	12,000	0.9
Total of ordinary expenditure . .	1.231,089	90.4

	Thousands of roubles.	Percenta of the whole s
Extraordinary resources:		
Permanent deposits in State Bank . .	2,200	0.2
Free cash of the State Treasury . . .	119,876	8.8
Total . . . .	1.361,548	100

	Thousands of roubles.	Percentage of the whole sum.
Extraordinary expenditure:		
Construction of Siberian railway . . .	82,248	6.1
auxiliary enterprises connected with the construction of the Siberian railway . . . . .	2,485	0.2
Construction of other railways of ge- neral significance. . . . .	35,726	2.6
Construction of local railways and branch lines. . . . .	10,000	0.7
Total of extraordinary expenditure . .	130,459	9.6
	1,361,548	100

Besides the general Budget of the Empire there is a special budget for the grand Duchy of Finland, the total of which for 1905 amounted to 71,264,930 Finnish marks.

## 2, Agriculture and rural economy in general.

In making a survey of the rural economy of Russia we must begin by recognizing the widely spread notion, that Russia is preeminently an agricultural country. The truth of this opinion hardly admits of doubt if we consider the present tendency of the productive forces of the Russian people. More than 87<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> of the population live in villages, and less than 13<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> in towns. This relation is quite different from that of other European countries. In great Britain, for instance, the urban population comprises 65<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>, and in Germany and the United States of America respectively 44<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> and 29<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>. This is more strikingly shown by a comparison of the value of agricultural products with that of the produce of industry. In the United States, for example, the value of manufactures in 1880 amounted to more than a milliard pounds sterling, while agricultural produce came to less than half a milliard, (£ 443,000,000).

In Russia, on the contrary, the yearly value of our manufactures, including metallurgical production, is not more than 1600 mil. roubles, whereas the total of our cereals alone reaches the sum of 1800 or 2000 millions a year, according to the quality of the harvest.

To complete the comparison, Russia exports through the European frontier manufactures and metals for an average annual sum of 90 million roubles, and agricultural produce for 550 million roubles, — or six times more.

This preeminently agricultural character of the

country differentiates Russia externally in a salient manner from Western Europe, and gives her an approximate resemblance, as far as regards agricultural productiveness, to the United States of North America. But a nearer examination of facts and figures leads to a somewhat different conclusion. As a matter of fact, the area of land under cultivation of cereals in European Russia and in the United States is almost the same, and in Russia even a little more; but the medium crop per desiatine is twice less, not only than that of most European States, but of that of the United States. Consequently, even with the comparative paucity of population, Russia has per head about as much grain as France, which uses all it has at home, and at the utmost but half as much as the United States. This circumstance clearly depends, in a great measure, upon the inadequate intensity of Russian cultivation. There is, therefore, a wide field for improvement, which is necessary in order to prevent the export of Russian wheat from depriving the country of what is needed for home consumption.

Not the whole of Russia by a long way can be called the granary of Europe. Without mentioning Siberia, where the conditions of climate and soil will not permit the cultivation of hardly 16% of the total area, the surplus of grain over and above the quantity needed for consumption in European Russia is produced by scarcely one third of the total area of the, so called, black-soil of the south eastern zone, the northern boundary of which runs eastward from the south, approximatively from Bessarabia to Ufa. Here there are about 100 mil-

lion desiatines of black-soil, comprising altogether somewhat more than  $\frac{1}{5}$  of European Russia. In other northern and north-western parts of the Empire the soil is clayey and argillaceous, interspersed in places by sand (in Polessia with marshes) and in the north with stone, which leads up to the Siberian *toondras*. In these regions the idea of agriculture as the principal resource of the population has long been abandoned, and the districts of Moscow, of the river Vistula, and of Poland have already achieved considerable importance by their industrial development.

It must not be thought, however, that Russia is thus divided into two sharply defined parts, namely, the agricultural zone of the south-east, and the industrial region of the north-west. The first of these, by reason of its natural riches, is far more suited for industrial activity than the second. It will suffice to recall the fact that the southern provinces bordering the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoff possess the extensive coal fields of the Donets basin, (spread over an area of about 40,000 square versts), and in the immediate neighbourhood of this enormous reserve of mineral fuel are some of the richest deposits of iron ore.

Its proximity to the sea, and the splendid means of communication with the centre of the country by the Dnieper, Don, and Volga give to this agricultural region the prospect of a great industrial future.

The eastern provinces, with their surplus production of grain, have also long been known as the nursery of Russian metallurgical industry. (the mines of the Ural),



and their vast forests of wood yield the necessary supply of fuel.

Even in the central black-soil zone the economical activity of the population has long since extended beyond the exclusive pursuit of agriculture, especially owing to the impoverishment of the soil by intensive methods of cultivation.

It is scarcely necessary to refer to the industrial future of the Caucasus.

In regard to Siberia, whose industry is yet in its infancy, there is the Kooznets coal basin in the province of Tomsk, 44,000 square versts in extent, second in size only to the basins of North America and Eastern China. In its vicinity are to be found abundant iron deposits, which, however, owing to the comparative scarcity of population, have as yet been very little worked. These natural riches point to the opportunities for industrial activity which await the Russian people in this part of the Empire on the construction of the Great Siberian Railway.

If, therefore, Russia may be compared with the United States of North America from the point of view of agriculture, the comparison also holds good in relation to natural facilities for industry and trade. The difference is, of course, that the Americans have already profited by such facilities to exert their industrial activity to a very high degree of development, so that scarcely anyone will now call the United States an agricultural country, whereas in Russia such development is the work of future enterprise and energy, in which respect a beginning has already been made. As Professor Mendeleyef

very justly remarks, Russia, on the emancipation of her peasantry, and their endowment with land, entered upon a new era of activity, embracing a mixture of agriculture and industry. We may add that it is precisely this mixture which constitutes the chief superiority of Russia over Western European countries, while it is also the main point of analogy between Russia and the United States. Like the latter country, Russia with her natural wealth is able and bound to produce for herself a great deal of what she now imports from abroad, without at the same time requiring bread stuffs from anybody else for her own consumption.

This, after all, is only a picture of the probable future. At the present time Russia must certainly be designated in the main an agricultural country.

**I. Distribution of landed property.** In describing the conditions of agricultural industry, and in particular the activity of the Government in this matter, we must first of all dwell upon the question of the distribution of landed property, as on that distribution depends to a great extent the character of rural economy, and the welfare of the rural population.

The total area of landed property in 49 provinces of European Russia\* represents 391 million desiatines. Of this quantity 150 million desiatines, or 38.5%, belong to the Crown; 131 million desiatines, or 33.5%, to the peasant communes in the form of allotments; 93 million desiatines, about 24%, to private owners, societies, and companies, and the remaining 17 million

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\* Exclusive of the territory of the Don Cossacks.

desiatines, or 4<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>, to the Appanage Department, the Church, monasteries, towns, and other institutions.

Therefore the Crown in Russia is proprietor of the largest quantity of land, which, however, is very unequally distributed. If we exclude the provinces of the north (Archangel, Vologda and Olonets), and of the north-east, (Perm and Viatka), where Crown lands constitute from 48 to 97<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> of the total area, the remaining 44 provinces do not contain more than 16 million desiatines of Government territory, or only 7<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>. As the same time the amount of available Crown land, not covered with forest, in these 49 provinces is about 4 million desiatines, of which  $\frac{1}{3}$  is concentrated in the province of Samara. Consequently, the peasant holdings come first as the most important in relation to agricultural economy, and as providing for the subsistence of the most numerous class in the State. It is, therefore, necessary to enquire somewhat more closely into their condition.

**1. Peasants' proprietorship. a) Its character and dimensions.** The peasant reforms consolidated the old form of peasant ownership of land, descended from earlier times, and the peasant communes retained in the form of allotments, for the most part, all the land of which they had enjoyed the use before.

In the next place, within the limits of the village communes, in localities populated by Great Russians, the new laws preserved the ancient common usufruct of land, which probably originated in the tribal communities of early times, when all the members of the tribe or family had equal rights in the common land.

In Little Russia, and in the localities comprised within the bounds of the former kingdom of Poland, as well as in the Baltic provinces, the peasant commune was never strong enough for development, owing to the complete domination of the Polish and German nobility; and therefore, in those parts at the present time the predominating form of proprietorship is that of the homestead. The communal use of the land means, in substance, that by resolution of the village assembly, the arable lands may be periodically redivided among the peasants. Therefore, each plot of field or arable land, (land occupied by farm buildings and gardens not being subject to repartition) remains in the use of one peasant, or his heirs, only temporarily, and by the process of redistribution may be transferred to the use of another.

As a matter of fact, radical repartitions of land take place periodically only in comparatively few communes, in consequence of alteration in the number of souls, and in others they occur very rarely indeed. In some communes no repartition has ever been made since the emancipation of the serfs, more than 30 years ago.

On the other hand, these repartitions take place for the most part in those villages, whose land is held in use by separate families. The fact is that with exception of the Baltic, and some of the north-western provinces, the peasant settlements in the majority of cases reach very considerable dimensions, and the extent of the holdings, allotted to such large peasant communities is often as much as 2000 and 3000 desiatines, or more. In regard to the rotation of crops and division of the

land into meadows, fields, woods, and pasture, the land owned in this way constitutes a single unit, so that each proprietor must have a plot in each field, and consequently has to conform to the common system of sowing as regards rotation of crops (German *Flurzwang*). Whereas, it also often happens that the village assembly is compelled by economical considerations to remeasure the plots among separate proprietors. Therefore, in regard to repartition the difference between land of the commune and family holdings, especially in the south and south-west, where the villages are larger, is by no means so great, as may appear at first sight.

All that has been said in the foregoing explanation applies specially to field or arable land. Besides this, each village possesses pasture land for the common use of the horses and cattle of all the inhabitants in general. In addition some village communities do not distribute their wood and grass lands, but simply divide the hay and cut wood when gathered in.

In 1890 there were more than 10½ million peasant families in the 50 provinces of European Russia. The land plots of the peasantry in the majority of cases, constitute from 35% to 60% of the area of each province, although in the black-soil zone they are much more extensive than anywhere else. Of the total quantity of peasant land, (with exception of land belonging to the Cossacks and to several other races in the eastern provinces), 80 million desiatines were under the communal system of holding, and only 22 millions under that of the family. The largest plots received by the former

proprietary peasants on their emancipation varied between  $2\frac{1}{2}$  and 15 dessiatines per soul, according to the revised list of souls or male peasants at that time, although, of course, the majority of allotments only approached the maximum. The peasants of the Imperial Domains and the Appanage almost everywhere received allotments  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times, or even twice, larger than those bestowed upon the peasants of other proprietors. On the average the Russian peasantry received a little more than 5 desiatines per soul; but since that time the population has increased to such an extent, that in 1878 it was calculated that each soul could only have about 4.1 desiatines more or less, and each family of land endowed peasants—12.3 desiatines of good land. Subsequently, by January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1892, it was considered that there were only 3.8 desiatines per soul, or 11 and a fraction desiatines per family of allotment land fit for cultivation. Of course land was bestowed upon the peasantry in very different proportions in the different parts of European Russia. If the country be divided into four parts by the parallel and meridian of Moscow, it will be found that in south-western Russia, which had the smallest allotments, there were about 8 desiatines per family; in the north-west and north-east, about equally, 14 desiatines; and in the south-east the largest plots of 18 desiatines. But these absolute figures tell us nothing as to the sufficiency of the allotments. In France, for example, each landed property (counting small, medium, and large estates together) averages less than 5.2 hectares, or only 4.7 desiatines; so that the medium size of small peasant

holdings is much less. Among our neighbours, the Germans, the medium size is about 8 hectares, or approximately 7 desiatines per farm, and in the small properties (up to 20 hectares, or 18 desiatines) only 3.6 hectares, or about 3 desiatines. Even in Russian Poland for every peasant property there is an average of 7 desiatines. Therefore, the size of peasant holdings in European Russia is altogether very favourable. The sufficiency of the allotments, however, does not depend upon their dimensions alone, but also upon the quality of the land, the method of cultivation, knowledge and experience, the composition of the peasant family, and so forth. In comparing Russia with France and Germany it must not be forgotten that in those countries the gross production per desiatine is twice as large as in Russia; so that in such a comparison the medium standard of 11 desiatines per family, or homestead, ought to be reduced by one half. On the other hand, although the allotment land represents the principal basis of existence for the peasantry of the greater part of Russia, it is not the only one. Various auxiliary industries and work in factories, undertaken by some of the members of the peasant family, always constitutes a considerable source of income; and therefore, the comparatively small allotments in the industrial districts are undoubtedly more profitable to their owners than the larger plots of south-eastern Russia. However this may be, the fact of there being too little land in many cases can hardly be disputed. It is proved by the hiring of land by the peasants from neighbouring Govern-

ment and private estates; the purchase of private estates by the more thrifty peasants, and a tendency to migrate to the spacious territories of Siberia. With the further increase of the population the want of land will certainly be more strongly felt, and, therefore, it is necessary to call attention to the means of effectually meeting this difficulty. Such means are indicated for the most part by the ordinary course of existence. First of all the peasants hire land from neighbouring private or Government property. In 1881 it was calculated that 11½ million desiatines had thus been rented by the peasants, and these figures are apparently much below the actual facts. It is interesting to note that this land is held by the more prosperous peasants; while the poverty of the poorer class compel them to abandon even their small allotments.

**b) Peasants' agrarian credit.** Another means is the acquisition of freehold outside the land of peasant allotments. After the reforms the peasantry soon turned to this means, and the investigation of 1877—78 disclosed that they had acquired by purchase, without the aid of the Government, about 6 million desiatines. Not more than 60% of this was purchased in small lots, while the remainder was bought by rich peasants in large estates often containing 10,000 desiatines, and more. At the beginning of 1880, on the appointment of M. Boongue to the post of Minister of Finance, the Government gave special attention to this want of land among the peasants, and in 1882 the Peasants' Agrarian Bank was established for the purpose of enabling the peasantry of all denominations to supple-



ment their allotments by the purchase of more land. In the course of 12 years, down till January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1895, the Bank had assisted the peasants to purchase 2,228,712 desiatines of land for 98 million roubles, of which sum the Bank advanced 76 millions, the remaining 22 millions having been paid by the peasants with their own money. The operations of the Bank extend throughout European Russia with exception of the Baltic provinces. Advances for the purchase of land are made; — 1, to rural communes; 2, to associations of peasants, and 3, to individual peasants. The largest quantity of land that each householder is permitted to purchase with the aid of the Bank must not exceed the working power of the purchaser and his family, and is determined for each district by a special administrative order. Formerly loans were made, according to desire, either for 24½ or 34½ years. At first the interest payable on loans for these periods were respectively 8½% and 7½% per annum with amortization; but by the gracious Manifesto of the 14<sup>th</sup> November 1894, issued in honour of the marriage of HIS MAJESTY the present reigning Emperor Nicholas II, this interest, in view of the unfavourable condition of agriculture, was reduced to 7½% and 6½%. At the same time, in order to enable the Bank to help the greatest number of peasants to acquire land, it was commanded that a certain portion of the redemption payments should be added every year to the means of the Bank, beginning from 1895, until its capital reaches the sum of 50 million roubles. After this ensued the publishing of new statutes for the Peasants' Bank,

according to which its activity is to be still further extended, as it is afforded the possibility of purchasing land on its own account with the object of selling it to the peasants. The deductions from the redemption payments granted to the Bank are intended principally to meet this end. As yet this operation is still on trial, and will continue so till January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1898. The new statutes afford another great facility to the peasants purchasing land by raising the extent of the loans to 90% of the value, and increasing the terms of amortization. These extend from 13 to 51 years 9 months (in the last case the peasant pays only 6% with amortization).

It must not be thought, however, that purchase through the Peasants' Bank exhausts the process of acquisition of land in addition to peasant allotments. On the contrary, it is to be presumed that the purchase of land without the assistance of the Bank goes on to a much greater extent, although there are no exact statistics on this point for the whole of Russia. According to information, for instance, of peasant landed property in addition to allotments, in 7 provinces only, namely, Tver, Moscow, Smolensk, Kharkoff, Kherson, Orenburg and Courland, — between 1877 and 1887, the quantity of land purchased by the aid of the Bank was 229,000 desiatines, and without its aid 907,000 desiatines, or 4 times more.

**c) Migration to free territories.** Finally, a remedy for insufficiency of land is migration to free territories. As the historian Solovief justly remarks, «the history of Russia is the history of the colonisation of the country». In ancient Russia freedom of movement

gave to the peregrinations of the people a natural character; but from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the forcible attachment of the peasantry to the soil placed considerable obstacles in the way of migration, and, owing to the burden of taxation and other obligations, it gradually assumed the character of running away. Nevertheless the Government itself, on acquiring new territories, took measures to attract colonists thither, principally by bestowing estates on servitors of the State, who were followed by the peasants. On the other hand, runaway and vagabond colonists endeavoured to settle on the confines of the Empire in free communities, and thus formed various Cossack settlements, which rendered Russia great services even prior to the time of Peter the Great, not only in the matter of colonisation, but also in the struggles for religion and nationality.

From the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the increase of State authority and serfdom checked the voluntary colonisation of the frontiers. But the need of such a movement still existed, and was felt by the Government, who endeavoured to open a way to colonisation by permission of authority. Peter the Great thus took steps to populate the newly acquired territory of Ingermanland; and in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Government gave permission for the colonisation of Siberia. In the reign of the Empress Catherine II there was an especially large movement of migration from the centre of Russia to the southern provinces and the newly annexed country of the Crimea. In characterizing all these measures, it must in general be stated that they were

## MIGRATION TO FREE TERRITORIES.

principally intended, not to serve the interests of the colonists, but to meet the necessities of defending and populating the districts of the frontier. It was only on the establishment of a Ministry of State Domains under the Emperor Nicholas I, that views on this subject underwent a considerable change. That Ministry was founded, among other things, for the direction of affairs relating to tutelage over the peasants of the State. At the head of it was placed Count Kisselief, well known for his activity in the administration of the principalities of Moldavia and Walachia. The inspectors whom he sent into the provinces in 1837 discovered an extreme dearth of land in many places. Many peasants abandoned their villages and went in search of free land into other provinces. The Ministry, therefore, first of all undertook a survey of the land of the State peasants, granting allotments to those in need, and subsequently, April 8<sup>th</sup>, 1843, regulations were issued for migration and colonisation. These regulations permitted migration from those localities deficient in land, where there were less than 5 desiatines per soul. The land to be colonised was first measured out into plots of 4000 to 5000 desiatines for the settlement of entire village communities. In each plot  $\frac{1}{5}$  was set apart as a reserve for increase of population. The district departments of the State Domains were obliged to render every possible assistance to the peasants while on the way to their new homes by furnishing them with provisions, looking after those who were ill, and so forth. The necessary corn, hay, agricultural implements and working cattle were prepared

for them on the spot to begin with, and they also received pecuniary assistance. But the regulations of 1843 applied only to the State peasants, who in reality were the richest in land. They could not extend to the peasant serfs, as the migration of these latter was at that time the business of the landed proprietors, their masters. Therefore, when the emancipation of the proprietary serfs took place the question of their migration should also have been considered. Unfortunately, this question was left entirely to the peasant communes. The peasant was allowed to change his place of residence only by permission of the commune to which he belonged, and to enter another one only by a similar permission from the same, while the conditions of obtaining these permissions were rendered very troublesome. Subsequently, in 1866, a new set of regulations was applied to the State peasants in the place of those of 1843.

The migration to Siberia was not so much restricted. It was only necessary in this case for the would-be colonist to obtain permission from the commune he was leaving, and from the provincial authorities. But Siberia was far off, and many peasants on their way there stayed on the abundant lands of the eastern provinces, of Ufa and Orenburg; so that nothing was left to the Government to do but to legalize these unauthorized settlements. It was only in 1889 that a general law was proclaimed for the colonisation of rural inhabitants and burgesses on Crown land. By this law intending colonists must now procure the permission of the two Ministers of the Interior, and of State Domains, and when this is obtained,

## MIGRATION TO FREE TERRITORIES.

they no longer need a certificate of departure from their village communes. Colonists are offered land in European Russia in the provinces of Tobolsk and Tomsk, and in the territory of the Governor Generalship of the Steppe. In European Russia, land is at first leased to the colonists on temporary tenure only, which may subsequently become unlimited: In Asiatic Russia the allotments are at once granted for permanent use: they are not transferable, and may not be burdened with debt. In order to supply colonists with information regarding land and the most convenient routes, a Government Colonisation Office was established in 1881 at Batrak, district of Sizran, near the ferry across the Volga; and later colonisation committees were formed in Orenburg, Tiumen and Tomsk. In 1890 a society for assisting colonists was started in St. Petersburg.

Finally, during the harvestless years of 1891—1892, the Special Committee for aiding the indigent peasants, presided over by the Heir-Apparent Cesarevitch, at present the reigning gracious Emperor Nicholas II, was occupied not only with questions of alimentation, but also with the general economical crisis in the stricken regions, and the most important causes of emigration. It paid the most careful attention to the wants of the emigrants, assigning as much as 89,000 roubles to be disposed of in their cause by an official, specially appointed to Tomsk for the purpose. Part of the money was expended in taking measures against the infectious diseases that had spread amongst the emigrants.

The above mentioned measures exhausted the action

of the Government and society in regard to regulating peasant colonisation down to the period when the Committee of the Siberian Railway was established, when the question entered a new phase.

We have already had occasion to remark that the quantity of Government land suitable for agricultural colonisation in European Russia is now comparatively small. This, however, is not the case in Asiatic Russia. In Siberia nearly all the land, as we know, belongs to the Government or to the Cabinet of HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY. Of this land a very considerable portion in point of extent is under the direct control of the Government and the Cabinet. This is almost entirely forest land and tracts unsuited for agriculture. Another portion, vast in extent, is composed of almost uninhabited *taigas*, *toondras*, and in general stretches of country in a perfectly wild state. All the best lands, most suitable for agriculture and cattle breeding, are held in use by the peasants and the more civilized natives. Many of them occupy land simply on the strength of traditional and immemorial tenure, without any other formal right. The use of land within each separate unit of more or less extent (village and volost) is organized in a variety of ways. In localities colonised recently, and thinly inhabited, in Eastern Siberia, and on the Amoor, the commune has not succeeded in establishing itself. Land is so abundant, that every one may plough, mow, grow vegetables, and pasture his cattle wherever he wishes, without interfering with anybody else. Land thus seized is called a *Zaimka*, otherwise *Khootor*, or farm. Some-

## MIGRATION TO FREE TERRITORIES.

times these *Zaimky*, comprise from 500 to 1000 desiatines and more. When in this way every available piece of land has been added to this or that farm, and fresh additions of population require land for themselves, the *Zaimka*, or farm, gradually gives way to the «free» form of land tenure, (principally in Tomsk and Tobolsk). This form consists in each having the right to the land which he cultivates, and as long as he cultivates it. At last, as the population grows thicker, the free form of tenure becomes inconvenient, and gradually gives place to the communal system, with its distribution of allotments.

The foregoing sketch will suffice to characterize the territorial wealth of Siberia, and the possibility of a considerable increase of its agricultural population. It shows further, that the colonisation movement in Siberia is destined to continue for a long time to come. At present, during the course of 9 years (1887—1895), 94,000 families comprising 467,000 souls, have settled in Siberia and the region of the Governor Generalship of the Steppe. As many as  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the general number of emigrants settle on the lands of HIS MAJESTY'S Cabinet in Altay, government of Tomsk. The construction of the Siberian Railway will very naturally place Siberia still nearer within the reach of the whole of the Russian peasantry. This is why, when the late Emperor Alexander III, reposing in the Lord, appointed his Heir Apparent, the present auspiciously reigning Gracious Emperor, to the head of the Committee of the Siberian Railway, the Rescript of the 14<sup>th</sup> January, 1893, connected the laying of a continuous railroad through Siberia with



the realisation of proposals for facilitating the colonisation of Siberia. In the first place, it was decided to survey and mark out tracts of free land along the route of the Siberian Railway suitable for colonisation. For this purpose several parties of land surveyors were organized, and instructed, that while demarcating land for fresh colonists, they were to make all possible efforts not to interfere with the native inhabitants.

By means of these surveying parties in 1893—1895 an area of over 3 million desiatines was parcelled out into 817 parts. The next two essential matters were the necessity of helping the colonists on the road, and their proper settlement on the land. In regulating the migration the Committee received the means of organizing medical aid and the distribution of provisions along the line of march. The credit for advancing money to the colonists was then considerably increased, and rules were drawn up for regulating the grant of such loans to the peasants for continuing their journey, and for arranging their affairs on arriving at their destination. They also received timber from the Crown forests for building their houses. At the same time measures were taken to satisfy the more pressing spiritual needs of the colonists. For this purpose churches and schools are being established at various places, principally near the railway stations, for which good work subscriptions and gifts of church articles are coming in from all parts of Russia.

Colonisation is the extreme means of dealing with the deficiency of land. Considering the peasant's love for his land, this is a remedy under specially painful condi-

tions, and, therefore, comparatively few avail themselves of it. As we have seen above, during 9 years only 467,000 souls have gone to Siberia, or an average of 52,000 a year. Even if these figures are not quite exact, it must be remembered that the natural annual increase of population in European Russia amounts to 1,500,000 souls. In any case, it is not in the compulsory retention of the population in their actual dwelling places, that the means of averting migration on too large a scale is to be found. It is necessary to create conditions that will in themselves keep the peasants at home. They must be persuaded that they can find everything requisite for themselves and families where they are at present; and this can only be done by widely spreading education, and in particular agricultural and technical knowledge. Furthermore, the pursuit of agriculture, as we know, leaves plenty of free time, especially in winter, which can be employed in so called home industries. Our agricultural population has long appreciated the importance of these small industries, which do not take the peasant away from his land, and have, therefore, been very considerably developed. But here also the peasant requires more knowledge, and is as much in want of the school for the successful pursuit of this occupation as he is in that of agriculture.

**d) Organization of petty rural credit.** Another want of the peasant is necessary money for improvements, for the commonest forms of industry, and for everyday needs when out of work. This should be supplied by a properly organized system of petty rural credit, without which the peasant is liable to fall

under the power of the usurer and other exploiters, and be forced, as a last resource, to sell his property and migrate to some other part of the country.

The first attempts to organize such a system of petty credit in Russia dates back to the beginning of the present century; but for a long time they were entirely of a spasmodic nature. Some importance was attained by agricultural banks for the peasantry of the Domain estates, and relief and savings banks for the former State peasants. There were a great many of the latter in 1866 (more than 4½ thousand), with a working capital of 9 million roubles, but their number has since diminished, and their business become completely disorganized.

At the beginning of the «sixties», after the emancipation of the serfs, the idea was started of organizing cheap credit among the peasantry in general, and also for the benefit of small tradesmen and manufacturers for the purpose of supporting and developing their business and industries.

At that time, in Germany, the ideas of selfhelp and credit on the principle of mutual aid, as advocated by Schultze-Delitch, were very popular. These ideas penetrating to Russia met with a great deal of sympathy and practical realisation. One of the initiators in this matter was a land-owner in the government of Kostroma, C. F. Looginin, who founded the first Mutual Loan and Savings Bank Association in Russia, on his estate in the volost of Rojdestvensk, district of Vetlooga. The statutes of this association served as a model for other associations of the same kind subsequently established.

ORGANIZATION OF PETTY RURAL CREDIT.

Since then altogether 1510 of these Associations have sprung into existence at different times; but some of them never came to anything and others were dissolved; so that at present there are only 764 in the 63 governments of European and Asiatic Russia. The working capital of each association is gradually formed by the subscriptions of the members for the creation of shares not exceeding 50 roubles. The Association accepts deposits and makes loans to its members in proportion to their shares, whilst responsibility for engagements is guaranteed by all the members.

On the 1<sup>st</sup> of January, 1893, the following information was forthcoming as to the working capital of our Loan and Savings Bank Associations and their prototypes in Germany on the Schultze-Delitch principle:

	In Russia.	In Germany.
Number of associations	662*	1,075
Members . . . . .	211,400	512,509
Own capital . . Roubles	9,118,000	Marks 147,462,000, or Roubles 67,833,000
Borrowed capital and deposits . Roubles	12,343,000	Marks 434,248,000 or Roubles 199,754,000
Loans advanced Roubles	18,271,000	Marks 1,539,034,000 or Roubles 707,956,000

In regard to these figures it must be explained that the above 1,075 Associations in Germany are those only which have rendered accounts; whereas there are altogether 4,791 Savings Bank Associations, with at least 2 million members, besides a large number of other kinds,

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\* These figures refer to only 662 associations out of the 764.

such as industrial, supply, building, and other associations, in all 4,130.

At the same time, besides the Savings Bank Associations, we also have other establishments for the purpose of furnishing small credit. In 1883 the Minister of Finance was empowered to authorize the establishment of Rural Banks, or loan and savings banks, in villages where there were no associations of this character. The characteristic feature of these banks is that the foundation capital is not created by means of shares, but with money from the commune or by private donation. In this respect these Rural Banks resemble another type of German establishment, called Reifeizens banks. These Rural Banks advance loans only to their peasant founders at the rate of 200 roubles maximum for the limit of one year. In the case of non repayment of the loan at the appointed time, the debtor is prosecuted in the same way as for taxes. Such banks, however are not yet numerous: there are altogether only 153 in 13 governments, with a total capital of 400,000 roubles, and deposits for 235,000 roubles. The loans which they have made, amount to only 657,000 roubles.

In Germany there are about 2,500 Reifeizens banks, which have made loans to the total amount of over 100 million roubles.

Besides these general kinds of institutions for rural credit, there exist in different places a good many independent types of such institutions, as, for instance, 1295 *gmina* loan and savings banks in Poland, advancing loans for nearly 12 million roubles to peasants, agriculturists

of the burgess class, landless rural labourers, and small land-owners of the Polish nobility; also loan and assistance banks in the province of Mogileff, etc.

The above data shows that we have made a beginning with the establishment of minor credit, but its development is yet a very long way behind the progress made in this respect in Germany.

In places, it is true, there are land proprietors, who maintain close relations with the peasantry, and assist them on favourable conditions for the latter, but such assistance is accidental, and cannot be of any great extent. Consequently, when the State Bank was reorganized in 1894, it was authorized to grant credit to owners of land, those engaged in domestic industries, and small traders to the extent of 300 roubles, on the security of solo bills of exchange, i. e. bills with a single signature. At the same time loans may be advanced by the State Bank through the medium of the Zemstvo institutions, private credit establishments, *artels*, and even by private individuals in close relationship with the peasant borrowers.

Undoubtedly, however, it is impossible to establish popular credit solely by means of pecuniary cooperation on the part of the Government. Therefore, the Minister of Finance, M. Witte, recommends the cooperation of the State Bank, the Zemstvo, and other public institutions, as well as private persons, in creating associations of credit by means of advances for the purpose of forming the foundation capital only, (under the obligation of the loans being repaid out of the profits). Such asso-

ciations, when once founded on Government loans, will soon attract confidence and private capital on profitable terms. It also obviates the necessity of share subscriptions, which in the case of existing loan and savings bank associations are often not paid at all. This project received the Imperial sanction on June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1895. Furthermore, very considerable alterations have been made in the organization of all former institutions of minor credit, which have thus been better adapted to the objects of their foundation and made more accessible to the population. In conclusion, institutions of minor credit have been enabled by permission of the Minister of Finance, to transact commission business by purchasing necessary articles for their members, and selling the produce of their labour. The benefit of including this kind of transaction in the operations of loan and savings bank associations is proved by the example of the Reifeizens banks, which owe their success to it.

This, in brief, is the basis of the new laws on minor credit, which inspire the hope that more success will in future attend its development than heretofore has been the case.

## **2. Private land. a) Its character and dimensions.**

The second category in importance of landed property is that of private estates. In 1878 all private estates in the 49 governments of European Russia numbered 481,000, with a total of 92 million desiatines of land.

In this total number of private land-owners the peasants come first. In 1878 they constituted more than half the number; but as regards quantity of land, the

nobility possess 80<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>, merchants 11<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>, and peasants only 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub><sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>.

The characteristic form, therefore, of private landed property in Russia is that of the estates of the nobility. The history of the rise of landed property belonging to the nobility is in its main features as follows: In ancient Russia there were two kinds of landed property, namely, the *votchina*, or private property in the full sense of the word, and estates, or feudal property, which the Russian Princes granted in return for service, and which they could take away at will. From the 15<sup>th</sup> century the *votchina* gradually became merged in the other kind of property, and both kinds were tenanted as land granted in return for service to the Prince, and on which lived the serfs. Such land could of course be held only by servitors, otherwise the nobility. At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century State service ceased to be obligatory on the nobility, and, consequently, all landed estates again became *votchina*. But as the serfs continued to live on the land, and they could be owned only by the nobility, the privilege of owning inhabited estates remained with the nobility, and was abolished *per se* only on the emancipation of the peasants.

These historial facts sufficiently explain the contemporary predominance of the landed property of the nobility. However that may be the land of the nobility is gradually diminishing under the effects of the extension of the right of possessing land to all classes of the population. In 1861, at the time of the peasant reforms, almost all private property in land belonged to the nobility; but in 1878,



PRIVATE LAND.

seventeen years later, about 19 million desiatines, or 20% had passed into the possession of other classes, and at the present time this proportion must be much greater.

The average, or medium extent of private estates in Russia does not exceed 1190 desiatines, owing to the large number of small parcels of land owned by peasants in addition to their allotments. On the other hand the medium extent of estates belonging to the nobility is 638 desiatines; but it would be unfair to draw conclusions exclusively from the property of the nobility, now that almost  $\frac{1}{5}$  of the land has passed into the hands of other classes.

Therefore, in making comparisons with other States it would be more correct to exclude altogether the small private estates of all classes in general, as, in the first place, the latter are not important in extent, and secondly, a comparison with the small estates of foreign countries, which correspond with the allotments of our peasantry, has already been made above.

In this way, if we compare private estates of more than 100 desiatines, 100 hectares, or 300 acres, we find that the medium size is:

In Russia . . . . .	1116 desiatines,	
» England . . . . .	629	»
» France . . . . .	460	»
» Germany . . . . .	374	»

But the extent alone gives no idea of the cultivation of an estate. In Western Europe the gross return per desiatine is much greater than with us. In England it is three times, and in Germany and France twice, as

much. Therefore the number of desiatines must be multiplied by the coefficient of productiveness, as follows:

Russia . . . . .	$1,116 \times 1 = 1,116$
England . . . . .	$629 \times 3 = 1,887$
France . . . . .	$460 \times 2 = 920$
Germany . . . . .	$374 \times 2 = 748$

so that it is not Russia, but England which ranks first.

If we divide Russian landed property into 3 categories, namely, small estates up to 100 desiatines, medium from 100 to 1000, and large estates above 1000 desiatines, it will be found that the first occupies only 7% of the whole, the second 23%, and the third 70%. Large private properties are especially numerous in the north western and eastern border districts; medium estates in the central provinces, and small ones in the north. But here again, of course, absolute figures must be compared with local conditions of rural economy, as there can be no doubt that a thousand desiatines of land in the Baltic provinces is not the same as a thousand desiatines in the provinces of Perm or Ufa.

**b) Hire of village labourers.** In passing on to consider the methods of employing the land, we must make a distinction in this respect between the system of cultivation of proprietors\* and that of peasants. The land of the peasants is cultivated with few exceptions by the owners themselves, without the help of hired labour. Whereas, the proprietors, who formerly had their serfs to do the work, are now obliged to engage the village labourer, The condi-

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\* Under the name of proprietors in this case is understood also such leaseholders of private estates that are not peasants.

tions of hired labour, therefore, constitute one of the most important considerations in the cultivation of the land. They depend, above all, upon the number of the local labouring population, corresponding to the area of land to be cultivated. In some regions, especially in the thickly populated blacksoil provinces, and also in the industrial districts, and for the most part outside the limits of the black-soil, the quantity of land is small in comparison with the labour capacity of the local agricultural population. In these parts there is thus a very considerable surplus of labourers, who leave temporarily the blacksoil country to seek work principally on land in the south and south-east of Russia. From the country outside the blacksoil region they go for the most part into the towns and industrial centres. In a very few localities, (on the confines of the thickly settled blacksoil region and in some provinces beyond, where industries are not much developed), the population almost suffices for the area of cultivation. In the vast region embracing all southern and south-eastern Russia, an enormous extent of land is cultivated and sown exclusively by the help of these temporary labourers from other districts.

In those parts where the number of agricultural labourers is sufficient for the cultivation of all the land, most of the estates are worked by the local peasants, who employ their own implements and cattle. This arrangement, which existed nearly everywhere prior to the liberation of the serfs, has now assumed three forms: 1, the engagement of peasants for separate work in the

fields: ploughing, sowing, harvesting, etc.; or for tilling and reaping entire desiatines, for which payment is made either in money or in land, that is to say, for example, in return for tilling and reaping 2 desiatines the proprietor allows the peasant to sow the third desiatine with his own seed for his own benefit; 2, giving the land over to the peasants in return for one half, or a certain proportion, of the harvest, and 3, the lease of entire estates or large plots of land for long periods, commonly to village communes or associations, and by the desiatine for one crop to individual peasants.

A fourth method of labour supply is the hiring of men permanently, by the year, the day, or for other limited terms.

The engagement of labourers by the month, or for the summer prevails in the South, where the local peasantry are too few, and where most of the work on private estates must necessarily be performed by men from a distance. Yearly labourers are kept principally in the Baltic, the Vistula and the Western, provinces.

The essential importance of the conditions of labour hire to the land-owners in the cultivation of their land, explains why the Government has always given special attention to the question of providing a sufficient number of labourers. It was the deepest concern of the Government in ancient Russia. In those days, as we know, the rich land-proprietors and monasteries, with their financial privileges, attracted the peasants from the smaller estates, and the owners of these latter were thus rendered unable to perform their duties to the State on account

of the lack of labourers to till their land. The complaints and discontent of the land-owning class on this head were the reasons which caused the Government to fix the peasantry to the soil; and down to 1861 serfdom was the only means of securing to the land-owners a sufficient supply of labour. Since that period the position of affairs has been radically changed. The system of free contract became the basis of mutual relations, and the Government was called upon to regulate the situation, so as to equalize the interests of both sides. It was necessary to protect the land-owner against any sudden violation of contract in times of difficulty and stress, and to secure the economical and personal liberty of the labourer as well as just and proper remuneration for his work. The latter conditions are not less important for the proprietor. The small productiveness of the land when worked by the forced labour of the serfs has been fully demonstrated. Consequently, soon after the emancipation, namely, in 1863, the Government issued «Temporary regulations for the hire of rural labourers and servants», and these were altered again in 1886. By these regulations the party hiring has the right of demanding the return of any labourer who may have left before the expiration of his term and taken work with another employer, and the latter can be prosecuted for damages. The employer, or hirer, may also demand that any labourer not appearing, or voluntarily disappearing, be brought back to him. The employer may deduct a fine from the wages of a labourer for drunkenness and neglect of his work, also for carelessness, insolence, disobedience

and injury done to the property of the estate; but the fine must not exceed two days' pay. For drunken desertion of duty the fine may be doubled for all the time thus wasted. For complete non-appearance the master may prosecute the labourer for damages, not exceeding, however, his 3 months' wages. In order to secure the economical and personal independence of the labourer it has been laid down, that a contract cannot be made for a longer period than 5 years; and in particular, in the case of working off any debt to the proprietor, a labourer is forbidden to bind himself for longer than one year. Besides this, an employer may not compel the men to accept wages in kind, in the form of corn, goods or other articles instead of money, and a fine may be imposed on an employer for delaying payment.

Such are the legal regulations regarding the conditions of hiring labour from the juridical point of view. Not less important is the economical side of the matter. In point of fact, the extent of necessary working capital depends upon local conditions of securing labour.

In the thickly populated districts of the blacksoil provinces, where the local peasantry go to work with their own cattle and agricultural implements, the land owner in most cases keeps very few cattle and implements; also, where the land is worked on the condition of a part of the produce going to the peasant labourers, or where the land is let out to the peasants for long periods, the owners may altogether dispense with any inventory of their own. On the other hand, in those parts where the labourers come from a distance the inventory of the

land owner must necessarily be very extensive, as also in districts where labourers are engaged by the year.

The labour question is not less important in its effect upon the profitableness of private land. The gross profits of agriculture depend upon the harvest and the selling prices of wheat, but the expenditure depends upon the price of labour. The price of wheat in times of bad harvest generally rises, while the price of labour in such a case is diminished, and *vice versa*. The fluctuations in this respect ought to balance the one with the other; but in reality it often turns out quite the contrary. In the south, for instance, in years of good harvest, the price of wheat falls so low, and that of labour rises so high, that the losses of agricultural proprietors are greater than in years of the very worst crops. For this reason the most profitable years are those of middling harvests, or a little above the average. This changes for the better the further one goes to the north, as in that region the productiveness of land and the price of labour are less subject to fluctuation, and the area of land in the possession of private owners is comparatively insignificant.

But in the south the impossibility of foreseeing exactly the extent of expenditure necessary for gathering in the crops forces the proprietors either to resort to loans, or to sell the yet ungarnered crops, burdened with considerable advances.

These circumstances lead to the necessity of properly explaining and solving the question of agricultural credit both for long and short terms.

c) **Long and short credit for landowners.** As regards the first, the mortgage of land as security was known in Russia in the XIV century, and in the XVI century it assumed a sufficiently definite form. But with the prohibition of acquiring land, the plebian class were not permitted to give loans on the security of land, which was a considerable hindrance to such transactions, and increased the rate of interest on the loans.

It was first in the reign of the Empress Elizaveta Petrovna, in 1754, that two Government banks for the nobility were established at St. Petersburg and Moscow, for the purpose of saving the nobility from usurers. Under Catherine II the St. Petersburg bank was turned into a State Loan Bank. In the course of time advances came to be given not only by the Loan Bank, but also by the Deposit Bank, attached to the Foundling Hospitals at St. Petersburg and Moscow, and the Offices of Public Benevolence. Down to 1859 all these institutions had advanced about 425 million roubles on security of more than  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the total number of serfs. We had occasion to refer above to the abnormal character of this system of State agrarian credit, and the peasant reforms, which were then approaching, rendered a radical rearrangement necessary, inasmuch as the gratuitous labour of the serfs soon ceased to be the chief source of means for the landowners. And in effect all these Government institutions of agrarian credit were abolished in July, 1859. On the emancipation of the serfs in 1861, the advances made to proprietors in return for the land allotted to the peasants were employed to liquidate their debts to



the former institutions of credit; and subsequently, down to 1864, there was, properly speaking, no organization whatever of agrarian credit, although the question was very diligently discussed, and preference was shown for banks of mutual credit, that is to say, associations of land proprietors mutually guaranteeing each other. The first bank of this kind was established in the province of Kherson in 1864, and in 1866 a more important institution came into existence, — the Society of Mutual Agrarian Credit. Subsequently, beginning in 1871, agrarian share banks were started in Kharkoff, Poltava, Toola, etc. As far back as 1865 the indebtedness of private landed property was calculated at 92 million roubles, and by 1886 this sum had increased to 700,000,000 roubles. The great fall in the price of cereals in «the eighties» placed the proprietors of mortgaged estates in an almost inextricable position. Their incomes were considerably diminished, and yet the payments due to the credit banks and expenses in general remained the same as before. This circumstance, coupled with the rapid transfer of land from the original landed nobility into the hands of other classes, gave great concern to the Government. Therefore in 1885 the Government established the State Land Bank of the Nobility, which makes advances exclusively to noblemen. The extent of such loans must not exceed 60% of the estimated value of the land, on the mortgage of which the money is advanced. Advances are made for terms from 11 to 67 years, and, according to the Manifesto of November 14, 1894, the percentage charged on them besides redemp-

tion is lowered to 4<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> per annum. Such favourable conditions could certainly not be offered to borrowers by any private land bank; and consequently the indebtedness of private landed property has increased principally at the expense of the Land Bank of the Nobility. From 1886 to 1894 it was increased by 475 million roubles, out of which 335 millions were advanced by the Bank of the Nobility. It must be explained here, that the operations of the Bank of the Nobility do not extent to Poland, the Baltic provinces, Finland, Transcaucasus, or to landowners of Polish extraction in the Western provinces.

The total sum of debt upon private estates on the 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1894, was 1,175,000,000 roubles, without taking into account the debts on private mortgages, which, however, is much less. As security for the above amount of debt there were 108,000 estates mortgaged comprising 47,5 million desiatines, which constitutes 41,3<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub> of the entire area of private estates in European Russia, the kingdom of Poland and the Caucasus. The greatest number of estates mortgaged are in the Baltic provinces, where mutual loan banks for the nobility were founded at the beginning of the XIX century. More than half, reaching up to 70<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub>, of the land of all private estates is mortgaged in the southern, southwestern and central blacksoil provinces, where a ready working and reserve capital is required in view of the great fluctuations in the quality of the harvests and the price of labour. At the same time in Russia as in Western Europe a very inconsiderable part of the money borrowed has been

spent on the needs of the land. For the most part it has been employed either in facilitating the purchase of estates, or for covering payments due to third parties on account of family divisions of inheritance, and so forth.

In the management of estates more importance is attached to credit on short terms. During the period immediately following the abolition of serfdom the proprietors obtained working capital partly by selling the interest bearing paper, given to them as remuneration for the loss of the land allotments presented to the emancipated peasants, and partly by means of loans on the security of their land. But when those resources were exhausted, and the land was already burdened with heavy debt, attention had to be directed to the organization of agricultural credits for short terms. The land banks, by their statutes, were able to provide such credit only out of a comparatively small part of their means, and land proprietors seldom solicited aid of the State Bank, because the latter could only discount bills of a commercial nature. Private credit also was excessively dear, especially when the harvest failed, or there was stagnation in the grain trade. All these circumstances gave rise in 1884 to the law of solo bills of exchange from landowners, according to which the State Bank and its branch offices were authorized to give credit to landowners in return for solo bills (that is, bills with the single signature of the drawer, whereas commercial bills of exchange require the signature of a second party), on condition of a lien upon the estate for the amount of credit so given, (at present inventories, guarantees, etc.

are likewise accepted as security for solo bills). Down to 1893 credit had been opened for a total of 13½ million roubles, and advances made for only 9 millions. Since then, especially in 1894, when new statutes were issued for the State Bank, all possible measures have been taken to facilitate the formalities, involved in the acquisition of credit on solo bills of exchange. Down to 1895 — 18 million roubles have been paid on solo bills.

A second form of short agrarian credit consists in advancing money on the security of agricultural produce. This system is of essential importance for the land-owner, as it helps him to become more independent of arbitrary prices fixed by buyers. It came into use in «the forties», long before the introduction of solo bills of exchange, and when the State Commercial Bank of that time established branch offices at Kieff and Kharkoff, and advanced loans on security of agricultural produce kept on the spot by the land proprietors. At first this operation developed rapidly; but through the want of satisfactory buildings on the estates in which to store the mortgaged produce, and the difficulty of maintaining the necessary supervision thereof, it gradually fell out of use and was at last done away with altogether. This occurred in «the sixties»; but the system was revived in 1894 on the reorganisation of the State Bank. On the other hand, with the development of railways, this operation was undertaken by the railway authorities.

**II. Distribution of the different kinds of land.** We must now turn from the consideration of peasant and private land in particular to that of agriculture in general. The

first question in this connexion is the distribution of the different kinds of land. According to statistics of 1881 the 50 provinces of European Russia contain 39% of forest land, 26% of arable land, 16% of meadow and pasture land and 19% of land unfit for use.

a) **Forest land.** It therefore appears that forest land predominates, but it would be a mistake to call European Russia a wooded country. Only two regions can be properly described as chiefly composed of forest land, namely, the extreme north (57%), and the Ural region (45%). The provinces of the middle Volga and the lake districts are wooded to the same extent as Austria (29—30%); and the following regions are more wooded than France, but less than Germany: the Moscow industrial districts, the provinces of White Russia, with Lithuania, the kingdom of Poland, the wooded parts of the Ukraine (the provinces of Kieff and Volhinia), and the Transcaucasus (20—24%). The Baltic provinces resemble France (17%), and in the remaining provinces the proportion of forest land is still less, although France is considered a thinly wooded country. Finally on the steppe land of the south eastern regions there is not more than 1% of forest.

In relation to the number of inhabitants more favorable results are obtained. There are 1,3 desiatines of forest to every inhabitant, whereas in Europe in general there are only 0,8, and in particular in Austria  $\frac{1}{2}$  desiatine, in Germany  $\frac{1}{3}$  and in France  $\frac{1}{5}$  desiatine. But if we reckon by zones and districts more than  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the population have less forest land than in Ger-

many, and  $\frac{1}{5}$  less than in France. The gross consumption of wood for domestic and industrial purposes is estimated by professors Roudsky and Shafranoff at 45 million cubic sajens yearly. Reckoning 25 cubic sajens to a desiatine, we find that about 2 million desiatines of timber are cut down annually out of the 142 million desiatines composing the entire forest area, or  $\frac{1}{71}$ . This destruction of timber could not be considered excessive if the entire area of forest land were equally distributed; but unfortunately this is not the case; and thinly wooded districts are being denuded of timber with frightful rapidity. Such deforestation of our grain-growing provinces could not fail to attract special attention. Trees, as we know, moderate the sharp fluctuations of temperature by softening the hoar frosts of the early morning, which are so injurious to young crops, and by influencing the quantity of moisture, thus regulating the climate and irrigation. In the wooded parts of European Russia the amount of atmospheric precipitation is much greater than in the woodless regions.

This deforestation has brought about destructive inundations in the basins of the Dniester, Dniepre, Boog, Don, and Western Dvina, which were formerly unknown. Woods and forests also purify the atmosphere, arrest the drifting of sand, and formation of dunes, form a protection against the detrimental effects of hail and storms, strengthen the banks of rivers and streams, and prevent the latter from becoming silted up and shallow. This explains the great importance of woods and forests in Russia, which has hitherto been chiefly an agricultural

country, and in which the well being of a majority of the inhabitants depends upon equality and moderation of climatic conditions. Therefore the history of the relations of the community and the State towards this question of woods and forests is of no small interest. In ancient times the woods and forests of Russia were too abundant to have any value or importance among the thinly scattered population, and were not even regarded as private property. It was not till the end of the XV century that a beginning was made in this respect by the issue of «preservative charters» to a few landowners against the cutting of wood by unauthorized persons. In the law code of the Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich there is a general system of punishments laid down against the voluntary use of other persons' wood. But it was only in the reign of Peter the Great that the Government began to take decisive measures in regard to the forests of the country. In 1703 all woods and forests within 50 versts of the larger rivers, and 20 versts of the smaller ones were declared to be «Zapovedny», i. e. their destruction was interdicted. Punishment of death was decreed against the voluntary cutting down of oak, and 10 roubles fine for the destruction of every other kind of tree.

For the purposes of supervision and control a body of foresters was created, with a Chief Forester at their head. (Ober-Waldmeister's instructions, 1723). After Peter the Great many of these regulations were mollified; but Anna Iohannovna revived the system of Peter, and even made it more severe. Under Catherine II, with the

new ideas of the time as to the freedom of private property, the system of forest regalia was entirely abolished, and the Government concentrated its attention only on forest land belonging to the Crown. With the establishment of a Ministry of State Domains in 1838 the authorities began to attach importance to the existence of woods and forests as an element in the cultivation of the country. A body of forest guards was formed for preserving the forests of the Crown, and a corps of foresters for their proper management and cultivation. The results of these measures, which continue to operate at the present day, were very important, not only in the sense of increasing the income of the State on this head from 1 to nearly 28 million roubles, but in the general interests of the State, as the extent of forest land owned by the State is immense. In European Russia alone the State owns  $\frac{2}{3}$  of all the woods and forests. Here again, however, the distribution is very unfavourable. Most of the State forests are in the thickly wooded localities of the north, while a predominance of insecure private property in woods and forests obtains in the more thinly wooded zones. In these spheres the necessity of preserving woods and forests has been very slowly recognized.

Consequently, on the establishment of the Zemstvos in «the sixties» many of the assemblies of those institutions raised the question of forest preservation, in which they received the strong support of the Minister of State Domains, Count Valooieff. The first project of laws for the preservation of forests was then drawn up, but was confirmed by the Emperor only in 1888. By those laws



the following forests and coppices may be recognized as protected throughout European Russia and the Caucasus: 1, forests or coppices arresting movable sands; 2, protecting the banks of rivers or other waters; 3, growing in any quantity on mountains, hills, precipices, and slopes, if such trees or shrubs prevent the falling of earth or rock, and 4, protecting the upper reaches and sources of rivers and their tributaries. These kinds of wood or forest may not be turned into any other sort of rural property, and the plan of management is confirmed by the Government. Besides this, in case of the owner not agreeing to carry out this or the other improvement, the Ministry may buy out his forest or wood at a valuation price. Private woods and forests not recognized as protected may be turned into other kinds of land only in certain cases. Destructive felling of trees and the pasture of cattle in young woods or in clearings are forbidden. Land irregularly cleared of timber must be replanted with trees by the owner, and so forth. For the purpose of carrying out these laws a forest preservation committee exists in each province, presided over by the governor, and composed of representatives of the nobility, of the administration, of the law courts, of the zemstvo, and the owners of woods and forests. Down to the 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1895, there were 36,000,000 desiatines of forest under the supervision of these committees, including 7,000,000 desiatines of peasant land, and 19,000,000 desiatines belonging to private owners: in this total there were 890,000 desiatines of forest recognized as protected, and the plans of management of

4,166,000 desiatines of unprotected forest had been sanctioned by the Government.

Such are the preservative measures for the protection of existing woods and forests. But as we have already observed, there are large tracts of country almost destitute of forests. In such places positive measures are required for directly increasing the extent of the woodlands. The attention of the Ministry of State Domains was turned to this matter as soon as that department came into existence. Scientific authorities declared that it was impossible to afforest the steppes; but Count Kisseleff was not dissuaded from making the attempt; and accordingly, a young Russian forester, named Victor Graff, was sent to the province of Ekaterinoslaff to try the experiment. With enormous energy this man overcame all difficulties, and created a forest on the steppe in the, so called, Great Anadolsky forestry. What was formerly a desert is now covered with 3000 desiatines of fine forest. Subsequently the work was extended to other parts of New Russia, where several other young forests have been created. The forest department add about 750 desiatines every year, and the example has been followed by other Government Departments and private individuals. It is also worthy of remark that trees have been planted to withstand the shifting sand on the dunes near Libau and Windau, and near the mouth of the Dnieper, close to the town of Aleshky; and, in general, measures for arresting the movement of sands in different localities are to be adopted on the widest possible scale.

At present the forest authorities, while encouraging

the private cultivation of woods and forests, also give out young trees for planting from the existing 31 Government nurseries, and offer prizes for forest cultivation, etc.

A few words remain to be said in conclusion as to the forests of Siberia, which all belong to the Government. In Western Siberia alone these forests are estimated at 110 million desiatines. In Eastern Siberia the forest area is much greater, but the extent of it is not yet known. As in European Russia, the enormous sylvan wealth of Siberia is very unequally distributed, and in the south there is hardly any wood at all. For a long time the Siberian forests have been free of all supervision and control, and down to the present day the law recognizes the right of the denizens of Siberia to the free use of forest timber for all requirements, including the construction of boats. Owing to this attitude, the accumulation of windfallen trees and branches, frequent fires, indiscriminate felling of timber, and the pasturing of cattle, etc., have reduced most of these forest properties to a chaotic condition, and in the more populated localities of Siberia there has even come to be a want of wood. It was only in «the sixties» that regulations were introduced in Western Siberia for the payment of stump and sajene fees. But, owing to the absence of control, these regulations did not produce much benefit until a forest department and keepers had been instituted in that region. A great deal of effort is of course still necessary to put order into the forest management of Asiatic Russia, and this will undoubtedly be facilitated

gradually by the growth of population, the increasing demand for timber, and its advance in price.

**b) Systems of cultivation and auxiliary pursuits.** The remaining kinds of rural land, consisting of arable, meadow, and pasture, constitute together  $26+16=42\%$  of the total area of European Russia. The proportionate quantities of each in any particular locality characterize to some extent the predominant form of rural economy. Most land is tilled in the populated blacksoil provinces. To the north and south of that zone there is comparatively less ploughed land, the smallest percentage being naturally found in the northernmost provinces of Vologda, Olonets and Archangel. In these regions forest land predominates, together with the so called field and forest system of rotation which suits best the local conditions. This system consists in sowing wheat at intervals and meanwhile allowing wood to grow for long periods at a time. This field and forest system is followed also in remote districts of the provinces of Novgorod, Kostroma, Viatka and Perm, besides the 3 northern provinces mentioned, and then gradually merges into the three-field system, which predominates throughout Russia. The most usual and most widely spread form of this system consists in the following alternation: 1) fallow, 2) winter rye, 3) oats, barley or buck-wheat. There must necessarily, however, be great variety in the cultivation of these regions on the three-field system, as indicated by the one single circumstance that in the northern half of these provinces the cultivation of clayey, sandy and manured soil constitutes 20—30, and occa-

sionally 40% of the total area, whereas on the blacksoil it amounts to 50—60%. For instance, from the west towards the region of the field and forest system, there is the **flax region**, comprising the provinces of Pskoff, Vitebsk, Novgorod, and parts of the provinces of Yaroslaff, Kostroma, Vologda, Tver, and also Smolensk and Courland. In these regions corn crops are first followed by flax, which is sown partly on forest clearings and partly on arable soil, which, besides, is for the most part richly manured and improved by the cultivation of clover. The entire area not composed of blacksoil produces up to 13 million poods of flax fibre, which is as much as can be produced by all the other countries of Europe taken together. The blacksoil zone, Siberia and the kingdom of Poland produce up to 18 million poods, and in addition 23 million poods of linseed. The local consumption of these products is not large: it does not exceed  $\frac{1}{3}$  of flax fibre and 20% of linseed; the value of our export of flax products may be estimated at about 80 million roubles. Russia therefore takes the lead in supplying the international market with prepared flax, and comes second after the East-Indies in exportation of linseed.

The flax region, not composed of blacksoil, gives place on its confines to the region in which cattle breeding predominates. This comprises the province of St. Petersburg, the three provinces of the Baltic, Lithuania, a portion of White Russia and the industrial districts. In these parts the percentage of tilled land varies considerably. The largest proportion is in Lithuania (up to

40%) and the smallest in the Baltic region (about 20%). The whole of the above mentioned region is characterized by the production on land included in the seed overturn for feeding purposes,—of clover, potatoes, Timothy grass etc., and also by an abundance of natural meadow land and pastures along the banks of rivers and lakes, lowlands, marshes, waste land, and young woods. The possession of an abundance of cattle of the, so called, Great Russian breed, and the production of large quantities of manure constitute the essential conditions of rural economy; and in consequence there is a very high development of **dairy farming**.

In the latter half of «the sixties» a landowner of Tver, named Verestchagin, visited Switzerland for the purpose of becoming acquainted with the association form adopted there in that particular pursuit, which he decided to introduce into Russia under the form of the Russian *artel* system of organisation. In 1871 with the help of the Zemstvo of Tver and the Government, Verestchagin opened the first school of dairy farming in the village of Edimonoff, Government of Tver.

From that time the improvement of dairy farming made rapid strides, and in the middle of «the seventies» a number of cheese and butter factories sprang up, producing Swiss, Dutch, Limburg and French cheese. Prior to that cheese in Russia was made out of curds. Cream butter and Holstein and Paris butter also began to be manufactured. At the present time there are several thousand butter and cheese factories. In 1886 a kind of travelling butter factory was established for the purpose

of introducing improved methods of manufacture among landowners and peasants, and also a dairy farming laboratory, and a number of dairy schools on the model of those in Finland.

The result was that the import of foreign butter and cheese began to diminish, and the Russian export of these products, which had never before existed, went on continually increasing, until in 1891 it reached 63,000 poods of cheese and 433,000 poods of butter made from the milk of cows and sheep.

Nevertheless, the production of cereals is very considerable even in the region in which cattle breeding prevails so largely. The area of corn sowing in this region, as everywhere under the three-field system, constitutes  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the arable land (as  $\frac{1}{3}$  remains fallow); but in the Baltic provinces, under the many field system, more than 70% of all the arable land is sown. The prevailing cereal is of course rye. Considerably less oats and still less barley is sown, as everywhere in the regions not composed of blacksoil.

In characterizing the rural economy of the regions not composed of blacksoil in general, it may be said that without reckoning the employment of agriculture and domestic industries, the population is obliged, owing to the comparative poverty of the soil, to seek additional means of livelihood in other rural occupations, such as the preparation of flax, cattle breeding, etc. For the same reason the three field system is gradually giving way to more perfect methods, and the cultivation of valuable spring plants, chiefly root crops, and likewise grass for

feeding, with a corresponding development of cattle breeding. The land is continually manured, and in the west, instead of dung, the manure used is generally superphosphate and bone dust, the import of which is twice as great as it was in 1886.

The blacksoil zone exhibits quite other characteristics. In this region grain cultivation predominates, and supports the welfare of the population. It may be subdivided in its turn into two parts. The first part, embracing all the central blacksoil provinces, and parts of the Little Russian and south western provinces, is called the region in which the three field system predominates.

Owing to the fine quality of the soil there is a great deal of land under cultivation,—more than  $\frac{1}{2}$ , and even up to  $\frac{3}{4}$ ; but the want of food for cattle is so much felt that cattle breeding is very little developed, and consequently the use of manure, although very general, is very limited in quantity, and began to be used not more than 30 years ago.

The cereals principally cultivated are: winter rye in the northern part, and wheat in the southern; also spring-oats, buckwheat, occasionally barley, peas and millet. Potatoes are cultivated for the manufacture of spirit and starch, and among the peasantry for food. It must not, however, be thought that the whole of this region represents one kind of cultivation. Here also grass growing, is gradually being added to the three course system, clover and Timothy grass principally.

The second half of this grain growing territory, including the provinces of Saratoff, Samara, Voroneje,



Kharkoff, Poltava, Ekaterinoslaff and Kherson, is called the region of the improved fallow, or manifold course and pasture system. Here one perceives a transition towards the system of the steppes, in which cultivation of the fields alternates with more or less prolonged periods of rest in order to renew the productive powers of the soil. The difference is that land which has rested for some years is again rendered productive: grasses are sown on it, principally Timothy, esparcet, lucerne etc., which are thus included in the rotation of crops. — The cereals cultivated are mostly wheat, millet, oats occasionally barley and peas, and in places flax for seed. Cattle breeding is pretty general, but as the land is hardly ever manured, it has hitherto been confined to the breeding of fine-wool sheep. With the increase of the rental value of land, sheep farming has of late years become unprofitable, and is now rapidly on the decline.

A middle place between the 3 course and the manifold course and fallow systems is occupied by the **beet growing** region. Although the cultivation of beet root for sugar is found in the central blacksoil provinces, the real beet growing region comprises only some parts of the provinces of Kursk, Kharkoff, Chernigoff, Kieff, Podolia and Volhynia. As regards the technical part of rural economy, the cultivation of beet root here is of equal importance with other root crops.

Finally, in the south and south east of European Russia, in the provinces of Oufa, Orenburg, Samara and Astrakhan; the territories of the Kuban, the Terek and the Cossack troops of the Don, and in some parts of

the Taurid, Kherson and Ekaterinoslav provinces, the fallow system, pure and simple, prevails. There is comparatively less arable land here than in the foregoing regions, and less than 50% of it is sown; even less than 30%, for instance, in the province of Oufa. Manure has been used on the land only during the past 10 years, and then only as a rare exception to the rule, while in the south and south eastern provinces it is never used at all. It must, of course, be borne in mind that at the end of the last, and beginning of the present, centuries, agriculture on the steppes scarcely existed, and therefore, the blacksoil of this region is still very fertile. Sheep farming has also begun to develop here during the last few years.

The most lucrative occupation of the inhabitants of the south and south east of Russia is **cattle breeding**, which therefore requires a few words of description.

In the whole of European and Asiatic Russia there are about 167 million head of cattle, including 28 million horses, 40 million oxen, 87 million sheep and goats, and 12 million hogs. **Horse breeding** is carried on in a fairly equal degree all over Russia, although the greatest number of horses per man of the population is found in the east and south east. Of the total number of horses, 82% belong to the peasants, 15% to the land proprietors, and only 3% to the inhabitants of towns. Nevertheless the peasants who have no horses ( $\frac{1}{4}$ ) are specially numerous in the south west, where oxen are used as draught animals. Horses of the peasant and steppe breeds are most abundant, and those of breeding

studs comparatively small in number, although for the purposes of improving Russian horses in general, the trotting studs, and those of pure-bred and half-bred English horses are of essential importance. The studs of trotting horses are now so numerous that Russia in this respect is fully provided for. On the other hand, the studs of pure-bred race horses, which are the only ones suitable for improving the horses of the steppes, are as yet very few. The Chief State Department of Horse Breeding is therefore continually increasing the Government studs, and also the prizes and rewards for encouraging trotting matches and races, and the number of horse shows.

As regards horses of the type used for agricultural purposes, the most remarkable are the *klepper* and Swedish ponies in Finland and the Baltic provinces, and the *bityogy* of Voroneje and Tamboff, bred from Dutch stallions imported by Peter the Great. Among those of the steppe breed, suitable for riding, the most important are the well known Kirghiz horses, which are bred over a very wide area of south eastern European Russia and the Asiatic steppes; also the horses of the Kalmucks, Bashkirs and Don Cossacks. The latter kind from the Don, when crossed with English and Arabian blood, furnish the chief supply of horses for the Russian cavalry. In general, the south east of European Russia and the Asiatic steppes offer such a wide field for the breeding of horses that there need be no fear for the future of this pursuit, although unfortunately many owners of Russian studs have not yet been able to

acquire the necessary knowledge and experience, nor the means for producing good cavalry and cart horses.

**The cattle**, as well as the horses of Russia, are pretty equally distributed. We have already described the cattle and dairy farming of Great Russia and the northern provinces. The steppe cattle, that is, the cattle of the southern steppes, the south western, Little Russian, and south eastern provinces, are very large, and good for work and meat. The trade of the interior in live cattle is concentrated at the fairs and bazaars, especially in the Don, Kuban and other territories, where many thousands of oxen are generally collected. Hence they are despatched to the towns alive, or as meat in refrigerating railway cars.

But the first place in importance in the south and south eastern regions belongs to **sheep farming**. All sheep in Russia may be divided into 2 groups: the fine wool, or merino, and the common, or coarse wool sheep. The sheep of the first kind are estimated at  $\frac{1}{3}$ , although latterly, with the fall in price of *marino* wool, and the development of agriculture proper, their number has begun to decline. On large farms sheep are kept in flocks of many thousands. It was Peter the Great who first pointed out the profitableness of sheep farming; and in 1720, with the assistance of foreigners, a State farm for sheep breeding was established and sheep were given away gratis. In the reign of Catherine II the breeding of merino sheep was further extended, and under Alexander I land was given gratis to many foreign sheep farmers in the provinces of the southern steppes. Of all the kinds

of merino sheep the most distributed are the *elektoralny* and *negretti*. Of the coarse wool sheep, the most remarkable are the *tsagaiisky* in the south west, and the *volojtsky* in the south east of Russia. The wool of these two kinds is exported in large quantities, especially to the United States. In the north also, in the province of Yaroslav, there is another kind of sheep called the *romanofsky*, which furnishes good skins for coats.

European Russia produces altogether yearly from 7 to 7½ million poods of dirty and washed wool, including 2½ to 3 million poods of merino. Most of it is sold dirty on the spot at the farms, or at fairs, especially at the fair of Kharkoff.

Without dwelling in detail on hog breeding, which is particularly developed in north western, and south western Russia, we may observe, in conclusion, that cattle and the products of cattle breeding (meat, tallow wool, leather, bristles etc.) are exported to the total value of about 49 million roubles, while the import does not exceed 32 million roubles. The most important item, as regards both import and export, is that of wool, amounting to 14 and 22 million roubles.

In order to complete this sketch of farming systems a few words must be said about the Caucasus, Siberia and Turkistan.

In the **Caucasus**, with its variety of climate, soil, and economical conditions, there exists a very great difference of system and method. There is even a difference in one and the same locality according to the height of different parts above the level of the sea. On

the steppes, and at the foot of the mountains the fallow system prevails; in other wooded parts at the foot of the mountains the forest and field system. The least followed is the three field, or three course system, and still more rarely other more improved methods. In low lying localities of the Western Caucasus, which are flooded by the rising waters of rivers, the same fields are sown over and over again with the same seed, generally Indian corn. Manure is seldom used, and the exhausted soil is left fallow for considerable periods at a time.

In the remaining parts of the Western Caucasus we meet with a transition from the rotation of field and forest, to the systems of one field, or course, three courses and even manifold courses. Finally, in the lower parts of the Eastern Caucasus, cultivation is carried on only by the help of artificial irrigation. If, therefore, there is plenty of irrigating water during the whole period of growth, fruit and vegetable gardens are kept up, and rice and also valuable commercial commodities are grown; but if the water can only be made use of in spring and autumn, cultivation is restricted to cereals. When there is no water at all the land remains uncultivated. Even the fertility of the soil is renewed for the most part only by means of irrigation.

The following is the total quantity of cereals produced in the Caucasus:

Wheat . . . . .	197	million	poods.
Barley . . . . .	52	»	»
Indian Corn. . . . .	23	»	»
Other Grain. . . . .	60	»	»

Altogether . 332 million poods.

After deducting for seed and food, and exclusive of potatoes, the surplus of wheat available for export reaches 180 million poods. Such a superabundance is not produced by any of the grain growing regions of Russia proper, wherefore the Caucasus may be justly called the granary of Europe.

The agrarian economy of **Siberia**, like that of the Caucasus, is extremely varied, owing to the extraordinary variety of climatic and territorial conditions, even in that part called the cultivated, agricultural zone. In those of the Siberian provinces containing the greater mass of agricultural inhabitants and suitable land a peculiar system of rest and fallow, unknown to European Russia, completely predominates. Land cleared of wood or ploughed up on the steppe is sown with wheat two or three years running, then left fallow, and this rotation is continued until the fertility of the soil declines and weeds begin to grow. When this takes place the land is left altogether to rest, and other fields are taken in hand. Poor land, before being left to rest, is ploughed 3 to 4 years, and the best blacksoil 25 to 30 years. There is even land (in the southern part of the province of Tobolsk) which has been tilled for more than 100 years without any interval of rest. The gradual impoverishment of the soil, however, has little by little compelled farmers to use manure, and on the northern confines of the agricultural zone of the province of Tobolsk the usual three course system of European Russia is now being introduced. Nevertheless, as Brehm justly remarks «the real gold of Siberia is its blacksoil», and notwithstanding the

intensity of the methods of farming, its territory produces about 160 million poods of various cereals, including 60% of spring wheat and oats, about 20% of autumn rye and 20% of other kinds of grain.

In conclusion, **Turkistan**, in relation to the principal occupations of its inhabitants, may be divided into two parts: the first comprising irrigated land along the rivers and at the foot of the mountains, inhabited by a sedentary, agricultural population; the second the steppes, rich in cattle and nomads.

The area of irrigated land in Turkistan is not great, not more than 2½% of the total extent, or 1½ million desiatines. This insufficiency is made up for by the cultivation of wheat on *bogarny* fields, that is, fields not irrigated, in anticipation of a reserve of winter moisture in the soil, and the fall of spring rain. In years favorable for moisture these fields generally yield good harvests, but in times of drought their extent is rapidly diminished. In spite of the risks of this kind of farming, these *bogarny* fields occupy ⅓, and in places ½ the total extent of cultivated land, (as much as 700,000 desiatines). But with new methods of irrigation, and improvement of the old ones, a considerable increase of irrigated land may be expected, and in consequence a decrease in *bogarny* cultivation.

Without dwelling on the cultivation of cereals, we must observe that Turkistan is the chief home of the **cotton plant**. Its cultivation in Central Asia has existed from time immemorial. After the conquests of the Russians the favorable conditions of the country gave rise



to the idea of introducing American cotton seed into Turkistan as being of much finer quality. The first attempts, however, extending over more than 10 years, proved quite unsuccessful until in «the eighties» the Upland sort was brought under notice, and energetically recommended and distributed. Experimental plantations were established, and seed was given away gratis, etc. Thanks to these measures private plantations began to appear in Turkistan and also in the Trans-Caucasus; and in 1892 the plantations of Cotton in Turkistan occupied not less than 100,000 desiatines,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of which were sown with Upland, producing cotton fibre to the extent of 2 million poods, and together with the cotton produce of Khiva and Bokhara, up to 4 million poods. There is, moreover, every probability, that the production in Turkistan may be brought up to 6 or 7 million poods. There are not very many extensive plantations of more than 100 desiatines. Most of them consist of small plots of  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 desiatines, the owners of which send their cotton to the towns and villages, where it is bought by agents of large firms, with money, or else for advances on future crops, or on cotton in store for sale.

Among auxiliary, or subsidiary branches of rural economy in the south of Russia, in Bessarabia, the Crimea and the Caucasus, precedence must undoubtedly be given to **viniculture and the making of wine**. In the Caucasus it is estimated that there are more than 120,000 desiatines of vineyards, producing more than 13 million vedros of wine; in Bessarabia up to 70,000 desiatines, furnishing yearly more than 12 million vedros

at the lowest prices of 20 kopeks to 1 rouble the vedro; and in the Crimea only 8000 desiatines, with a production of 1½ million vedros, which, however is the best south coast wine. Wine is also made in Turkistan, in the Don territory, (the well known Tsimlyansky wine), and in several southern provinces. Altogether the total extent of all Russian vineyards is calculated at 225,000 desiatines, with an average production of 28 million vedros of wine. Consequently, Russia produces 10 times less wine than Italy, 9 times less than France, 7 times less than Spain, and less even than Portugal and Algeria. At the same time, the area of viniculture in the Caucasus, Crimea and Bessarabia might be 10 times as large; but progress is very slow, owing to the phyloxera, which was first discovered in the Crimea in 1880, and afterwards in other localities. The Government has given very serious attention to the means of combatting this disease of the vine, and for that purpose a special Commission was formed under the direction of Adjutant General Baron Korff, who was subsequently appointed to the General Governorship of the Amoor territory. That officer succeeded in destroying the infected vineyards; but unfortunately the phyloxera spread to other localities. During the last few years attempts have been made to cure the vines; but on the whole, this operation, on which some 135,000 roubles a year have been spent, cannot be considered as complete.

The cultivation of the **tobacco plant** is carried on in 50 provinces of European Russia, in the Caucasus and Siberia. It is more extensive in Little Russia, where the

inferior sorts are almost exclusively grown, such as *makhorka*, *bakun* and others (3.3 million poods). Next comes the Caucasus, Taurid and Bessarabia, where the superior sort called Turkish is grown to the extent of about 1,3 million poods. All tobacco plantations in 1893 numbered 664,000 but they are very small, and their total area is not more than 54,000 desiatines. These figures, however, are subject to variation. Tobacco culture was adopted as an auxiliary occupation by agriculturists, and under unfavourable conditions is often abandoned; so that in 1889, for instance, there were only 38,000 desiatines, and in 1886 — 59,000 desiatines.

In any case, Russia in this respect is not behind any of the countries of Western Europe, although the export of Russian tobacco has hitherto been altogether insignificant.

The chief centres of Russian **sericulture** are the Caucasus and Turkistan. The total number of *deems* engaged in this industry reach 1 million, and about 1.3 million raw cocoons are produced. For the most part this is a small subsidiary occupation of the agricultural population. In order to improve and develop the cultivation of the silk worm the Government has established experimental stations in Turkistan and Tiflis, besides which, the elementary schools of Southern Russia and the Caucasus, the South Russian Zemstvos, and agricultural associations have also taken an active part in spreading a knowledge of sericulture among the people.

Finally, the Russian **fisheries** probably constitute the most important branch of agrarian industry after that of

cattle breeding. Their importance may be appreciated by the fact that they give occupation to half a million of professional fisherman and several millions of peasants, for whom the catching of fish is a subsidiary means of living. Formerly, when the population was scanty, the abundance of fish was so great, that it was hardly of any value; but little by little, with the clearing of forests, the establishment of mills and factories, and especially with the increase of population, the quantity of fish decreased, and fishing was gradually abandoned in the upper reaches of rivers, and began to be carried on at their mouths, and even out at sea. The largest quantity of fish is naturally caught in the south eastern parts of European Russia, in the lower Volga, the Don, and the Caspian and Azoff Seas. As much as 37 million poods of fish are caught in these parts. Then follows the region of the north west, with the Baltic Sea, and a large number of lakes, rivers and streams, also the upper and lower reaches of our large rivers, producing altogether 27 million poods. The lower course of the Dnieper, Dniester and the Black Sea give 3 million poods, and under 1 million poods is obtained in the region of the Arctic-White Sea fisheries: altogether for European Russia a total of about 68 million poods. Nearly all the fish caught in Russia is consumed in the country. Only the better kinds, and also caviar, oil, glue and fat, are exported, to the extent of about 6 millions. As the more important fisheries are comparatively distant from the places of consumption, and as the fish can only be caught at certain times of the year, it has to be salted

in summer, and frozen in winter. During the last few years there has also been some progress in the trade of preparing fish conserves. But all these branches of the fishing industry are very unsettled and insecure, and must remain so until bounds can be set to the predatory destruction of fish. The existing fishery regulations have been found impracticable, and at present new ones are being made. In addition to Government institutions, the Piscatorial Society, which publishes a journal, is also engaged in studying, and in cooperating towards, the improvement of Russian fisheries.

Among the industries of the rural population, which have no very fixed and definite character, must be reckoned the shooting and capture of **game and wild animals**. This is carried on chiefly in Siberia and the Kirghiz territory. In European Russia this industry is yearly on the decline, because the destruction of forests, drives the fur bearing animals further to the north, and the north east. On the other hand, in the far East the fur industry and destruction of wild animals constitute an important source of State revenue, and the sole occupation of many of the natives. The annual value of fur animals killed throughout Russia is estimated at 10 million roubles; but in reality, it is probably much more, as the fairs of Nijni-Novgorod and Irbit alone receive furs to the amount of 10—12 million roubles every year. The export of furs to foreign countries is estimated at 1½ million roubles; but the import of the same kind of goods amounts to much more, namely about 4½ million roubles.

c) **Extent of production of cereals.** Having digressed somewhat for the purpose of describing the subsidiary branches of agrarian economy, we must now complete the account of its characteristics by some further data as to the crops and harvests of cereals. What do these data show? For the 50 provinces of European Russia the following average results are obtained: from something more than 60 million desiatines of cultivated land are gathered about 2,400 million poods of grain, or 40 poods per desiatine, whereas the following foreign countries produce per desiatine in poods:

England . . . . .	120
United States. . . . .	86
Germany . . . . .	79
Austria-Hungary. . . . .	75
France. . . . .	74
Italy . . . . .	57

Such unfavorable results must be explained either by conditions of soil and climate, or by the absence of intensive cultivation, methods of manuring, tilling and sowing, or by some, or all of these causes taken together. We can hardly be wrong in asserting that this low measure of production is due to ignorance of improved methods of agriculture. In this respect, when we compare the different regions of European Russia, we find that from the north west to the south east the production of positively every sort of bread stuff diminishes as we proceed, and the harvest is worst where the soil is best. The poorest harvests are obtained in the south and south east, where the system of resting

the land prevails, and the crops are very thin. On the other hand, the best harvests of every sort of bread stuff are produced by the Baltic provinces, where improved methods of farming are practiced under the manifold course system of rotation, and an intensive cultivation. Such, however, are the average figures for several years. For the whole of Russia any considerable deviation from the average is seldom met with; but, if we take separate regions, other results are obtained. In the greater part of the blacksoil zone, and especially on the steppes of that region, average or nearly average harvests occur comparatively seldom. Here the crop is either very abundant or very scanty. The further we go to the north west the less the fluctuation, while in the north and in the Baltic provinces such fluctuations are quite insignificant. In other words, Russian agriculture risks the greatest loss in the most fertile grain growing regions, and this affects the food supply of the country and the export of grain. It is therefore very necessary to make some advance in the technics of agriculture, and herein lies much work for the Government and the community. In the first place agricultural knowledge and information must be more widely spread. A great deal has certainly been done in this respect; but a great deal more remains to be accomplished.

**III. Agricultural education.** The history of our agricultural education as a speciality is by no means of early date. Its beginning goes back no further than the reign of the Empress Catherine II. In 1765 was founded the Imperial Voluntary Society of Economy in St. Petersburg,

which still exists for the purpose of «disseminating useful and necessary «knowledge of farming and house-keeping among the people». Its example was soon imitated, especially in the Baltic provinces, where a number of agricultural societies were formed. A great deal of work in all branches of farming has been done by the Moscow Agricultural Society, which was established in 1819. Subsequently, and particularly during the last 30 years, following the emancipation of the serfs, the number of these societies has notably increased. They now number 114 with 66 branches and constitute the foundation of special agricultural instruction in Russia. In 1822 the Moscow Agricultural Society opened an Agricultural School in that city, together with a model farm, for the instruction of young persons in the various duties of managing and farming landed estates. The Voluntary Economical Society also undertook the supervision of 2 such schools, and the Department of Imperial Appanages established a similar institution near St. Petersburg for the education of the sons of peasants.

Subsequently, in 1833, the Voluntary Economical Society adopted the idea of its president, the well known Admiral Mordvinoff, and instituted a Committee for the improvement of Russian agriculture. This Committee succeeded in obtaining considerable assistance for the schools of agricultural societies, without counting several schools for horticulture and wine making in the south. This, in substance, is all that was done, until the creation of the Ministry of State Domains. From that time the Government itself began to take a direct interest in



the matter. In 1840, in the town of Gorky, province of Mogileff, an Agricultural school was opened, with a very comprehensive course of special studies. This establishment was subsequently transformed into two educational institutions: the Higher Agricultural Institute of Gorky, which has since been transferred to St. Petersburg, and reorganized into the School of Forestry, and the Middle Agricultural School for educating rural managers and assistants. A third Agricultural School was opened near Kharkoff. The model farms were intended for the preparation of young peasants as experienced farmers, and for trying various agricultural improvements.

Unfortunately, prior to the emancipation of the serfs, the institutions of agricultural education, especially the lower ones, produced comparatively little benefit, and their pupils on returning to their homes, generally fell back into the old routine of work. The failure of these schools must be chiefly attributed to the want of general education as a preparation, and to the circumstance that the peasants did not attend them of their own free will, but were compelled to it by order of the authorities or the land proprietors. A new era of agricultural education was therefore inaugurated by the liberation of the peasantry. In general, these educational institutions have remained, as before, of 3 grades. In the higher grade the Institute of Forestry in St. Petersburg comes first, with 352 students. The Institute commands considerable means; but the teaching is principally theoretical, as practical instruction is only possible on the Government Farm, 80 versts away. Another agricultural establish-

ment of this class is the Agricultural Institute of Moscow, formerly the Petrofsky Academy, opened in 1865.

Besides the Petrofsky Academy, the New Alexander Institute was established in Poland at the end of «the sixties», and a special agronomical section is included in the Polytechnicum of Riga.

As regards the middle schools, several of them were established at different times, and the total number is now 9. Recognizing the want of general knowledge, the Government established for them a course consisting not only of special agricultural studies but likewise of general instruction. Thanks to this measure, the middle schools now turn out not only managers but also teachers for the lower agricultural schools. The latter began to be established only when the middle grade institutions had been sufficiently developed. Besides the schools for dairy farming and horticulture 5 lowgrade schools were started at different places, mostly for purely agricultural instruction. One of them, however, at Gorets, was intended to prepare mechanics for the manufacture and repair of agricultural machinery.

But the maintenance of these schools, in spite of private donations, is very expensive, and the number of pupils turned out is very inadequate to the demand. As long ago as «the seventies» the Ministry of State Domains came to the conclusion that the lower grade agricultural schools could be established much better and cheaper on well organized private estates, and that education offered in this way would produce better results than that given on Government property. For this reason the new normal regulations of 1883 regarding lower agricultural

schools authorizes zemstvos, societies, and private individuals to open such schools at their own expense, or with the help of Government assistance given in the form of parcels of Government land to the extent of 500 desiatines, and in money. The object of these schools is to spread a fundamental knowledge of farming among the people, and to teach them the industries necessarily connected therewith, in a practical form. In relation to the course of studies, these schools may pursue a general or special plan of instruction, the latter being specially devoted to some particular branch of agriculture.

There are also lower schools of forestry (173 pupils) for the purpose of preparing technical foresters of the second grade by means of instruction imparted principally during work in the woods. Moreover, during the last years an experiment has been made of introducing the teaching of the rudiments of agriculture in certain seminaries for teachers, higher church parish schools, and low schools for general instruction.

In regard to horticulture and wine making, there formerly existed independent institutions for spreading information on these subjects. At first, in 1812 the Nikitsky Garden was started near Yalta by the former Governor General of New-Russia, Duke de Richelieu, for the purpose of growing and acclimatizing the plants of southern countries in the Crimea. Somewhat later, the Imperial Botanical Gardens was established in St. Petersburg on the spot formerly occupied by the Apothecary's Garden of Peter I. The aim of this establishment was somewhat different, namely, the cultivation of exotic plants,

and the formation of a herbarium and other collections. Through the attention bestowed upon the Botanical Gardens by the Ministry of Imperial Domains, the total number of specimens of plants which it now contains reaches 75,000, with 25,000 separate varieties. Its herbarium is considered one of the richest in the world; so that foreign botanists seldom undertake any great work without first applying for information at the Botanical Gardens of St. Petersburg. The museum of the Garden, with its dendrological, paleontological and other collections, contains 40,000 specimens, and the library about 12,000 works of 25,000 volumes. Our Botanical Garden therefore must justly be considered the principal scientific institution in the matter of Russian horticulture.

As far as concerns the educational establishments of the higher class for horticulture and the manufacture of wine—none exist; but there is a number of schools for educating practical gardeners and wine growers. In one of these, at the Nikitsky Garden in Yalta, there is a course of higher studies for persons, who have already passed the middle schools; and quite recently, a middle school of viticulture has been opened at Kishineff.

Altogether, by the end of 1894, we had the following number of schools of agriculture (besides schools of forestry):

	Students.
4 High schools . . . . .	412
9 Middle schools . . . . .	1543
73 Lower schools . . . . .	2794
21 Schools of general instruction with courses of agriculture. . . . .	1247
107	5996

For their maintenance the Government allows 974,000 roubles; the Zemstvos — 160,000 roubles; and 291,000 roubles are contributed by various persons and institutions.

It must be admitted that this number is far from satisfying the requirements of the Russian people in the matter of agricultural education. In 1883, in Belgium alone 1343 public conferences, or lectures to the people, on agriculture were held in 296 buildings by teachers and students of the higher agronomical educational establishments before a total audience of 85,000 persons.

Recently, however, since 1890, special courses of study have been started by the Government and Zemstvos in many agricultural institutions for the necessary preparation of public-school masters for teaching agriculture in their schools. In 1893 and 1894 there were 30 such courses, or classes, attended since their opening by 4044 persons.

**IV. Improvements of agricultural economy.** Such are the measures adopted for spreading agronomical knowledge among the population. The second category of measures are those concerning improvements in different branches of agricultural economy. In this respect the Government and public institutions can act in two ways: assistance may be given to agriculturists undertaking such improvements; or the work of amelioration may be directly taken in hand, in cases in which the extent of such work, and the public interest connected with it, place it beyond the means of private individuals or when the latter cannot sufficiently guarantee its success. Measures of the first kind were begun as long ago as the time of Peter the Great.

With the establishment in 1838 of the Ministry of State Domains the conviction took root in Government spheres and society, that agriculture could only be improved by encouragement and cooperation, and not by means of compulsion. From that time forward this has been the guiding principle in the activity of all institutions in Russia concerned in matters of agriculture. We have already seen the unfavourable influence exercised on harvests and agricultural economy in general by the droughts in the zone of the south eastern steppes. The Government long ago took steps to remedy this evil. But more systematic work in the matter of **irrigation** was not begun until the beginning of 1870, and then the disconnected nature of the experiments at once pointed to the necessity of a common plan. Such a plan was drawn up in 1880, when irrigation was undertaken in view of the failure of the crops as work for public relief. This work was led with great energy by the Minister of State Domains Mr. Ostroffsky, and in the Transcaspian region on the lands of the Appanages by the Minister of Court Count Vorontsoff-Dashkoff. The results attained were most satisfactory: several basins, besides irrigation, served as reservoirs; new villages appeared on the steppes; agricultural labour was greatly facilitated; and the rental of the land rose in value after the water had been let out. A second time, irrigation was undertaken on a larger scale, as public relief work in 1892, and still continues to be carried on according to a definite plan, which by the will of the Emperor is to be extended to Western Siberia.

In the northern and north-western provinces on the other hand, agriculture suffers from too much moisture, and is impeded by a large number of marshes.

**The desiccation or draining** of marshes was carried on very long ago. During the reign of the Emperor Nicholas I, the Committee for superintending this work in the province of St. Petersburg was presided over by the Heir Apparent-Cesarevitch, afterwards the Emperor Alexander II. During his reign the work of marsh draining received wider application under the care of the former Minister of State Domains, Count Valooyeff, and also thanks to the intelligent instructions of the Minister of State Domains Mr. Ostroffsky and of Lieutenant-General Jilinsky, who stood at the head of the work, and carried it on throughout the reign of Alexander III. In 1873 two expeditions were organized, one for the north, and the other for the west. The western expedition was sent into Polessia, with its 6 million desiatines of marsh land, where only grass grew unfit for fodder, and even that was gradually being choked by the growth of moss. In such conditions agrarian economy in Polessia naturally laboured under great difficulties. Cattle keeping, which was its mainstay, continually declined, and corn growing could only be maintained in a few of the more elevated parts of the country. At the present time, however, when 4 thousand versts of canals have been made by the expedition over an area of 2,670,000 desiatines, there are 335,000 desiatines of meadow land, which was formerly unavailable marsh and swamp; 110,000 desiatines of land fit for tillage and other purposes; 490,000 desiatines of

decomposing vegetation and forest have assumed a normal and healthy growth; about 600,000 desiatines of valuable Government timber, which formerly had no market, is now to be found near the canals, and 1,135,000 desiatines are placed in better conditions of exploitation. Finally, the revenue of the drained land has increased in places by more than 20 times its former figure.

**V. The grain trade.** There is another factor which directly affects the profit derivable from rural economy and consequently the possibility of realising any amelioration. This is the price of corn.

The position of Russia in regard to prices of corn has greatly changed during recent years. This will be seen from a comparison of Russia's export trade of former years with that of the present time. During the first decade of the nineteenth century the average annual export of cereals from Russia did not exceed 15 million poods. During the period between 1844 and 1853 it was trebled, amounting, to 46 million poods. Within 20 years, 1866 to 1870, it reached 128 million poods, and between 1887 and 1891, that is, in 20 years, it amounted to 438 million poods, or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  times more. In spite of this increase of our grain export, the relative participation of Russia in the grain supply of European markets has changed for the worse. At the end of «the eighties» Russia was certainly the chief purveyor of wheat to England and other Western European countries. In «the sixties», for example, 120 million poods were taken from Russia, and only 75 million poods from the United States, and about 39 million poods from Austria-Hun-



gary. These two countries were almost our only competitors. But in «the seventies» the United States, owing to the rapid development of railways, and the increase of population through emigration, were able to increase their production of wheat to such an extent, that in 1881—1887 they exported an average of 313,000,000 poods, whereas Russia during the same time was able to export only 300 million poods. Russia was, therefore, obliged to give precedence to the United States. Nevertheless, our export trade in times of greater demand did not encounter any special difficulties until new competitors appeared in the field such as the East Indies, Australia, later — Roumania, Canada, and the Argentine Republic. Thus, for example, the probable export of wheat in 1894—5 is estimated from Russia at 95 million bushels, and from the countries competing with it at 330 million bushels, i. e.,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  more. The mass of wheat then imported into Europe began to exceed the demand, and prices were in consequence reduced.

All these conditions have made Russian rural economy directly dependent upon the state of the international grain trade. If in «the sixties» the extent and quality of our harvests fixed the price of wheat in Europe, at present our home prices of wheat are determined by those ruling on the foreign markets. In the export ports these prices follow the rise and fall of prices abroad, which influence in their turn the prices in the interior, and on the smaller markets of the country.

There is, of course, no rule without exceptions; and on certain internal markets prices are comparatively

less affected by those abroad. Such places are found remote from railways and rivers and supply large centres of demand for consumption in Russia itself.

However the case may be, the fall in the price of wheat down to 1891, and especially during the last 2 years, has produced a most depressing effect upon our rural economy, besides which there is another factor, in addition to supply and demand, that renders prices still more impossible. This is the fluctuation in the value of the paper rouble, as the following table will show:

Years.	Price of 1 pood of wheat		Fluctuation of value in %		Exchange va- lue Cred. kop. per gold roub.
	Cr. k.	Met. k.	Cred.	Met.	
1871—75	88	— 74	100 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	100 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	119
1876—80	102	— 68	116 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	92 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	149
1881—85	102	— 65	116 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	88 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	158
1886—91	81	— 51	92 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	70 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	160

These figures show that actual prices have fallen uninterruptedly since the beginning of 1870, and that the rise in 1876—85 was fictitious, produced by a still greater fall in the value of the paper rouble. We have already explained the results obtained in strengthening the exchange value of the paper rouble in the section on Finance. We will now add a few words on Russia's grain trade, and measures for its improvement.

The total dimensions of our grain export, as we have seen, increase pretty regularly, although there are years of considerable fluctuation. If we exclude 1892, when the export of wheat was prohibited for a time on account of the famine, we find that it was sometimes  $\frac{1}{3}$  above the normal, and at other times did not reach

70<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>. Nevertheless, if we compare these figures with those of the harvests and home consumption, we shall find that the fluctuations in the export trade were much weaker than might be expected. In some years there was nothing to export, and the quantity of wheat in Russia could not have sufficed for feeding the population, and yet as much corn was exported as in previous years. This is explained by the reserves of grain left over from one year to another, which help to keep up the export. Besides this, home consumption, in years of such a complete failure of crops as that 1880 and 1891, is considerably diminished. The chief article of Russia's grain export, taking the average for 5 years, 1889—1893, is wheat (42<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>), followed by barley (18<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>), rye (15<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>), oats (13<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>), and Indian corn (6<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>).

By a comparison of the export with the production of each of these cereals, it appears that a third of the total harvest of wheat and barley is exported, about  $\frac{1}{7}$  of that of oats, and only  $\frac{1}{12}$  of that of rye. This is accounted for by the fact that rye is the chief article of food among the local population, and the surplus is exported principally to neighbouring countries, like Germany, which takes 60<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> of the total export, while Holland takes 28<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>. Russian wheat, on the contrary, is grown specially for export, chiefly to England (35<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub>), which also takes about 60<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> of the total export of oats, and 40<sup>0</sup>/<sub>0</sub> of that of barley. Therefore, the most important market for all Russian cereals, except rye, is in England. At the same time the importance of Russia in the supply of cereals to all the principal States of Wes-

THE GRAIN TRADE.

tern Europe is shown by the following figures, representing the percentage of Russian grain in the total import:

	Wheat.	Rye.	Oats.	Barley.
Great Britain	32 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	—	70 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	50 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
France	28 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	—	29 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	16 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
Germany	56 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	86 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	93 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	50 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>
Holland	41 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	78 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	81 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>	54 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub>

The cereals of Russia are exported chiefly as grain. The United States exports more than half its wheat in the form of flour, and Russia less than 2<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub>. This is not in consequence of a want of flour mills in Russia as we have more than sufficient for our own requirements, and many of them are constructed after the most improved patterns. The fact is however, that in England, Belgium, and Holland, where the absence of any duty on wheat and flour favours a large import, the finer kinds of flour are required in very small quantities, while bread is made of the second quality. For the United States the export of this kind of flour is not difficult, as the American population is fond of good flour, and its purchase pays in part for the production of the inferior sort. In Russia, on the contrary, it is this inferior sort that is required for home consumption, and there is no advantage in selling it abroad. *For Russia this is one of the most unfavourable conditions of competition with the United States.*

The main artery of Russias's grain trade is the river Volga and its tributaries. When there was not yet a single railway in Russia the grain trade enlivened that

river, thanks to the fertility of the lowlands and the cheapness of water transport. But during the last few years the accumulation of grain at the ports on the Volga has been gradually diminished to a certain extent by many failures of the harvest in the provinces of Samara, Saratoff, Orenburg, Kazan, and Oufa, and partly owing to the development of railway transport. The quantity has fallen from 95 million poods in 1888, to 76 millions in 1893. The collection and preparation of corn on the banks of these rivers is carried on principally in the winter, when the roads are good, and the peasants have most leisure. The corn purchased in the winter lies stored in warehouses until the opening of navigation, and as soon as the ice goes from the Volga, it is sent up the river before the water begins to get low. The despatch of corn purchased in the summer is much more expensive, and corn freshly ground can rarely be got as far as St. Petersburg before the close of the navigation. It lies during the winter months at Ribinsk, which is the chief centre of the grain trade on the upper Volga. In general the process of this trade is distinguished by great slowness, and the sale price of wheat at the ports has to cover the interest on capital locked up for nearly the whole year; besides a great many items of expense for storage, loading, etc.

The region comprising the south western, southern and Little Russian provinces, and the territories of the Don and the Northern Caucasus, is still more important. Nearly all the trade of that region is carried on for foreign export, and consists in transporting as much as

300 million poods of grain to the ports of the Black Sea and Sea of Azoff along the Dniester, Boog, Dnieper and Don, also over a number of railways running southwards, and in carts by the ordinary roads. The grain trade in these parts suffers unfortunately from too many middlemen, commissioners and brokers.

The remaining regions as regards the grain trade, are of less importance. In that of the Northern Dvina, which gravitates towards Archangel, the grain, to the extent of 5 million poods, is transported by road in winter to the landing stages of the Northern Dvina and floated down to Archangel:  $\frac{1}{2}$  goes in local consumption, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  are exported abroad. The trade of this region suffers greatly from bad roads, and will, no doubt, be much benefited by the railway now under construction between Perm and Kotlas. In the central regions, comprising 6 blacksoil provinces, and 6 industrial provinces, the grain is transported over the railways, and on the rivers Oka, Oopa and Msta, from south to north, principally towards Moscow and thence also to the ports of the Baltic. Finally, in the western region, consisting of the Baltic, White Russian, Lithuanian and Polish provinces, the trade also gravitates towards the Baltic ports. The principal routes here are the Dnieper, Vistula, Nieman and Western Dvina rivers, and the railways Riga-Orloff, Libau-Romny, Kieff-Brest, and others.

Such are the internal routes of the grain trade. The export of grain abroad may be divided geographically into 4 groups, namely, that of the White Sea, the Baltic, overland export, and the Black Sea and Sea of Azoff.

In the White Sea group the chief port is Archangel. The Baltic group includes St. Petersburg, Reval, Riga and Libau. In the overland group, on the frontiers of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Roumania, the most important places are Verjbolovo, Graevo and Mlava; while Odessa, Nicholaieff, Sebastopol, Novorossisk, Rostoff, Taganrog, Mariopol and Berdiansk, are the chief ports for this trade on the Black Sea and Sea of Azoff.

The relative importance of these outlets for export is very different. In any case during the last 20 years Odessa has held the first place, followed formerly by St. Petersburg, but in the last years St. Petersburg's place has been taken by Rostoff, after which comes Nicholaieff, followed by Libau and Novorossisk, and St. Petersburg occupies only the sixth place. In general, the corn export along the Baltic coast has considerably diminished of late in favour of the southern seas. Oats constitute the chief export of the Baltic ports, and wheat on the Russo-Prussian frontiers, and at the southern ports. The export of rye was at one time pretty equally divided between the southern and the Baltic frontiers, but at present it has gradually gone over to the south. The same must be said of barley, the export of which is yearly increasing.

Changes in the relative quantities of grain exported by these groups of towns and ports are produced principally by the extension of railways, and their tariffs. For example, the importance of St. Petersburg, since the construction of new railways, has diminished in favour of Libau, whereas Novorossisk, since the opening of the

Vladikavkaz branch of railway, which leads to it, has made rapid progress.

As far as regards tariffs, in former years, when these depended in most cases upon the railway companies, the grain trade often found new routes of its own; but now that all railway tariffs are under direct control of the Government, measures have been taken to do away with the preference given by the previous scale of charges to the Baltic ports over those of the Black Sea.

The distribution of export is also much affected by the scale of sea freights and various other charges. The sea freight to England, for instance, is 30% per pood dearer from the ports of the Sea of Azoff than from those of the Black Sea, and 150% more than from the Baltic. Thus, the cheapest freight of all is obtained at the Baltic ports which, however, is an advantage counteracted by the greater distance of these ports from the grain growing regions. As regards other charges, it is very difficult to ascertain their dimensions, with the exception of port dues, which are more or less the same everywhere. Before loading into the railway trucks the producer has to pay for transporting the grain to the railway station, and for the agency of others in selling it on the spot. As the network of our railways is not yet close enough, and we have very few good highways and roads, transport to the railway stations becomes expensive. The causes, however, of this dearness clearly point to the means of remedy. We must then take into consideration the agency of various middlemen, which probably costs more, besides doing great harm to our



grain export, than the means of transport; as the export-agents, especially those at our southern ports, are often dishonest in their dealings, and injure the reputation of our grain on the foreign market by mixing with it all kinds of dirt. For this reason grain exported from the Baltic ports often fetches 10 kopeks per pood more.

But our agriculturists and farmers cannot get on without middlemen. Only persons commanding capital are able to take the risk of organizing export and of waiting for favourable prices. It may be imagined, therefore, how much the producer loses in this way. With the construction of railways, which has radically changed the conditions of the Russian grain trade, and removed its centres of gravity from the markets of the interior to the ports, the business of agents and middlemen has greatly increased. This has led to a consideration of the necessity of setting them aside in one way or the other. The initiative in this good work was taken by the directors of the South-Western Railways, who established a Commercial Agency at Odessa for the sale of grain on commission, and the advance of money on the security of the same. In 1888 the Government found it useful to issue regulations for the advance of money by the State Bank on the security of grain, through the medium of the railway authorities, who would undertake to hire or build special warehouses for storing the grain and establish a special agency in Russia and abroad for the sale of it on account of the senders.

This organization should enable owners of grain to wait for favourable opportunities, with their corn in store;

and also help them to do without middlemen, brokers etc.; while the railways should thus be enabled to establish something like a connected system of elevators in the interior, and at the ports.

In this way also, the natural reserves of grain, continually renewed and distributed along the ways of communication, may serve as a powerful adjunct in guaranteeing the victualling of the population.

Unfortunately, this is only a picture of the future. At present we have only a few elevators, and compulsory classification and inspection of grain for the purpose of superintending its cleaning and sorting, as in the United States, has as yet been introduced only at the elevators, and the ports of Nicholaieff and Libau, although this is the only means of preventing various kinds of cheating in the grain trade.

In this matter, a beginning has already been made by the establishment of Special Corn Exchanges at Rybinsk, at the Kalashnikoff landing stage in St. Petersburg, and in Moscow; but these are of more importance for trade with the interior, than for export abroad.



# STATESMAN'S HANDBOOK

for

# RUSSIA.

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of the Committee of Ministers.

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# I N D E X.

	Page.
Material Resources of the State (continued).	
3. Industry and trade . . . . .	1—98
I. Village Industries . . . . .	1
II. Mining Industry.—The coal industry.—The naphtha industry.—The iron industry.—Gold mining.—Totals of the mining industries . . . . .	8
III. The general importance of manufacturing industry. . . . .	31
IV. Different branches of manufacturing industry.—Spirit distilling industry.—Beet sugar industry.—Cotton industries . . . . .	37
Trade. — Forms of home trade. — Forms of foreign trade . . . . .	48
The removal of the obstacles to trade and industry. — Trading and industrial associations .	60
Commercial and industrial credit . . . . .	63
Legislation on workmen . . . . .	74
Technical and commercial education . . . . .	86
4. Ways and means of communication	98—140
a) Water ways . . . . .	98
b) Natural and macadamized roads . . . . .	104
c) Railways . . . . .	108
d) The Great Siberian Railway . . . . .	125
e) The Post. — f) The Telegraph. — g) The Telephone . . . . .	132
h) Educational institutions . . . . .	138
5. Government organs administering the material resources of the state.	
Ministry of Finance.—State Comptrol.—Ministry of Agriculture and State Domains. — Chief Administration of the State Studs. — Ministry of Ways of Communication . . . . .	140—147

## Spiritual Welfare.

1. Ecclesiastical Institutions . . . . .	148—184
I. Organization of the ancient Russian Church.— Dioceses, parishes and monasteries. — The political services of the ancient Russian clergy. — Independence of the ecclesiastical government.— Means for the maintenance of the church and clergy. . . . .	148
II. The church and the clergy during the Tatar period. — Church government and mona- steries —The South-Western church and the sub- division of the metropolitan sees . . . . .	154
III. The church in the XV—XVII centuries.— The curtailment of the autonomy of church government. — The patriarchate. — Parishes. — Missionary activity . . . . .	158
IV. Church organization, from the XVIII cen- tury to the present time.—The diocesan govern- ment.— The parishes.— The monasteries.— Mis- sionary work and the defence of the faith.—Theo- logical schools . . . . .	166
V. Administration of the other religious pro- fessions.—Christian Faiths.—Nonchristians . . . .	181
2. National education . . . . .	184—265.
I. Kief period. . . . .	184
II. The Tatar period . . . . .	189
III. The Moscow period. - State of elementary education in the beginning of this period.—Maxim the Greek and Ivan the Terrible. — Schools in Western Russia; brotherhoods.—The rule of the first sovereigns of the house of the Romanofs. . .	191
IV. General conclusions on the state of the schools before Peter the Great . . . . .	202
V. National education in the XVIII century.— Measures of Peter the Great. — The Empress Elizabeth and Shoovalof.—The age of Catherine II. — General character of instruction in the XVIII century . . . . .	206
VI. The XIX century.	
1. The higher educational institutions . . . . .	220
2. Middle educational institutions . . . . .	231

	Page.
3. Lower and elementary schools . . . . .	241
4. Learned Institutions. — Art Education . . . . .	262
The Ministry of National Education . . . . .	264
3. Institutions of the Empress Mary . . . . .	265—283
I. Historical sketch . . . . .	265
II. Present state of the Institutions . . . . .	279
Police of security . . . . .	283—308.
1. Public Charity. . . . .	284
2. Public Alimentation . . . . .	293
3. Public Health . . . . .	299
4. Insurance . . . . .	303
5. The Ministry of the Interior . . . . .	306
Justice . . . . .	309—314
Local Government and Selfgovernment . . . . .	315—341
1. Historical sketch . . . . .	315
2. Local administration . . . . .	323
3. Zemstvo institutions . . . . .	328
4. Town public institutions . . . . .	331
5. Institutions of the Nobility . . . . .	333
6. Peasant institutions. . . . .	335
7. The local institutions of the Grandduchy of Finland. . . . .	340
Appendix: Races inhabiting the Russian Empire. I—XII	

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**MATERIAL RESOURCES OF THE STATE. (Continued).****3. Industry and Trade.**

In proceeding to a sketch of the measures taken by the Government in the region of Russian industry, we must make the reservation that neither the scope nor the aim of this book will permit of a detailed description of the historical development and present state of all the infinitely various branches of industrial activity in Russia. For such an undertaking even many volumes would not suffice. The reader will therefore find here an attempt only to characterize the general direction of industry and the influence exerted by it upon the economical condition of the country.

**I Village Industries.** The fundamental feature of Russian, as distinguished from Western European, industry is the more intimate connexion of the former with rural economy. This does not mean that Russians are occupied only with manufactures in which grain, wood, and animal products furnish the raw materials. It means, on the other hand, that to this day, at any rate in the majority of cases, our factory hand does not abandon husbandry in his own village, but strives to maintain his connexion with the land; that trades are in our country developed to a far greater extent in the villages than in the towns.

In ancient Russia, the town still retained comparatively more importance for industry. But already in the Moscow period, with the strengthening of the power of the Government and the decline of the autonomy of

the towns, trades begin to be concentrated in the villages, whence craftsmen began to visit the towns only for temporary engagements on hire or to execute the Tsar's tasks as a duty. The causes of the concentration of handicrafts in the villages were many: town life was very feebly developed, the towns themselves differed little from villages, and in the village husbandry alone did not always and everywhere afford a living to the peasantry, as is the case also at the present time. On the other hand, the prolonged winters, especially in Central and Northern Russia, left a great deal of spare time. The prevalence of the communal system also had probably no inconsiderable influence in retaining the peasant on the land. In consequence of these and many other conditions, an extensive domestic industry has developed in our villages, affording an essential aid in the support of the peasant family.

In this village, or, as it is called, «koostar», industry, besides the head of the family, the other members, both men and women, take part in the work, and not unfrequently children of seven to ten years of age. In some trades, i. e. those of lacemaking and weaving, women even take the chief part. Village industries, in the course of their long history, have elaborated peculiar technical methods of their own, and a certain division of labour. Thus, for example, one part of the work is performed by children, another by adults, and a third by the aged; or, in one village one part of the article is made, in another neighbouring village another, while in a third the parts are put together, and in a fourth

painted. But all this has been established quite naturally, under the influence of the requirements of the trade itself, and not in consequence of any regulations from without.

Under these conditions, koostar industry has continued to develop, notwithstanding even that the cheapness of peasant labour and of materials and the immense competition resulting from these causes and the difficulty of sale, have lowered exceedingly the prices for these goods. There are now in all over 50 distinct kinds of village, or koostar, trades.

Without dwelling upon their description, we will merely say that, in accordance with local conditions, our village artisans, or koostars, are employed above all in the manufacture of articles from wood. There are as many as 80,000 households employed in making baskets, mats, wheels, carts, buttons, spoons, and even furniture and concertinas. The Northern flax-growing districts manufacture linen, tablecloths, and towels. The Central districts take orders from the manufacturers for weaving the commoner cotton goods. More than 150,000 men are occupied in the preparation of leather. As many as 19,000 peasant households are employed in the manufacture of hardware. Particularly well-known in the last respect are the villages of Pavlovo, Vorsma and Bezvodnoe in the government of Nizhny-Novgorod. Together with the extensive koostar districts adjoining to them, these villages earn several million roubles a year; and Pavlovo has, on account of the excellent workmanship of its cutlery, justly gained the name of the Russian Sheffield. If to the above mentioned

industries be added the samovar industry in the Toola government, the painting of images on wood (two million a year), lace-making (15 mill. arshins worth 3 mill. roubles) and the manufacture of toys, this will complete the enumeration of the principal branches of koostar production.

It is impossible to arrive at the total production of such goods in Russia, from the absence of any even approximately reliable statistical data. Some estimate it at 75 to 100 mill. roubles, while others raise the figure to 3 milliards. Neither figure, probably, corresponds to the truth. An equal uncertainty reigns as to the exact number of persons employed in koostar industries. Some investigators fix it at 6 mill., or four times that of the factory hands and miners. In any case, even these approximate figures are a clear indication of the importance of koostar production in our national economy. In some branches of industry it stands higher, in regard to the value of the output, than that of the factories. For example, in the leather trade, the production of the manufactories is estimated at 37—42 mill. roubles, while that of the koostars reaches 58 mill. roubles.

The question as to whether koostar industry in Russia is doomed to be absorbed by manufacturing industry on a large scale is therefore a moot one. In our country the solution of this question depends not only upon the advantages of production on a large scale over small production, in the sense of the application of improved methods, cheapening the work of machines, as was the case in the struggle between the labour of the

handicraftsmen and the manufactories in the West, but also upon the need of the koostar for agricultural earnings, upon his connexion with the land; so long as these earnings possess for the peasant a sufficiently serious importance for him to regard the koostar industry as a surrogate to agriculture, so long will he be in a position to reduce the price of the articles he makes almost to that of the material, and not to aspire to such a wage as would secure his independent existence. Until then, it will be more advantageous to the manufacturer himself also in many cases to give the koostars the raw material and to take their labour, to organise among them «svietelky», or huts, where 10 to 20 koostars work together, and not to invite them to come to his manufactory. Under such conditions, our koostar industry possesses many elements for a prolonged existence in the future; it may even be said that it is too little developed, and would therefore deserve greater attention. This is indicated by the brilliant success it has everywhere attained, where it has enjoyed even the most insignificant support. Such, for instance, is the cutlery industry in the village of Pavlovo, created in the 18 century by the initiative of the landowner Count Sheremetief, and which has become the source of the welfare of an extensive district.

On the other hand, in the majority of cases, the economical position of the koostars is not particularly enviable. They frequently lack the capital to buy tools and raw material, and as a consequence become enslaved to the buyers up of their goods, upon whom it of course then depends to fix an arbitrarily low price. With such

a low price for the goods, the koostars are no longer able to pay attention to fineness and elegance of workmanship, but only to the quantity of the production. The low qualities of koostar productions depend further upon the limited education of the koostars and the imperfection of the technical methods applied by them; while there are as yet too few lower technical schools where they might learn these methods, although many of them attain independently by stubborn labour various improvements, and invent new tools and processes of production.

From what has been said, it follows, it would seem, that the most important measure for the improvement of koostar productions and of the economical condition of the koostars themselves must be regarded as the extension among them of technical knowledge, of cheap credit, stores for the sale of koostar goods in the great towns, etc. And these questions have received lately the most careful attention from the Government and the rural authorities (zemstvos).

We have already had occasion to speak of the organization of small credit in the section above on agriculture. We touch upon technical education in the further development of the subject. It is here only necessary to mention those measures which are directed to facilitating the sale of koostar productions. With this in view the zemstvos and the Ministry of Agriculture have now long been engaged in the investigation of koostar industries and in acquainting the public and the koostars themselves with the results. The most remarkable collection

of this kind of goods is indisputably the koostar section of the Petersburg Agricultural Museum. Further, periodical koostar exhibitions are organized in various places, and stores of koostar goods established, (i. e. in Moscow, in the Novgorod government, etc.). Agents of the zemstvos and of the Ministry are detailed not only to show the best methods in one or other branch of industry, but in the capacity of intermediaries in the purchase of the raw material necessary to the koostars, and in the sale of their productions. Particular importance attaches to the intervention of the Ministry of Agriculture between the koostars and the Marine and Artillery Departments in the case of orders; the amount of such orders to the koostars of several governments in 1894—5 alone reached a sum of 120,000 roubles. Measures of this kind are not without visible results; thus, thanks to the support of the Moscow zemstvo, the cardboard industry passed in the Moscow government from the manufactories into the hands of the koostars.

Hardly less essential is the organization itself of the industry. The principle of cooperation must serve for manufacturers on a small scale as one of the serious counterpoises to the concentration of capital in large industrial enterprises. This idea, continually gaining ground in the West, has with us a national and historical foundation in the «artels», or workmen's associations. This is why the koostar section of the Ministry of Agriculture has directed particular attention to the benefit which the organization of koostar artels might afford to the cause of the development of koostar industry; and, with

the object of investigating this question, a Commission has been formed from among the members of the Koostar Committee, a member of which is the Prince Peter Alexandrovitch Oldenburg.

**II Mining Industry.** To koostar industry belongs a great part in our economical development, not only as an essential source of wages for the agricultural population, not only as a means for the satisfaction of its demand for goods long before the appearance of factories and mills, but as the first school of Russian industrial labour. Nevertheless, with the increase of the internal consumption of manufactured goods, with the gradual development of international trade balances, it is impossible for a country to limit itself to domestic industries alone. The Moscow Tsars were already aware of this, when they invited foreigners to organize factories and works. But the honour of establishing manufacturing industry in Russia, in the present sense of the word, belongs indisputably to Peter I. The great reformer directed attention before all to the exploitation of our mineral wealth, without which industry on a large scale is impossible, needing as it does large quantities of metals and mineral fuel; and in 1719 he promulgated the first law placing the mining industry in Russia upon a thoroughly regular basis. This was Peter's Berg-Privilegium. The fundamental question of mining legislation, as is known, has always been: to whom the disposal of the bowels of the earth belonged or, at least, that of the deposits of the minerals most important to the national economy — to the owner of the surface or to the State.



Following the example of the neighbouring German States, Peter the Great decided this question in the second sense, declaring that «To us alone, as Monarch, belong mining works». This is the principle of the so-called Mining Regalia or royal monopoly. But «in order that God's blessing should not remain in vain under the earth», Peter allowed «all and every one in all places, both on his own and on other's lands, to search for, smelt, and purify all metals and minerals». The discoverer of ore received from the Mining Board a patent of allotment for working the mine, and was obliged in return to furnish one-tenth of the gross out-put to the crown and one-thirty-second to the landowner, and, besides this, to compensate the latter for the land occupied by the mine and works, and for the wood taken for fuel. In the following year, 1720, Peter the Great issued a new ukas which strictly prohibited any hindrance to the development of mining industries. These energetic measures had brilliant results. Crown and private works began to arise in rapid succession in the Ural and in the Toola and Olonets regions. But the principle of mining freedom, established by the Berg-Privilegium of 1719, did not last long in its former force; and in 1782 it was completely abolished by Catharine II, who, under the influence of the ideas of the physiocrats, declared that «the right of ownership of every one in his estate extends to the bowels of the earth, to all the hidden minerals and formations, and to all the metals obtained therefrom.» Since then the principle of free search for ores was reestablished in 1806 only in

reference to State lands, and at the present time our mining legislation is characterized by the existence of a mining monopoly expressed in a mining tax and the obligatory delivery of gold and silver to the crown, and by the absence of freedom of search for ores upon private lands and by the permission of such search upon State lands. Only the Kingdom of Poland forms a striking exception in this respect. Here the principle of monopoly and freedom has existed from time immemorial, but it was forgotten, and it was only in the «sixties» that the Government directed attention to the contrast between the success of mining enterprise in the Kingdom and that in the neighbouring State of Prussia under almost identical natural conditions. Freedom of mining was therefore declared in the Kingdom of Poland in reference to coal, zinc, and lead, (and now iron); and this law gave new life to mining enterprise in the country.

Among the various branches of mining industry, the greatest importance in this country belongs to coal, naphtha, iron, gold, and salt.

**1. The Coal Industry.** Abundance of mineral fuel is a most essential element in a country; the development of the whole of the industry depends upon it, and therefore, we shall dwell with somewhat greater detail upon the question of fuel. Russian industry, owing to the wealth of forest in the country, differs essentially from that of Western Europe or of America. There large works and extensive manufactories are founded in the neighbourhood of coal mines. In our country they arose

long before the appearance of a more or less properly organized coal industry. Already in the beginning of the 18 century, Peter the Great, when a piece of coal was presented to him during the Azoff campaign, uttered the significant words: «This mineral will be exceedingly useful, if not to us, to our descendants.» But long years passed since then without a beginning being made in the working of coal. Nevertheless, Russia without doubt holds one of the first places in respect of the abundance of mineral fuel. In European Russia alone, there are two of the richest coal fields: that of the Donets and that of Poland, capable of securing for a long time to come the widest development of Russian industry and ways of communication. Thus, the supply of coal in the Western part of the Donets basin, in the government of Yekaterinoslaf, is estimated at as much as 415 milliard poods, while the Eastern part of the basin, situated in the territory of the Don Cossacks, is apparently still richer. In Asiatic Russia the Kooznets deposits in Siberia are not less rich: they present one of the most extensive coalfields in the world, possessing coking coal of the highest quality, of much importance for metallurgical industries. Besides the three principal coal fields mentioned, coal is worked in the Moscow and Kief regions, in the Ural, in the Caucasus, and, in Asiatic Russia, on the Island of Sakhalin, in the Toorkistan region, and in the Kirghiz steppe.

But, as we observed above, the working of all this wealth did not soon begin, neither is it everywhere conducted on a desirable scale. Even in the South, in the Donets

basin, where the forests were long since very scanty the working of cast-iron on a mineral fuel had no success whatever. It is a characteristic fact that till the present day in the Don Cossack territory straw is in great vogue as fuel for agricultural locomobiles, which here have a fairly wide application. It was only in the «thirties» and «forties» of the present century that more or less consistent experiments in smelting iron ore with coal were made in the South, while success ensued in this enterprise in the beginning of the «seventies». Somewhat earlier, in the middle of the «sixties», the railways, particularly those in the South, turned to mineral fuel; the carrying of some of them through regions in the neighbourhood of the coal measures opened new markets to the Southern coal, and from this time only was it seriously attempted to work it. The Government formerly maintained a somewhat indifferent attitude to the Russian coal industry: until 1884, the importation of coal into Russia was entirely without duty, with the exception of the governments of the Kingdom of Poland. From this year foreign coal at all the frontiers is subjected to a duty, which is higher along the Southern sea frontier than in the Baltic and along the Western land frontier, a measure taken with a view to supporting the Donets coal industry. The regulation of the railway tariffs facilitated the bringing of Southern coal of the Moscow industrial region, while the wide development of the beetroot industry created for it a near and fairly sure market in the South-Western governments of Russia. On the other hand, the exhaustion of

## THE COAL INDUSTRY.

the forests caused a demand for coal in such localities as, it seemed, were formerly fully provided with wood fuel.

All these circumstances have had an immediate influence upon the development of the coal industry of the South of Russia. Not further than in 1855, the output in the Donets basin was only 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  mill. poods. Forty years after, the output increased 65 times (to 294 mill. poods). The output of the Polish coalfields is expressed by a figure not far from this, viz. 205 mill. poods in 1894. But the Polish coal industry is in character widely different from that of the Donets. Here, as in Western Europe, industry established itself alongside the coal mines, thanks to the abundance of mineral fuel. Thus, forests being comparatively scarce, coal is almost the only fuel in manufactories and works, on the railways, and in household use. In consequence of this, the exportation of Polish coal beyond the limits of the Vistula governments is very small, and has only developed a little latterly under the influence of cheapened freights. Consequently, the consumption of Polish coal must be called mainly a local one. On the contrary, the Donets coal industry supplies the industrial regions of the interior and the railways, and therefore it will be hardly an error to say that Donets coal is the most important for the industrial life of Russia. In this circumstance, moreover, is contained the cause of the somewhat slow development of the coal industry in the South as compared with the wealth of the coal measures; the coal has not a sufficient local market and is compelled to

submit to all the conditions of competition with other kinds of fuel, i. e. latterly with cheap naphtha residues. This circumstance indicates that the wider industry develops in the very south of Russia, the better the coal trade will fare there: in other words, our South presents the most favourable conditions for industrial life generally, and, if to them be added the local black-soil, we have here, undoubtedly a guarantee for the whole future prosperity of European Russia.

In the extent of their output the Donets and Polish coalfields leave all others far behind. The Ural yields 16 mill. poods, the Moscow fields 12 mill. poods. The output from the latter has been gradually falling off during the last 10 years in consequence of the competition of the Donets coal and of naphtha residues in the Moscow manufacturing district.

The other coal fields taken together yield about 4 mill. poods. The total output for 1894 thus amounted to 530 mill. poods, while 40 years ago it was not more than  $9\frac{1}{2}$  mill. poods, and even 20 years ago 104 mill., i. e. 5 times less than now.

Notwithstanding this rapid growth of the coal industry the importation of foreign coal (and coking coal) into Russia is not only not diminishing but is even somewhat increasing. Already in the second half of the «sixties», it did not exceed 49 mill. poods; in the beginning of the «eighties», 112 mill. poods; while in 1894 it amounted to 138 mill. poods. Evidently the consumption of coal fuel is growing in this country still faster than the output, under the influence of the general development

of industry and ways of communication. And nevertheless, if our consumption be compared with that in other civilized countries, it appears that in Russia there are 4 poods to one inhabitant; while in England there are 252 poods, in Belgium 188 poods; in the United States, 139 poods; in Germany 112 poods; in France 58 poods; and even in Austria-Hungary 36 poods, or 9 times more than in Russia.

This great difference depends without doubt mainly upon the circumstance that coal fuel is in our country hardly at all in use for domestic heating, with the exception perhaps of the Kingdom of Poland. Not more than 11 per cent of all the coal got in Russia or imported from abroad is expended in this way. The second cause consists in the feeble development of industry, and in the sluggishness with which in our country it is passing from wood fuel to mineral. It is enough to say that until now out of all the fuel consumed by manufactories, works, railways, and river steamers, only  $\frac{2}{5}$  are coal and  $\frac{1}{5}$  naphtha residues and peat, while the remaining  $\frac{2}{5}$  are wood and charcoal. In metallurgical industries, in particular, wood fuel forms even 50 per cent. Thus, the general defects of our industrial activity present an obstacle to the development of the coal industry.

**2. The Naphtha Industry.** A quite different picture, it would seem, is presented by our naphtha industry. Naphtha appeared in the character of a fuel only very recently, and quickly gained an extensive market, mainly in the Volga districts and in the neighbouring industrial governments. The chief centre of our naphtha industry is in the Baku government, upon the Apsheron

peninsula. Fairly rich springs exist also in the Terek and Kooban territories. Naphtha is further obtained in the Transcaspian territory, in Toorkistan, in the Crimea and in some parts of the Caucasus. The Apsheron peninsula gives about 98 per cent of the whole yield. The working of the naphtha fields began here already in the 9 century, but was without any industrial importance not only then but until the «sixties» of the present century. The cause of this was that the processes for obtaining illuminating oil from naphtha were not sufficiently well known, and naphtha was employed exclusively in the crude state, either for burning or as a coarse lubricator. The mode of exploitation of the oil fields also served to hinder the development of their productiveness. At one time the crown tried to work the springs on its own account; and when this did not succeed, it passed to the farming system, but the yield did not even reach 2 mill. poods a year. In consequence of this, from the year 1872 the naphtha industry was declared free, in adaptation to the general principles of mining legislation, photogen or illuminating oil being subjected to excise. From this moment begins the unexpectedly rapid development of the naphtha industry. Increased boring brought to light immense quantities of oil, and the first considerable naphtha spring, which appeared in 1873, produced a complete revolution: the price of naphtha fell at one blow from 45 to 2 kopeks a pood. The Baku market soon began to offer more naphtha than was necessary for the refineries then existing, so that in 1875 a naphtha crisis took place and the Government was compelled



## THE NAPHTHA INDUSTRY.

to abolish the excise on photogen, which it only reestablished in 1888, when our naphtha industry had become considerably strengthened. The following figures show how rapidly this industry grew: in 1870 the output of naphtha for the whole of Russia did not exceed 1,750,000 poods; in 1882, the yield was already more than 50,000,000 poods; ten years later, about 300,000,000 poods; and in 1894, 316,000,000 poods, of which 309,000,000 poods were obtained in the Baku government. Not all this immense quantity of naphtha is consumed by Russia alone, which has increased the export of naphtha and its products from 1,000,000 poods in 1881 to 60,000,000 in 1893 (53,000,000 in 1894). In value, this item of our export has at once taken the first place after grain, flax, and wood. As to extent of production, Russia has gained the second place to the United States, leaving all other countries far behind. And nevertheless, Russian naphtha does not play the part in the world's market which ought to belong to it on account of the natural wealth of the Baku naphtha springs. As a matter of fact, out of 300,000,000 poods of crude naphtha, obtained in the Apsheron peninsula, only 30 per cent is offered in the form of lighting oils, the rest being mainly composed of naphtha residues. Whereas, according to its qualities the Baku naphtha might yield no less than 80%. And yet lighting oils form the principal element in the export, 50,000,000 out of the 60,000,000 poods constituting our total. If these oils still compete with American oils, it is mainly due to the extraordinary cheapness of our naphtha: American costs 15 to 18 kop. a pood,

Russian 2--3 and less. But such low prices, still further reduced by competition, do not even repay the costs of production, and owing to this a somewhat strange phenomenon is observed; the Baku works now manifest a tendency to be satisfied with an even less distillation of kerosin from the naphtha, while increasing in a corresponding measure the amount of naphtha residues, for the prices of kerosin have fallen so low that the sale of lighting oils by themselves must be carried on at a loss to be covered by the profit from the sale of residues. But, as we mentioned above, naphtha residues go abroad in comparatively small quantity and, therefore, the relative increase of their production to the detriment of that of kerosin may have as a consequence the loss of the foreign markets.

It is true that naphtha residues are undoubtedly an important product, as a cheap easily transported fuel; they have gradually begun to expel not only wood but coal on the Volga. Yet, however this may be, it is beyond doubt that the economical importance of naphtha, as of every other natural production, will be greater as the product which is obtained from it is more valuable, and such product must be lighting oil, and not the residues used as fuel. A serious obstacle impeding the sale of kerosin and therefore lowering the prices offered for it is, in Prof. Mendeleev's opinion, the lack in the means of conveyance for transporting kerosin from Baku to the Black Sea coast; for if from the naphtha obtained in Baku there could be got, as in America, as much as 250 mill. poods of kerosin, the Transcaucasian railway

could convey not more than 60 to 80 mill. poods. The desire of the manufacturers, therefore, is natural to sell as cheaply as possible the naphtha left on their hands in the form of residues, by the Caspian Sea to the Volga and further as far as the centre of Russia. But such a mass of liquid fuel, threatening to increase every year, may check the normal development of the coal industry, and in the case of a sudden crisis in the naphtha trade, examples of which have occurred, place the whole industry of the country in a rather critical position.

All these obstacles must disappear with the increased facility of conveyance of kerosin from Baku to Batum, whether by means of increasing the freight capacity of the Transcaucasian line or by carrying a naphtha pipe in that direction; with an improvement of the conditions of navigation on the Don and Donets; with the building of a railway from the Donets coal mines to the Volga; and, we will add, with the gradual extension in Russia itself of the consumption of kerosin, because even now, notwithstanding the considerable increase, this consumption does not yet exceed 10 lbs. per inhabitant, while in the other countries of Europe it is 2 to 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> times greater.

**3. The Iron Industry.** The second essential element, after fuel, of the growth of industry in every country is the development in it of metallurgical industries. Most important here are cast iron, iron, steel, and copper. We shall not dwell upon the Russian copper industry. It is true that in the last century Russia furnished the whole of Europe with copper and until the middle of the pre-

sent century remained one of the chief purveyors of this metal to the European markets, but since then, partly under the influence of the reduction of customs dues on foreign copper, partly perhaps in consequence of over-production in other countries, the output of copper in Russia has fallen extraordinarily and its export has almost ceased, while, on the other hand, the import has been increasing during the last few years very considerably, which points to a growing demand for this metal. And at the same time it is not, it would seem, yet possible to speak of the exhaustion of the sources, for in the Ural, in the Caucasus and in the Kirghiz steppe there are still fairly rich copper ores.

As for the iron industry, here too Russia is far from holding the first place among the European States, notwithstanding the wealth of the iron mines met with almost everywhere. It is remarkable that the principal sources of iron ore are in our country found in the closest proximity to coalfields, i. e. in the South, in Poland, in the Ural, and in Siberia, in the Altay. But as we saw, the iron industry anticipated the coal industry by a long time. Owing to the abundance of wood fuel, it became developed first of all in the Ural. Here were discovered the very wealthy mines known as M<sup>ts</sup> Blagodats, Vysokaya, and Magnitnaya, each of which yields several million poods of ore containing as much as 60 to 70 per cent of iron. The energetic efforts of Peter the Great and his ministers in establishing the iron industry in the Ural had such success, that already in 1724 not only the whole of the Muscovite

## THE IRON INDUSTRY.

State was able to do without foreign, Swedish, iron, but even a foreign trade in Russian iron was organized «on account of HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY». In the middle of the 18 century Russian iron became one of the principal items of export, in 1782 reaching a value of more than 5 mill. roubles. Great Britain alone at the end of the last century received annually from Russia about 2,000,000 poods of iron. But from the very beginning of the present century the export begins to fall in consequence of the development of the iron industry in other countries, especially in Great Britain. Afterwards Russia, which had produced in the «twenties»  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times as much cast iron as France,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  times as much as Prussia, 3 times as much as Belgium, and as much as the United States, gradually fell far behind them.

Particularly during the Crimean War did this stagnation manifest itself in industry, means of communication, and elsewhere, so that the Government was compelled to adopt all possible measures to develop the railway system and manufactories and works of various kinds. Our iron industry was not able with its own means to satisfy this enhanced demand; it was necessary to take measures to encourage the importation of cast iron, iron, and machinery. As late as in the «fifties» the custom duties on foreign iron and cast iron were protective, their importation by sea being even entirely prohibited. But already in 1857 this prohibition was removed with the exception of the ports of the Sea of Azoff, while the duties were considerably reduced on the land frontier. Afterwards importation duty free was permitted for machinery and all

kinds of applicances used in manufactures. In this way, however, the duty on cast iron and iron was, as it were, a premium for foreign machinery works to the detriment of our own. Therefore the importation free of duty of cast iron and steel was allowed on account of Russian machine manufacture. Such ample privileges resulted in a considerable increase in the importation of foreign iron: already in 1870 this importation amounted to more than 18,000,000 poods, i. e. exceeded the native production by almost 2,500,000 poods.

It would, however, be unjust to attribute the stagnation in the Russian iron industry to the customs policy alone. It developed feebly compared with other States also before, when protective tariffs were in force. The cause of our backwardness lies deeper and is indisputably to be found in the fact that Russia till quite recently has produced cast iron with wood fuel alone, while the countries which have widely adopted mineral fuel or have entirely discontinued to smelt iron with wood fuel, have made rapid advances.

The Government was perfectly aware of this side of the question and in 1869 concluded a contract with John Hughes, the former chief engineer of the Millwall Works in London, according to which the latter, receiving a large order of rails on favourable conditions, bound himself on his part to build a blast furnace in the Yekaterinoslaf government. At the present time these works have 5 blast furnaces and produce not less than 6,000,000 poods of cast iron, 1,000,000 poods of iron and 3,000,000 poods of steel and rails a year. At the same time as Hughes,

## THE IRON INDUSTRY.

similar works were built in the Territory of the Don by the Russian capitalist Pastookhof for smelting cast iron with local anthracite. In the course of time, especially after the discovery of the rich iron beds of Krivoy Rog, several more large works appeared in the South employing mineral fuel. On the other hand, the Government took measures to encourage the foundation in Russia of the steel rails industry, with a view to a great development of the Russian railway system, and thanks to this already in 1881 about 13,000,000 poods of steel rails were turned out by the Russian works. In machine manufacture the assistance of the Government was expressed, as we have seen, in free importation of cast iron and iron. But at the same time the importation was authorised duty free of machinery and tools. Notwithstanding this, under the influence of the general demand the number of works grew in the «sixties» to four times what it was in the «fifties» and the increase in the number of works and of the production itself continued uninterruptedly until the year 1880. It is even remarkable that since then, notwithstanding protective duties, our machine manufacture began to fall, and the steel rail industry, after the cessation of the railway fever, also considerably contracted and began again to increase only after the year 1889.

It would, therefore, be difficult to pronounce a final judgment as to what influence upon the development of our iron industry the preservation after 1857 of the protective tariffs existing before the Crimean war would have had. With the decline in which the iron industry

THE IRON INDUSTRY.

was, any obstacles to the importation of foreign iron, cast iron and machinery would very probably have unfavourably affected the general economical development of the country, of its ways of communication, etc. But by the beginning of the «eighties» our iron industry had already acquired strength and was accordingly able to assume the satisfaction of the local demand, and therefore the former privileges which had been shown to the importation of foreign metals and machinery might indeed inflict a serious injury upon the home industry.

This is the reason why since 1881 the duties on cast iron and iron are gradually raised and the duty free importation of them and of machinery, not excluding agricultural, entirely ceases.

The results of this protective policy are most clearly to be seen in the figures for the production and importation:

	Production, in thousand poods.	
	In 1881.	In 1893.
Cast iron . . . . .	28,662	70,141
Iron . . . . .	17,839	30,384
Steel . . . . .	17,907	38,627
	Imports, in thousand poods.	
	In 1881.	In 1893.
Cast iron . . . . .	14,293	9,799
Iron . . . . .	6,544	5,339
Steel . . . . .	1,450	2,145

Thus only the importation of cast iron diminished considerably, while that of steel even increased, but the relative importance of the imports for internal consumption changed entirely: the home production during this time



grew to such an extent, that the largely increased consumption of cast iron, iron, and steel is now mainly satisfied by Russian production.

The comparison of the progress of the iron industry in Western Europe and in America, made there thanks to the extensive application of coal in smelting cast iron, and of the progress due to the same methods of production in the South Russian works, indicate the further course which the Russian iron industry must keep. As early as 1870, the Austrian metallurgist Tunner, during his journey in Russia, said that: «the Ural is a mine which must supply its ores to the Don; with such a combination Russia will have no competitors in the iron industry.» At that time, however, the rich Krivoy Rog iron deposits were not yet known, which now make it possible to create in the very South a most important centre of Russian iron industry without the aid of the Ural ores. But the Ural also need not on this account lose its importance but may also widely develop its production. It is true that, according to the enquiry of 1891, only 36 works do not here consume the full annual growth of wood appointed them, while of the remainder 19 reach the limiting expenditure of wood fuel and 36 expend more than the annual growth and, consequently, are in need of mineral fuel; the latter can, to be sure, be easily supplied to the Ural both from the Donets basin and, in the future, by the Siberian railway, from the Kuznets district in the East, yielding excellent coking coal for every kind of metallurgical industry. Finally, new coal-measures are expected in the Ural, until now unworked

Thus, the future of the Russian iron industry may be considered guaranteed both by the abundance of ore and by the necessary fuel, if there is only sufficient enterprise combined with knowledge of the business. If we should even so not succeed in again conquering the foreign markets, our enlarged production will find an outlet in Russia itself. Now the consumption of iron in our country is still very small. While in the United States and Belgium there are 6.8 and 6.6 poods of cast iron per inhabitant, in Germany 5.4, in Great Britain — 4.5 poods — this consumption in Russia does not exceed 0.98 poods; though it undoubtedly cannot but increase under the influence of the development of industry and ways of communication, which is moreover noticeable even now, for the rate in the beginning of the «eighties» was less than 17 lbs per inhabitant.

Without dwelling upon the salt industry, the growth of which under the influence of the abolition of excise has already been noticed by us in the Chapter on Finance, we will conclude the section on mining industry by a few remarks upon gold mining, occupying from the value of the output the first place among all the branches of mining industry in Russia, and especially important in an economical respect, in view of the expected introduction of metallic currency.

**4. Gold Mining.** Gold was first found in Russia in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, i. e. at a time when the value of the gold stock in the whole world amounted already to 2½ milliards of roubles. But, from then till the «twenties» of the present century, gold washing in Russia made very

## GOLD MINING.

slow progress; the sands from which it is now obtained were not yet known, while quartz gold required for its working both capital and energetic enterprise, which even now are comparatively rarely met with among goldminers. The legislature itself maintained a varying attitude towards gold mining: till 1812 it was not authorized at all to private persons, since then it has been allowed to landowners on their own lands, afterwards, in proportion as the various auriferous alluvial deposits were discovered, their exploitation was authorized to certain persons upon crown lands also, and, only with the promulgation in 1838 of the Mining Code, was this authorization made general. According to the code in force, searching for gold is permitted to everyone with the exception of Jews. But anyone wishing to occupy himself with goldmining must receive a permit. A certain area of land is set apart to each goldmine and then the methods of working are left to the discretion of the mineowners, upon condition only that there should be no injury to the health or danger to the life of the workmen. The mineowners pay a tax for the gold gotten and a rent for the lands set apart for mining. They send the gold to the laboratories in Yekaterinburg, Tomsk or Irkootsk, whence melted into ingots it is despatched to the Mint in St. Petersburg for refining and minting. The goldminers receive orders payable in six months. Further, in order to more quickly realize the money expended on working the mines, the State Bank gives loans in Siberia on slime gold, which constitutes a considerable assistance to goldminers, who are frequently in need of credit.

The fluctuations in the yield of gold in different years depend upon exceedingly different causes. No small influence is exerted by the abundance or lack of water depending on the dryness or wetness of the summer. Very essential are the prices of grain: by them is determined the cost of the workmen at the diggings. Finally the most decisive importance is attached to the exchange for Russian paper roubles. The lower the exchange of the paper rouble, the more profitable obviously is it to wash more gold, and not unfrequently gold-diggers earn only on the exchange. These considerations shew that the statistical data of the yield of gold in former years do not make it possible to make any surmises as to the future course of gold mining.

These data furnish evidence that the chief centres of the Russian gold mining industry are Eastern Siberia, next the Ural and last of all Western Siberia; the relative amounts of the yield may be represented by the proportion 9:4:1. Most gold of all is obtained from alluvial deposits, viz. 93 per cent., quartz only giving 7 per cent. From 1882 the annual amount of the total yield has not sensibly changed, fluctuating between 2015 and 2739 poods. At any rate, during the last 3 years (1892—94) the yield has been much greater than the average of all the preceding ten years. On the whole, as far as the amount of the yield is concerned, our country holds its place fairly well after Australia, South Africa, and the United States, furnishing about  $\frac{1}{5}$  of the whole of the gold produced on the earth's surface.

TOTALS OF THE MINING INDUSTRIES.

**Totals of the mining industries.** If we compare the value of the various kinds of metals and minerals obtained in Russia according to the information for 1893, we cannot avoid the conviction that, beyond those described above, all the rest are without any essential importance. Thus:

Article.	Yield in poods.	Value in roubles.
Gold	2,739	54,674,271
Cast iron	70,140,559	47,750,000
Coal	464,818,293	23,063,000
Naphtha	353,522,082	6,954,627
Salt	82,482,037	5,560,584
Copper	333,508	3,966,314
Platinum	311	2,293,077
Manganese	16,399,352	1,672,749
Zinc	274,774	1,071,510
Silver	580	691,740
Mercury	12,271	551,210
Asphalt	911,200	287,000
Iron pyrites	993,328	128,000
Lead	51,517	117,306
Phosphorites	836,735	92,485
Glauber's salt	307,636	91,885
Chrome iron ore	890,429	87,753
Graphite	19,000	38,000
China clay	195,201	32,121
Sulphur	35,975	18,000
Asbestos	64,654	17,089
Tin	415	6,253
Kir	103,600	4,149
Cobalt blende	192	—

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149,169,123

## TOTALS OF THE MINING INDUSTRIES.

Perhaps platinum alone deserves special mention, because Russia is really the only purveyor of this metal so important in an industrial respect; not more than 10 poods a year are produced in all other countries put together. Farther may be mentioned mercury, obtained mainly at the works of Auerbach & C<sup>o</sup>, in the Yekaterinoslaf government, who have placed this industry upon more rational and advantageous foundations than is the case abroad; as a consequence, Russia, formerly importing annually 2000 to 5000 poods, now herself exports 8000—20,000 poods. Finally, the manganese obtained principally in the Caucasus, in the government of Kootais, as well as in the South of Russia and in the government of Perm, occupies the first place in the world's production, being more than half of the total yield.

Summing up all that has been said upon mining industry, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the quantity of metals and minerals actually produced does not correspond to the natural resources of Russia and to the demands of the population for mineral products. At the same time, however, these natural resources, as yet to a considerable extent untouched, give Russia a great advantage over Western Europe, where the bowels of the earth are not only everywhere thoroughly investigated, but have been worked now for a long time and with great energy. In consequence of this, these sources must become sooner or later exhausted, while immense mineral wealth will still remain in Russia. Such considerations must, however, not at all be held to be a justification for insufficient enterprise in the present; the mineral resour-

ces of Russia will suffice for the future, though they be worked now with considerably greater energy.

### III. The general importance of manufacturing industry.

We have dwelt in somewhat more detail upon the description of the mining industry, as the basis of the development of the whole of industry in general. In passing over to its other branches, it is necessary to preface a few general considerations on the special significance for Russia of industrial activity.

Contemporary conditions have placed Russia in the circulation of the world's trade. Russia's participation therein is yet comparatively small, her share is 3—3.5 per cent of the world's business; but the dimensions of her export trade are constantly and considerably growing parallelly with the general growth of her internal economical development. In the beginning of the «fifties» the whole volume of our foreign trade, both imports and exports, amounted to 155,000,000 gold roubles. In the «nineties» it reached 770,000,000 gold roubles, i. e. had increased 5 times as compared with the beginning of the «fifties.» With such a growth, which it may be assumed will continue in the future, it is necessary to participate in the world's exchange with the greatest benefit for oneself. It is only possible to attain this greatest benefit in one way: it is necessary to strive by every means to increase the productiveness of the national labour. In fact, labour alone gives a value to natural resources: however rich the black-soil may be, without the application of labour its value will be inconsiderable. If corn grows upon this black-soil and is sold as grain

by the agriculturalist, the latter will receive a reward only for his agricultural labour, the miller will earn on the milling of the grain, the distiller on its conversion into spirit. If all three, agriculturalist, miller, and distiller, live in one and the same country, then all their earnings remain in the country: by selling the flour or spirit abroad, they compel the foreigner to pay for their labour. Quite another thing, if the corn is sold abroad as grain: then the whole profit from milling and distilling will remain for the benefit of the foreigner; still worse, if these foreigners sell the flour or spirit in the country whence they received the grain. True, the inhabitants of that country will have much free time; but they will not only get nothing for this free time, but will in addition pay foreigners for it. The same consideration is applicable to other branches of the industry in raw materials. Thus, the increase of the national wealth and prosperity depends on the earnings of the nation. But where are these earnings greater, in manufacturing industry or in agriculture? For an answer to this question our economical conditions give the most eloquent response. Although latterly our industry has been growing very rapidly, yet, compared with other countries of Western Europe and with the United States, it must still be called very backward. In our country, 85 per cent of the population are occupied with agriculture, there are only  $1\frac{1}{4}$  per cent of workmen in the manufactories and works.

At the same time, calculation shows that there are approximately 14 roubles of grain breadstuffs and  $13\frac{1}{2}$



## THE GENERAL IMPORTANCE OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY.

roubles of manufactured goods to each inhabitant. Thus, manufacturing industry has succeeded in catching up the production of corn, both being expressed in roubles.

The cause, without doubt, consists in this, that in agriculture a mass of labour is lost without any result whatever, without any remuneration. According to Prof. Mendeleev's calculation, our harvest demands for its production and gathering approximately 5,000,000,000 working days, while, if it be reckoned that only 50,000,000 men out of the 120 millions of the population of Russia are so employed and that there are only 200 working days in the year (in England the normal number is considered 300 working-days per annum), it will appear that these 50,000,000 men dispose of 10,000,000,000 working days, i. e. twice as much as is necessary; consequently, 5,000,000,000 days are entirely lost. To utilize this labour, to make it productive—this is the pledge of the whole of our economical future. Without dwelling here upon such essential conditions for this as the development of knowledge, enterprise, etc., and remaining on the ground of the comparison of agriculture and manufacturing industry, we cannot but acknowledge that, whatever may be the increase in the productiveness of agriculture, which it is of course possible to attain with the improvement of the methods of cultivation etc., we cannot hope for any particular enhancement of the national welfare from this alone.

In the Chapter on Agriculture we have already pointed out to what an extent the prices of corn are dependent upon the world's competition. The misfortune is that

in this competition southern tropical countries have now taken part, where labour is exceedingly cheap; thanks to this condition, the prices of corn are falling and we are evidently unable to compete without still further lowering the remuneration of our agricultural labour. The dependence upon foreign prices will become ever greater and greater, if new centres of consumption, towns, do not develop in Russia itself, but this is possible only with the growth of manufacturing industry. This lowering of agricultural earnings has a depressing effect upon the national welfare. As a matter of fact, our exports are growing, the trading balance estimated in value is in our favour, industrial activity is increasing, but consumption so far is yet hardly making any progress at all.

In the Chapter on Agriculture we saw that the consumption of corn in our country is lower than in other countries, e. g. in France. But the consumption of corn should on the whole grow in proportion to the growth of population. A quite different phenomenon should occur in relation to the products of manufacturing industry. Here the consumption should grow parallelly to the growth of the national wealth. And yet it appears that in 1880 the consumption of goods produced by the Russian manufactories, works, and mining industries, together with the articles of foreign importation amounted to 1,818,000,000 roubles, during the five years 1881—1885 the average was 1,854,000,000 roubles, and during the five years 1886—1890, 1,932,000,000 roubles, i. e. increased by only 114,000,000 roubles in 10 years. Though beginning with the year 1884, the consumption kept con-

## THE GENERAL IMPORTANCE OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY.

tinually increasing, amounting in 1890 to 2,072,000,000 roubles, i. e. 254,000,000 roubles, or 14<sup>0</sup>/<sub>100</sub>, more than in 1880, we must bear in mind, however, that the population during that time had also increased, at the very least, in the same proportion. Consequently, the consumption of manufactured goods is growing parallelly to the growth of the population, while so far there are no clear indications of an increase in the purchasing capacity of the population. From the considerations brought forward there flows the further consequence that if latterly, with such a severe fall in the prices of corn, the purchasing power of the population has nevertheless not diminished, Russia owes this exclusively to the application of her labour to other branches of productive activity than agriculture, and therefore in the future all efforts should be directed to the greatest possible development of our manufacturing industry. And this has been the aim of the economical policy of the two last reigns.

With the reform of the 19 February, 1861, free labour was created — the most essential basis of national welfare and wealth, broad ways were opened for national enterprise, and the means of communication were improved. The wise protective policy of the Emperor Alexander III, of which we had occasion to speak in the Chapter on Finance, supported the newly born Russian industry and created for it a position more or less independent of the foreigner. To judge of the results, it is sufficient to compare the statistical data on the value of production, imports and exports.

THE GENERAL IMPORTANCE OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY.

The annual imports and exports over the European frontier for periods of five years were, on an average, in millions of gold roubles, as follow:

Years.	Exports.	Imports.	Exchange.	Excess of exports over imports.
1851—1855	81	74	155	+ 7
1856—1860	141	120	261	+ 21
1861—1865	140	121	261	+ 19
1866—1870	192	212	404	— 20
1871—1875	303	364	667	— 61
1876—1880	345	326	671	+ 19
1881—1885	346	304	650	+ 42
1886—1890	380	224	604	+ 56
1891	423	220	643	+203
1892	252	219	471	+ 33
1893	339	258	597	+ 81
1894	399	327	726	+ 72

Thus, beginning with the second half of the «seventies,» under the influence of protective tariffs the trading balance is inclining ever more and more in our favour. In 1891 the difference is particularly great, thanks to the almost prohibitive tariff of that year; in 1892, on the contrary, the exports fall in consequence of the prohibition of the exportation of grain, but already in the following two years the foreign trade again obtains a normal character.

Owing to the diminution of the imports of foreign manufactures the home manufacturing industry increases. From 1878 to 1892, the value of its products exclusive of excisables (spirit, tobacco, etc.), increased from 588 to 1,225 mill. roubles, i. e. more than double, and even

DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY.

45% more than what the products of 1880 yielded (842 mill. roubles.) In the home market Russian manufactures are gradually expelling their foreign competitors: as early as 1880 they amounted in value to 66 per cent of the consumption, while in 1892 they were already 80 per cent. All these successes are not the result of accident, they have been obtained by a consistent activity extending over many years. But Russia cannot halt on this road; the protective customs policy has attained its results, has created a free soil for independent enterprise; but for the further development of this enterprise are wanted capital, knowledge, and the due organization of the provision of the working classes.

**IV. Different branches of manufacturing industry.** The comparative importance of the separate branches of our manufacturing industry appears from the following numerical data on the value of the productions:

	1880 mill.	1892 roubles.	Increase per cent.
1 Textile fabrics . . . . .	420	581	+ 38
2 Food products, (except exci- sable) . . . . .	124	213	+ 72
3 Metals . . . . .	116	204	+ 76
4 Leather and other animal products . . . . .	98	73	- 25
5 Pottery . . . . .	27	33	+ 18
6 Wood . . . . .	19	31	+ 63
7 Paper . . . . .	16	26	+ 63
8 Chemical products . . . . .	13	30	+130
9 Other branches of industry	9	35	+290

Data are here wanting on the value of excisable articles: spirit, sugar, etc, because there are not sufficiently exact data to determine their value in past years. For 1892 the value of all the excisable articles may be estimated, not counting the excise, at approximately 265,000.000 roubles.

From a comparison of all the data set forth, it appears that, as far as value of production is concerned, the first place in Russia belongs to textile fabrics, of which 70 per cent is reckoned to cotton goods. Next follow excisable articles, mainly beet sugar and spirit, after this other food articles and finally metal goods.

There is no possibility of reviewing all these branches of industry in the present cursory sketch. We shall, therefore, dwell upon the more typical measures adopted by the Government for encouraging their development. There is no necessity to add anything about metallurgical industry, after that which has been said above upon mining.

**1. Spirit distilling industry.** The measures of the Government in the region of spirit distilling were set forth in the Chapter on Finance, as all these measures are closely connected with the collection of excise, forming a considerable part of the value of the spirit distilled. We will, therefore, confine ourselves to a few remarks only.

Spirit distilling has an extraordinarily great importance in regard to agriculture. It is more profitable for the husbandman to sell the spirit alone, leaving aside the malt refuse, than to sell the grain itself. The essence of the matter is that distilling in the place of production

## SPIRIT DISTILLING INDUSTRY.

converts the products of agriculture (potatoes, maize, beet, grain) into spirit, i. e. into a substance more valuable, weighing less, and containing only water, carbon and hydrogen, elements obtained by the plants from the air, while all the elements of the soil (nitrogenous and ash), upon which depends the fertility of the soil, remain in the refuse and can be employed for fattening stock and manuring the fields. Hence it follows, that by selling spirit instead of grain and other produce of agriculture farmers can not only receive a higher income, not only preserve the land from exhaustion, but also increase the quantity of cattle bred, which constitutes, in combination with agriculture and manufactures to this day one of the highest forms of intensive agricultural industry (Mendeleev).

These considerations are true, both in reference to individual farmers and for a whole agricultural country like Russia: it is obviously more profitable for her to export spirit and not corn in the form of grain. Unfortunately the export of Russian spirit abroad is still far from attaining the desirable dimensions; under the influence of the payment of a Government premium it grew from 100,000 vedros in the beginning of the «sixties» to 6½ mill. in 1887; but immediately on the lowering of the premium it began to fall and now scarcely exceeds 2 mill. vedros; evidently, our distillers, trusting to the premium, did not concern themselves about taking measures independently, e. g. improvements in the rectification of the spirit, — in order to retain the foreign markets. Thus the production of spirit is regulated with us by

the extent of the home consumption, and this latter is uninterruptedly falling; in 1883 it still amounted to 0.33 vedro per inhabitant, while it is now only 0.2 vedro, i. e. 3—4 times less than in Germany, Great-Britain, or France; it is above the average in industrial localities, where the purchasing capacity of the population is greater, but in agricultural localities it is below. Under such conditions the production of spirit cannot increase; as a matter of fact, during the five years 1883—8 there were distilled, on an average, 33 mill. vedros of anhydrous spirit a year, and during the following five years 1888—93 only 30 mill. vedros.

**Beet Sugar Industry.** There yet remain two peculiarly characteristic branches of Russian industry: beet sugar, and cotton goods. The beet sugar industry appeared among us, simultaneously with Western Europe, for the first time in the government of Toola. During the first few years its importance was very small: the refineries belonged exclusively to the landowners, forming a complement to husbandry. Only with the appearance of new processes of sugar boiling, and with the establishment in 1825 of protective duties on foreign sugar, does our production receive a more considerable development: in 1844—5 there were already 206 works, and the production of sugar reached 484,000 poods. This success caused the Government to direct attention to the sugar industry from a fiscal point of view and in 1848 a moderate excise was introduced for the first time, which brought the treasury about 500,000 roubles revenue, without retarding the development of the industry itself;



the number of sugar refineries continued to increase, their productivity grew, the importation of foreign sugar diminished. From the middle of the «fifties» a new period began in sugar refining.

With the introduction of steam machinery, the production in small works became unprofitable, it began to be concentration in comparatively few hands, and the works belonging to growers began to be closed; in this latter respect no inconsiderable importance attached to the emancipation of the serfs, as the refiners were deprived of unpaid labour. In 1860 there were still 432 works, in the beginning of the «seventies» there only remained 235, while the production of sugar increased more than ten times, as also the extent of the beetroot plantations. In the course of the «seventies» the same process of centralization of production in large works continues: their number remains almost unaltered, but the quantity of sugar manufactured doubles. The system of levying excise itself led to this extension. The tax was collected not on the weight of sugar manufactured but on the normal produce of a definite quantity of beet. At the same time the laws defining the normal produce could never keep up with the technical improvements in sugar boiling, originally perhaps with the intention that the development of the industry should not be retarded by means of the excise. In consequence of this, the actual excise, thanks to a greater produce from a berkovets of beet that was calculated according to the standard, did not exceed  $\frac{1}{3}$  or later even  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the nominal excise.

On the other hand, on exportation abroad the treasury returned the nominal excise in full. These circumstances, and the high prices for sugar which ruled at the end of the «seventies», called forth heavy speculation in our sugar industry, although already in 1881 the system of levying the sugar excise was radically changed, and the excise was now collected on the weight of sugar actually refined, so that the revenue of the treasury increased to twice and thrice what it was before. But the production continued to grow without interruption, reaching in 1885—6 as much as 29,000,000 poods. Prices suddenly fell terribly, and the Government was compelled to take measures to relieve the home markets of the surplus sugar and in this way to keep up the prices. With this object from 1885 begins the payment of premiums on the sugar exported abroad over and above the return of the excise. The export increased considerably, but the chief object, the raising of prices in the home markets, remained unattained, because just in the second half of the «eighties» the crops of beet were particularly good. The Ministry of Finance warned the sugar refiners that they must themselves take steps to reduce the plantations of beet, that the payment of premiums would not be continued. But these warnings had small effect, and in 1886 prices for sugar again fell.

Then the refiners, in 1887, entered into an agreement among each other, after the example of foreign syndicates, obliging each other to export abroad a certain proportion of the yield until the prices in the home markets rise to a definite limit. Two hundred and ten

## BEEET SUGAR INDUSTRY.

refineries joined the association. During its existence up to the year 1892, no considerable fluctuations in the prices for sugar were observable. But in this year, thanks to the failure of the beetcrop and to a deficiency of sugar in the home markets, the prices rose so quickly that not only the obligatory exportation was abolished, but the Government itself began to buy sugar abroad for sale, by which measure indeed the further rise in prices was stopped.

However this might be, notwithstanding all the measures taken, overproduction did not diminish. From 1885 to 1895, with the energetic assistance of the Government, as much as 48,000,000 poods of sugar were exported, but prices nevertheless fell, mainly in consequence of the excessive production of sugar in Germany, France, and Austria-Hungary, putting their sugar like Russia, principally on the London market. Under these conditions, the voluntary agreement of the sugar refiners proved powerless, firstly, because not all the refineries took part in them and, secondly, because those participating did not always fulfil the obligations they had assumed.

All that has been set forth finally induced the Government to take upon itself the regulation of the beet sugar industry. A certain normal home consumption of sugar was defined; the excess over this norm, if thrown upon the home markets, is levied with double excise, and if exported abroad is freed from excise according to the general rule; and it was ordered to form an untouched reserve at each refinery, for placing on the home mar-

kets in case the prices for sugar should rise considerably to the detriment of consumers. The norms indicated are subject to annual revision. All these measures received the Imperial sanction at the end of 1895.

**Cotton Industry.** Entirely unlike is the picture presented by the cotton industry. It was founded in Russia as early as the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Without any mills, yarn was distributed among the villages to the peasants for the preparation on hand looms of the simple national stuffs in common use. Soon small weavers' workshops began to be founded, for 20 to 30 looms, and in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the cotton goods industry began to spread so rapidly among the villages that it even expelled the weaving of linen cloth. At the same time appears the calico printing industry, at first in the village of Ivanovo, in the government of Vladimir, where by the end of the last century there were already several such manufactories. At that time it was held that Russian fustians and calicoes were immeasurably superior as regards dyeing to those of Western Europe. From the beginning of the present century the weaving of the coarser calicoes from English yarn began to spread in other places besides the governments of Moscow and Vladimir, and the demand for yarn so increased that attempts were even made to build spinning mills. The war of 1812 retarded the development of the Russian cotton industry, but already in the «seventies» it begins again to rapidly develop, later attracting to itself a large number of workmen and a great capital. In the absence at that time of Russian machinery works, it was necessary to

## COTTON INDUSTRY.

apply to England for spinning jennies; on the other hand, until 1842, their exportation from England was prohibited, and they could only be obtained by smuggling. And notwithstanding all these obstacles in 1843 there were 40 mills, with more than 350,000 spindles, and ten years later there were already about a million.

The considerable growth of our cotton goods industry is shown above all by the increase of the imports of foreign cotton into Russia. In 1855 it still did not exceed 1½ mill. poods, while subsequently the average annual amounts were as follows:

	Mill. poods.
1877 — 1881	5.8
1882 — 1886	6.9
1887 — 1891	8.1
1892	9.4
1893	7.6
1894	11.3

This is the cotton brought over the European frontier; but besides this there are 800—900 thousand poods across the Asiatic frontier. Nor is this all: a still more remarkable fact is the establishment as the basis of the manufacture of cotton plantations in Russia itself, developing more and more with every year in Toorkistan, the Caucasus, and the dependencies of Khiva and Bukhara. These plantations in the beginning of the «nineties» furnished over 3 mill. poods, and now probably far more.

Such being the progress made by the Russian cotton industry, the general demand of the Russian people for cotton goods is now satisfied almost entirely by the home production.

## COTTON INDUSTRY.

The imports of yarn have diminished to such an extent that they form only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, while the imports of foreign textile fabrics do not exceed  $\frac{1}{300}$  part of the total Russian consumption. It is true that the exports from Russia of cotton goods is still small, they possess a certain importance only for Asia, which consumes every year an increasing quantity of Russian manufactures. But the home markets are finally conquered from the foreigner. At the same time the consumption of cotton goods has evidently grown not only in quantity but in value. In 1880 the value of the whole production together with imports amounted to not more than 270 mill. roubles, while ten years later, in 1889, it was about 500 mill. roubles.

In the number of spindles, the Russian cotton industry has taken the first place on the continent of Europe. In 1891 there were 6 mill. spindles in Russia, in France and Germany 5 mill. each, in the other continental countries still less. Thus to Russia's share fell  $\frac{1}{4}$  of all the spindles of the continent; and yet it was 7 to 8 times less than in England (52 mill. in 1894). But at the same time in Russia there is twice as much raw cotton per spindle as in England, because Russian spinning produces mainly only the medium and lower numbers of yarn while in England the high numbers also are produced. There we see, however, the good sense of the Russian manufacturers: competition with England in the production of fine yarn and sewing cottons is for the present attended with too great difficulty.

The Russian cotton industry enjoys on the part of

## COTTON INDUSTRY.

the Government the protection of a customs tariff against foreign competition. In consequence of this perhaps the prices of goods are with us somewhat higher than if foreign goods were given free access to the home markets. But these sacrifices of the consumers are redeemed by the advantages to the whole country from the existence of the cotton industry: we should pay foreigners  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times as much for goods as for raw cotton (250 mill. instead of 100 mill.); the population would lose more than 40 mill. roubles of wages; and the constantly growing cotton plantations could not develop in Russia at all.

Comparing the course of development of the beet sugar spirit distilling and cotton goods industries, it is impossible to avoid observing a very essential difference among them. In the first, in particular, all depended on reckoning upon Government privileges and assistance; the manufacturers, without paying any attention to warnings, enlarged their production and finally compelled the Government to take decisive measures for its regulation, to assume the foresight which was obligatory for the manufacturers themselves. In the case of the cotton industry, on the contrary, the State only afforded the same support which it gave to other branches of industry, protecting it by customs duties from foreign competition. Otherwise this industry was left to its own forces and, not reckoning continually on privileges and encouragement, developed in a normal manner, conquering step by step the home markets from foreigners, crossing the frontier, for the most part into Asia, where compe-

tition is as yet much easier for us, and keeping its production to those articles which are more accessible. Our manufacturers lowered the prices on their goods and thus contributed to the extension of their consumption; while the sugar refiners are unable to stand the existing prices for sugar, although these prices, after deducting excise, are much higher with us than in the London, and other European markets, partly in consequence of which the consumption of sugar in Russia per inhabitant is 2—3 less than in the other continental countries of Europe and 10 times less than in England. The course of the cotton goods industry affords a well founded hope for its further regular development. Until now, it is true, this industry has the support of a powerful customs tariff, but such protection obliges Russian manufacturers to use all their efforts to develop the technical side of the matter, and then they will have no need to fear foreign competition.

**Trade.** The characterization of the different branches of industry we have made above is, it would seem, sufficiently convincing of the value created in the country by the application of the national labour to industrial productions. But this is far from all. In order to participate in the fullest degree in the world's market it is necessary to duly organize the passage of the productions from the producers to the consumers, i. e. the home and foreign trade. It is most profitable of all for the producer, if he is able to sell his goods immediately to the consumer and not to a middleman, because the middleman of course retains a certain part of the profit



for himself. This rule, true in every day life, is perfectly applicable also to the trade of countries; if the productions of a country are exported in foreign ships, this country loses all the earnings of the freight and commission in selling, and the loss will be the greater in proportion as the goods exported are bulkier.

In order to judge of the importance of immediate participation in trade, it is sufficient to compare the dimensions of trade with the value of the produce of the manufactories and works. According to the information for 1892 the business of the banking, transport, and trading enterprises (excluding railways) amounted in Russia to 9,674 mill. roubles, while the business of the industrial concerns reached only 1632 mill., or 6 times less. Let us take a particular example: the value of the lighting and lubricating oils obtained from naphtha, together with the naphtha refuse is reckoned on the spot at not more than 20 mill. roubles, and their transport to the home and foreign markets costs 50 mill. roubles. It is true, that it is here a question of a very cheap product. But it must not be forgotten, that after grain it is one of the most important articles of our foreign export. A trading nation expending only labour and floating capital, which returns to it, obviously always receives an immense nett profit, without expending at all its foundation capital in the shape of the natural resources of the country. Herein is the chief cause of the prosperity of such states as Phoenicia, Carthage and, in our day, Holland and England. Therefore economy in foreign and home trade is one of the most important

conditions of the prosperity of a country: both should be organized in such a way that, as far as possible, neither the producer nor the consumer should pay too much to the middlemen.

**Forms of home trade.** In Russia we meet with all the stages of home trade. Caravan trade is still carried on in the south-eastern part of the Empire. Its chief centres in the Russian territories are Orenburg, Tashkent, Samarkand, Semipalatinsk, and Kiakhhta, whence the caravans proceed far beyond the limits of Russia into the Central Asiatic States and China.

In other localities of Russia, as a consequence of the lack of ways of communication and of the scarcity of the population, trade by means of fairs has been long developed.

The most ancient fairs appear already in the 16<sup>th</sup> century: for example, at that time there was a fair at the confluence of the rivers Mologa and Volga, lasting 4 months, frequented by Germans, Poles, Greeks and even Italians and Persians. Trade was conducted mostly by barter. This fair was replaced in the 17<sup>th</sup> century by a permanent trading centre in Rybinsk at the junction of the Volga and Sheksna. The present fair at Nijni-Novgorod appeared still earlier, in the time of the Grand duke Vasili Ivanovitch, but not in Nijni but in Vasilursk, and afterwards in Makarievo whence the fair itself received the name of Makarievskaya. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century appears the Irbit fair in Eastern Russia, and still earlier a fair near the monastery of Korennaya Pustynya in the Kursk government, now transferred to Kursk. The

fairs satisfied an important want: they made it possible to obtain goods straight from the producers, avoiding middlemen. The Government therefore encouraged as far as possible the establishment of fairs, and Peter the Great in his regulation to the Chief Magistracy in 1721 ordered them to be founded particularly in the neighbourhood of water ways. The subsequent measures, which had for their object the freeing of trade in the fairs from various kinds of fiscal and other restrictions, led to their still greater development.

At the present time there are about 400 more or less large fairs and 2500 small ones. The most important is that of Nijni-Novgorod, transferred thither from Makarievo in 1817; this is at the same time the greatest fair in the whole world. It lasts from the 15 July to the 10 September. These dates are of importance because the height of the Nijni fair corresponds with the time when the prospects of the crop are already clear, and the population knows what purchasing power it will have at the end of the year. The economical importance of the fair is thus explained by the fact that here the business balances are struck for the whole region which is drawn to it. But this region is very extensive: the Nijni-Novgorod fair is situated at the confluence of the Oka with the Volga, i. e. in the centre of all the water ways of Central and Eastern Russia, and therefore as many as 200,000 people assemble here every year. The chief business consists in the sale of manufactured goods and hardware to merchants coming to the market from various towns; hence the merchants distribute

these goods over the whole of Russia. Here too appear Asiatic traders for the purchase of Russian manufactures. Purchases and sales are usually effected on credit, sometimes very long credit, a year and more. The whole business of the Nijni-Novgorod fair, which began in 1817—26 with 32,000,000 roubles, reached in the beginning of the «eighties» to 250,000,000 roubles. But since then, under the influence of the development of ways of communication, especially of the Transcaspian railway, giving access to Central Asia during the whole year, it has begun to somewhat fall and in 1895 did not exceed 165,000,000. But this is only the value of the goods sold, bespoke and remaining on the hands of the sellers. The turnover of the banks, trading and industrial firms, and retail trade amounted in 1895 to not less than 339,000,000 roubles.

As to the other fairs, the most important of them is that of Irbit, now, however, falling. Its turnover in 1888 amounted to 57,000,000 roubles, it is now 34,000,000. Next follow the Ukraina fairs: 4 in Kharkoff, 4 in Romny and 1 in Poltava. Their total business amounts to 40,000,000 roubles. These fairs are mainly remarkable on account of the fact that they form, as it were, an uninterrupted circle, following one after another, so that the goods left unsold at one market are transported to the next, and the sellers add on this account to the price of the goods the cost of conveyance over the whole circle.

Without dwelling upon the other fairs, we will remark only that, with our comparatively small develop-

ment of ways of communication and of town life, fairs are fated to continue to exist for some time still. The thinness of our country population causes the home trade to concentrate almost exclusively in the great towns, where this trade is specialized and constant. But there are as yet comparatively few such towns in Russia: a population of a million exists only in Petersburg; more than 500,000 inhabitants only in Moscow (862,000) and Warsaw (573,000); more than 200,000 also in two towns Odessa (343,000) and Kief (202,000); 16 towns reckon from 100,000 to 200,000 inhabitants\*; 20 from 50,000 to 100,000; and, finally, in 110 places, there are 20,000 to 50,000. In Germany there are approximately the same number of towns with a population of over 20,000, but there this number of towns belongs to an area 40 times less than Russia. Of course, the majority of the towns enumerated are situated in European Russia (only 12 in Asia), but even so the area is still 10 times greater than the German Empire. Further, in the small towns, for the most part only articles of every day consumption are to be found. Finally, in the villages and hamlets there are, for the most part, no trading firms.

This all calls forth the natural necessity for hawking and peddling. Hawking is the occupation of the, so-called, cattle dealers (prasoly), who barter small trinkets and haberdashery for various agricultural pro-

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\* Astrakhan (105), Baku (105), Berditchef in Kief gov. (101), in Vilno (130), Kazan (144), Kishineff (144), Lodz (150), Nikolaeff (101), Orel (103), Riga (195), Rostoff on the Don (103), Samara (104), Saratoff (165), Tashkent (124), Tiflis (110) and Kharkoff (198).

ductions: feathers, down and bristles, and also buy cattle, etc. Their main object is not sale, but purchase, so that they buy up produce for ready money. The peddlers on the other hand (*korobeiniky*, *ofeny*) only sell cheap wares to the country folk and rarely barter. Besides these traders, *koostars* also sometimes wander from place to place disposing of their goods to the consumers. Under such conditions of trade, the tendency of the dwellers in towns and settlements to gather at fairs and bazaars is perfectly natural: there is no other place for them to meet the vendors of the necessary goods; and much time will yet be required for all the conditions set forth to change to such an extent that there will no longer be any need for fairs; but, as far as concerns the Nijny-Novgorod fair in particular, it is hardly likely that it should ever lose its importance, in consequence of the particular position occupied by this institution in the economical life of the greater part of Russia.

However this may be, trade in our great towns is ever more and more acquiring a Western European character. Here we meet with trade on the exchange and by contract. Its superiority to that at the fair consists not only in the uninterrupted nature of the turnover, but also in the circumstance that it is not necessary to bring the goods themselves to the exchange but it is enough to present samples only.

Therefore exchanges have become indispensable institutions especially for international trade, as on them one can every day obtain information of the prices of

goods in all the chief markets of the world, of the imports and exports, of the money and bill market, etc. Nor is this all; trade is sometimes done on exchange in goods which are not yet in existence, for example, grain before harvest, wool before shearing. This form of trade is called contractual. It must, however, be observed that in consequence of the liveliness of business, not unfrequently contractual trade is carried on at fairs. Such, for example, is the Contractual fair at Kief, which owes its importance not to the importation and disposal of goods, but to commercial transactions concluded at it between the large manufacturers assembled from the whole of the south-western region. Thus, for example, in 1892 goods were sold at this fair to the amount of 289,000 roubles, while the business transacted was 17,000,000 roubles. At any rate, contractual trade is an appurtenance of more highly developed commercial conditions; it is inconceivable without the proper organization of the ways of communication and means of conveyance; otherwise the purchaser cannot be certain that the goods will be furnished him in due time.

Turning to exchanges, it must be observed that in Russia for a long time no need was felt for them, so that the first exchange was opened here by order of the Government. Being convinced by ocular demonstration of the advantage of exchange trade, Peter the Great, on his return from Holland, ordered exchanges to be established in the ports and other prominent towns and even that merchants should be «forced against their will» to go on exchange. But till the «forties» of the present

century there were very few exchanges (in St. Petersburg, Moscow and Riga), and only since the «sixties», with the development of the credit system, did the want of an exchange medium begin to be felt far more strongly, and exchanges were opened in the principal trading towns. At the present time, besides the temporary exchange at the Nijni-Novgorod fair, there are 24 permanent exchanges. Russian exchanges are rarely specialized; as almost everywhere on the continent, exchanges for funds and goods are with us united into one institution. There have lately appeared special corn exchanges, as the Kalashnikoff in Petersburg, and the Moscow corn exchange. Our exchanges till now are without uniform organization, each being governed on the basis of a special charter. As intermediaries in trade transactions, attached to the exchanges are brokers and sometimes a court-broker, appointed by the Ministry of Finance to superintend the behaviour of the brokers; while for the sorting of goods the exchange association elects sworn sorters.

At the present time the state of the exchange business in Russia is being carefully examined in the Ministry of Finance, which proposes introducing into the law of exchanges certain essential amendments with a view to bringing it into as near agreement as possible with the requirements of our trade.

In connexion with exchanges the most important institution of home trade must be held to be warehouses. In exchange buildings, as we have said, goods are usually not kept, but only samples are brought there; but



special warehouses are arranged in the neighbourhood of the exchanges.

For foreign goods such warehouses are also established in the customs offices and ports. The owner of goods lying in the warehouse is issued a warrant. In Russia the warrant system is as yet, to all intents, hardly tried. A beginning has been made in Riga, where at the end of the «sixties» a stock company was founded called the Central Warehouse; although it did not possess the right to issue warrants, loans were made on certificates of the insurance of the goods. In the beginning of the «seventies» a whole series of joint-stock companies arose with the object of establishing warehouses issuing warrants. But the majority of them did not open operations. This failure is apparently explained by the fact, that the companies kept to such centres as Petersburg and Moscow, without extending their operations to the places of despatch of the goods and to the port towns, and were, moreover, without any connexion with the railways. In 1888, our legislature, by authorizing the foundation of warehouses, with the permission of the Minister of Finance, by Zemstvos, town, merchant or exchange, societies, joint-stock companies, associations and separate individuals, with the issue of documents for the sale and pledging of these goods, placed this matter upon a perfectly rational basis. But until now the new rules have served mainly to develop only special corn warehouses or elevators, about which we spoke in greater detail in the Chapter on agriculture.

Finally, the most important condition for the regu-

lar development of the home trade is, without doubt, the improvement of the internal ways of communication and means of transport, to which a special chapter of this section is devoted.

**Forms of foreign trade.** Turning to foreign trade, we must again repeat that to retain it in its hand is at least as important for a country as to arrive at a favourable trade balance, because the overpayments for carriage of goods and to middlemen are enormous. In this respect the position of Russia cannot yet be called favourable.

With us sea trade predominates over trade by land.  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the whole import and export business and as much as  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the exports fall to the share of the Black and Baltic Seas, in which for exports the principal importance belongs to the former. Under these conditions, the whole question reduces to this, in what ships does the trade take place, Russian or foreign.

The proportions between the numbers and tonnage for the last six years are as follows:

	Russian flag		Foreign flag	
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.
1890—1893	12.6	8.6	87.4	91.4
1894	11.6	6.9	88.4	93.1

The relation is still more unfavourable, if analyzed according to separate seas. Russian sea trade has some importance, but here only in the number, not the tonnage, of the vessels, only in the White Sea, to which belongs only 1 per cent of our foreign trade; on the principal seas, on the contrary, it is quite insignificant. It is easy to imagine how much Russia pays foreigners for

freight, when it is considered that her principal exports are grain, distinguished from other goods by its bulkiness and comparatively small value. According to some calculations, this overcharge amounts to 70 to 80 mill. roubles a year.

But besides trade on the high seas there is need of coasting trade. This latter is by Russian law open exclusively to Russian subjects, and so here, at any rate, there can be no foreign ships. The extent of this trade exceed even our foreign trade under both Russian and foreign flags. The number of coasting craft calling at and leaving our ports is 2 to 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> times greater than the number of ships engaged in the foreign trade. Their tonnage at the end of the «eighties» was still somewhat less than that of the latter, but it now already considerably exceeds it. Among the coasting vessels about 50 per cent are steamers, their tonnage being more than 75 per cent, a proportion which has lately been continually increasing. The average tonnage of steam coasting vessels has increased during the five years 1888—1892 by 28 per cent, and under these conditions it is permissible to hope that in the future the Russian coasting trade and the Volunteer Fleet, of which we spoke in the Chapter on the military and naval forces of the Empire, will give rise to a Russian mercantile marine to foreign ports. The Government measures for the encouragement of merchant shipping have consisted hitherto, besides the prohibition of the coasting trade to foreigners and the foundation of the Volunteer Fleet, in the paying of milage to the Black Sea Steamship and Trading Company and

to some others, in the foundation of the Imperial Society for the Assistance of Russian Navigation, in the digging of the Petersburg Sea Canal, and mainly in the improvement of the commercial ports, especially of the port of Libau, and in taking measures for the safety of shipping, such as the establishment of lighthouses, life boat stations, etc; and finally in the founding of navigation classes.

Having completed the sketch of the principal forms of home and foreign trade, we must now pass to the question of the organization of the most important elements of production, on a level with the forces of nature, capital, labour, and the propagation of technical and commercial knowledge.

**The removal of the legal obstacles to trade and industry.** The fundamental condition for the development of enterprise in a country is the removal, on the part of the Government, of the obstacles to engaging in industry and trade within limits not injurious to the national welfare and public safety. Without touching the history of this question, we will say that in Russia the right to engage in trade or industry is afforded to persons of both sexes, alike Russian subjects and foreigners with the exception of the clergy, church readers, and protestant preachers; further, Jews are subject to certain restrictions without the pale of settlement. Government officials also may with a few exceptions engage in industry and trade; only soldiers on active service may carry on trade operations (except the spirit trade) and manage industrial concerns not otherwise than by agents

or managers; they again, as well as civil officials occupying the highest posts, are forbidden to be founders of joint-stock companies. Thus, in the sense of the removal of legal obstacles to engaging in trade and industry, Russia has gone further than the Western European States.

**Trading and Industrial Associations.** But besides right, there is need of enterprise and capital. In a country comparatively poor in capitalists, a very essential condition for the development of large industry is the combination of small contributions for a common undertaking in the form of various kinds of associations and joint stock companies. In Russia, trading associations had an extensive development in the period of the popular councils (*vietches*), but were not regulated by law: customary law here constituted a complete guarantee. In the Moscow period, when the conditions of trade were in general oppressive, there is hardly any mention of associations. Only Peter I ordered in 1699 Russian merchants to trade in companies, as is done in foreign countries. The Great Reformer indicated at the same time that, if they do not voluntarily establish companies for foreign trade, it is necessary to compel them, and order the Board of Commerce to assume the management of the course of affairs of such companies, «as a mother of her child in everything, until it comes to perfection». Solicitous during the course of the whole of the 18<sup>th</sup> century for the establishment of companies for foreign trade, the Government did not grudge either subsidies or privileges. A separate charter

was drawn up for each company, a general enactment only appearing in 1807, and the companies were divided into three classes: full associations, where the associates were bound by complete solidarity and liability in the whole of their property; associations on trust, where to the full associates were added shareholders responsible for the affairs of the undertaking only with their contributions; and finally, associations in shares or joint-stock companies, where all the shareholders are responsible only for their deposit. The formation of associations of the two first categories is free from any special authorization. The foundation of joint-stock companies requires the confirmation of the statute by the Emperor, after its examination in the Committee of Ministers, or in the Council of State, if special favours or privileges are asked for; the foundation of joint-stock banks is authorized by the Minister of Finance. In this respect Russia does not form the sole example: in Austria, Sweden, and Holland a separate authorization is required, as with us, for the formation of each company.

Until 1854, i. e. until the ascension of the throne by the Emperor Alexander II, the number of joint-stock companies was very limited. It became considerably increased from the end of the «fifties» when on the lowering of the interest on deposits in the Government credit institutions, the capital circulating in them was compelled to seek a more profitable investment. In the subsequent years, thanks to the general revival in industry evoked by railway construction and the starting of banks, the number of new joint-stock companies gradually increased,

although with certain fluctuations. The last Eastern war, in consequence of a considerable issue of paper money and a not less consumption of every kind of articles of home production, called forth a somewhat marked development of joint-stock enterprise. After a certain lull in 1884 and the following years on account of the reduction in the construction of railways and of the failures in the crops, joint-stock companies have latterly received a new development, and in this case railway construction, in connexion with the flow of capital into the country has had a not unimportant effect; besides this, the formation of joint-stock enterprises was caused also by conversions of Government loans, which compelled private capitalists to seek a more profitable, although less secure, investment of capital in the shares of private industrial and trading undertakings. The total number of joint stock concerns in action by January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1893, amounted to 1,035, with a foundation capital of 913 mill. roubles: 976 of these were Russian, with a capital of 856 mill. roubles, and 59 — foreign, with a capital of 57 mill. roubles.

**Commercial and industrial credit.** The question of the application of capital to industrial activity is not, however, exhausted by the organization of companies. An equal necessity exists for a proper organization of industrial and commercial credit. This credit was with us, like that on land, originally exclusively a concern of the State. Its origin also belongs to the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In 1754, the foundation of the State Commercial Bank was the result of attention to the situation of

the «merchants trading in the port of St. Petersburg.» Loans were made by this bank exclusively on the security of goods brought to the port of St. Petersburg in the proportion of four-fifths of their value. The establishment of this bank was the foundation of goods credit. After this the Government directed attention to another important banking operation, that of bills of exchange and orders, whose necessity was called forth mainly by the inconveniences of transmitting heavy copper money. For this purpose use was made in 1757 of the magistracies of fifty towns.

The order operations had such success that already in 1758 they were considerably extended by the foundation in Petersburg and Moscow of banking offices for the drawing of bills of exchange (the Copper Bank). These offices not only occupied themselves with orders, but received deposits and gave money in exchange for bills to merchants, landowners, and manufacturers.

Simultaneously with the measures set forth, directed towards facilitating pecuniary operations, the idea arose of replacing copper money by paper tokens, i. e. of the foundation of issue banks, issuing exchange bank notes. In the reign of Peter III, in 1762, even an ukas was published for the foundation of a State Bank of this kind, but it was not carried into effect. This idea was realized by Catharine II by the foundation for this purpose of the Change and Assignment Banks. But the operation of the issue of assignments, which soon ceased to be changed freely for money and fell in value, i. e. from bank notes became paper money, placed the banks upon



a financial basis and the commercial side of the matter, — the facilitating of trade and industrial operations, was really forgotten, and in 1782 the Commercial Bank itself was abolished. Only fifteen years afterwards in the reign of the Emperor Paul I was a further step taken; three discounting offices were established: the first discounted bills of Russian drawers, the second received in pledge goods of Russian origin, from Russian traders and producers insured in the third, or insurance office. Goods credit was organized better than that on bills, and therefore developed faster, so that in 1806 discount offices were founded in several other towns. Nevertheless commercial credit in reality developed exceedingly feebly, while land credit grew at the same time comparatively quickly. At last, in 1817, decisive measures were taken to reform our State credit institutions. But here also the principal attention was directed to State and land credit.

First of all a council of State credit institutions was founded, with a view to the introduction of publicity and public control in the matter of national economy. The council was constituted of the President of the State Council, the Minister of Finance, the State Comptroller, six deputies from the nobility and six from the merchants. Upon the council was imposed the annual revision of all the State credit institutions and the previous discussion of amendments in the rules in force with reference to these institutions. For the purposes of commercial credit a new commercial bank was opened with a capital of 30,000,000 roubles, which was destined to receive deposits with and without interest, to make

loans upon Russian goods, and to discount bills. The Government did not venture to authorize the bank to issue its own notes, fearing fluctuations in the exchange of Government assignments, which had already been shaken without this measure.

The Government did not go further than this in the region of commercial credit. The views of Count Kankrin, who was Minister of Finance from 1822 to 1843, had a great influence in this respect. He was of opinion that private banks are on the whole harmful, while State banking operations should serve only existing industry but by no means afford it artificial encouragement. In this sense he regarded commercial credit generally with prejudice, and considered only those industrial and commercial undertakings solid and normal, which carry on business with their own capital. Such being the views of the Minister of Finance, there could be no organized private commercial credit at all. As a matter of fact, before Kankrin's time, two private banks were founded; during it, in the course of 20 years, only one; and it was only beginning with the «forties» that new banks began to spring up, but until the «sixties» there were only 21 with a capital of 500,000 roubles.

It must, moreover, be observed that, besides the personal views of Kankrin, more profound causes of an economical character operated: serfdom withheld labour from free application to production, by law only persons of the trading class were allowed to bind themselves by bills, there was no considerable capital and therefore there could be no movement in trade and industry. All

## COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CREDIT.

this appeared also in the activity of the State Commercial Bank: deposits grew rapidly, but discount and loan operations were comparatively very little developed, so that there was a mass of free capital which was placed in other banks as loans for long terms or to the Government.

In order to arrest the flow of deposits into all the credit institutions of the State, the interest paid on them was lowered in 1857 from 4 to 3 per cent; but as this measure coincided with the beginning of the joint-stock fever which had taken possession of our public, the deposits began to diminish so rapidly that the position of the State credit institutions became quite critical. It was then decided to pass to a new system of encouragement of private banking enterprise: the former treasury banks were abolished and in 1860 the State Bank was founded in their stead, of which we already had occasion to speak in the section on finance. The State Bank began operations with a capital of 15,000,000 roubles, afterwards increased to 25,000,000 roubles. Its function was of a twofold nature. The region of national economy, the liquidation of the debts of former State credit institutions, the realization of operations of redemption, the receipt of sums due to the treasury, and the effecting of various payments on behalf of the treasury, were imposed upon it. In the region of commercial credit, nearly all banking operations were left open to it, with the exception of the right of issuing its own notes. Thirty years' operations of the State Bank have, however, made it clear that this bank,

founded for the encouragement of «industry and trade», rendered actual services only to the latter and but little supported the development of our industry: it facilitated operations with existing valuables but did not set itself the task to facilitate credit for the production of new valuables. These circumstances led in 1894 to the reform of the Bank upon new principles. The operations remained the same in name, but their carrying out was considerably simplified and received a wider development in the sense of the support of industrial undertakings.

Seeing that such an enlargement of operations must require greater resources, the foundation capital of the Bank was increased from 25 to 50 mill. roubles, and the reserve capital from 3 to 5 millions. At the same time, however, the State Bank has not yet been authorized to issue its own notes, on account of the population being unaccustomed to bank currency, as with us bank notes would be immediately exchanged for paper money. It was decided from these considerations to keep to the old arrangement, viz.: in case of need for increasing the currency resources of the Bank, to make temporary issues of paper money, covered by gold to the whole of their nominal value.

The general direction of the State Bank is imposed upon the Council and Manager. In the Council, besides the representatives of the Ministry of Finance, sit one member each from the nobility and merchants, appointed by the Minister. The Bank has 9 offices in the larger trade and industrial centres, 99 permanent and 10 tem-

porary sections\* and besides this agencies. Upon the latter are imposed the carrying out of the simplest operations and in general the collecting of information necessary for the Bank. In connexion with the offices and sections are established discount and loan committees, with the participation of persons well known by their experience in trade, industry, and agriculture, for the determination of the extent of credit which may be given to each person or institution.

The revision of the expenditure, operations, and safes of the State Bank is imposed in regular course upon the organs of the State Comptrol; the accounts of the Bank are brought by the Minister of Finance before the State Council.

Simultaneously with the State Bank, various kinds of public and private credit institutions began to appear. In 1862 the statute of town public banks was promulgated, and although such banks existed before, from the very beginning of the present century, yet it was here that they received for the first time a serious importance in the provinces, so that in the latter part of the «sixties», and the beginning of the «seventies» the number of established banks reached 293. Almost simultaneously (from 1864), mutual credit companies open their operations. In 1871 the general conditions were determined for the foundation of land banks, having a principal importance for farmers. Assistance was rendered to industry and trade also by the town mortgage banks, established in 1861, which made loans on real property in towns, among other

\* Besides this, four more sections are being formed.

things, on mills and factories. The greatest importance belonged to the private joint-stock banks. Private enterprise in the foundation of various kinds of credit institutions took, thanks to the general revival of business, extraordinary dimensions and, in the interval 1864—72, were founded 33 joint-stock commercial banks, 11 land banks, and 52 various credit institutions on a basis of mutuality. Such a multiplication of the number of banks exceeded even the demand, and some of them were carried away by speculative undertakings. The result was a series of bank failures, which disclosed the fact that private and public credit were not established on a sufficiently sure basis. Abuses came to light in the public banks of the towns; it was shown that the enactments of the law as to the responsibility for the integrity of the sums entrusted to them were not sufficiently clear. Accordingly in 1883 supplementary rules were published, which placed town banks under the immediate inspection of the municipal institutions and of the Ministry of Finance, and which limited with certain guarantees the operations both of these and of the joint-stock commercial banks. Thanks to the circumstances set forth, a reaction began in the foundation of banks: between 1874 and 1894 only 6 new joint-stock banks were opened; since 1883 only 7 town banks have been founded, and not a single new mutual credit society has been formed. All this of course must be ascribed not merely to disenchantment alone at the failures which overtook banking business, but mainly to the insufficient development of the consciousness of the advantage of selfhelp

## COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CREDIT.

in the organization of credit and to the feeble economical condition of the majority of our small towns.

At the present time the total number of credit institutions and their operations in millions of roubles according to the balance sheets on the 1 January 1895 have the following appearance.

There are 443 institutions for short term credit, among them the State Bank and two pawnshops, 34 joint-stock banks, 98 mutual credit societies, and 238 town public banks.

Their operations are distributed in the following order:

Discounting bills etc. . . . . 536,000,000 rbls.

Discounting solo-bills . . . . . 47,000,000 »

Loans:

a) in the form of running accounts 282,000,000 »

b) on stock . . . . . 130,000,000 »

c) on goods etc. . . . . 73,000,000 »

d) on buildings and land . . . . . 29,000,000 »

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Total . . . 1,097,000,000 rbls.

The capital belonging to all these institutions amounts to 280,000,000 rbls., the deposits are 1,097,000,000 rbls., and the loans—64,000,000 rbls.

The institutions for long term credit are much less numerous, viz. 36, of which two belong to the State—the Nobles' and Peasants' Banks, 10 joint-stock land banks, 8 mutual and class banks, and 16 town credit societies. Their capital is not great, something over 100,000,000 roubles; they receive hardly any deposits, and obtain all their resources from loans. On the 1 January, 1895,

COMMERCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CREDIT.

these loans amounted to 1,805,000,000 roubles. The active operations of these institutions consist in making loans on mortgage:

Land. . . . .	1,206,000,000 rbls.
Buildings . . . . .	602,000,000 »
Total . . . . .	1,808,000,000 rbls.

While speaking of capital, we have still to touch upon one question of first class importance — the accumulation of popular savings. This accumulation is one of the most important symptoms of national prosperity, it is characteristic also of the national foresight by which civilized nations are distinguished from uncivilized. Saving is at the same time one of the most important incentives to productive labour: labour combined with saving not only satisfies immediate necessities but secures the labourer a quiet future; therefore the attention of governments has long been directed to the organization of savings banks, as far as possible accessible to the population. In Russia the first savings banks were opened in 1842, which were anticipated, however, in 1824 by the Baltic Provinces. But until the «sixties» the movement was very languid, so that in ten years the total savings did not reach even 2,000,000 roubles. Ten years later, in 1862, there were 12,000,000 roubles. In order to advance matters, it was decided to open saving banks in district treasuries, town halls, town public banks, and in the offices and branches of the State Bank. And notwithstanding this, hardly any success followed, the total deposits even somewhat diminished compared with what was before. From the «eighties», on the contrary, a new



era begins in the development of savings banks in Russia. A series of enactments, which followed on the initiative of the late Minister of Finance Boongue, made the institution of savings banks a living force in Russia, removing all superfluous formalities in the receiving and returning of deposits. Thanks to this, at the end of 1888 the total deposits already reached 93,000,000 roubles. In the following year it was decided, after the example of Europe, to open savings banks at post and telegraph offices and at factories and works, and by the law of 1893 at the customs offices.

By November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1895, there were 3,840 savings banks with their branches, 3,044 among them being at post and telegraph offices. The number of books, i. e. separate depositors, is 1,843,822; the deposits form 371,977,203 roubles, the average amount of a deposit being thus 202 roubles. In 1880 there were only 75 savings banks, 97,000 books, and only 8,000,000 roubles of deposits; thus, since the beginning of the late Emperor's reign, the number of banks has increased 51 times, the number of depositors 19 times, the total deposits 46 times, and the average amount of a deposit almost 2½ times. These evident symptoms of an increase in the prosperity of the population hardly require explanation. Nevertheless Russia is still far from having attained in this respect the success of other European countries. In Great Britain, for example, the total deposits in savings banks amounted in 1893 to 123 mill. pounds sterling, i. e. more than a milliard roubles for a population of only a third that of Russia; in Prussia with a still less nu-

merous population the deposits exceed 1½ milliard roubles; in France the total deposits in 1891 were more than 3 milliards of francs (more than a milliard roubles); and, finally, in the United States with half the population of Russia, the deposits amounted in 1891—92 to 1,713 mill. dollars, or about 3½ milliards of roubles.

**Legislation on workmen.** Such are the institutions contributing to the accumulation of capital and to its application to productive labour. The question of the organization of labour itself has almost a greater importance, and after all that has been said up to now, this importance scarcely requires further explanation. We referred above to the numbers of our working population. The number of koostars can hardly be determined with certainty; workmen employed in manufactories, mills, and works are reckoned at about 1,500,000, which includes about 450,000 men in mines and metallurgical works.

The latter differ considerably from the common type of our factory workmen, especially in the Ural where more than half of them are. We must therefore devote a few words specially to them.

In founding the mining industry, the Russian sovereigns must first of all have encountered the question of furnishing the works with the necessary hands. A ready method for the purpose was found in the existence of serfdom. Therefore it was that already in 1637, at the request of the merchants Marselis and Akema, founders of some of the first works in Central Russia, peasants were ascribed to them to work out their taxes

there. This method received the most extensive application in the time of Peter the Great. In 1721, nobles and merchants, who had hitherto not had the right to hold serfs, were authorized to buy villages for their works. Although Peter III abolished this right for merchants, yet at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century it was renewed again. In this manner the mining population constituted an indivisible accessory of the works. Besides this, all who accidentally happened to get there were attached to the works, even runaway and also so-called crown artisans, i. e. skilled workmen whom the crown placed at the disposition of the works. All these workmen and other State peasants attached to crown and private works, received the name of ascribed peasants and were distinguished from other State peasants by the fact that they worked there instead of paying taxes.

The process of separation of the mining population from the general mass of the peasantry continued in the present century also. In 1811 all private mining works were divided into proprietary and possessional. To the first were referred those that received no assistance from the crown, in men, lands, or forests; to the second, all the rest. And the peasants ascribed to the latter also began to be called possessional: they were not serfs but State peasants of a special class. Finally in 1861, on the emancipation of the peasants, the mining population was divided into two classes, artisans and rural labourers: to the first were referred those who were employed in technical mining work, to the second — the rest. The rural labourers received exactly the same organization,

as the corresponding classes of peasants belonging to landowners and to the State, while those artisans, although they were all allotted land with payment of rent, who could not pay, engaged to work off the rent in the works or mine. Seeing that afterwards, in 1881, the compulsory redemption of allotments was not extended to the former artisans of the proprietary works nor to the whole mining population in general of the possessional works, their obligatory relations to the owners of works have not yet everywhere ceased.

All that has been said shows that the miners in the Ural, connected with their work from ancient times, ascribed from their forefathers to the works, are sharply distinguished from the remaining mass of our factory hands. Foreigners justly call the latter «ouvriers temporaires, nomades industriels»; the majority of them are not employed the whole year with their trade, but leave for the factory when the field labour is over in the village. They have their allotment in the country, the chief source of their subsistence; they regard work at the factory as supplementary earnings. Such a state of things has its good and bad sides; our workmen are, compared with foreign workmen, independent of the manufacturer and of his material position: if the manufactory becomes bankrupt, they will find a living in the village. They are not tied the whole year to the factory with its stuffy atmosphere, but in the summer labour in the open air at their accustomed peasant's work. But, on the other hand, they do not try to improve themselves in any special kind of work, easily pass from an

iron works to a glass works, from a chemical works to a weaving or spinning mill; and this cannot but affect the quality of the work, notwithstanding the prevalence of machine production. It would, however, be wrong to think that all our factory workmen without exception are of this kind. An exception must be made for the inhabitants of the towns, who have no allotment and sometimes no dwelling of their own. Further, sometimes the peasants send their children to town to learn a trade; the latter become specialists. Finally, there are factories, besides the mining works, where there are workmen who for several generations in succession have been employed at one trade. And yet industries of the former kind prevail, and in connexion with them stands the most ancient phenomenon in Russian economy, the artel.

Artels, like the guilds in Western Europe, took their rise in the towns. In the period of the vietches, the handicraftsmen lived in the towns in communities. Thus, for example, in Novgorod they occupied certain streets and even groups of streets, the, so-called, potters', carpenters', etc., «ends». But these «ends», unlike the guilds, were not close corporations; the skilled craftsmen of course helped the beginners and taught them, but did not on that account place them in the position of dependent pupils and apprentices. This was the soil upon which the artel developed, as a moral and economical alliance of craftsmen. With the fall of the vietché towns, the artel passed together with the artisans to the village. Here, more than ever, was an oppressive guild organization impossible, so that, coming to the towns for

work, the artels did not submit to the guild arrangements artificially introduced in the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and have remained till now a characteristic form of the organization of Russian industrial labour.

It should be stated that the principle of the artel is applied with us not only to production but to consumption, credit, and insurance. Artels concerned with consumption only are very simple; they amount to the uniform participation of all the members in the expenditure. Credit and insurance artels have passed into various forms of credit associations, institutions of mutual insurance, etc. As, however, concerns industrial artels, they may be divided into four categories: 1) Raw material artels — for obtaining the raw material used by their members, 2) Store artels, to erect a store at the common expense, 3) Productive assistance artels — to obtain premises or instruments of production on the general account, 4) Productive artels in the fullest sense, i. e. embracing every side of the industrial functions of their members.

The artel, as distinguished from the village commune, resembling it in many respects, is a contractual association. From each person entering it there is required for the most part a strength equal to the strength of the other members, and further, moral qualities capable of justifying the confidence enjoyed by the artels. Finally, the contribution to the capital of the artel is a necessary condition only in those artels which need capital from their very character and do not receive it from the employer. Moreover, the capital is formed not only for

production, but to cover losses caused any-one by the artel. On entering the artel, each member of it assumes a whole series of obligations: he must share with his labour in the common concern, not unfrequently continue periodically contributions to the capital, observe discipline, behave conscientiously to third parties, and help his fellows in every misfortune. In return for this he enjoys in the same proportion as all the members of the artel a share of the nett profit, help in sickness, if it resulted from the «will of God» and was not caused by drunkenness or bad conduct. The division of the income is usually effected so that a part of it is distributed in proportion to the contributions to the artel capital, and another part is divided according to the number of days passed in labour. Finally, each member of the artel may be elected to offices in connexion with the management of the affairs of the artel. This management properly belongs to the whole body of members; especially in the more ancient artels, founded on the principle of the commune and kindred. In the majority, however, of the rest, there are elective elders, sometimes with assistants. In actual life the arrangement of the artel is very various, but its essence always consists in mutual responsibility to the giver of the order or to the employer for the conscientious execution of the work. Unfortunately here also mutual responsibility has unfavourable results. For the fault of a careless member the whole artel has to work off the loss and in consequence of this not unfrequently falls into a condition of servitude.

## LEGISLATION ON WORKMEN.

The principle of the artel has had without doubt the most powerful influence upon the development of our industry. One may be allowed to think that, were there no artels, the position of industries away from the village would be extremely unenviable, but without such industries there would have been no factory workmen. Created originally in the villages out of the inhabitants of one settlement or out of the artisans of one trade, the artel appeared in the town and here took root. The fellow villager now had some one in the town to apply to, and a close connexion became established between the village and the town. Therefore, at the present time the workmen in many manufactories organize themselves in artels with a common canteen. In proportion to the gradual development of town life and of means of communication, such industries became possible without artels, but artels continue to serve as an important security for the interests of the working class, long before the interference of the law in this important question of national welfare. As a matter of fact, the condition of the working population attracted the attention of the Government, without mentioning the measures taken by Catharine II against the arbitrary conduct of the masters of works, only in the beginning of the present century, and then properly in reference to workmen in metallurgical works. It was then ordered to found a hospital in each large works, to see that the work was free from danger, and to admit no children younger than twelve years of age (in the Altay, fifteen). The legislation did not touch other branches of industry



until the «eighties». It must further be noticed that the needs of our workmen, to all intents villagers, were always very modest; for example, their subsistence even in the Moscow government costs  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 roubles a month, or with particularly high wages 7 to 8 roubles. This provisioning is for the most part managed by an artel for consumption with its own shop which even gives the shareholders a dividend. The administration of the works afford a kitchen, fuel, water, and a dining room. Whatever the shop lacks, the neighbouring peasants bring to the bazaars of the works. The premises for workmen in our manufactories, where such exist, are comparatively satisfactory. They are either large buildings of several stories, with well-lit dormitories; or the stories are divided in the middle by corridors, the lodgings for the families being placed right and left. The works give wood, and light the kitchen and corridors. The workmen must provide the rest themselves. Our workmen, however, prefer above everything separate cottages for 2—4 families, with a yard, garden, and kitchen garden. Unfortunately, lodgings of this kind are comparatively very rare. Model premises in every respect are those seen by the author at the manufactory of Bros. Maliutin in the village of Ramensk, near Moscow, on the Riazan road.

The workmen receive all this either free or for a very moderate payment, but, of course, such advantages, where they occur, have an influence on wages. Wages vary to an extraordinary degree with us not only according to locality and kind of industry but in one and the

same industry in different works. They are highest of all in machinery works, lowest in textile manufactories. In any case the remuneration of Russian workmen is far below that of the Western European, but it must be remarked that the productiveness of their work is also less. Piece work prevails over work by the day or month, and of course has a favourable influence upon the results of the work and profits of the manufacturers.

On the whole, the mode of settlement with the workmen has been for a long time the weak place in the relations of manufacturers and workmen. Piece work forces men to work day and night, without taking any account of strength, and to send children and women to the factory. The manufacturers, on their part, taking advantage of their position, not unfrequently cheated the workmen, made them take goods instead of money, buy provisions on credit at higher prices in their own shop (the truck system), thus leading the workmen into debts which they could not pay, dismissed them before term, arbitrarily lowered wages, inflicted heavy fines, etc. These abuses attracted the attention of the Government. In 1882, on the initiative of M. Boongue, the Minister of Finance, the first law was enacted on the labour of infants and women, afterwards added to in 1884 and 1890. By these laws, the labour of children under 12 is absolutely forbidden. Children from 12 to 15 may work only in the day and not more than 8 hours, with rest after 4 hours' work. Further, in the textile industries specially, night work is prohibited to youths from 15 to 17 and to women. This is an exceedingly important

measure, because 77 per cent of the workwomen are engaged in the production of textiles. Underground work is absolutely forbidden for children and women. The Petersburg manufacturers even proposed in 1884 to entirely prohibit night work, but met with vehement opposition on the part of the manufacturers of the central governments. As to the question of the length of the working day for adults, this has so far not been touched by our legislation. On the whole, day work prevails with us; it lasts in the majority of cases, not reckoning meals and rest, 12 hours or less, and only in 20 per cent of the works more.

A second essential question has been the regulation of the conditions of hire, which was resolved in detail by the law of 1886. According to this law, the contract of hire is concluded in writing, and the workman is given a book in which are written the term of hire, the dates for paying wages, and their amount, the rent for lodging, bath, dining room, and tea room, and fines with a statement of the occasions for their infliction, and finally, an extract from the enactments of the law and the rules of the works. The estimate for piecework is confirmed by the factory inspector and is hung up in a prominent place. Until the expiry of the term of the contract, the master is forbidden to lower the wages or to change the number of working hours, or to dismiss the workman. But if the contract was without term, it may be repudiated only with a notice of two weeks to the other side. Settlement with receipts, coupons, grain, goods, and other articles is forbidden. The master is

not deprived of the right to dismiss the workman before term for misbehaviour, but if the dismissal was without sufficient cause, the workman is adjudged, besides the wages, special damages. The master may fine the workman for dissolute behaviour, bad work, and breach of order, but not above a definite amount, the fine, moreover, not going to the master but to a special fund destined to satisfy the needs of the workmen. By this means the fines are deprived of their former interested character and, in consequence of this, their amount has considerably diminished.

A special factory inspection has been established to watch over the observance of the laws affecting workmen. The localities in which various industries exist are divided into districts, in each of which there is one or several inspectors, at whose head is placed the chief inspector in the Ministry of Finance. Further, in each government there is a factory board composed of representatives of the local administration and of the owners of the manufactories under the chairmanship of the governor, which among other things publishes obligatory regulations as to measures for the preservation of the life and health of the workmen during work in the factory or works. A special mining inspection is established for mining works, consisting of the district engineers and metallurgical boards.

The question as to the provision for workmen in case of incapacity to work and for the family of the workman in case of the death of its supporter has not yet been touched by our legislation in its general form.

Nevertheless, already in 1878, the responsibility for accidents of the owners of railway and steamer undertakings was defined. Further, in the law on the hiring of agricultural labourers it was declared that the hirer by whose fault the labourer received an injury to his health, is obliged to compensate him, and if the labourer from this cause is deprived of his capacity to work, or dies, the hirer is obliged to compensate all those members of the labourer's family whose existence was secured by his wages; the amount of the compensation is determined either by agreement or by the court. The same rules are by analogy applied also in the relations of factory workmen to their masters. But there can be no compensation if the injury to health takes place from the workman's own carelessness or from other accidental causes. Relief funds are established to meet this case in many, mostly metallurgical, works. The initiative in this matter was taken by the Government already in 1861, and in 1866 special rules were published for funds in Government works. Their capital is formed of a sum granted by the Government, of regular deductions from the wages of the members amounting to 2—3 per cent, and of annual payments by the works. The funds give constant relief to the members themselves who have become unfit to work, and to the widows and children of workmen. Members who have not earned pensions are given relief in single sums in case of illness or any misfortune. There are now in all 15 such associations, with 9,173 members and a capital of 1,129,000 roubles. Workmen are induced to participate in the funds more

by the possibility of profiting by loans, as the majority from the shortness of the terms of service cannot reckon on obtaining pensions. Nevertheless, the number of pensioners is constantly growing (from 13 in 1881 to 1329 in 1895); the pensions now amount to 25,500 roubles. Besides the 15 associations mentioned, 13 of which are in the Ural, one in the Caucasus and one in the Olonets government, there is also an association in the Government works of the Kingdom of Poland founded in 1817. Finally, after the example of the Government works, private works are also establishing such funds, loan and savings associations, etc, and their number is constantly increasing. For the Kingdom of Poland normal charters have lately been sanctioned, by which funds may be established in the local private mining works. Besides the mining funds, there have existed since 1862 associations for permanent workmen in the shipbuilding works of the Naval Department; their organization is very similar to those of the mining works.

**Technical and Commercial Education.** To finish this chapter, there yet remains one question of prime importance both for capitalists and employers and for workmen, and therefore for the whole of our industry: the question of the spread of technical and commercial knowledge.

The means for the spread of this knowledge are first of all professional schools. Without doubt, technical knowledge is imparted also in schools of the general type: modern gymnasiums (real schools), district and town schools, and primary schools of various depart-

ments. With this object the teaching of some trade is introduced into the programme, special classes are founded, etc. But in the present chapter we shall have mainly to do with special schools, as the question of general education forms the subject of a section by itself.

Among special industrial schools the first to appear in Russia are the mining schools, owing to the solicitude of Peter the Great for the development of metallurgical industry. In 1721, on Tatishtchef's initiative, two, so-called, arithmetical schools were established in the works near Yekaterinburg for the preparation of young men for the mining service. In 1723 these schools were united and transferred to Yekaterinburg. The Yekaterinburg schools, subsequently renamed the Ural Mining Schools exist here to the present day, and until the foundation of the Mining Institute in 1773 this was the sole mining school in Russia. It prepares theoretically and practically chemists, assayers, and headminers, has consequently the character of an intermediate school. The new intermediate mining schools began to be opened only in the «seventies» of the present century. The first was the school for head-miners in Lisichansk, government of Yekaterinoslaf; later was opened Poliakoff's Mining School at the Korsunsk mine of the South Russian Coal Industry Company, then a mining school for the preparation of head miners, skilled workmen, and foremen in metallurgical works was founded in Dombrovo, the centre of the coal industry of the Kingdom of Poland; and finally, in 1893 was opened the Irkootsk Mining School.

In all the 5 intermediate schools enumerated, on the 1 January, 1895, there were 319 pupils. There only exists one lower school, near the Toorinsk mines in the government of Perm, with 97 pupils.

For the preparation of mining engineers, as we have said, the Mining Institute was founded in 1773, and is therefore one of the oldest higher educational institutions in Russia. Soon after it was opened, there was added to it a whole intermediate school, preparing pupils to enter the special classes. Afterwards, in the reign of the Emperor Nicholas I, the Institute and all mining engineers were given a military organization. It was only in 1866 that the Institute was again made exclusively a higher institution of a civil character; and in 1889 was introduced a new programme of teaching, with the object of giving the education obtained in the Mining Institute a more practical, specially mining direction. On the 1 January, 1895, there were 309 students in the Institute. In this Institute, besides various cabinets and an artificial mine, there is an extensive museum containing collections of minerals, rocks, fossils, technical appliances, and models. The collections of minerals are very rich and contain some rare specimens. Among the latter may be mentioned very large nuggets of gold and platinum found in the Ural, weighing respectively 2 poods 8 lbs. and 10½ lbs.; a magnificent crystal of topaz weighing about 26 lbs. presented by the Emperor Alexander II, and a large beryl valued at 43,000 roubles. There is also a remarkable collection of uncut diamonds.



The mining schools thus took their rise from the intermediate school of head-miners at Yekaterinburg. The foundation of the higher institution took place only 50 years later. The opening of the other technical schools followed in the opposite order. The first to arise was the higher technical school in 1828, under the name of the Technological Institute. Until the «sixties», it remained the only institution of its kind, nor were there any lower and intermediate technical schools. Originally, indeed, the Institute prepared merely master workmen for the factories and works, and it was only in 1849 that it began to send forth engineers and technologists. In 1862 was founded the second higher school, the Riga Polytechnic, with, however, a much wider programme. The Petersburg Technological Institute has only two sections, mechanical and technological; while the Riga Polytechnic has five, agricultural, chemico-technical, engineering, mechanical, architectural, and commercial. In 1868 the Imperial Moscow Technical School was opened, and in 1885 the Technological Institute in Kharkoff, organized on the plan of that in Petersburg. Finally, there is the Polytechnical Institute in Helsingfors. According to the number of students, the Riga Polytechnic stands first with 1,130, then the Petersburg Institute with 786, the Moscow School with 656, the Kharkoff Institute with 550 and last the Helsingfors Polytechnic with 155, forming a total of 3,277 students.

The need for intermediate and lower schools began to make itself particularly strongly felt with the advan-

cing development of our industry, i. e. since the «sixties». Not to mention the railway schools, which we shall have occasion to mention in the Chapter on ways of communication, to this period belong the foundation of the Moscow Komisaroff Technical School, the Alexander School in Cherepovets, the transformation of the Lodz Real School (modern gymnasium) into a higher trades school, etc. These efforts on the part of both private persons and of societies to found technical schools called forth in 1869 the enactment of the first general rules for their opening. A further step was taken in 1872, when in real schools (modern gymnasiums) supplementary special classes began to be organized. These were of a general character, mechanico-technical and chemico-technical. In the same year it was decided to open trades classes in the two class and one class rural, district, and town schools. The latter now exist in connexion with 464 schools, and reckon about 11,000 pupils. In this way special technical education was placed in relation with general education. But the special divisions of the real schools did not justify the hopes placed upon them, and the Government resolved to pass over to the independent system of technical schools. Already in 1882, when M. Boongue was Minister of Finance, an order was issued for schools attached to the Imperial Russian Technical Society, which was authorized to open schools in factories and works, and in places with a working population; while six years later a general normal plan was drawn up for technical schools, whether intermediate, lower, or trades. Besides this schools were proposed for trades apprentices, to prepare boys for

## TECHNICAL AND COMMERCIAL EDUCATION.

employment in private workshops. Industrial schools of all kinds may exist either apart or in connexion with other similar schools of various levels and specialities. They are supported either at the cost of the Government or at that of zemstvos, societies, classes, towns, or private persons, or on the combined means obtained from all these sources.

The new rules evoked a considerable movement in the establishment of technical schools. Zemstvos, town societies, various institutions, and persons began to advance funds for schools or to found them at their own cost.

All the intermediate and lower technical and trade schools in existence may be divided into the following groups:

	No of pupils.
a) 5 schools with the course of the intermediate educational institutions . . . . .	1,680
b) 33 schools with the course of the town, district and two-class rural schools . . . . .	3,750
c) 53 schools with the course of the elementary schools . . . . .	3,000
d) 35 schools of the Imperial Russian Technical Society:	
1) 4 special . . . . .	270
2) 12 evening schools for adult workmen or workwomen, about . . . . .	1,200
3) 6 schools for children in factories . . . . .	550

TECHNICAL AND COMMERCIAL EDUCATION.

4) 12 primary schools for workmen's children. . . . .	1,300
5) 1 women's teaching workshop.—	
	3,320
e) 13 schools for factory hands and their children, about . . . . .	1,450
f) 41 navigation classes . . . . .	1,500

There are in all then 180 schools and about 15,000 pupils; to which must be added 50 schools in Finland with 2,000 pupils.

Besides technical schools we have in many towns classes and schools for technical drawing, among which the best known are the Strogonoff School in Moscow, the Central (Baron Stieglitz') School, and the drawing School of the Society for the Encouragement of Art in St. Petersburg. The latter pursues mainly artistic objects.

The present sketch would be incomplete if we did not touch upon women's professional schools. There are professions common to men and women, but there also exists a difference between them, which calls forth the necessity for the existence of perfectly distinct women's professional schools. These schools are with us under the direction of various departments, societies and institutions, as, for example, the Women's Art Industry Society, the Ladies' Artistic Club, the Society for the Propagation of Practical Knowledge among Educated Women, and in part, the Women's Patriotic Society. They teach one trade or several trades at the same time, among which prevail lace-making, spinning, straw-plaiting, knitting, artificial flower making, and also

weaving, principally in Finland. But, among all the women's professional schools, the first place belongs to schools of needle work, although this art enters into the programme of all the girls' schools with a general course. The existing professional needlework schools may be brought under the following three groups: schools for adults without general educational courses, schools in the form of special classes attached to ordinary schools, and schools for adults and children with a general course. The number of schools belonging to all three groups reaches 200, with 10,000 pupils. There is unfortunately a lack of trained teachers of needlework, although there are already several schools intended specially for this object.

In general, our technical education, thanks to the measures being taken by the Ministry of National Education and the sympathy of the local institutions, is now in a state of uninterrupted development, and an increasing number of new schools are springing up every year. Together with this, the Ministry is engaged in the improvement of the plan of teaching in accordance with the demands made by practical life, and has resolved for this purpose to have recourse to the assistance of local specialists, which takes form in the establishment in the schools of special boards of guardians, composed of contributors and representatives from the zemstvos, societies and classes, providing the means for the support of the institutions.

Passing to commercial schools, it should first of all be observed that *they arose in Russia earlier than any-*

*where else in the world.* The first commercial school was opened in Moscow in 1772 at the expense of P. A. Demidoff, a descendant of the wellknown owner of works, whom we have mentioned several times. In 1799 this school was transferred to Petersburg. The object of the school, according to its present statute, is to give the pupils a general education and to prepare them for commerce, and to fill the posts of bookkeepers, controllers, clerks in offices, manufactories, etc. It is accordingly an intermediate school. In 1804, on the initiative of the dowager Empress Maria Feodorovna, two such schools were opened in Moscow and Odessa, in the same year a fourth was opened at the expense of the merchants in Moscow under the name of the Practical Academy of Commercial Sciences. The Odessa school was soon transformed into a general school, and sprang up again only in 1849. Somewhat earlier, in 1835, a lower commercial school was founded in Moscow under the name of the Burgesses' School. In the above named schools are taught about 2000 pupils, while the eight commercial institutes and schools in Finland have 420. From then down till 1880, no new commercial schools were opened, but since this year three have been founded: the Peter School in Petersburg, the Alexander School in Moscow, and the Kharkoff School at the expense of the local merchants. Besides this, since 1872, two-year commercial divisions have begun to be opened in the real schools, and their number in 1885 reached 36, since when it has been diminishing and is now not more than 20. There are finally several private courses

of bookkeeping and commerce. It is easy to see from the data quoted that commercial education is far from being organized with us in a manner corresponding to the need for it.

First of all, not counting the commercial division of the Riga Polytechnic, we have neither higher nor lower commercial schools, but only intermediate. On the other hand, in Germany, for example, there are not less than 200 lower schools and courses with 19,000 pupils, while the intermediate schools contain 5,000. In France the number of pupils in the lower commercial classes reaches 9,000, and in Italy 8,500 pupils are taught in commercial divisions of the lower technical schools. The transfer in 1894 of our commercial schools to the control of the Ministry of Finance, marks a new period in their existence. An inspectorship was immediately established over them, and the draft of a complete reform is now confirmed. It is proposed to give lower commercial education a proper place in the scheme. In these schools the pupils will receive the necessary training for service in the capacity of clerks and small agents in trading and industrial, banking, and insurance institutions. One-class schools will be appointed for pupils for whom, on account of lack of means, a long school course is unattainable. Three-class schools are calculated for children of more well-to-do people, shopmen, masters of small workshops and trading concerns. Finally, for employees, boys and clerks in shops, artelmen, etc., commercial classes will be opened on the model of western countries, in which the lessons will

be in the evening as well as in the day, to suit the pupils. Finally, the programme of the intermediate schools and courses will, as far as possible, be adapted to the requirements of local trade.

The propagation of technical, economical, and commercial information receives considerable support from various kinds of societies intended to assist the development of the country's industry and trade. The oldest of these is the Imperial Free Economical Society, founded in 1765; thirty years later, the Livonian Economical Society was opened in Riga. Further, in 1866, the above mentioned Imperial Technical Society was founded, and in 1868, the Society for the Promotion of Russian Industry and Trade. The Technical Society consists of several sections according to the specialities of technical science. It has organized its own museum, and since 1868 has taken an active part in the foundation of technical schools, of which, as we have seen, there are now 35. It has founded a journal, opened a photographic exhibition, and in 1889 and 1895 summoned two congresses of specialists on technical and professional education. The Society for the Promotion of Industry and Trade aims at promoting the development of industry by means of the discussion of questions concerning industry and trade, of printing digested materials, and of promoting the foundation of useful undertakings. Both the above mentioned societies have local branches in various towns of Russia. Special societies for the spread of technical and trades knowledge exist in Moscow and in other towns. In the region of mining industry the



same importance attaches to the congresses of owners of mines and works periodically assembled in various localities and to the iron masters' Permanent Consultation Office in Petersburg.

We have already referred above to industrial museums. Besides the Mining Museum, here should be mentioned the Art and Industry Museum and the Polytechnic Museum in Moscow; the Museum of the Imperial Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, and the Museum of Applied Science opened by the Technical Society in 1871 in Petersburg; the Kharkoff Museum, and a series of museums belonging to various departments. Museums must be distinguished from permanent exhibitions of sample articles of industry. The latter are organized in various centres of export and, embracing only home industry, have in view purely commercial aims and serve even as intermediaries between producers and foreign buyers. A Russian exhibition of this kind was founded by the Government in Bukharest, and it is intended that similar exhibitions should in the future include, as in a net, the principal towns of the East.

As to what, finally, concerns periodical industrial exhibitions, the first exhibition of the kind in Russia was founded in 1829 in Petersburg; since then until 1835, exhibitions alternated every two years in Petersburg and Moscow. Later, in 1848, it was determined to organize Russian exhibitions alternately in Petersburg, Moscow and Warsaw, every four years. The Petersburg and Moscow Exhibitions accept only products of the factory and workshop, while those in Warsaw

add agricultural produce. The awards to exhibitors are adjudged by special commissions of experts. Latterly, local exhibitions have been organized with a view to representing the intellectual and economical condition of a more or less extensive region. Such, for example, were the science and industry exhibitions for Siberia and the Ural in Yekaterinburg (1887), and for the Volga-Kama region and the East of the Empire in Kazan (1890). Governors also are recommended to organize government industrial exhibitions, but the latter usually admit agricultural produce, and vice versa agricultural shows allow manufactured goods to be exhibited.

Finally, at the 1896 Pan-Russian industrial exhibition in Nijni Novgorod, Russia will place before the eyes of the whole civilized world those important economical results which have been attained by her, thanks to the wise solicitude of the Tsar Pacificator.

#### 4. Ways and Means of Communication.

The good organization of ways of communication is one of the most important conditions for the development of a country both morally and materially. Though serving, in many cases, national purposes, ways of communication have besides an extremely great political importance. Therefore the State in Russia, as everywhere else, long since excepted ways of communication from private ownership, and declared their use open to all upon terms of equality.

**a) Water ways.** In historical order, first in importance were the water ways: rivers and lakes. Our first

towns were built on the rivers serving as the main trade route «from the Variags to the Greeks», viz. Kief on the Dnieper, Novgorod on the Volkhof. The centre of political life in Russia was afterwards transferred to Moscow, around which the courses of all the most important rivers of European Russia have their origin.

We are very rich in water communications. In European Russia alone (without Finland) the total length of rivers, lakes, and canals amounts to 102,689 versts. For Siberia a complete calculation has not been made, but there, as is known, flow vast rivers, rivalling in their dimensions the most considerable rivers of America. Such are the Obi, with a length of 5,300 versts, possessing an extensive basin in which navigation is regularly maintained over a course of 14,542 versts; the Yenisey and Angara, of 4,800 versts; the Lena, of 4,200 versts, forming with its affluents one of the richest water systems of the old world; and, finally, the Amoor and its tributaries, of about 7,000 navigable versts.

Of course, the number of versts in extent has but little meaning. It is necessary to know the direction of the rivers and the natural properties of their current and bed. In European Russia the rivers are extremely conveniently distributed. They are not crowded together in any one part of the country but, taking their rise on the Valdai-Ural tableland, flow in different directions, so that there is hardly a government not intersected by or adjacent to some river. At the same time, however, our navigable rivers are much less extensive in proportion to the area than in other countries. The total

extent of the water ways of European Russia (102,689 versts) contains:

	versts.
Suitable for floating rafts . . .	23,965 (23 <sup>0</sup> /0).
Navigable down stream . . .	11,212 (11 <sup>0</sup> /0).
» in both directions . . .	34,619 (37 <sup>0</sup> /0).
Total . . .	69,796 (78 <sup>0</sup> /0).

Among which, navigable for

steamers . . . . . 21,045 (20<sup>0</sup>/0).

Thus, to 100 square miles we have 38 versts of navigable ways in both directions, or 3—4 times less than in Great Britain, France, and Germany. The direction itself of the rivers of European Russia is not quite favourable to our trade interests. More than 40 per cent of the floatable and navigable ways, among them the Volga, belong to the basin of the internal Caspian Sea, 24 per cent belong to the Baltic Sea, of more importance for importation than for exportation, and only 22 per cent to the Black and Azoff Seas.

A distinctive peculiarity of the Russian rivers is their sources, whence depends the lack of water and the variability of level. In Western Europe the majority of rivers flow from mountains and are fed by the continual melting of the snows; our principal rivers on the contrary flow out of swamps and lakes, and in summer in consequence of the evaporation from the latter become very shallow. They would do so still faster if they had the same fall as the Western European rivers. But, not flowing from mountains, they run much slower, and a sluggish current is very favourable

not only for floating rafts but for navigation up stream. On the other hand, the formation of the bed in the majority of our rivers contains many conditions unfavourable to navigation. In the most important rivers, the bed, owing to the sandy bottom, changes every year; and the shoals sometimes stretch right across the river. Such shoals are called bars («perekaty»), of which there are very many on the Volga, Vistula, Dnieper and Don. The mouths of the majority of Russian rivers are also silted up with sand, thus presenting great obstacles to navigation. Other rivers again abound in rocks and rapids; such are the celebrated cataracts of the Dnieper, extending over 70 versts.

Finally, the navigation season on the Russian rivers is very short. The most important water route, the Volga, is in consequence of its freezing navigable in the part above Saratof on an average for less than 200 days in the year. Even among the southern rivers, the Dnieper remains navigable at Kherson 277 days, at Kief 234 days and at Smolensk 214 days.

These natural inconveniences of our rivers exercise an essential influence upon the dimensions of the carrying trade.

Water communications can compete with railways by their comparative cheapness, and therefore, in countries where as in Russia the great mass of freights consists of cheap raw productions, which can bear distant carriage only in case of its cheapness, the conditions of competition for water ways should be easier. In practice it proves, however, to be the reverse: on the ave-

rage for 1888—1893, the railways carried yearly 1,992 million poods, while the water ways carried only 1,090 million poods, or little over a half. Of the total quantity of goods conveyed most of all (62 per cent in 1892 and 57 per cent in 1893) falls to wood and timber, floated in and on rafts; this is partly, evidently, due to the fact that rafts float on rivers where there is no navigation. Of grain, conveyed long distances, three-quarters to four-fifths have already passed to the railways.

Under these circumstances, all possible improvements in the conditions of navigation form one of the most important problems of State regulation. Improvements in the natural conditions: clearing of the bed, deepening of rivers that have become silted up, removal of cataracts and bars, etc.—all these measures are so costly that they cannot be imposed upon the resources of the organs of local selfgovernment, and therefore in Russia almost all these works are executed by the State. Unfortunately very little has yet been done. Even in the case of our most important route, the Volga, the works undertaken have yielded but the most insignificant results. In European Russia, there are only 1,733 versts of canals and canalized rivers, of which 754 versts represent canals.

And yet these few artificial water ways, whose opening up was begun as early as the reign of Peter the Great, form several systems uniting with an uninterrupted chain the basins of different seas and rivers running in opposite directions. The basins of the Baltic and Caspian Seas are united by the so-called Maria System,

including a whole series of canals and rivers, from the confluence of the Sheksna with the Volga to St. Petersburg on the Neva, in all 1,071 versts. The same object is served by the Tikhvin System, from the confluence of the Mologa with the Volga to Lake Ladoga, 654 versts, and by the Vyshnevolotsk System from Tver to Lake Ladoga, 812 versts. Duke Alexander of Wirtemberg's System, from the Sheksna to the tributaries of the Northern Dvina, 654 versts, unites the basins of the Baltic, White, and Caspian Seas.

The basins of the Baltic and Black Seas are also united by four systems: the Dnieper-Boog (1,011 v.); the Oginsk, from the river Pina belonging to the Dnieper basin to one of the tributaries of the Nieman (293 v.); the Berezina from the river Berezina to the Western Dvina (515 v.); and the Augustus System between the Nieman and the Vistula (354 v.). Finally, in Siberia, quite recently the Obi-Yenisey System (932 v.) has been constructed, by means of which an immense water route 5000 versts long has been opened up, traversing the whole of western Siberia from Tiumen to Irkootsk.

Besides the improvement of the fairway, it is necessary to secure safe navigation. With this object navigation regulations are published and pilots appointed responsible for damage done to the vessel. In 1877 a special police was organized to supervise the barges on the Maria System, and in 1874 — 80, when Admiral Possiette was Minister of Ways of Communication, a whole series of enactments were promulgated for providing rivers and lakes with danger marks, as to

the meeting of vessels, etc. The police inspection is entrusted on the inland waters to the river police, in Petersburg, Nijni and Rybinsk. There is a Society for Saving Life from drowning under the patronage of the Empress Maria Feodorovna, which has central and district offices and supports on rivers and seashores; in all more than 150 stations.

Finally, one of the essential conditions facilitating navigation is the increase and improvement of the river fleet. In European Russia, according to the register of 1890, there were 21,949 river craft, composed of 1,824 steamers with 9,222,000 poods tonnage, and 20,125 other vessels with 401,000,000 poods tonnage. Formerly, however, the vessels without steam were much more numerous. The construction of steamers, on the other hand, is constantly developing. The first steam vessel was built in St. Petersburg in 1813 by Baird, who obtained a patent, as a consequence of which there were only 15 steamers on our inland waters on the termination of this patent in 1843. But since then the construction of steamers has been continually progressing, so that at the beginning of the «eighties» the annual increase was more than one hundred; it has now fallen to 72. Here, evidently, is to be found the reason for the diminished number of other vessels being built: steam-tugs make it possible for the latter to make a greater number of voyages during the navigation season, and therefore to convey a larger amount of freight.

**b) Natural and macadamized roads.** The second category of ways of communication consists of natural



roads. In Russia, as in other countries, several classes of roads have long since existed. Post roads were accounted to belong to the State; and, even among country roads, some were distinguished as having a more public character than others, and were also preserved by the law. The use of the roads was made dependent on the payment of various dues to the owners and the crown, for bridges, ferries, dams, weirs, etc., which were finally abolished only in the reign of Catharine II. This Empress, like her predecessors Peter the Great and Elizabeth, devoted great attention to the improvement of the roads, for which purpose she divided them into various classes according to their importance, establishing a definite breadth for each, etc. At the present day, our roads are divided into five classes: main routes, high roads, ordinary post roads from government to government, trade and district communications, and rural or field roads and bridle-paths. Following the example of France, the State with us takes upon itself the maintenance only of roads of the first class, while those of the second, third, and fourth are entrusted to the zemstvos who may also assume responsibility for the macadamized roads. Last of all, the maintenance of the rural roads is the duty of the settlements and landowners whose lands they traverse. Real importance attaches only to the last classification, namely that according to administration, into State, zemstvo (government and district) and rural roads.

But the roads cared for by the State, i. e. by the Ministry of Ways of Communication, are very few, in all only a little over 14,000 versts; and, seeing that

the extent of the natural roads of Russia is 150,000--200,000 versts, it follows that actually the maintenance of the roads falls mainly on the zemstvos and, where this organ does not exist, on the government committees entrusted with zemsky administration. For this purpose, these institutions dispose of rates in money collected from the population and of contributions in kind. The expenditure of money by the zemstvos on road-making is comparatively small: in the thirty-four governments with zemstvos not more than  $3\frac{1}{3}$  mill. roubles, in the fourteen without, and in Siberia less than 600,000 roubles. Thus the chief source for the maintenance of the roads is contributions in kind, especially in the governments without zemstvos, while in 238 out of 359 districts where the institution exists such contributions have been replaced by rates. The system of contributions in kind is applied in the following manner. The peasants are obliged to perform personal service as ordered, while private landowners, the State, and the Department of Appanages furnish the necessary timber in proportion to the estates in their possession, or, where this is impossible, an equivalent in money. The proper assessment of the contribution is very difficult, and hence the zemstvos have been induced to substitute a rate levied uniformly upon all classes.

But with the present heavy taxation of the land, the pecuniary poverty of the village and its abundance of free time, it is difficult to say which is the lighter burden for the peasantry — a rate, or personal labour. The latter would probably be easier, if it were established

on a regular basis, came at a convenient time free from field work, and did not compel the peasants to go long distances to their task. Before the liberation of the serfs, it sometimes happened that thousands of workmen had to go a distance of as much as 70 to 80 versts. The excellent condition of the roads in the Baltic provinces is a proof that properly organized contributions in kind may tend to the improvement of the roads.

However this may be, very large sums will be required for the improvement of our roads.

We have so far very few macadamized roads. Their construction was begun in 1817 and there are now about 22,000 versts. In twenty-two governments of European Russia and in the Caucasus they do not exist at all, while, where they do, the proportion is only six fathoms per square verst. On the other hand, natural roads in Russia, on account of the nature of the soil, — black earth, clay, and sand — are kept in order with the greatest difficulty; they become quite impassable in spring and autumn. And yet, on account of the comparative poverty of the railway system, goods are brought to the stations in carts over natural roads from very great distances, delivery from a distance of a score or so, or even a hundred, versts being far from exceptional, at a rate of one-fifth of a kopek per verst pood. Therefore it is that the macadamizing of natural roads, if only here and there, where they are in worst repair, is absolutely necessary. True, this will require very great expenditure in localities devoid of stone, and it is in just such places that the roads are particularly bad. In

order to merely double the extent of the existing metttled roads, a sum of about 300,000,000 roubles must be expended, reckoning 15,000 roubles per verst. But the immense saving in the cost of conveyance of goods, in repairs, and other charges would repay this outlay in a few years.

Fully recognizing the necessity of improving the natural roads, the Government is extending, as far as the means at its command allow, the system of macadamized roads. In 1892 new regulations were issued as to constructing such communications with the railways in the governments of the South-Western Province. Large sums are devoted to making strategical roads. Finally, last year (1895) the Government, on the proposal of the Minister of Finance, came to the aid of the zemstvos, waiving the contributions which it received from the rural taxation towards the support of the district chiefs (zemsky natchalniks), justices of the peace, etc., and devoting these sums to the formation in each government of a special fund to be laid out in the improvement of existing ways of communication and on the construction and maintenance of metttled and natural roads of importance to local agricultural, industrial, and commercial interests. In this way the rural road budgets have been increased to thrice their former dimensions.

**c) Railways.** Railways constitute the third category of ways of communication. They appeared in Russia almost at the same time as in the other countries of Western Europe, such as France and Germany. The first or Tsarskoe Selo line, 25 versts in length, between

## RAILWAYS.

Petersburg and Pavlovsk was built by private enterprise, and was opened in 1838. But the real beginning of our railway construction was, it must be admitted, the building of the Nicholas line, joining Petersburg and Moscow, which was entrusted to a Special Committee under the presidentship of the Emperor Alexander II, then Heir to the throne. Begun in 1843, the Nicholas line was opened for traffic only in 1851 and cost the treasury 100,000,000 roubles or about 165,000 roubles per verst, more than 200,000 paper roubles at the present exchange. Simultaneously with the Nicholas line, the Government constructed the Warsaw-Vienna line from Warsaw to the frontier, opened in 1848. The great outlay on construction and the insignificant returns gave no encouragement to private enterprise, so that the Government in 1852 was again compelled to undertake the laying of a line from Petersburg to Warsaw. At the same time projects were considered for uniting Moscow with South Russia; but this scheme made such slow progress that the Crimean War found Russia entirely unprepared in respect of the means for mobilizing the army and for the conveyance of war material. Ammunition for the artillery were, as is well known, conveyed from the Lugansk Works in the Yekaterinoslaf government to Sebastopol in three-horse postcarts.

Therefore, after the signing of the treaty of Paris, was founded in 1857 the Chief Society of Russian Railways, to which was entrusted the completion of the Warsaw line. At the same time, it received a concession

to build three other lines: from Moscow to Nijni-Novgorod, from Moscow through Kursk to Theodosia and from Kursk or Orel to Libau. But the Society, notwithstanding the Government guarantee, succeeded in collecting less than half of the proposed capital and in constructing only two lines, the Warsaw and Moscow-Nijni-Novgorod. The principal members of the Society were foreign bankers, and the immediate superintendance of the enterprise was confided to French engineers, owing to whose ignorance of the local economical and other conditions the expenditure was enormous.

After the ill-success of the Chief Society, it was of course exceedingly difficult to find persons ready to undertake the building of new railways, so that the construction of several of the main lines, as those from Moscow to Kursk and from Odessa to Kief was again assumed by the State.

At the same time the Government was compelled to grant considerable privileges in order to attract private capital. All the concessions for the years 1860—1868 bear this character. A high cost per verst, complete independence of the companies in regard to technical matters, authorization to import duty free everything necessary for the lines, exclusion of all interference on the part of agents of the Government — such are the distinguishing features of these concessions. The advantages mentioned were, nevertheless, granted by the Government with the full consciousness of their necessity. The sad experience of the Crimean War proved how dangerous for the very integrity of the State was the

continued absence of a railway system uniting the outlying provinces with the centre. The extension of the system made very rapid progress: between 1857 and the autumn of 1868 the Government built 2,133 versts and concessions were made to private companies for 9,406 versts. Owing to the advantages given the constructors, various individuals made considerable fortunes, which in its turn caused a new flow of capital and enterprise. Some railways were even built without Government guarantee. Finally, even the zemstvos began to appear in the capacity of concessionaries, ordinarily afterwards entrusting the work to contractors or assuming themselves the guarantee of the dividend on the shares. Some zemstvos, indeed, incurred sensible losses in so doing, but, nevertheless, by their means several considerable lines were built in the central governments.

The success thus attending railway construction induced the Government in 1868 to alter the mode of making concessions. It was decided to first confirm the conditions of the concession, and then to invite to compete persons already acknowledged to be trustworthy, who were then required to send in their terms in sealed envelopes, to be opened in the Ministry of Finance in the presence of the competitors. All the offers were then examined in the Committee of Ministers, who presented them with their opinion to the Emperor. This course of proceedings proposed by Reutern, the Minister of Finance, was followed by a considerable reduction in the cost per verst. It did not, however, remain long in force, and already in 1870 the Minister

of Ways of Communication was instructed, instead of competition, to carry on negotiations with trustworthy constructors and to submit the final draft of the concession to the Committee of Ministers.

The different systems of concessions had one essential defect: the formation of joint-stock companies for the building of railways was in reality fictitious. The founders and directors acted so as to keep nearly all the shares in their own hands and then entrusted the construction to contractors for the whole work, often to the extent of the entire amount of the share and bond capital, so that the Government was at last obliged to give subsidies, the founders meanwhile enriching themselves. This was the reason why in 1873 the Government proceeded to take upon itself the formation of joint-stock companies. And yet it was not found possible to get rid of the large railway contractors.

The simultaneous formation of different railway companies, each of which placed its stock upon the money market, undoubtedly injured the credit of the State, seeing that the majority of these securities were under Government guarantee. A special railway fund was therefore formed out of the sums realised in 1868 by the sale of the Nicholas railway to the Chief Society to cover the expenses incurred through railway construction.

From this fund the Government proceeded to guarantee the companies which obtained a preeminent importance from the end of the «sixties», the realization of their bond capital, the sole obligation remaining upon the companies being the placing of their shares. With



the object of still further developing private enterprise and of replenishing the railway fund, all the State railways were sold to private companies, with the exception of the narrow-gauge Livny line, 57 versts long. In return for the railways sold the State received from the companies their shares and bonds, and it was in order to realize all this capital that it was decided to have recourse to the assistance of foreign markets by means of the issue of consolidated bonds of the Russian railways. There were five such issues during the years 1870—1875 to the amount of 427,000,000 roubles. Such an encouragement to private enterprise could not fail to lead to the extension of our railway system. The Government took other measures with the same object: it was resolved to assign bounties on the production at first of iron, and afterwards steel, rails, and locomotives; and a Government order was given for rails, locomotives, and carriages. In this way, works were successively created employing first foreign and then Russian materials.

The Eastern War put a stop to the further development of railway construction. Nevertheless, during the period 1868—81, the State built 1,261 versts of new lines and private companies received concessions for 13,514 versts, so that the entire railway system by the end of the reign of the Emperor Alexander II amounted to 21,228 versts.

On the other hand, from the beginning of the «seventies», a certain change appears in the views of the Government on railways. In time of war and afterwards, serious irregularities had been disclosed on the

## RAILWAYS.

railways, and in 1878 a special high commission was established, under the presidentship of Count Baranof, then president of the Department of State Economy of the State Council. It was charged to frame the necessary measures to avert delay in the forwarding of freights and irregularities in the traffic and to put the lines into such good order that they might «fully meet the demands of industry and trade.» The result of the labours of this commission was a series of measures directed to the extension of State interference with railways. Already in 1880, the construction of lines was renewed at the cost and under the control of the Government. The first was the Yekaterina line built in the South on the occasion of the famine which visited in 1880 our southern governments. The inconveniences attached to private management on lines of first-rate importance afterwards led to the idea of the necessity of the State appropriating the chief arteries of railway traffic and of its doing so out of the general resources of the treasury, seeing that the railway fund had been abolished in the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Alexander III. Thus, during this reign, 15,800 versts were taken over, and 10,866 versts of new lines, not reckoning the Siberian railway, were built, 5,558 by the State and 5,308 by private companies. Our Government, accordingly, did not unconditionally follow the course of nationalizing railways, but, where possible, admitted private enterprise. Thus, the consequences of the famine of 1891 led to the idea of coming to the aid of the suffering population by constructing railways in the neighbourhood. The resour-

ces of the treasury and the existing forces of the Ministry of Ways of Communication were occupied with the building of other lines, and it was therefore considered more convenient to take advantage of the offers of several old and trustworthy companies. On the other hand, the construction of the Great Siberian railway demanded such an expenditure of national resources that the treasury was able to devote but small sums to building other lines; while the need for the extension of the railway system of European Russia still remained as pressing as before.

In consequence of this, during the last few years, together with the acquisition of one set of lines by the State, authorization was given to form several other large railway companies, by means of the fusion of previously existing small lines, but with the obligation to build new lines joining on to those already existing. As a result of this measure we now have, besides the State railways, several large private companies. Accordingly, in Russia as in the West (England and France), a gradual fusion is taking place of the small lines into large undertakings.

The expenditure on the construction of railways in European Russia (without Finland) and on the increase of their capacity for traffic amounted at the end of 1893 to 3,200,000,000 paper roubles or at the rate of 104,000 roubles per verst, i. e. a little over 97,000 roubles per kilometre. Thus, the cost of construction of our railways has been comparatively small as appears from the average per kilometre abroad, given below.

Great Britain . . . . . 270,000 roubles

## RAILWAYS.

France . . . . .	160,000 roubles
Belgium . . . . .	115,000 »
Germany . . . . .	116,000 »
Austria Hungary . . . . .	116,000 »
United States . . . . .	75,000 »
Denmark (State lines). . .	60,000 »
Sweden . . . . .	35,000 »

Out of the total expenditure, 94 per cent were given by the Government in the form of capital upon which the State guaranteed the income, of bonds retained by the State, building loans, and unconditional subsidies.

The nett revenue of the Russian railways amounted, on the average for the ten years 1883—1892, to 4,112 roubles per verst, and in 1893 to 4,645 roubles, i. e. 4.4 per cent on the building capital. Although, as it thus appears, the returns of our railways are higher than even in England, France and the United States and only less than those of the German lines, yet the obligatory payments on the foundation capital is in its turn still higher on many lines. The additional payments by the State thus necessitated in respect of the guarantee of the capital of railway companies have resulted in the considerable indebtedness of these companies to the Government, which on the 1 January, 1894, reached 1,415,000,000 roubles and on the 1 January, 1895, fell to 954,000,000 roubles.

A comparison of the nett income on private and State lines shows, that, in 1893, it was 1½ times greater on the former than on the latter (5,444 roubles,

## RAILWAYS.

compared with 3,594 roubles per verst). This was, however, not because the private lines were worked more economically, — their expenditure was absolutely higher and almost identical with the State lines in proportion to the gross income per verst — but because the gross receipts on the State lines was much less than on the private, as in 1893 the lines worked by the State were still comparatively less profitable. On the contrary in 1894, with the transfer to the State of the lines belonging to the Chief Society: the Nicholas, Petersburg Warsaw and Nijni-Novgorod railways, the nett income of the State lines increased by almost 1,000 roubles the verst, while that of the private lines fell by almost 500 roubles. Finally in 1895, on the taking over of the South-Western lines, the gross receipts of the State system of railways exceeded those of the private lines.

On the 1 January, 1896, there were (besides the Siberian Railway) 36,692 versts of railways open for traffic in the Russian Empire, as follows:

a) State lines or worked by the State:

European Russia. . . . .	20,403 versts
Transcaspian . . . . .	1,343 »
Finland . . . . .	2,244 »
	23,990 versts (65 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub> )

b) Lines worked by private com-

panies in European Russia .	12,702 » (35 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>100</sub> )
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Total . 36,692 versts

Add to this:

## RAILWAYS.

	Building.	Authorized to be built. V e r s t s .	Total.
By the State . . .	2,240	457	2,697
By companies . . .	3,310	474	3,784
	5,550	931	6,481

In European Russia, exclusive of the Caucasus and Finland, there are 0.6 kilom. of railway to every 100 square kilometres; the figures for other countries are as follows:

United States . . . . .	3.7 kilom.
Austria Hungary . . . . .	4.2 »
France . . . . .	7.2 »
Germany . . . . .	8.2 »
Great Britain. . . . .	10.4 »
Belgium. . . . .	18.4 »

i. e., from 6 to 30 times more. Such a considerable difference depends, of course, on the immense extent of the Empire: in the absolute length of its railways, European Russia closely approaches the principal Western countries. Further, excepting the northern governments of Archangel, Vologda and Olonets, where there are so far hardly any railways — 85 versts only in Vologda — the relative extent of the lines is increased to 0.9 kilom. per 100 square kilometres.

Our northern districts were then, until quite lately, entirely devoid of railway communications, which, coupled with the early freezing of the rivers, constituted an insurmountable obstacle to their economical development. This question has attracted during the present reign the most serious attention, and a railway has already been commenced from Perm to Kotlas on the Northern Dvina.

This line, uniting Archangel with the Siberian Railway and traversing the regions in the North, which abound in mineral wealth and numerous fisheries but are not furnished with the necessary grain supply, is calculated on the one hand to remove the defect referred to, and on the other to provide an outlet for the copious grain stocks of Siberia to the world's market through Archangel, and thus make possible the continued development of Siberian agriculture without unfavourably affecting husbandry in European Russia. At the same time this line will resuscitate the importance of the port of Archangel and contribute to the development of navigation on the Northern Dvina and its tributaries, and at the same time promote the economical regeneration of the whole of the North.\* It was decided at the same time to proceed to survey the line from Petersburg to Kemi on the White Sea, so that our North will be united also with the Baltic, the most important sea for the importation of foreign goods.

On the other hand, all possible measures have been taken to develop the systems of branch communications. The question of making them was raised already at the end of the «sixties». But it was only in 1887 that an enactment was published upon the subject, applying, moreover, only to railways; they have, however, received very little development. This circumstance attracted the special attention of Mr. Witte, the Minister of Finance. In the unsatisfactory condition of our natural roads, with the high freights for the conveyance of goods by them to the

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\* Of no less importance is the line that is being at present constructed from Vologda to Archangel, thus connecting the White Sea with the centre of Russia.

## RAILWAYS.

railways and wharves, reaching on an average  $\frac{1}{5}$  kopek per verst and pood, and in some cases exceeding even 1 kopek, and with the enormous sums required to keep them in order, the construction of branch roads may well reduce the expense of conveyance to such an extent that the saving will more than cover the cost entailed.

In the States of Western Europe, where the entire system of railways is much more extensive than with us and the natural roads are much better kept, the extent of the railways of a cheap type is constantly on the increase, and amounts, in Belgium to 29 per cent, in Germany to 27 per cent, in Austria-Hungary to 26 per cent, and in France to 9 per cent of the entire system. The development of railway lines of the same character in Russia is evidently one of the most efficient means for alleviating the depression from which agriculture is now suffering.

These considerations led to the decision last year to grant 10,000,000 roubles from the treasury annually for the construction of railways of secondary and local importance, and of branch lines, and, in consequence of this, authorization was given to build 446 versts on account of this credit and orders were further issued to make surveys for 1,000 versts more.

At the end of 1893, there were on our railways (excepting those of Finland, the Transcaspian, and branch lines) 7,333 locomotives, 8,118 passenger, and 160,000 goods carriages. The passenger carriages contained more than 290,000 places, the goods trucks had a capacity of more than 105,000,000 poods. Hence, without mentio-



ning the American lines, the number of engines and carriages is only one third what it is in England and two-thirds that in France and Germany, the capacity of the goods carriages being less.

Owing to the comparatively less extension of the railway system, paucity of rolling stock, comparative slowness of the trains (especially the passenger trains), the goods and particularly the passenger traffic on our lines is even now many times less than in Western Europe or in America. It is, however, on the whole, growing; thus, in 1883, 38,000,000 passengers and 3,045,000,000 poods of goods were conveyed, while, in 1895, the figures were about 50,000,000 passengers and 4,560,000,000 poods, i. e. in 12 years the passenger traffic increased 32 per cent and the goods traffic 50 per cent.

One of the essential causes of the small passenger and goods traffic on the Russian lines was the disorder in our railway tariffs. The economical and political significance of railways and their monopolistic character impose upon the Government the direct obligation of regulating the activity of these undertakings in the interest of the national welfare. In this respect, such regulation of the tariffs constitutes, perhaps, the most important question. Availing themselves of the monopoly of conveyance, the railways are able by high and disproportionate tariffs to retard the production and stop the consumption of a given article. Not the absolute height alone, but even the frequent fluctuation of freights, may assert its share of unfavourable influence upon the

national economy. This is the reason why tariffs have always arrested the especial attention of the State.

The tariff question with us arose soon after the opening of railway traffic, and our first tariff system was borrowed from France. Its essential feature consisted in the establishment of maximum normal rates per pood for each class of goods; within the limits of these normal charges, the arrangement of the tariff was left to the discretion of the companies themselves. Owing to this, each line had its own tariff and the confusion of tariffs for the public was extreme. Count Baranof's commission, which we mentioned above, pointed out all these irregularities in detail already at the end of the «seventies». The agents of the lines themselves did not know their own tariffs and were unable to understand them. In consequence of this, in 1887 it was declared that the supervision of the actions of the railway companies as regards tariffs belongs to the Government, and at the end of 1888 special tariff institutions were formed in the Ministry of Finance.

The task of these institutions consisted, in the first place, in creating such a system of tariffs as should not be burdensome to trade and industry and should at the same time afford all the industrial regions uniform tariff conditions; and in the second place, in making the tariffs accessible to all.

These objects are to a certain degree attained by the new unified tariff of the Russian lines, founded upon the following bases. First of all, the number of tariff rates is considerably reduced compared with what it was

## RAILWAYS.

before: there remain in all but twelve — ranging from  $\frac{1}{10}$  to  $\frac{1}{100}$  kopek per pood-verst. In the distribution of the goods into classes, the principle has as far as possible been observed that the tariff rates should bear a certain relation to the value of the goods; for the conveyance of articles of general consumption the rates are considerably lowered, as well as for goods of home production as compared with foreign. Formerly, on the contrary, imported goods enjoyed with us a reduced tariff to the detriment of home industry and in direct contradiction with the protective customs dues. The tariffs, further, for the conveyance of bulky goods, mainly grain, are not only considerably reduced but are also altered in the sense of equalizing the conditions of competition between the different grain producing regions. Finally, in the new tariff, consistent application was made of the principle of varying the rates in dependence upon the distance traversed by the goods, so important in view of the great distances in our country. The reduction for 200—500 versts is 10 per cent, and reaches, for over 2,000 versts, 30 per cent; this reduction, moreover, is made not in regard to each railway separately but to the total milage over State and private lines. The new tariff is issued in the form of a small book, easily referred to by any one interested in the freight of goods.

There, thus, still remained to reform the passenger tariff, which was higher with us than in almost all the other countries of Europe. This reform indeed ensued on the 1 December, 1894, and was further of so thorough a nature that it at once made our tariff almost

the cheapest in Europe. The system adopted is the combination of the zone tariff with the principle of graduation, in which the verstage is reduced in proportion to the increase of the journey. Thus, for distances up to 300 versts a verstage is levied, higher for 1—160 versts than for 161—300. After this, the charge is calculated by zones uniformly for each zone, but the length of the zones is gradually increased from 25, for distances from 301 to 500 versts, to 50 versts for distances above 1,510 versts.

So far we have touched upon railway construction in European Russia. The reign of the late Emperor Alexander III was signalized by the extension of the railway system to our Asiatic territories. In 1880, when we as yet had not a single verst there, England already possessed in India more than 14,000 versts of railway (now over 28,000 versts). It was in this year, when the Akhal-Tekke Expedition was being equipped, that the question was raised of building a small branch of 26 versts from the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea for military purposes only. In 10 days it was ready. A year afterwards the line was continued another 191 versts, and subsequently, notwithstanding all the difficulty connected with laying the rails over the sands and waterless expanses of Central Asia, carried on in 1888 to Bukhara and Samarkand.

Begun with a strategical object, the Transcaspian Railway having traversed the Khanate of Bukhara and reached Toorkistan, at once obtained an extremely great importance for the whole of Central Asia, by facilitating

the exploitation of its natural resources and completely changing the direction of the trade routes, uniting the Central Asian States with European Russia. Further, the direction taken by goods from European Russia also changed, and Samarkand became the chief trade centre of the country. Finally, among all the branches of national economy in Central Asia, after the construction of the Transcaspian Railway, the greatest advantage accrued to cotton growing, so important for our cotton mills.

It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the political significance of the Transcaspian line.

**d) The Great Siberian Railway.** Another great achievement in the extension and establishment of Russian civilization in the East is beyond doubt the construction of the Great Siberian Railway. The idea of the necessity for the construction of a line in Siberia arose as early as the «fifties», after the annexation of the region of the Amoor and Ussuri. The first projects, so grand in their conception, which were proposed in the «sixties», among which was that of Colonel (now Privy Councillor) Bogdanovitch, were replaced by plans of a more limited character, having for their object, under the name of the Siberian line, the construction of lines in European Russia to the frontier of Siberia. It was only in the beginning of the «eighties», when the general system of railways had already reached Orenburg, the Ural line had been opened, the bridge of Alexander II had been built across the Volga, and an Imperial order had been issued to construct the section of the line between Yekaterinburg and Tiumen, that the question began to

be discussed about the direction to be taken by the Siberian main line. On the completion of the Yekaterinburg-Tiumen line uniting the basins of the Volga and Obi and on the eve of the completion of the Obi-Yenisey canal, the question even arose, whether there was any necessity, in the presence of an excellent water route, of immediately constructing an uninterrupted railway communication right through Siberia, and whether it would not be better to limit the undertaking at first to the construction of separate sections having the greatest importance. There were very many such schemes, and besides this the Governors General of Siberia urgently petitioned for the building of separate sections.

Under these circumstances, the opposite decision taken by the Emperor Alexanner III is the more remarkable. It is hardly possible now to doubt that the construction of separate lines and sections without the general system, while demanding no small expenditure of money, would have long delayed the realization of the great work.

At last in 1890, the question of the Siberian Railway was submitted for final consideration.

The enlightened view which our Government took of this matter deserves special attention. It regarded the object of the construction of the Siberian Railway as being, not so much in the opening of new markets in Siberia for the sale of the productions of European Russia, as in enabling Siberia itself to enter upon the path of normal economical development by placing it as far as possible in equal conditions with European

Russia. It was resolved to begin the construction simultaneously from the two opposite ends—East and West. In the East the point of departure was only one, the town of Vladivostock, while in the West the railway system projected into Siberia at three points: Tiumen, Mias and Orenburg. Wherever, however, the Siberian Railway should be begun, all three variants were to join about Nijneudinsk. The direction from Mias was chosen, as the shortest and at the same time embracing the most densely populated and fertile localities in passing through Cheliabinsk, Koorgan, Kainsk, Kolyvan, Achinsk, Krasnoyarsk and Nijneudinsk. Finally, on the 17 March, 1891, an Imperial rescript was addressed to the Heir to the Throne, now the Emperor Nicholas II, on the construction of the «Great Siberian Railway». This rescript was made known by the Heir to the Throne in Vladivostock, and he, with his own hand, overturned the first barrow of earth for the railway embankment.

At the head of the whole enterprise, as is known from the preceding account, was placed the Special Siberian Railway Committee under the personal presidency of the Heir to the Throne, and on ascending the throne, HIS MAJESTY the Emperor Nicholas II deigned to keep this office for himself.

The undertaking was divided into three shifts. To the first was assigned the Western Siberian section from Cheliabinsk to the Obi, the Central Siberian section from the Obi to Irkootsk, the completion of the line previously begun from Vladivostock to Grafskaya and the construction of a connecting line between the Ural Mining and the

Siberian Railways. The works of this part were to be finished not later than the year 1900.

To the second shift were reckoned the sections on the East from Grafskaya to Khabarovsk, and on the West from Lake Baikal to Sretensk on the Amoor; and finally to the third shift the line from Sretensk to Khabarovsk and the building of the Circumbaikal line.

In the autumn of 1893, the possibility was discovered of carrying an uninterrupted line to Irkootsk already in 1898, i. e. two years earlier than the term originally fixed. With this object, the conveyance of railway material was organized not only along the line as it was built but also along the rivers to various points of the line by the river Chulym to Achinsk and by the river Angara to Irkootsk, while the necessary works were undertaken for the improvement of the navigation of these two rivers. At the same time, it was resolved to carry on at an accelerated rate the construction of the Ussuri line, in order that it might reach the Amoor in 1896, and make it possible to bring freights on the Transbaikal and Amoor sections, not only from the West by the Angara to Irkootsk and further by Baikal, but also from the East. Under these conditions, it was found possible to accelerate the construction of the two last sections as well, and it was determined to carry on the works, so that traffic might be opened on the Transbaikal line in 1898, simultaneously with the completion of the Central Siberian line to Irkootsk and Baikal, and that the Amoor Railway might be finished not later than 1902. Thus, by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Rus-



## THE GREAT SIBERIAN RAILWAY.

sia will possess convenient steam communication right across the Asiatic continent, and the continuity will be broken only by Lake Baikal over which the trains are proposed to be conveyed upon a special steamferry, built on the type of the vessels used, for a like purpose, between the Danish islands and the continent in Europe, and across the strait between Lakes Huron and Erie near Detroit in America.

Besides the main line, in autumn of last year, the laying of the rails was completed on the Yekaterinburg—Cheliabinsk branch, owing to which the Ural Mining line is now connected with the general railway system of the Empire, while a continuation of this junction-line is to be the above mentioned Perm—Kotlas line. Further, on the initiative of the Most August President of the Siberian Committee, this year a branch of 90 versts will be built to Tomsk, the chief centre of the intellectual life of Siberia, and finally a branch from Irkootsk to Listvenitchnaya on Baikal, which, moreover, till the construction of the Circumbaikal line will be a constituent part of the main line, as all the trains will take the route across Baikal.

The state of the works on the Siberian line at the beginning of 1896 appears from the following data.

	Total length.	Surveyed.	Completed.	Temporary traffic open.
I. Main line.				
1. Western Siberian line from Cheliabinsk to the river Obi (term 1896)	1,322	1,322	1,321	1,321
	100%	100%	100%	100%

THE GREAT SIBERIAN RAILWAY

2. Central Siberian line from the ri- ver Obi to Irkootsk (term 1898). . . . .	1,732	1,732	719	118
	100 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	100 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	41.5 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	6.8 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
3. Irkootsk - Listvi- nitchnaya branch (term 1898). . . . .	66	66	—	—
	100 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	100 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	—	—
4. Transbaikal line from Baikal to Sretensk (term 1898) . . . . .	1,057	1,057	—	—
	100 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	100 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	—	—
5. Amoor line from Sretensk to Kha- barovsk (term 1901) . . . . .	1,950	1,250	—	—
	100 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	64.1 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	—	—
6. Ussuri line from Khabarovsk to Vladivostock (term. 1896) . . . . .	717	717	447	388
	100 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	100 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	62.4 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	54.1 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
	6,844	6,144	2,487	1,827
	100 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	89.8 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	36.3 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	26.7 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
II. Circumbaikal line	294	131	—	—
	100 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	44.6 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	—	—
III. Branches:				
a) To Yekaterinburg (term 1896). . . . .	226	226	226	226
	100 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	100 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	100 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	100 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>

THE GREAT SIBERIAN RAILWAY.

b) To Tomsk (term				
1898) . . . .	90	90	—	—
	100 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	100 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	—	—
IV. Perm - Kotlas				
Railway . . . .	935	935	—	—
	100 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	100 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	—	—
	8,389	7,526	2,713	2,053
	100 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	89,7 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	32,3 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	24,5 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>

It thus appears that rails are now laid down on the main line over more than  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the road, and temporary traffic opened over more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  of its extent. With the completion of the line to Krasnoyarsk, Russia possesses, since the end of 1895, continuous railway communication between St. Petersburg and the banks of the Yenisey for a distance of 4,610 versts.

The cost of the construction of the Siberian Railway in separate lots has till now fluctuated between 35,500 and 64,500 roubles per verst. Such cheapness is explained in the first place, by there being but a single line, and by the stations and other buildings being of a cheap type, and in the second place, by the circumstance that the outlay on expropriation of land is insignificant, as the line passes mainly over crown lands.

The construction of the Siberian Railway, as we said above, aims at affording Siberia the possibility of entering upon the course of regular economical development. Therefore the enterprise is placed in immediate connexion with the realization of a whole series of auxiliary undertakings, having for their object, not only the facilitating and cheapening of the construction of the

line itself, but also the enhancement of its economical and civilizing influence upon the welfare of Siberia. Fourteen million roubles have been specially assigned for this object. In their general character these auxiliary undertakings have in view the settlement of the localities adjacent to the Siberian line, the stimulation and extension in Siberia of various industries, in particular, coal-mining, the production of iron, steel, and cement, and the equipment, with this object, of expeditions for geological surveys; further, [the development] of steam navigation on the river systems intersected by the line or in connexion with it. All these questions concern other sections of this book and have been partly already touched upon in it, and therefore we shall here dwell no longer upon them.

There still remains to say a few words on the means of communication, i. e. posts, telegraphs, and telephones.

**e) The Post.** The post appears in Russia so early as the Tatar yoke; then post stations, called «yams», were arranged for the Khan's messengers, and the conveyance of travellers was a service imposed upon the inhabitants dwelling in the neighbourhood of the yams, who thence received the name of yamshchiks. This extremely unequal carrier's service was replaced in the 16<sup>th</sup> century by a money tax, and the carriers who undertook the conveyance of the post were erected into a separate class, freed from all other services.

The letter post did not then really exist. It was only in the 17<sup>th</sup> century that some foreigners took

upon themselves its organization over several of the main roads, principally for the convenience of foreign merchants, and partly for that of the higher dignitaries of State. The rest of the public lived at that time such a retired life that they had no need for the services of the post.

In the reign of Peter I a number of new post roads were opened up. By the ukases of 1718 and 1720, the so-called «ordinary posts» to «all considerable towns» were established for the necessities of the Boards, and the Government post service was fused with the foreign letter post under the general superintendance of a Government director of posts. From that time till Catharine II, there were no essential changes in our postal service. In the reign of this Empress, however, the class of yamshchiks or common carriers was abolished, and the stage houses on the post roads began to be farmed to the highest bidder. Verstage was levied on travellers, according to a common tariff, for the use of post horses, while letters were charged by weight and distance. Since then, it was only in the «thirties» of the present century that a new epoch began in the development of the Russian postal service, and a whole series of enactments manifest a persistent desire to regulate postal communications as quickly as possible, and to place them upon the same level as they had attained in Western Europe.

The postal service, as is known, consists in the conveyance of passengers, the transmission of valuable parcels and money and the sending of newspapers and

letters. In Russia, on account of the comparatively feeble development of the artificial ways of communication, the importance of the conveyance by horses of mails and passengers is till now very great. Posthouses are built along the post roads and are either let to individuals, associations, artels, etc, or handed over to the management of the local zemstvos.

The transmission of valuable parcels and money by the post is now more and more losing importance, as special carriers' offices and railways undertake the conveyance of parcels, and banking houses the transmission of money. Our post, moreover, till now only practises the transmission of money parcels, while the bringing of money and parcels to the addressee's house (so long in vogue abroad) was only lately introduced in the two capitals and in Warsaw for value not exceeding 100 roubles, as was also the sending of parcels to be paid on delivery.

The conveyance of letters, newspapers, and printed matter in wrappers is better organized. Already in the «thirties» and «forties», the first town posts were instituted, followed by the establishment of a uniform tariff per lot for the whole of Russia, instead of extremely numerous charges for the conveyance of letters, by the introduction of stamped envelopes and letter boxes. Stamps were adopted at the end of the «fifties», but the despatch of unpaid postcards was allowed only in 1894. Yet, on the whole, the organization of the Russian post leaves much to be desired. Before all, transmission by post is very dear compared with what is the case in Western Europe, 7 kopeks being charged for 1 lot ( $\frac{1}{32}$  of a pound)

inland correspondence. The chief difficulty, however, hitherto has consisted in the circumstances, that the delivery of letters, where there are no railways, has been attended with great delay and that the use of the postal service has been extremely hampered by the fewness of the offices. Thus, in 1893 there were 6,910 post and telegraph offices in Russia (besides 576, in Finland), while her neighbour Germany had 28,000 and the United Kingdom had about 22,000, not to mention the United States where there are about 70,000.

This lack of post offices, of course, has an influence on the number of letters despatched. Truly, between the years 1865 and 1892, our correspondence increased eleven times, but yet there are only about 4 communications by post per inhabitant in Russia, while the figures for the rest of Europe are as follows:

England . . . . .	77
Switzerland . . . . .	70
Germany . . . . .	59
France . . . . .	52
Austria . . . . .	30

i. e. from 7 to 20 times more than with us.

Nevertheless, the chief cause of the difference lies undoubtedly in the comparatively feeble diffusion of elementary education.

In order as far as possible to stimulate the development of postal communications, in 1870, the zemsky authorities were instructed to open their own zemsky postal service, for the conveyance from the postal station of ordinary and registered correspondence, for the transmis-

sion of all kinds of correspondence from distant localities of the district to the nearest post offices, and for the transmission of all kinds of correspondence between localities deprived of postal communication. The zemsky posts are allowed to use those roads which are not traversed by the Government service, and to have their own stamps. According to the information existing for 1892, the zemsky post existed in 150 out of the 359 districts where local government has been introduced, and was, as experience showed, very well organized, opening every year 100 new offices. In 1889, 6,706,900 communications were despatched by the zemsky post; three years later, 7,285,400.

In 1894 further extension was given to the rural post by the authorization of the sale of stamps and of the receiving and delivery of private correspondence in the volost offices with the consent of the volost meetings. A special need for the development of the post was felt in Siberia, where the great difficulty of communication proceeding from the remoteness of the post offices, sometimes compelled emigrants to return to European Russia to the detriment of their material welfare. Therefore, in 1895, the Siberian Railway Committee elaborated general bases for the receiving, transmission, and delivery of all kinds of correspondence both at the stations of the Siberian Railway and at the volost offices within its region.

f) **The Telegraph.** The telegraph in Russia, as in other European countries, belongs to the State. Its management is fused with that of the post, with the exception of the telegraphs on the private lines which are



only under Government inspection, while for the convenience of the public they are allowed the right of receiving private telegrams.

In the «thirties», we still had an optical telegraph between Petersburg and Warsaw, although at that time the electric telegraph was already invented by the Russians, Baron Schilling and Jakobi, simultaneously with Gauss and Weber in Göttingen. The first experiment in the application of the electric telegraph in Russia was made by Baron Schilling in 1832. Afterwards Jakobi united by an electric telegraph the Imperial Winter Palace in Petersburg with the General Staff, and Petersburg with Tsarskoe Selo and Peterhof. But the telegraph wires lay on the ground instead of on posts, were very thick and expensive, and the telegraphic machine showed the letters on a dial. It was only sometime after, in 1850, that the Government proceeded to construct an electromagnetic telegraphic system on posts, with writing appliances, at first along the Nicholas Railway, while the first town office was opened in 1863. Since then our telegraphic system has rapidly developed, so that at the beginning of 1893 it was the first in Europe both in the length of the lines (121,000 versts) and in the length of the wires (293,000 versts). But we have only 12 telegrams per 100 inhabitants, while in England there are 13 times as many, in France 10, in Germany 5, in Austria-Hungary  $4\frac{1}{2}$  and in Italy  $2\frac{1}{2}$ .

Our telegraphic tariff is drawn up on the same system as in other countries: a fixed charge of 15 kopeks is made for each telegram, to which is added

5 kopeks per word within the limits of European or Asiatic Russia, 10 kopeks when the telegram is sent from European to Asiatic Russia or vice versa, and one kopek in the case of town telegrams. A special rate per word exists for international correspondence, varying for each country.

We do not touch upon the participation of Russia in the international postal and telegraphic leagues, a subject which was discussed above in the section on the international relations of the Empire.

**g) The Telephone.** Finally, the telephone like the telegraph has been reckoned since 1881 a State monopoly. At the beginning of 1896, Government telephones had been constructed in 43 of the principal provincial towns and between towns (for example, Nicholaief and Odessa) but at the same time private telephones were authorized belonging to the American Blake-Bell Company, viz. in the very largest cities — Petersburg, Moscow, Odessa, Warsaw, Riga and Lodz, and to other companies in five more towns.

Owing to the monopoly, the subscriptions to our private telephones are very high, exceeding 100—200 roubles, while in Sweden they are 30—45 roubles. This difference in the charges is reflected in the number of subscribers, who with us are fewer than elsewhere both absolutely and relatively to the population.

**h) Educational Institutions.** It remains, in order to finish this chapter, to say a few words about those educational institutions which prepare engineers and mechanics for the construction, improvement and working of various kinds of ways and means of communication.

## EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

In 1810, simultaneously with the organization of a special department of ways of communication, there was founded the Institute of Ways of Communication for the preparation of officers of the corps of civil engineers. Until the «sixties», this was an institution of a military type, as the civil engineers formed a military corporation. Now the Institute has received a civil organization, and in 1877 was named after its founder the Emperor Alexander I Institute of Civil Engineers. There are five courses, in which, in 1894, 490 students received instruction. A special boardinghouse, bearing the name of the present Emperor is attached to the Institute.

Those who complete the course obtain the diploma of civil engineer, which is further granted to all persons who have received higher technical instruction and are engaged in the service of the ministry upon works of construction. The institute possesses, besides a rich select library, an extensive collection of models of machinery, rolling stock, vessels, etc.

With the development of our railway system, already at the end of the «sixties», lower railway schools began to be founded, and almost all our lines proceeded to set apart for their maintenance 15 roubles per verst; and in 1876 a regulation was issued for technical railway schools for the preparation of second class mechanics, machinists, etc.

In all there are 33 such schools. Besides this, in 1874 was founded the St. Petersburg school of foremen for railway works, in 1883 the railway guards' school in Vyshni-Volotchok, while in Nijni-Novgorod there

is a special school for the preparation of river pilots and bargemen.

Later, in 1888, a regulation was passed for railway technologists, and examination programmes drawn up for the obtaining of the diploma.

Finally, for the preparation of telegraph engineers and teachers in the local posts and telegraph schools, there was established in 1886 in Petersburg a special higher institution called the Electrotechnical Institute.

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The wide sphere of State administration touched on in the four chapters of the preceding section is entrusted in the main to five Ministries.

5. Government organs administering the material resources of the State.

Among them, the **Ministry of Finance**, founded in 1802, has cognisance of the following principal matters:

1) The sources of the national revenue, with the exception of crown domains, the movement of the funds belonging to the State and the making of estimates for national expenditure.

Five departments are occupied with these questions:

a) The Department of the State Treasury, controlling the movement of the funds and the keeping of accounts for all the treasuries, verifying the estimates, and composing the draft of the national budget.

b) The Department of Assessed Contributions for taxes and zemsky services.

c) The Department of Trade and Manufactures for direct taxes levied on industry and trade.

d) The Department of Customs Duties.

e) The Department of Unassessed Taxes and for the Government Sale of Liquors i. e. a special Council under the presidency of one of the assistants of the Minister of Finance, and the general Management, consisting of the Technical Committee, the Unassessed Taxes Section, the Section for the Government Sale of Liquors, the Chancery, Revisors Jurisconsults etc.

The local organs of the first three departments are in each government the Crown Courts together with the Governmental and District Treasuries and tax inspectors attached to them. The organs of the Department of Unassessed Taxes and for the Government Sale of Liquors are the governmental and territorial excise offices. To the Department of Customs Duties are subject twelve customs districts with the custom houses of various classes belonging thereto. Certain of the principal custom houses are immediately subject to the department. For the purpose of watching contraband, there is stationed in the districts a customs guard with a military organization, while a customs flotilla cruises in the Baltic.

The second task of the Ministry of Finance is the control of the credit of the State and the general supervision of all credit institutions. This function is imposed upon the Special Credit Chancery and the State Commission for the Acquittance of Debts. Besides the State credit institutions, there are further subject to the Ministry of Finance in this branch the Mint and the Department for the Manufacture of State Papers in St. Petersburg, where paper roubles and other securities are printed. Apart from the Ministry stands the above mentioned Council of State Credit Institutions, of which the Minister of Finance is a member.

Finally, the third and very important duty of the Ministry of Finance is the care for the promotion of trade. This is mainly imposed upon the Department of Trade and Manufactures, to which are subject Factory Inspection, the Depot of Measures and Weights, the Assay Courts, and commercial and trades schools. Besides this, under the presidentship of the Assistant Minister is the Council of Trade and Manufactures composed of technologists, manufacturers, merchants and others, with a branch at Moscow which, on the proposal of the Minister of Finance, examines all the most important questions concerning trade and manufacturing industry. The other principal towns besides the capitals possess similar committees.

In this sphere of duties of the Ministry of Finance, a special position is held by the tariff institutions, among which the Department of Railways decides the less important tariff questions. The more important of the private tariff questions are brought before the Tariff Committee, which is under the presidency of the Director of the Department of Railways. Finally all general questions and complaints against the decisions of the lower authorities come before the Council on Tariff Affairs, formed under the presidency of the Minister out of members from officials of all the departments and from representatives of all branches of agriculture, industry, trade, and railways. The final instance in case of disagreement in the Council is the Committee of Ministers, while legislative questions are brought before the State Council.

Besides the institutions enumerated, the Ministry of Finance includes also two Assistant Ministers, a Council, a General Chancery, and Scientific Committee.

The **State Comptrol**, founded in 1811 and finally reconstituted in the «sixties», in its function comes nearest to the Ministry of Finance: it looks to the legality and regularity of action of all the departments (with the exception of the Ministry of the Court, the Department of the Empress Mary, etc.) in respect of the employment of money, and gives conclusions on the advantage or disadvantage of their economical operations.

Its central organs are the Council, the Departments of Civil, Military and Naval, and Railway Accounts, the Chancery and the Central Bookkeeping office, while its local organs are the Boards of Comptrol and the local control appointed to the State, and some of the private railways.

At the head of the whole Comptrol stands the State Comptroller with the rights of a minister, attached to whom is one Assistant.

The **Ministry of Agriculture and State Domains** has existed since 1837, at first under the name of the V Section of His Imperial Majesty's Chancery, afterwards as the Ministry of State Domains. Its chief task was originally the organization of the State peasantry; afterwards, on their being transferred to the Ministry of the Interior, there remained the management of the State lands, quitrents and forests and the care for the development of agriculture, to which was added in 1873 the charge of the mining industry previously imposed upon the Ministry of Finance.

To agriculture the Ministry on account of its very organization was until quite recently unable to give much

thought: for this purpose it disposed of one department only and was without any local organs.

This abnormal state of things, in a country where agriculture has the most vital importance for the national welfare, justly attracted the attention of the Emperor Alexander III, who ordered a scheme to be immediately worked out for the reconstitution of the Ministry of State Domains into the Ministry of Agriculture and State Domains. This scheme was soon ready and received the Imperial sanction on the 21 March, 1894.

In its present form, the Ministry of Agriculture, presided over by the Minister and his Assistant, consists, without counting the Council and Chancery, firstly of institutions having reference to agriculture.

Here belong first of all the Agricultural Council, which discusses all the measures having for their object the improvement of rural economy and its different branches. The Council assembles annually, principally in winter, and consists, under the presidency of the Minister, of fifteen members taken from farmers and persons nearly acquainted with the needs and interests of agriculture. The latter are received by the Minister for one year, their appointment being confirmed by the Emperor. The Council has only a consultative voice and expresses the opinions and desires of the practical farmers.

The Scientific Committee, on the other hand, was founded for the elaboration of scientific and technical questions. Finally, the executive organs are the Department of Agriculture, the Section of Land Improvements and



the Section of Rural Economy and Rural Statistics together with the Koostar Committee.

In the second place, for the management of forestry affairs, has been founded a Forestry Department, attached to which are corps of foresters and a special forestry committee.

Thirdly, to the Special Department is entrusted the administration of State lands, emigration, etc.

The local organs subordinated to the institutions enumerated, are so far only the formerly existing Government offices of the State domains. Attached to the Ministry also are inspectors of agriculture, fisheries, forestry and mining. The scheme for the reform of the local institutions is being actively elaborated.

The management of the mining section stands apart, and was not subjected to reform in 1894. It possesses, as formerly, four central organs: the Mining Council, the Mining Scientific Committee, the Geological Committee and the Mining Department. For the local mining administration have been formed ten regions, of which four are in the immediate cognisance of the Department, while the rest are subject to the district and works offices. We made mention above of the institutions for the inspection of private mining industry, or district engineers, and mining boards.

Under the management of the Ministry finally are the greater number of agricultural and all the forestry and mining schools.

In 1881 was separated from the Ministry of State

Domains the **Chief Administration of the State Studs**, consisting of a Council and a Chancery; to this department belong all the State studs.

Finally, the **Ministry of Ways of Communication** has existed under this name only since the year 1865. Before this, beginning with the year 1742, it was preceded by a whole series of institutions bearing the titles of the Chancery for the Construction of State Roads, the Commission for State Roads, the Chief Administration, etc. At the present time, the Ministry is presided over by a Minister, attached to whom are his Assistant, the Council and the Chancery. The Engineering Council is constituted for the purpose of elaborating general technical questions and schemes. The administration is further divided into the following branches:

1) Macadamized roads and water communications are entrusted to a special Department, to which are subordinated districts, which are in their turn subdivided into divisions and sections.

2) Commercial ports are under the supervision of a special commission and local boards of works.

3) Over the administration of the railways is placed the Council for Railway Affairs, under the presidency of the Minister. It submits to preliminary examination the schemes for new laws and other general questions. The executive organs are the Department of Railways for private railways, and the Administration of State Railways. Besides this there is the special Administration for the Construction of the Siberian railway. Local organs for the management of railways do not yet exist,

but they are proposed to be established. Till now, each line has a special administration, while an inspection is established at the Ministry for their general supervision.

It still remains to mention the Chief Factory Inspection, superintending the preparation of railway plant, the Temporary Statistical Section, the Legal Counsel's Department, and the Educational Section together with the Inspection of the Ministerial Schools.

Some branches of the administration of the present section are also subject to other Ministries: e. g. posts and telegraphs to the Ministry of the Interior, technical and trades schools to the Ministry of National Education, and so on; but of these Ministries we shall have occasion to speak in the further development of our subject.

#### IV. SPIRITUAL WELFARE.

The spiritual welfare of man is the name given to the most complete development of his spiritual faculties. Such a development enables him, while conscious of his moral freedom, to direct it by reason towards the happiness of himself and neighbours; while satisfying his religious needs, to purify his beliefs from prejudices; to experience pleasure in the understanding of the beautiful; to obtain knowledge of the surrounding world, and to strive unceasingly towards its expansion.

Thus, development in the religious, moral, intellectual, and esthetic spheres forms an indivisible whole, and all that is directed towards improvement in one of them helps also to improve the rest.

In the present section we therefore propose to give a sketch of those institutions and means which are in Russia at the disposal of the Church, the State, and society for the satisfaction of the religious and moral needs of the people, and of its yearning after intellectual and esthetic development.

### 1. Ecclesiastical Institutions.

Speaking of ecclesiastical institutions, we must warn the reader that we shall here treat exclusively of the organization of church government, and briefly of the activity of the clergy in the sphere of the preservation of the purity of the faith and of its propagation among the non-christian peoples of the Empire. The fruitful activity of the church in the sphere of popular education, and public charity will form the subject of the following sections.

**I. Organization of the ancient Russian Church.** According to tradition, the Apostle St. Andrew preached among the tribes inhabiting Russia, and several dioceses were early formed at the mouths of the Danube and in the Crimea. It is impossible, of course, to determine with accuracy the influence upon the Slavs of the preaching which proceeded from these dioceses, but it is impossible also to deny that examples of conversion might have occurred before. Igor's (912—945) followers already included so many Christians that a special church, St. Elias', existed for them in Kief. It is known that St. Olga became a convert to Christianity. But an ecclesiastical hierarchy in the present sense of the word did not then yet exist; it appeared only with the solemn, universal acceptance

of the Christian faith in the year 988 under the Grand-duke St. Vladimir.

**1. Dioceses, parishes and monasteries.** The faith was received by us from Byzantium, and therefore the newly converted country formed a metropolitan see of the Byzantine patriarchate, and there arrived in Kief from Greece our first metropolitan St. Michael with a number of bishops and priests; the latter, according to some accounts, were Bulgarians, related in language to their future flock. They brought with them the scripture in a language understood by the people, and the orthodox faith became at the same time, thanks to this, the national faith of the Russians. Under the metropolitan Michael the bishops did not yet receive definite dioceses, but merely assisted him in the propagation of the faith among the heathen. It was only under our second metropolitan, Leonty that, in 992, bishops were appointed in Novgorod, Chernigoff, Rostoff, Vladimir-Volynsk and Belgorod. After this, during the 11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup> and part of the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, till the Tatar invasion, 10 more dioceses were founded, in proportion to the spread of the Christian doctrine. All the bishops were dependent upon the metropolitan of Kief, who with the consent of the local princes and, in some cases, by universal suffrage (as in Novgorod) appointed them, summoned them to councils, judged them with a council of the other bishops, and made general dispositions affecting the whole church. In his turn, the metropolitan was appointed by the patriarchs of Constantinople, for the most part Greeks, so that even the consent of the Grand-

duke of Kief began to be taken into account only from the 12<sup>th</sup> century onward. However, the patriarchs, with rare exceptions, did not meddle in matters concerning the internal government of the Russian church and allowed the Russian metropolitans ampler rights than the other exarchs.

Together with the bishops, as we have seen, arrived priests. Baptizing the people throughout the towns and villages, St. Vladimir proceeded to found churches in the towns. Thus arose the parishes, first in the centres of the oblasts, or districts, then called volosts, and afterwards gradually in the different settlements. For all these parishes priests were needed; those that had arrived from Greece were not sufficient, so that already St. Vladimir, with the assistance of the higher clergy and under his direction, took measures for the preparation of deacons from among the Russians by means of the extension of book learning. In this way, at the very beginning, the Government itself was obliged to take steps for the formation of parishes and the appointment of clergy. Subsequently, with the spread of Christianity among the mass of the population, the formation of parishes and the choice of candidates for clerical posts began to depend upon the parish communities, or upon the land-owners, the candidates when selected being ordained by the bishops.

The third institution of the Russian church, after the diocese and the parish, is in the earliest times of Christianity the monastery. In contradistinction to the heathen egotism, the church introduced into both the

public and the family life of the Russians a moral principle common to all mankind, placed above personal, tribal, and practical interests. Among a society worshipping physical force and deifying its manifestation in its bogatyrs, or heroes, the Christian doctrine exhibited the principle of the subordination of physical to moral force, and the church presented examples of exploits in the victory over passions, of exploits of meekness and humility. These exploits were achieved in the monasteries, which evoked the profound wonder and reverence of contemporaries. Hence it was that the founding of a monastery was held to be a pious work, so that before the 12<sup>th</sup> century there were reckoned to be about 90 monasteries. But, says the annalist: «Many monasteries have been established by kings, boyars and rich men; quite other are those that have been established by tears, fasting, prayer, and watching.» The latter, founded by the hermits themselves, gathering around them followers by their high morality and holiness of life, had the greatest importance in ancient Russian life. Foremost among them must be placed the Petchersky Monastery, still existing in Kief, founded in 1051 by St. Anthony, a native of the town of Liubetch in the present Chernigoff government.

Under its next abbot, Theodosius, this monastery became a duly constituted college after the model of the Byzantian Studite Monastery, and itself served as the model for other Russian monasteries. Hence went forth missionaries, propagating the doctrine of the faith, at first along the water way from Kief to Novgorod,

afterwards to the west and east of this way, and along the Volga; and hence also proceeded some fifty bishops and the first writers and annalists.

## 2. The political services of the ancient Russian clergy.

Coming from Byzantium, the clergy became among us from the very beginning the harbingers of Byzantine political ideals, all the more that in Russia they met with a perfectly different social organization, based on the division of power among the appanaged princes and the *vietche* self-government of the towns and communes. On the contrary, the Byzantine political ideal consisted in the unity and fulness of power in the hands of the emperor, the heir of the Roman Caesars, the anointed of God.

This is why our hierarchy, if they were unable to abolish the disorder reigning among the appanage princes, yet at once assumed a position of uncompromising negation towards it, which did not cease until the complete consolidation of power in the hands of the Moscow sovereigns.

In consequence of this, the clergy in Russia, with the exception perhaps of Novgorod, never had a local character, but remained all Russian in sentiment and strictly maintained the ecclesiastical unity of the Russian land.

Further, the negative attitude towards the continual enmity among the princes of the different clans was the direct duty of the church if only from the Christian love of peace. «Prince! said the metropolitan Nikifor to Vsevolod III (1176—1212), we are placed in the Russian land by God to keep you from bloodshed.»



**3. Independence of the ecclesiastical government.** The respect which the hierarchy enjoyed in the eyes of the princes is therefore intelligible: they became the first counsellors of the princes even in State affairs. On the other hand, the church appeared with an existing organization, while the power of the princes at that time was not yet sufficiently strong for active interference in the affairs of church government. This circumstance sufficiently explains why church government with us at once became remarkably independent.

According to the Graeco-Roman laws, the ecclesiastical court had three forms: 1) the court for trying clerics in spiritual cases, 2) that for trying the same in civil cases, and 3) that for trying laymen in spiritual cases and in those others which were by law submitted to the ecclesiastical court. All this passed to us, and even received a greater development: in cases between the clergy and laymen a common mixed court was formed of ecclesiastical and lay judges. It must further be remarked that by clerics were understood not merely members of the clergy. To heathendom help to one's neighbour as neighbour was unknown: the community protected only its own members; any one who left it was deprived of this protection also, so important in a primitive society, where the State authority is still without the means of maintaining security. But such exiles from the community, or as they were called izgoys, were numerous, and they all came under the shield of the church, became clerics or church people.

**4. Means for the maintenance of the church and clergy.**

The whole complex organization of church government and of the ecclesiastical court, embracing the various aspects of the common weal, demanded considerable material means. These means, for the metropolitans and bishops, were composed of the tithe, which the princes set apart from their revenues for the principal churches in their volosts, of court fees, of fees on the appointment of priests and deacons, and finally of the revenues from real estate. The monasteries also had lands — whole volosts, with the right of levying in them all kinds of taxes. Finally the rich considered it their duty to make large donations to the monasteries; and those who took the habit or veil, if possessing property, used to make offerings in movable or real estate to the monasteries they entered. As far as regards the inferior clergy, the information on the sources of their subsistence that has come down to us is very meagre. It is to be presumed that princes and private persons, perhaps communes, when building a church, appointed certain estates or revenues for its support and that of the clergy.

**II. The church and the clergy during the Tatar period.**

**1. Church government and monasteries.** From the time of the Tatar invasion the importance of the clergy becomes still greater. The Tatar Khans treated strange religions with indifference and even with respect, and therefore our church government maintained its independence under their rule; even the officials of the horde had not the right to enter the church villages, and therefore church lands offered more than any others a guarantee

for a quiet life. Under such circumstances, and with the dissipation of the princely power, only the church was strong enough to restrain by its authority the fist law which reigned in the society of the time. Offering in its landed estates examples of good order, as far as it was then possible, it directed its efforts to the spread of peace throughout the land.

In general, the activity of the church in this period must in justice be called creative. Especially great were the services of the monasteries. At the very beginning of the Tatar yoke, new monasteries were not built: they might always be threatened by the possibility of a Tatar devastation. But when the yoke was alleviated, the princes began to express their religious feeling by the foundation of cloisters; on the other hand, crowds began to gather around the noted hermits. More than 180 monasteries in all were refounded and newly established during the Tatar period. At the same time, when the monastery arose in distant places, the brethren occupied the waste lands and cultivated them; to these lands they invited parties of fresh colonists, and when the prince gave the charter, there appeared a hamlet. While serving the purposes of colonization for the depopulated country, the monasteries were at the same time the principal asylum of learning; here it was that the scriptures were collected and copied, and the authority of the ascetics, as of old, was so great that the princes applied to them for advice and loved to converse with them. Especially celebrated was the Troitsko-Sergievsky Monastery which arose in the 14<sup>th</sup>

century, being founded near Moscow by St. Sergy of Radoneje (1314—1391), to whom Dmitry Donskoy came to be blessed when setting out for the fight with Mamai. Like the Petchersky, the Troitsky Monastery became the parent of a number of others. Another famous monastery was the Kirillo-Belozersky in the Novgorod country, founded by St. Cyril (1337—1427).

Finally from the monasteries went forth, as before, missionaries, spreading Christianity among the heathen principally in the north of Russia. Such was Stefan of Perm, who composed the Permic alphabet, (†1396).

The clergy, further, rendered great services in connexion with politics. Kief, the chief city of the metropolitan see, was devastated by the Tatars, and was constantly subjected to their raids. In consequence of the impossibility of remaining here, the metropolitans step by step removed towards the north, founding their cathedral residence first in Vladimir on the Kliazma. But later, Ivan Danilovitch Kalita, Prince of Moscow, (1320—1340), fully aware of the importance of transferring it to his capital, succeeded in inducing the metropolitan St. Peter to remove to Moscow. Having finally established himself there in 1325, St. Peter requested the prince to build a church in honour of the Mother of God for his burial, at the same time pronouncing this remarkable prophecy of the future greatness of Moscow: «If you listen to me, my son», said he to the prince, «both you and your family shall be rendered more famous than the other princes, and your city shall be celebrated among all the cities of Russia, and prelates shall dwell

in it; and my bones shall be laid here.› Soon after the death of St. Peter, (1326), Ivan Kalita became indeed Grand-duke, and the metropolitans never more abandoned the new capital of Russia, contributing in every way to the strengthening of the power of the Moscovite princes, and to the union and extension of the Russian State. Over the grave of St. Peter was built a church, now the great cathedral of the Assumption, in which the sacred rite of the coronation of the Russian monarchs is performed.

Thus it was that the clergy found in Moscow the realization of their political ideals, brought from Byzantium.

**2. The South-Western church and the subdivision of the metropolitan sees.** The southern princes, and subsequently the Lithuanian princes who replaced them, could not, however, view with indifference the dependence of their subjects upon the metropolitans, after the latter had removed to another principality, and insisted on a special metropolitan being appointed for Kief. After long disorders and changes, during which there was at one time one metropolitan, at another two and even three, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century ensued the final separation of the metropolitan sees of Moscow and Kief, which were placed in different relations to the patriarch of Constantinople. The metropolitan see of Moscow became almost entirely independent of the patriarch. Having regard to the peculiar position of the churches, the eastern patriarchs, in their communications with the Moscovite granddukes, established the rule once for all

that the Moscow metropolitan should be appointed by his own bishops, and should be held in greater honour than all the other metropolitans, taking place immediately after the patriarch of Jerusalem. The metropolitan see of Kief, on the other hand, in consequence of the dangers to which it was exposed from the catholics, came into closer dependence upon the patriarch of Constantinople than even was the case with that of Moscow before its separation.

**III. The church in the XV—XVII centuries. 1. The curtailment of the autonomy of church government in the XV—XVII centuries. The patriarchate.** In what follows we shall only concern ourselves with the Great Russian church, as from it was developed our present ecclesiastical organization. Towards the end of the Mongol period the political power of the grandduke of Moscow gradually increases: it is the representative of political unity and the sufficient guarantee of the general peace, no longer disturbed by the intestine quarrels of the princes. Under these conditions, the autonomy of the church government loses ever more and more in importance, remaining a mere relic of antiquity. The metropolitan is appointed by the prince, and the bishops, with the decay of the appanages, begin also more and more often to be designated from Moscow. The metropolitans continue to receive charters of privilege from the princes, but in them the civil rights of the church government are a little diminished compared with the ancient charters and letters. In the Tatar time a court of civil dignitaries formed around the ecclesiastical authorities,

there were to be seen metropolitan boyars and voevods; boyars were appointed judges in lay cases; the chief management of the estates of the metropolitan see belonged to the steward; mention is made of secretaries, undersecretaries, treasurers, table-decker and cup-bearer, and, in the volosts and villages, volost and village elders, as in the case of princes. The Moscow sovereigns strive, on the contrary, to reduce or even entirely exclude lay officials from the diocesan administration. The essential basis of the independence of the church government were the large material resources at the command of the church. Its proprietary privileges first of all attract the attention of the Moscow princes, who do not allow the church any new rights in this direction, but strive to confine those already existing within clearly defined limits. Soon afterwards Ivan III, the first Tsar of Moscow, (1462—1505) even raised the question of secularizing the church estates, but the time for this was not yet come. Nevertheless, the secular power after Ivan III persistently takes the way of the limitation of the proprietary privileges of the clergy. At the Council of One Hundred Chapters, summoned by Ivan the Terrible in 1551 to consider the various disorders that had crept into the life of the church, notwithstanding strenuous opposition, archbishops, bishops, and monasteries are prohibited from acquiring property without the permission of the sovereign, and this prohibition is afterwards confirmed and developed in a whole series of councils at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Finally, in respect to jurisdiction, the clergy is gradually subjected to the civil authority,

first of all in criminal cases and then in civil. For the latter there existed the Court of the Great Palace, which at the same time began to take cognisance also of the financial side of the diocesan and monastic administration, by the collection of money, grain, recruits for military service, etc.

In their attempts to limit the autonomy of the church, the Moscovite sovereigns did not however, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, meet with opposition on the part of the clergy. The latter even to a certain extent sought the interference of the authority of the State in its affairs. According to the just remark of Prof. Gradovsky, «it could not be otherwise, in view of the ancient alliance of the clergy with the civil power. The metropolitans of old took part in political affairs; on their part, the granddukes and tsars played an active part in church government». Gennady, archbishop of Novgorod, applied to the grandduke to correct the disorders to be met with in the life of the church and monasteries, and the State legislation, the Codes of Ivan III and Ivan IV, the royal edicts and the decisions of the Hundred-Chapters Council, evoked by the questions of the tsar, delimit to a certain extent the spheres of the civil and ecclesiastical authority. Under these conditions the elevation of the Moscow metropolitans to the dignity of patriarchs in 1589 was not an extension of the ecclesiastical authority: to the patriarch passed only the rights of the late metropolitan, so that the establishment of the patriarchate can only be called a new step towards fortifying the independence of the Russian State, thus freed even from



the nominal supremacy of foreigners in ecclesiastical matters.

The events of the period of internal dissensions somewhat changed this state of things — the patriotism of the patriarch Hermogen (1606—1612), firmly defending the independence of the fatherland, the lively participation of the clergy in the political destiny of the country, the absence of real authority on the part of the State, tended to the extraordinary elevation of the patriarchs, and the patriarchate of Philaret, the father of Michail Feodorovitch, the first tsar of the house of Romanof, made their authority equal to that of the sovereign. The wise and strongwilled Philaret supported his son in deed and counsel in the organization of the State after the internal dissensions. He occupied the second place to the tsar, and came to be called «the Great Lord», while edicts were written in the name of both. The patriarch was surrounded by a brilliant court like that of the tsar, and the government of the church was divided among the courts of the patriarch, i. e. similar institutions to those which existed for the general administration of the State.

The exalted station of the patriarch could not but be reflected in the position of the whole of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Together with the patriarch, the prelates were invited to the tsar's council and to the popular councils; in the towns the voevods were required to consult them, while laymen applied to the prelates in case of exactions by the Government officials. The ecclesiastical court again became independent, but, however,

not universally, which brought great confusion into the civil jurisdiction: it was difficult to find out to what court one was subject. The financial requirements of the State demanded the exact determination of the participation of the clergy in the burdens of the State. On the other hand, the number of ecclesiastical estates grew, notwithstanding all the prohibitions of the Government, so that in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the church had in its possession 118,000 homesteads, or, according to the statements of foreigners, an entire third of the country.

Under Philaret's successors the importance of the church government was of course unable to maintain itself at its former height. A decisive change was made by the statute of the tsar Alexey Mikhailovitch in 1649, which confirmed the prohibition to increase the church estates and established a special Government organ, the so-called monastery court, for the civil trial of claims against the clergy, and also for making dispositions as to the dues levied on church patrimonies, the effecting of confiscations of church estates, etc. This court evoked complaints and objections from the clergy and they found expression in the patriarch Nikon (1652—1667). In the enjoyment of the unlimited confidence of the tsar Alexey Mikhailovitch, he made a determined stand against the innovations of the statutes of 1649, trying to prove that they were contrary to the canon law and were introduced in «passion, on account of the popular disturbances.» Nikon again placed the authority of the patriarch as high as it had been under Philaret, and began to assume

the title of «Great Lord», not as father of the sovereign, but as patriarch. But this did not last long. His good relations with the tsar were broken, and in 1658 Nikon voluntarily abandoned the patriarchate, and began the contest with the tsar, which ended with the condemnation of Nikon at the council of 1666—1667.

The main contention of Nikon, however, that the clergy should be free from the civil court, was at the same time acknowledged to be correct, and the monastery court retained only its financial rights, till 1677, when it was abolished. From that time there were no dissensions between church and State, although the civil legislature made very few concessions to the demands of the clergy: clerics in practice were summoned before the lay court, and the supervision of the administration of church property was continually increased.

**Parishes.** Such was the position of the superior ecclesiastical hierarchy in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the parishes at that time equally essential changes ensued as compared with the past.

We mentioned that priests were chosen by the commune or the landowner, and then presented for the confirmation of the prelate. On the contrary, the Hundred-chapters Council (1551) already speaks clearly of the inheritance of clerical posts by children from their fathers. The posts are filled, it is true, still on the election of the parishioners, but this election, on account of the restriction of the circle of eligible persons, naturally falls upon the children of the clergy.

The priest, in his capacity of educated man, and with him the clerk, took an active part in local affairs, in the conclusion of various communal transactions, in boundary cases, in the communal court, in elections and in petitions to the authorities. The commune, on its part, participated directly in the affairs of the clergy; its representatives, elective elders and sworn men sat in the court of the prelate's officials, trying members of the clergy. The relations of the clergy to the prelate were expressed not only in submission to his orders, but in the payment of various taxes: they paid not only for appointment and transfer from one parish to another, but upon each homestead in the parish and upon each marriage solemnized.

Besides this, the clergy gave money towards defraying the expenses of the journeys of the prelates to the metropolitan at Moscow, maintained the prelate's officials, built and repaired his house. These taxes were far from light, especially as the material position of the white clergy was not provided for. In the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, an order was given, indeed, to assign allotments of land to the churches, but not all the churches were so endowed, and but very few were further given a prestimony in grain or money. This it is, which in a certain degree affords an explanation of the phenomenon that the lower clergy often had recourse to the protection and defence of the civil arm against the extortions of the prelate's officials; and the Hundred-chapters Council was compelled to take the collections levied on the clergy out of the hands of these officials

and to transfer them to elders and their assistants, chosen by the priests themselves out of their midst. These offices, however, had already in the 17<sup>th</sup> century lost all importance.

**Missionary activity.** The 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries were signalized, on the one hand, by the annexation to Russia of vast regions, inhabited by Mahometans and heathens: the tsardoms of Kazan, Astrakhan and Siberia, and on the other, by the development of dissent. A wide field was accordingly opened to the missionary and educational activity of the clergy. We will not, however, dwell in detail upon this subject; dissent, its divisions and sects were discussed by us in the first volume. An energetic struggle was carried on with it by church and State, with the aid of preaching and of public condemnation, a struggle which is still continuing. In order, however, to characterize missionary activity, we will here quote extracts from the instructions given to archbishop Goory, when starting in 1555 to convert the Kazan Tatars. On his arrival in Kazan, the new archbishop was obliged «to teach the people every Sunday, to attach to himself the newly baptized, to give them food and drink, to favour and protect them in every respect, in order that the other infidels, seeing such protection and favour, might become zealous for the Christian law of righteousness, and be converted by holy baptism. Those Tatars who shall desire to be baptized of their own will, but not against their will, order such to be baptized and keep the best of them in your bishopric,

to teach the Christian law and to live in peace . . . The archbishop is to attach the Tatars to himself in every possible way and to bring them by love to baptism, but in no way by fear». This humble, truly Christian behaviour had the very best results: several thousand Mahometans and heathens were then and there converted to Christianity. There were also conversions in Astrakhan, and priests were sent to the Caucasus to the Circassian princes to raise orthodoxy from the decay into which it had fallen.

**IV. Church organization, from the XVIII century to the present time.** We have thus sketched the organization of church government in the time before Peter; the 18<sup>th</sup> century continues and completes the policy laid down in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

**1. The diocesan government.** Without dwelling upon the organization of the Most Holy Synod, which in 1721 replaced the patriarchs, as is described in the first volume of the present book, we will mention that, like the Synod, our diocesan administration has since the time of Peter the Great become a constituent part of the general organization of the State. Under the general supervision of the Government the bishop is, as formerly, not only the master of the diocese in an administrative sense, but also its legislator, as until the reorganization of the consistories the diocesan administration was carried on almost exclusively according to the instructions of the bishops. The bishop is chosen and appointed by the Most Holy Synod with the sanction of the Sovereign from persons belonging to the black

## THE DIOCESAN GOVERNMENT.

clergy. In direct subjection to the Synod and being its local executive organ, the bishop is the head of the whole of the white clergy of the bishopric, of the monasteries, of the clerical and lay schools, and of the consistory itself. The military and court clergy and that attached to the embassies, alone do not enter into the constitution of the bishoprics. The first are under the control of the protopresbyter of the military and naval clergy, while the clergy of the court are under a protopresbyter, the chaplain of their Majesties. The bishopric ordinarily coincides with the government, but some embrace several governments, viz.: Warsaw — the 10 governments of the Kingdom of Poland; Riga — the 3 Baltic governments; Lithuania — the governments of Vilna, Kovno, and Grodno; Finland — the whole of the grandduchy. Some of the Asiatic bishoprics also embrace two or more governments and territories. The bishops of St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Kief bear the honorary title of metropolitans; the first of them is the senior member of the Most Holy Synod. Of the remaining 60 prelates, 17 have the title of archbishops and 43 that of bishop. Attached to the metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops of the large dioceses are vicarial bishops or suffragans, in the capacity of associates or immediate assistants, to whose administration are apportioned one or several districts, but in complete dependence upon the bishop of the diocese. Such vicarial bishops are 37 in number.

A special position is occupied by the Georgian exarchate. For its government was founded in 1814

the Synodal Office of Georgia and Imeretia under the presidency of the exarch of Georgia, the archbishop of Kartalia and Kakhetia. This office is the chief administrative organ of the local church and the intermediate authority between the 5 bishoprics of Georgia and Imeretia and the Most Holy Synod.

The organ through which, under the immediate authority of the bishop of the diocese, the administration and the trial of spiritual cases is conducted in the diocese, is a collegiate institution, with a consultative voice, named the consistory. The members of the consistory are chosen by the bishop from among the clergy and are confirmed in their office by the Synod. The chancery of the consistory is conducted by the Secretary, an organ of the High-Procuror of the Most Holy Synod, having the same relation to the consistory as the High-Procuror has to the Most Holy Synod.

Without touching upon the sphere of jurisdiction entrusted to the consistories in respect of church governments, as in this respect, with the exception of church seminaries and their curatorships, to them are subject all the institutions and persons of the diocesan administration, — we will remark that the present juridical competence of the consistories is the result of the limitations which ensued from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the region of the ecclesiastical court, to which at the present time clergy and laity are subject. The former are tried by it for offences and crimes against their office, good order and morality, in respect of disputes arising from the enjoyment of church property, and on



complaints against clergymen of various offences and infractions of indisputable obligations. Laymen are subject to the ecclesiastical court in cases concerning marriage, and for offenses against the faith and morality, if these offences are not provided for by the criminal law, or involve only church penance.

For the superintendence of the parish clergy and churches the bishop appoints from the priests so-called «blagochinnye» or provosts to every 10—15 parishes, which form a provost's district; besides this, there are special provosts over the monasteries. Expression is given to the requirements and views of the whole diocesan clergy by the diocesan congress of the parish clergy, summoned by the bishop, and consisting of deputies from the parish clergy in the proportion of one to 10—15 parishes.

This congress assembles, not periodically (except the congresses connected with the seminaries, maintained at the expense of the clergy), but occasionally, and discusses questions concerning the religious and moral education of the people, the material position of the clergy, etc.

Into the composition of the diocesan government enter, finally, the diocesan school council, of which mention will be made later, and the curatorship for the poor clergy.

**2. The Parishes.** Subject to the diocesan administration, as we have said, are all the ecclesiastical institutions of the diocese. Occupying the first place among them are the church parishes, as the units out of which the

diocese is composed. The parish is a society of Christians having their own presbyter, for divine service and the performance of the religious rites and their own temple for common prayer; the parish is the fundamental and indivisible part of the diocese, presenting an independent religious Society, subject immediately to the bishop, as the authority of the provosts and other auxiliary organs has significance only in dependence on the bishop.

We have seen that in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the principle of the election of the priest by the parishioners, still held good, although a considerable part was already played by the hereditary replacement of offices. Under Peter I both these systems were practised parallelly. Afterwards hereditary succession received greater and greater extension, elections, where they existed, were no longer conducted by the whole «mir», or community, but by the «best» people under the strict supervision of the provost, and at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the spiritual authority became accustomed to regard elections as something illegal and contrary to the rules of the church, and in 1797 they were entirely abolished.

In consequence of this, heredity among the clergy began to attain such proportions that clerical and lay offices were «attached» by the bishops to the daughters of priests and lay clerks, i. e. passed to their husbands. This arrangement proved at last embarrassing not only for the church, but for the State, as there was nowhere to bestow those persons who had passed through the seminaries. In consequence of this, by the law of 1869

the heredity and exclusiveness of the clergy were abolished, and at the present time the bishops appoint all legally competent persons to posts in the church, provided they satisfy the demands of the church regulations by their knowledge and moral qualities.

Thus now the representative of the parishioners in the administration of the parish is not the priest, but a special elective elder confirmed by the bishop. He is obliged to have care for the property and the whole church economy, to see to the embellishment of the edifice and to its maintenance in due order, to keep the church money and the various collections. For the objects of parochial charity a parish curatorship is composed of the priest and the most respected parishioners, but these curatorships do not form a necessary appurtenance of the parish.

The means for the support of the parish clergy must even now be considered insufficient, and, most important, wanting in stability, placing the clergy in dependence upon the parochial community and therefore hindering the establishment of the necessary moral authority of the spiritual father over his flock. These means consist principally of the voluntary gifts of the parishioners for the performance of the rites of the church. This is essentially the chief source of the pecuniary revenue of the parochial clergy. Next follow the land allotments to the extent of 33 to 99 desiatins per parish, and also at times the so-called «rugal» or prestimonial lands set apart by the parishioners from their own allotments. On the rural parishioners are levied

beyond this in some places contributions of provisions in kind, called «ruga». Finally the parish clergy have the use of church houses and of revenues from the interest on the clergy funds.

All these sources, however, are extremely inconstant and irregular, and during years of scarcity, when both the gifts of the parishioners and the revenues from the land diminish, the clergy are placed in a very difficult position. Premises for the clergy are far from existing in all dioceses, and, where they exist, are often inadequately kept up and badly repaired. The clergy funds in the majority of cases are so modest that the revenues from them do not exceed ten roubles a year for a whole parish.

Hence it is, that the question of appointing the parish clergy a permanent salary was raised as early as the reign of the Emperor Alexander I; but up till now it has not received a complete solution.

For the first time in the «forties», the parish clergy were allowed from the treasury a sum of 100,000 roubles a year, but subsequently this aid was discontinued and only recently, thanks to the solicitude of the Emperor Alexander III, on the recommendation of the High Procurator of the Most Holy Synod Pobedonostsef, since 1893 ensued a renewal of the State grant, which, moreover, is increasing every year. However, even now a full salary is paid to the clergy of dioceses with a preponderance of unorthodox population, where there are not enough parishioners. Such is the case in the Baltic governments, those of the Vistula, etc. In the years 1892—3 the

## THE MONASTERIES.

number of parishes in Russia was 35,865, with an average population of more than 2000 souls. They were reckoned to contain 708 cathedrals, 35,546 parish churches, 9,742 cemetery, private, and other churches, and 17,195 chapels and prayer-houses. The white clergy included 42,513 priests, 12,953 deacons and 43,925 clerks, in all 99,391. Of the total number of parishes, only in 18,936 did the clergy receive support from the treasury, in all 6,436,533 roubles, i. e. 340 roubles per parish. Parish curatorships existed in 14,564 parishes, and their donations amounted to 2,566,000 roubles, but of this sum only 174,000 roubles went towards the support of the clergy, 358,000 roubles going to schools and charitable institutions and more than 2,000,000 roubles to the maintenance and embellishment of the churches. Further, offerings of all kinds were received to the amount of 15,365,000 roubles, but out of this only 188,500 roubles went to help the clergy.

**3. The Monasteries.** The next constituent of the diocese are the monasteries. Until the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as we have seen, their foundation was very free, but the «Spiritual Reglement» of Peter the Great introduced rules for taking the habit, with the object of making the practice more difficult, as it had become too indiscriminate and was injurious in its effects upon the life in the monasteries, many being ready to enter a monastery in order to escape military service. These rules, of course, could not but affect the diminution of the number of those leading a monastic life. But particular importance in this respect attached to the measures taken by the

Government, directed to the curtailment of the monasterial estates—a question raised, as we have said above, in the reign of the grandduke Ivan III. In the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the church patrimonies were subjected to the control of the State, and the bishops and monasteries were removed from the administration of their affairs and from the enjoyment of their revenues: they were allowed a definite salary, while the remaining income went to the satisfaction of the needs of the State and society. Even the complete confiscation of ecclesiastical patrimonies took place, at one time for debts, at another, to reward the services of retainers or to endow works with. It is true that at the end of the reign of Peter I the ecclesiastical patrimonies again passed into the management of the ecclesiastical authority, but they were constantly laid under excessive contributions for the satisfaction of the needs of the State. Later, after various fluctuations during which the administration of the patrimonies was at one time entrusted to the Synod, at another to the Senate, at the end of the reign of Elizaveta Petrovna it was ordered to «free monks, as having rejected this temporary life, from the worldly cares of it,» and, on the ascension of the throne by Catherine II, in 1764, took place the secularization of all church property, whereby 910,866 male serfs passed to the State. At the same time fixed revenues were assigned for the bishops' houses and the monasteries. They were all divided into three classes with a definite sum for their maintenance. Only the necessary lands and meadows, conventual buildings and

houses were left, which in the majority of cases exist to this day. With the introduction of fixed staffs the number of monasteries at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was diminished by half, but the building of new ones was allowed only with the authorization of the sovereign authority. However, under Paul I and especially under Alexander I, the numbers of the black clergy again increased, and monasteries received new privileges, even the right to acquire land, upon obtaining each time special authorization. The total number of monasteries at the end of 1893 was 742, of which 507 for monks, and 235 for nuns. They contained 7,464 monks and 7,566 nuns, and 6,152 lay brethren, and 21,758 lay sisters, or a total of 42,930. Among the monasteries are reckoned 64 bishops' houses, which manage the household affairs of the bishop. The majority of the monasteries are under the control of the bishops of dioceses, but 7, the so-called stauropegial, and 4 lavras—the Kief-Pechersky, Troitsa-Sergievsky, Alexander-Nevsky in Petersburg, and Pochaevsky in the government of Volhynia, are directly subjected to the Synod.

**4. Missionary work and the defence of the faith.** In Russia there are even to-day very many heathen natives. Their illumination with the light of the Gospel teaching now, as formerly, constitutes an important care of the orthodox church. But the majority of the native tribes lead a nomadic life and their grazing grounds are scattered over vast regions, and therefore action upon these heathens is not always possible for the parish clergy. Besides this the conversion of the natives demands not

unfrequently a special preparation, zeal, and even self sacrifice. Therefore in localities with a heathen population special missions have been founded. Siberia is the field of action of the following missions: Altay, Kirgiz, Chukch, Kamtchatka, Transbaikal and Irkootsk. In European Russia is stationed the Astrakhan mission, and in the Kazan region the brotherhood of bishop Goory. Among contemporary missionaries, particularly remarkable was Innokenty, metropolitan of Moscow (†1879). When yet a priest, he on his own initiative set out 5,000 versts from Irkootsk to the island of Unalashka to preach the Gospel. Here he remained ten years, learnt the Aleut tongue, translated into it the Gospel and the prayers and founded a school and church. He then transferred to the island of Sitha and here, having learnt the language of the natives, preached likewise to them. Ordained bishop of Kamtchatka, Innokenty removed in 1853 to Yakootsk and here, having learnt Yakootish, translated into it the Gospel, liturgy, and prayers and converted fully 300,000 Yakoots. Four years afterwards, archbishop Innokenty removed his residence to Blagoveshchensk on the Amoor, where he converted to Christianity several thousand half savage Mongols. Having finally become metropolitan of Moscow, Innokenty reformed the Orthodox Missionary Society thus accomplishing the labour of his whole life. This Society, has committees in the diocesan cities, supports missionaries, promotes the building of churches, publishes translations of the Scripture in the local dialects, opens libraries for the clergy, schools and hospitals, helps new converts, etc.



In the Caucasus a like importance with that of Innokenty in Siberia, attached to the career of Feofilakt, the exarch of Georgia. Even in the 18<sup>th</sup> century conversions were to be counted there by thousands. Under Feofilakt more than 40,000 souls were converted, more than 40 churches built, and the church service was printed in Ossetinian. With the subjugation of the Caucasus in 1859, the missionary activity of the church began to develop still more, and in 1860 in Tiflis was founded the Society for the Revival of Orthodox Christianity in the Caucasus. Finally, the Russian church has its missions in other countries also, namely, at Jerusalem, at Pekin, and in Japan, while it possesses the entire bishopric of Aleutia in North-America.

In the same manner as the conversion of the heathen, the missionaries, hand in hand with the parochial clergy, are engaged in a vehement struggle with dissent and sectarianism, mainly by means of preaching, public discussion with the sectaries, the organization of antisectarian libraries in the bishops' houses, the opening of schools, and conversations held out of service time. Particular merit in this respect belongs indisputably to the church's orthodox brotherhoods, that ancient Russian form of communion between the clergy and the laity for works of «spiritual grace.» Without dwelling here upon the original history of the brotherhoods, which we shall treat more in detail in the chapter on national education, we will merely remark that, according to the last enactment of 1864, the whole function of these brotherhoods falls into four main groups: religious and

educational, expressing itself principally in the foundation of parish schools; missionary, in the struggle chiefly with dissent and sectarianism; charitable, and church building.

The strengthening of the true understanding of orthodox faith and piety is further promoted by various kinds of Societies. Thus, there is the Society for the Propagation of Religious and Moral Education in the Spirit of the Orthodox Church, which, besides daily conversations in its own church, carries on similar conversations in a whole series of churches in the capital, as well as at the manufactories and works. Further, there is the Orthodox Palestine Society, under the patronage of the Grandduke Serghey Alexandrovitch, whose object is the support of orthodoxy in the Holy Land, its exploration, and the facilitation of the voyage of Russian pilgrims to the Holy Land and Mount Athos. This Society has branches in various towns. The Society of the Mother of God meets in the house of the High Procuror of the Most Holy Synod Pobedonostsef. Finally, there is the Society for the Propagation of the Scripture in Russia. The distribution of books is effected by means of book-stores in various parts of Russia and of colporteurs who often reach the most distant and forlorn regions of Eastern Siberia, Toorkistan, etc. The books are sold at the cheapest price possible, and in the case of the poor with a reduction, or are even given away. The total number of copies of the Scripture distributed by this Society, from the day of its foundation in 1863 till the 1 January, 1894, is 1,658,000. On

a large scale is the activity of the British Bible Society, which has stores in many towns.

Lastly, for the purpose of insuring the correct printing of the scriptures and all books whatever of a religious character, we have Committees of Censure in certain diocesan cities and Censors under the general inspection of the Synod.

**5. Theological schools.** We still have to say a few words on the theological schools, founded especially for the preparation of the clergy.

Of the schools existing before the reign of Peter we shall not speak. At that time, the whole general education bore an ecclesiastical character, and priests were prepared in the general educational institutions. Specialization began only under Peter the Great, when in accordance with the Spiritual Reglement the priest was required to possess a special preparation. In 1730, an order was issued to found theological schools in all the dioceses and to ascribe to them the name of seminaries. Under Catherine II a scheme was elaborated for small and large seminaries, but remained unrealized, and it was only in the reign of Alexander I that a really higher theological school was created, seeing that the academies which had existed until then were only superior seminaries, but in 1808 and 1814 a whole system of theological educational institutions was elaborated.

According to the statute of 1884 now in force, distinction is made between theological schools, inseparably connected with the seminaries, theological semi-

THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS.

naries in the function of intermediate educational institutions, and theological academies. Those who have finished the six-years course of the seminary have open to them the academy or appointments as priest, to which must be added the posts of teachers or inspectors in theological or elementary schools. Therefore, the seminaries include teaching classes and church schools. The necessity of priests coming to the aid, not only of the spirit, but of the body in sickness, led in 1892 to the idea of introducing by way of experiment in some seminaries the teaching of medicine. Lastly, the academies present as it were a faculty of theology, having for its object to afford the highest theological education in the spirit of orthodoxy, for the enlightened service of the church in the career of pastor and teacher of theology. The course is four years.

The special theological educational institutions, together with the pupils attending them, appear according to the information for 1893 as follows:

	Number.	Pupils.
Academies . . . . .	4*	884
Seminaries . . . . .	55	18,597
Schools . . . . .	186	31,110
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	245	50,591

Among the pupils in the Seminaries, 754 were learning native dialects with a view to future missionary work.

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\* In Petersburg, Moscow, Kief and Kazan.

**V. Administration of the other religious professions.**

In conclusion to this chapter, mention must further be made of the organization existing in Russia for the government of the other Christian and nonchristian faiths under the inspection of the Ministry of the Interior (Department of Foreign Faiths).

**1. Christian Faiths.** In Russia there are 12 *Catholic* bishoprics; the chief among them is that of Mogilef, whose head, having his residence in St. Petersburg, is at the same time metropolitan of all the Roman Catholic churches of the Empire and of the Grandduchy of Finland. But the dioceses of the Kingdom of Poland are not subject to him. Under the presidency of the metropolitan is the Roman Catholic theological college. The metropolitan and bishops are appointed by the Tsar in agreement with the pope of Rome. In 6 dioceses have been founded offices of bishops suffragan and 12 consistories to assist the bishops in the administration of their sees. The dioceses are divided into parishes, presided over by priests and their vicars, under the inspection of deans. Each diocese contains a Roman-Catholic theological seminary, while Petersburg possesses a theological academy.

The *Evangelical Lutheran church* in Russia is divided into 5 consistorial districts, which again are subdivided into subdistricts and parishes. At the head of the parish is placed the pastor, chosen from persons who have passed the theological faculty in the university of Yurief or who have satisfied the examination of the consistory. He is assisted by the church guardians and elders,

elected for three years. In the towns the boards of guardians are called parish councils or «convents». For the inspection of the parishes, over the subdistricts are appointed provosts, and over the districts consistories composed of a lay president, a clerical vicepresident, who ordains the preachers and pastors, and members clerical and lay in equal numbers. Besides these there is a secretary. Lastly, the highest administrative functions belong to the general consistory in Petersburg, over and above which the Government in case of necessity may convoke a General Synod of deputies and members from the local and general consistories.

The *Armenian Gregorian church* has in Russia only 6 dioceses, while there are 6 in Persia and 18 in Turkey. The Russian and Persian dioceses are subject to the patriarch of Echmiadzin resident in Russia, whose title is katholikos of the Haik people. The katholikos presides over a permanent council of 4 bishops and 4 archimandrites, called the synod of Echmiadzin, whose members are appointed by the Tsar. In matters of faith, the synod is subject to the katholikos, in matters of church government it has collegial rights, but presents certain questions for the sanction of the patriarch or even of the Tsar. The katholikos himself is elected by the synod assisted by clerical and lay deputies from the dioceses and by all the archbishops or bishops residing in Echmiadzin. The dioceses are governed by the bishops. In each diocese there is a theological seminary, and an academy attached to the Echmiadzin monastery.

**2. Nonchristians.** The *Jews* have their synagogues and prayerhouses. All Jews constantly attending a synagogue or school form a prayer community which elects for three years a spiritual board consisting of scholar, elder, and treasurer. Besides these, a permanent member is the rabbi, appointed from among those who have finished the course in the rabbinical school or in some other intermediate or superior educational institution. Attached to the Ministry of the Interior is the rabbinical commission, convoked periodically.

The *Karaim* have their spiritual heads or «gaham's» in Eupatoria and Troki.

The *Mahometans* have a spiritual council in Oofa presided over by a mufty, of two or three mollahs, elected for three years. There is also the Tauric Spiritual Board, consisting of a mufty and six kadis, in Simferopol. These institutions examine all candidates for spiritual posts. \*

The number of lamas, the clergy of the *lamaists* is fixed by law. Among the Calmucks, lama is the title of the chief priest only, who has his office and receives his salary from the Government. He appoints the other priests and is the chief of the lama monasteries or «khuruls». In Eastern Siberia at the head of the priesthood stands the chief lama «Bandido Hamba», with 34 «datsans», (prayer-houses) under him, each governed by a «shiretoo», or superintendant; the other lamas bear

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\* The Mohametans of the Transcaspia belong to 2 sects. Part of them are Sunnites with a mufty as their spiritual head, and part, Shiites recognizing only the Sheikh-ul-Islam.

various appellations as: gheloongs, gutsools, bandies, and hovarucks, in all — 250.

## 2. National Education.

**1. Kief Period (10<sup>th</sup>—13<sup>th</sup> centuries).** The solicitude of the State authority for the propagation of learning and enlightenment begins at the same time as the introduction of Christianity. Under the year 988, the annalist says that prince St. Vladimir after the baptism of the Kievites ordered the children of the best citizens to be taken and put to book-learning. But the mothers of these children, adds the annalist, mourned over them as if they were dead, because they themselves had not yet become firm in the faith. Thus, faith and book-learning are bound together, only the unenlightened by faith are afraid of books. The demand for book learning was great; although clergy arrived in numbers from Greece and Bulgaria, yet they were insufficient for all the territories to which Christianity had penetrated. It was necessary for Russia to prepare her own native priests. This is why the first metropolitan Michail counselled St. Vladimir to establish schools. Vladimir followed his advice and sent learned priests with instructions to open schools in connexion with the churches. The son of Vladimir, Yaroslaf I, called the Wise, founded a school in Novgorod, and appointed the priests a salary for teaching the children.

«Like», says the annalist, «as if some one should plough up the ground, and another should sow, and others again should reap and eat abundant food, so also



prince Vladimir ploughed up and softened the hearts of men, by enlightening them by baptism; his son Yaroslaf sowed them with the words of books, and we now reap, receiving the learning of books.»

The successors in the principedom to Vladimir and Yaroslaf were also their successors in the solicitude for the spread of enlightenment. The annals have preserved evidence that the appanage prince of Smolensk, Roman Rostislavitch († 1180) was very learned and incited many people to learning by founding schools, and supported teachers, Greeks and Latins, at his own expense, and so exhausted his purse upon this that the Smolnians were compelled to make a collection for his burial. «And all the Smolnians mourned his loss, understanding his kindhearted behaviour towards them», in other words, understanding the benefit of the learning which he had afforded them. What a difference then had taken place in 200 years compared with those mothers at Kief, who wept over their children as over the dead, when they were sent to school. The king of Galicia, Yaroslaf Vladimirovitch, called Osmosmysl, († 1188), showed great interest in the organization of schools, being in intimate relations with Byzantium. In Vladimir the schools flourished particularly under prince Constantine Vsevolodovitch, (1186—1218), who set apart for their maintenance «no small volosts». Even princesses were zealous in the establishment of schools. Thus Anna, the daughter of the grandduke Vsevolod Yaroslavitch, (1030—1093), took the veil in the convent built by her father, and «having gathered together young girls, taught them writing, handicrafts,

singing, sewing, and other usual knowledge». St. Euphrosyne Polotskaya, († 1170), also was celebrated for her learning.

The examples cited sufficiently characterize the activity of the State in regard to national education in the pretatar period of Russian history. The State's chief assistant and counsellor in this work was the clergy. Schools were opened at the churches and monasteries, the teachers being principally members of the clergy: priests, monks, clerks. According to the just remark of Pogodin «every new diocese became a new educational district», for every bishopric had its school under the guidance and inspection of bishops, who thus gave an example to their flock. Whether there was afterwards a school in every parish, attached to every church, or only to many, it is difficult to say from the materials extant. One may, however, be sure that the teaching of reading and writing and religion went on as far as possible everywhere where there were churches and clergy. The church schools satisfied first of all the chief demand of the time, namely for the preparation of pastors. Nevertheless, it is hardly possible to call them special theological institutions in the present sense of the word. They were ordinary general elementary schools, for our clergy clearly recognized from the very beginning that only education and enlightenment can open the way to the true and exact knowledge of religion and to truly Christian virtue. This is why in those ancient times not only prelates of the church but princes presented examples of high education. Book-learning became a necessity for princes, so to say a

covenant from father to son. We meet with remarkable writers not only among the clergy, but among laymen, such as Vladimir Monomakh, Daniel Zatotchnik. That not future priests alone were taught is proved by the mass of literary productions of an even perfectly lay character, which has come down to us from that time; but all these writings must have had readers. Nor is this all, the capacity to read and write was required in ordinary life at every step for the accomplishment of various kinds of legal acts.

These facts, in connexion with the monuments of ancient Russian literature, which bear witness to the high gifts and education, for that time, of their authors, have raised the presumption that, in ancient Russia, besides elementary schools, there were also higher institutions of learning. This presumption, on the whole not improbable, is not, however, confirmed by any direct proofs. But the school, of which we know, was an elementary one: the subjects taught in it were reading and writing in Church-Slavonic, and church singing. At first they taught the alphabet and then they read the psalter, which was the chief textbook of that time and the favourite book for reading not only of the clergy but of princes and of the whole people. Moreover, in the west of Europe also, those who could read and write were called in the middle ages psalterati. Of the methods of teaching writing no information is preserved. Writing was considered a special art and was held in great respect. It was necessary for the very dissemination of books, which were zealously copied in various

monasteries and were then stored in the libraries belonging to them and to the churches. Finally, church singing was a favourite subject not only with the clergy, but also with the laity. Whether anything else was taught in these schools, it is impossible to say with certainty. Maybe, in some of the schools, grammar too was taught; arithmetic may also have been a subject of instruction, for numeration existed and problems are met with in integers and fractions. However this may have been, the principal subjects were reading, writing, and singing, while all other knowledge was obtained apparently by self-instruction, by reading the extensive, mainly ecclesiastical, literature of that time.

Although the course of teaching was thus comparatively small, the school satisfied the needs of our ancestors, for, opening the door to the acquaintance with holy writ, it gave solid foundations of education. The Christian church attracted by ideals of humility, meekness, by spiritual exploits; and such was also the Christian school. It not only taught reading and writing, but communicated to the pupils the truths of religion, the feelings of Christian morality, the fear of God, and the love of labour. And these virtues were inspired, not by corporal punishment, not by the rod, but by gentle treatment of the pupils: «Teach them», says the metropolitan Michail in his instruction, «neither by rage, nor cruelty, nor anger, but by a cheerful fear and loving intercourse, and sweet instruction, and kindly discussion»; while St. Leonty, bishop of Rostoff, seeing the impossibility of acting upon the adult generation of hea-

then, turns to the children and attracts them to him by kindness, teaching them the truths of religion.

The wide dissemination of enlightenment and school teaching in ancient Russia recalls the brilliant era of Charlemagne in the west. Ancient Russian instruction even had the advantage of universality as compared with that in the west: owing to the church language being comprehensible to the whole people, education was accessible to every one from prince to peasant.

**II. The Tatar period** (13<sup>th</sup>—15<sup>th</sup> centuries). It is therefore difficult to judge what would have been the subsequent development of education in Russia, if there had been no Tatar invasion. It is extremely probable that from elementary schools it would have passed on to the organization of higher institutions. But the Tatar yoke puts a sudden stop to the development of science, leaving room for elementary instruction alone. The best and most thickly populated parts of Russia were converted into deserts, the possibility of that secure and peaceful leisure, which has such an immense importance in the history of the culture of every people, was destroyed. A blow to education was struck also from the side of its material resources: scores of libraries perished and only in a few places, and these the least rich in books, were any remains preserved of our primitive bookstores. Not only the common people, but even princes then had no time to think of school or books. According to the just remark of the historian Solovief: «the habit of being guided by the instinct of selfpreservation led to the predominance of every kind of material incentives

over those of a moral character». If «the property of the citizens was hidden in the churches, then treasures of a moral kind had need too of secure asylum — in wildernesses and in monasteries».

Even during this period enlightened princes, lovers of books and reading, are not wanting; such were Alexander Nevsky, († 1263), Michael Prince of Tver, († 1318), and Vladimir, Prince of Voluin, († 1288). But the annals do not say that they founded schools. The princes were occupied with wars and journeys to the Horde. Under such conditions the home education of their children could not take a regular course, and the falling off of learning among the princes continued without interruption. Of Dmitry Donskoy (1350—1389) it is stated out right in the annals that he was no book scholar, and Vasily the Dark (1415—1462) was simply unable to read. By the princes may be judged the degree of education of the other classes, of laymen.

Only the clergy, who enjoyed under the Mongols, as we already know, considerably more independence than all the other classes of society, were able to be the keepers of divine and human learning. The services of our church in this respect are beyond doubt. Notwithstanding all unfavourable circumstances, the clergy succeeded in preserving the school, and with its aid in not allowing learning to completely disappear from among the people. The residences of the bishops, as before, were centres of education, the prelates themselves caring, as far as possible, for the training of the members of the priesthood, for the establishment of schools and lib-

raries, for the copying and dissemination of church services. Direct notices of the foundation of new schools we do not possess, except for the region of Perm, where St. Stephen opened them principally with a view to missionary efforts. In the schools, as before, the subjects taught were reading, writing, and church singing. Besides persons belonging to the clergy, appear also lay teachers—«bookmen, statute-keepers and popular narrators,» but under the protection of the ecclesiastical authority, being reckoned among the dependents of the church.

And yet in the course of three centuries the school evidently lost many of its former merits.

### III. The Moscow Period (15<sup>th</sup>—18<sup>th</sup> centuries).

**1. State of elementary education in the beginning of this period.** Statistics indeed show that elementary education in the 16<sup>th</sup>—17<sup>th</sup> centuries was comparatively widely spread. From calculations made on the basis of signatures on various kinds of documents, it is ascertained that the white clergy were then universally literate; that the black clergy contained 70 per cent, the merchant class 90 per cent, the boyars and lesser boyars 50 per cent, the townsmen 20 per cent, and, finally, the peasants 15 per cent of literates. For the townsmen and peasantry these figures are of course very favourable for that time, but it is impossible to avoid acknowledging that the illiterateness of half the boyars and lesser boyars, i. e. of the class called upon to render service to the State in every capacity from the tsar's council to local administration, is extremely lamentable. As far, however, as concerns the white clergy, according to the words of

Gennady, archbishop of Novgorod in the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, in Russia at that time there were no good schools for teaching the priests, the future teachers of the people. They were taught not seldom by «masters» who had no conception of proper educational methods. Elementary knowledge was obtained, but neither solid nor thorough. If then even the priests lacked good schools, could the whole mass of the remaining population be provided with them? But by the schools one may judge of the character of the education.

To the same period (15<sup>th</sup> — 17<sup>th</sup> centuries) belongs the development of dissent in the extreme form of esteeming in religion not the inner meaning but the letter, which is evidence that, in contradistinction to more ancient times, the school discerned in education not the means merely for knowing the truths of religion and morals, but the object itself of learning, attributing more importance to the form than to the contents.

The reserve must, however, be made that the characterization given above of school teaching refers to the time immediately following the Tatar period. Since then and before Peter the Great, thanks to the energetic action of the State and clergy, much was corrected and improved.

**2. Maxim the Greek and Ivan the Terrible.** The wife of the grandduke of Moscow Ivan III was, as is known, Sophia Palaeolog, the niece of the last Byzantine Emperor. With her arrival were renewed the tendencies which had once prevailed in Russia towards Byzantine culture. She gave her son a certain education, and ac-



According to contemporary evidence Vasily Ivanovitch loved book-learning. Wishing to put in order the rich collection of Greek manuscripts, which he had acquired from his mother, Vasily Ivanovitch was yet unable to find in Russia anyone capable of doing this, and accordingly invited in 1506 to Moscow from Athos the learned monk, Maxim the Greek, a man of wide culture who had attended lectures in the various sciences at Paris, Florence, and Venice. Maxim belonged to that pleiad of Byzantine scholars who, having removed to Italy, laid the foundation in Western Europe of the epoch of the Renaissance; but, having received his education in foreign universities, Maxim yet remained a true son of the orthodox church. He came to Russia only for the purpose of arranging the library of the grandduke, but he lived here the greater part of his life and became Russian in sentiment. He was carried away by a warm zeal for the enlightenment of this country and educated a whole generation of new men, who afterwards advanced further along the path of a wider moral and intellectual development, proud to call themselves Maxim's pupils. Maxim the Greek was the first to undertake the correction of the scriptures, corrupted by ignorant copyists and translators; with characteristic energy he proceeded to condemn the worship of the letter to the detriment of the spirit, and to disclose the falsehood and superstitions contained in our apocryphal books.

Unfortunately, the power of the pedants was so great that Maxim was condemned as a heretic, excommunicated, thrown into prison and even forbidden to read and write.

But the seed he had sown produced its fruit. The throne was ascended by Ivan IV Vasilievitch, the beginning of whose reign was occupied by a whole series of beneficent enterprises for the enlightenment and general welfare of Russia.

In 1551, at the so-called Hundred-chapters Council, the tsar proposed to the prelates a whole series of questions upon various kinds of disorders, for whose removal their cooperation was necessary. Among these questions was: Why are pupils taught carelessly, and how to remedy it? It was resolved: to select good priests, deacons and married clerks, pious men, and those learned in reading and writing; and to organize schools in their houses where they should teach children reading, writing and church singing with all spiritual instruction, but above all should keep and preserve their scholars in all purity, and protect them from every seduction, that they, when they should come of age, might be worthy of the priestly office.

It is to be presumed that the ordinance of the council found a practical realization. From it we see that it was decided to open elementary schools of a general educational character such as had existed before, for teaching reading, writing, and church singing principally with a view to the preparation of candidates for holy orders. The school remains as before in the main a religious and educational institution. Thus, in respect to school teaching, we see in the 16<sup>th</sup> century the restoration of that which had in the preceding period fallen into decay, but all kinds of innovations are still met

with great distrust. This is particularly noticeable in the original history of Russian printing. At the Council of 1551, the tsar, among other disorders, pointed to the corruption of books of scripture by copyists. It was resolved to establish an inspection of them, and to confiscate incorrect copies whether in the hands of the seller or the buyer without compensation. But, of course, it was impossible to keep watch over incorrect manuscripts. Therefore, the tsar, apparently at the suggestion of Maxim the Greek and the enlightened metropolitan Makary, decided to establish a printing office in Moscow. This printing office, under the name of the Printing Court, was opened the 19 April, 1563, and on the 1 March, 1564, was completed by the printers Ivan Fedorof and Peter Timofeef the first printed book in Great Russia, viz. the «Acts of the Apostles». The next year saw the issue of the Prayerbook. It is remarkable that our first printers, who had learnt their art in Italy or from Italians visiting Russia even founded their type in Russia and did this very well; and that the first printed book, in the opinion of experts, presents an extremely remarkable phenomenon in the region of printing on account both of its beauty and elegance. And, nevertheless, our printers already in 1565 were compelled to fly from Moscow, being accused of heresy and of corrupting the books; while the printing office was it would seem even burnt down by their opponents. It is true that in 1568 printing was again renewed in Moscow, but its influence was nevertheless so inconsiderable that, side by side with it and in far greater

proportion, was continued the copying of manuscripts, which circulated together with the books, found readers and buyers and provided subsistence to a whole crowd of copyists.

**3. Schools in Western Russia; brotherhoods.** Such was the state of education in Moscovite Russia at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In western and south-western Russia, the schools receive another direction, which in the 17<sup>th</sup> century extended also to Moscow. The ancient Russian orthodox population of these parts of our country was united at first to the Lithuanian principality and afterwards to the Polish Kingdom, when it experienced the whole weight of the catholic propaganda. The Jesuits, who had established themselves in Poland under Sigismund Augustus, proceeded through their schools to act principally upon the younger generation. In defence of their religion the orthodox were obliged to arm themselves with the same weapon — viz. to found schools and prepare scholars. The initiative in this important matter belongs to the western Russian grandees. The celebrated prince Koorbsky, having removed from Moscow to escape the persecution of Ivan the Terrible, and settled in the estates granted him by the king, remained true to the traditions of orthodoxy. He took active steps to increase the books written by the fathers of the Eastern church, himself translated them, hired translators, and warned his fellow believers against catholic influence. Prince Constantine Ostrojsky founded schools, and combated in every way the uniate church. But the connexion with Poland paralysed these efforts

of the aristocracy: the sons of Koorbsky and Ostrojsky together with the other representatives of the noble families passed over to catholicism. The town population proved much more stubborn. In the government of the western Russian church an immense importance attached to the right of patronage to churches and monasteries. On town land this right ordinarily belonged to the town society or brotherhoods. These brotherhoods of townsmen had originally philanthropic objects, but they afterwards obtained a serious importance in connexion with church education. The most ancient was the Lvovsk brotherhood which arose in 1439, after which followed those of Vilno, Kief, Lootsk, Mogilef, Orsha, Brest, etc. In 1588 arrived in Lithuania Jeremiah II, patriarch of Constantinople, who seeing that the orthodox church was in danger clearly understood that the brotherhoods might supply it with a trustworthy support. In order to give them still greater importance, the patriarch raised the Lvoff and Vilno brotherhoods to the rank of patriarchal stauropigia, i. e. institutions dependent upon the patriarch personally, instituted statutes for them and blessed the foundation of the new brotherhoods. From that time the activity of the latter developed in ever increasing proportions. A means of combat in their hands was the foundation of schools, but the former parish schools were no longer enough, there was need for more considerable and many sided knowledge. The schools of the brotherhoods were not elementary but intermediate schools. The course of instruction included the following languages —

Greek, Slavonic, Russian, Latin and Polish, and grammar, rhetoric, poetry, dialectics, moral theology and some other subjects. From among these schools soon arose a true high school, the «School of Helleno-Slavonic and Latino-Polish Literature», founded in 1589 by the brotherhood attached to the church of the Epiphany in Kief. Here the prime mover was the metropolitan, Peter Mogila. Owing to his efforts and contributions, the «School» was reorganized in 1631 into the Kief Mogiliansk high college. With a view to training worthy teachers, Peter Mogila selected several talented monks and sent them abroad at his own expense. When they returned, the college received the organization of similar western European institutions. The methods and manner of teaching were essentially the same as in the Jesuit schools, instruction was carried on in the Latin language, only the spirit was a different one: here were trained defenders of orthodoxy, preachers and enlighteners of the Russian people. The object of the instruction consisted in the logical proof of the Christian truths, preliminarily taken on faith. All possible objections were sought for, as well as the confutation of the objections. This was in effect dialectics based on the highest sciences philosophy and theology, while the form of the dissertation was supplied by rhetoric. All these sciences together were called scholasticism. In the West, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, scholasticism was already dying out; with us, on the contrary, it took a firm root and long maintained itself. Besides the successful defence of orthodoxy, scholasticism afforded another benefit to

Russian life. It inspired respect for science in general and, when transferred in the 17<sup>th</sup> century to Moscow, gradually extirpated those «wily seducers giving themselves out as teachers», of whom Koorbsky wrote, that «they seduce industrious youths wishing to become familiar with literature, saying to them: do not read many books, and point out, that this man lost his wits from books, while that one fell into heresy».

**4. The rule of the first sovereigns of the house of the Romanoffs.** The 17<sup>th</sup> century in the history of education in Moscovite Russia presents a considerable step in advance, thanks to the enlightened activity of the first tsars of the house of the Romanoffs. The orthodox church under the patriarch Nikon declared an uncompromising war against the sextons and church readers who kept to the letter of the law in questions of doctrine. Nikon himself fell in this struggle, but his cause triumphed. Church schools of the former type undoubtedly increased, but a demand appeared for educational institutions with a wider programme. It is well known that Boris Godoonoff already conceived the idea of founding a university in Moscow and with this object sent several young men to study abroad. Afterwards the patriarch Philaret, the father of the tsar Michael Feodorovich, founded in Moscow at the Tchoodof monastery in 1633 the first school, called Greco-Latin. About the same time there appeared such enlightened men as Rtishchef, Ordyn-Nashchokin and Matvëef, who invited to Moscow scholars from Kief. The publication of the first «kurants», or newspapers, was begun by

Ordyn-Nashchokin. Matvëef opened a theatre, where mysteries were performed, in which the tsar Alexey Mikhailovich took an interest. Finally, to Rtishchef belongs the honour of founding in 1648 a learned brotherhood in the deserted Andréevsk monastery, where there was also a school. The soul of the brotherhood was supplied by the Kief scholars. Slavinetsky and others, who appeared in Moscow in great numbers, especially after the annexation of Little Russia. The learned brotherhood laboured at translations and original compositions, while the school furnished instruction in the Greek and Slavonic tongues.

The organization of high schools was particularly insisted upon by the Greek prelates who came to Moscow. «I strove to learn», says the learned metropolitan of Gaza, Päisi Ligarides, «whence flowéd this inundation of heresies and so increased to our common destruction? At last I found two causes: the absence of schools and the lack of sacred libraries» . . . «O, most illustrious tsar», he continues, «imitate the Theodosius and Justinians and create here schools for teaching the three languages: Greek, Latin, and Slavonic». To the two schools of Tchoodof and Rtishchef was added in 1665 the school of the Saviour, founded by Simeon Polotsky, a native of Little Russia. In contradistinction to the former schools, the Greek language did not enter at all into its programme, but only Latin, grammar, rhetoric, poetry, and versification. This difference of the schools was the expression of the two tendencies at that time struggling for mastery in Moscow: the eastern



which regarded the learning of Latin as even dangerous to orthodoxy, and the western, a representative of which was Simeon Polotsky, who transposed the psalter and menology into verse, greatly shocking thereby the zelots of the old school of piety.

In the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the eastern or Greek tendency obtained an undoubted supremacy. Not only the distinguished men of that time busied themselves with the foundation of high schools; all the members of the church of St. John the Theologian in Moscow presented a petition to the tsar praying for the opening of a grammar school in their parish, with instruction in the Greek tongue and in part singing. Finally, in 1679, the tsar Feodor founded a new Greek school, «in order that the light of learning received by Russia from the Greeks, might not be extinguished». «It is impossible to describe», says a contemporary, «the zeal of the tsar and patriarch for the school: at one time both together, at another separately, openly and secretly, almost every week, they came to the school to refresh their spirit with the new and unheard of enterprise».

Soon the tsar wished to reorganize the school into an academy. Its statutes were drawn up by Simeon Polotsky: it was ordained that almost the same subjects should be taught in the academy as in the college at Kief. The pupils were admitted from all classes; all the teachers and pupils in corpore were granted the right of a court of their own after the model of western institutions. But the academy was presided over by two

learned Greeks, the brothers Likhudas, who held steadfastly to eastern ideas. The programme of classical instruction under the Likhudas was as follows: the course began with grammar, which was read in all three classes, in the infima, divided into inferior and superior, in the media and in the suprema. After grammar came poetry, then rhetoric, and finally logic and physics. On Sundays and holidays the pupils of the academy assembled in the auditory and there listened to preaching or interpretation of bible history, and sometimes themselves conducted dissertations. The methods of teaching, as in Kief, were purely scholastic.

**IV. General conclusions on the state of the schools before Peter the Great.** Summing up all that has been said of the period before Peter, it is impossible to avoid the following general deductions. School instruction was not specialized, and until the 17<sup>th</sup> century the elementary school prevailed in Moscovite Russia to the exclusion of every other. This was a church school, devoted mainly to training the character. Its services in the history of our education are immense: it gave us all our prelates and writers of the period before Peter. This school further supported among the masses education, the fear of God, and love for their tsar and country in times when Russia, it seemed, stood on the brink of destruction, and, hemmed in by her enemies, was on the point of losing her independence as a nation.

The great importance of the ancient Russian school is explained among other things by its being drawn

from all classes: boyar, priest, and peasant had an equal right to send their children to school, and they all in equal measure derived thence the principles of religion and morals.

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century appear the first intermediate and high schools of science, providing a general scientific education. They embraced the whole cycle of knowledge: they included in their courses not only rational or speculative philosophy, but natural philosophy or physics. At the same time the object of the instruction in natural sciences did not consist so much in the communication of exact knowledge as in raising the spirit and intellect from creations to the Creator, from all that was beautiful and wonderful in the creations to the allwise and blessed Creator. In the textbooks of natural science, the so-called bestiaries, giving particulars on astronomy, physics, and natural history,—animals, plants, and stones appear as extraordinary beings, full of mysterious force. Such for example is the «story by the letters» (by the alphabet) of birds and beasts, which treats of the lion, crocodile, unicorn, asp,alconast, phoenix, strophocamel, and so on. As late as the 17<sup>th</sup> century was in circulation «The book of Kozma Indikoplof about Christ, comprising the whole world», translated from a Greek work of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, where the author affirms that the earth is four-cornered, surrounded by the ocean, and that the heaven is fixed on to the earth like a hemisphere.

In Western Europe also at that time the knowledge about nature taught in the schools was often far from exact.

The absence of specialization in education was, moreover, no defect. It was always and everywhere the same: first developed educational institutions with a general course, and afterwards such as prepared for one or another of the professions. In the West also in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, professional schools did not yet exist. The Russian school of that time cannot be blamed for this, but on account of the onesided tendency of the instruction. Mathematics and natural science were not yet acknowledged to have any educational importance. Arithmetic, to which a very modest place was given in the course, was regarded mainly from the practical point of view. This «wisdom of ciphers and accounts» was recommended for study, because by its aid «every buyer or seller may right conveniently find the number of every article.» Of the method of object lessons, of the acquaintance with the nature of things from the things themselves, and not from books, of the necessity of natural development. — nothing at all was yet known by us at that time, when the works of the founder of the science of education Jan Amos Komensky were already translated not only into 12 European languages but even into some of the languages of Asia.

The effect of such onesidedness in the system of education was necessarily reflected in practice. In the West also, as we have had occasion to mention, special schools did not yet exist in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

But the German schools of that time, although they were far from attaining the ideal set up by educational science, yet opened a comparatively wide field

for acquaintance with nature and her most useful productions for man, so that into the sphere of the national school entered more or less the teaching of such subjects as the description of plants, animals, man, the phenomena of nature, the knowledge of one's country, the principal laws, domestic economy, landsurveying, etc, according to the time and the degree of proficiency of the pupils.

In the intermediate educational institutions were taught architecture, astronomy, botany, geometry, spherical geography, etc. The professional direction of instruction, indeed, appeared in the West not in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but much earlier, viz. in the town schools of the 14<sup>th</sup> century with their trades guild organization. What is still more important for the universal character of instruction, the elementary school was open alike to boys and girls. On the contrary, the information existing on the Russian school of that time do not permit the conclusion that it was attended by girls, while the negative view of woman which prevailed in Society obliges one rather to presume that the opposite was the case.

The chief cause of the backwardness of Russia in the various branches of applied knowledge, which so struck Peter the Great when comparing our mode of life with that of foreign countries, is, it would seem, not to be sought in the lack of special schools, but in the absence of life in the system of teaching. For the assimilation of practical knowledge there is need of a certain intellectual habit, an intimacy with actual life, which is not given by speculative philosophy alone.

**V. National Education in the XVIII century. 1. Measures of Peter the Great.** All this sufficiently explains to us the point of view from which Peter regarded national education. He was far from breaking with the past and did not touch the former general schools, but tried to make good the defect by creating beside them educational institutions with another spirit.

Already in 1700 was founded in Moscow a mathematical school for the children of nobles and government clerks, under the superintendence of the Englishman Farwarson. After this, there appeared a whole series of special schools, principally military, naval, and mining, and from 1714 and 1716 the Government began to open in the bishops' houses and in prominent monasteries «cipher», or arithmetical schools. Being devoid both of example for imitation and of experienced assistants, Peter the Great was unable to give the cipher schools any definite organization. The subjects ordered to be taught were only figures and part of geometry. It was very natural that the new schools, being in flat contradiction with the ideas of the time upon school instruction, could not quickly take root in Russia. The clergy, obliged to support them out of their own resources, but removed from their control, maintained an attitude of hostility. The «magistrats» or town councils, in which Peter placed great hopes, opened no new schools whatever. Although the teaching was to have been free, and the attendance compulsory for the ages between ten and fifteen years, so that it was even forbidden to marry without a diploma, yet up to the year 1722 the arithmetical schools

reckoned in all 1,389 scholars, of whom 95 passed, while the rest ran away.

The failure which befell the arithmetical schools did not, however, stop Peter the Great. From the organization of new schools he strove to pass over to the introduction of new methods of teaching into the old church schools. This is the best proof that Peter the Great had no intention, as is sometimes thought, of breaking the whole structure of ancient Russian life, but only strove to renew this structure, preserving all that was good in it.

Thus, for example, in the «Reglement of the Spiritual Board», 1721, it is said: «It is exceedingly profitable for the church that every bishop should have in his house a school for the children of priests, and for others destined to take holy orders.»

But in the ukas of the Synod, 1722, it was ordained that the pupils of these episcopal schools should after grammar be taught arithmetic and the most necessary part of geometry, «in order that they might be skilled in both sciences useful to the church and to citizenship, and that the previous ukases of HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY upon the teaching of arithmetic and geometry might be fulfilled.»

And so, we repeat, it was not the organization of a new type of school that was important, but the new direction given to teaching.

It is, however, very intelligible that Peter the Great could not limit himself in the carrying out of his extensive plans exclusively to theological schools, even albeit

with the introduction into their programme of the teaching of mathematics and natural science.

It was necessary to transplant to Russian soil the last word of European science; for this the resources of the ancient academies with their scholastic spirit were insufficient. The sole means was to invite foreign men of science and out of them form an independent academy. This academy was at first to have principally an educational force. Each academician was obliged to compose a textbook for the use of students, and to spend an hour every day in the public teaching of his subject. He was required to prepare one or two pupils who should in time take his place,—Peter expressing the wish that the pupils «should be selected from a slavonic people, that they might more conveniently teach Russians.» In creating such an academical university, Peter had in view also the foundation of middle schools of a new type. Such schools were, indeed, not opened during his reign, but having acquired with the Baltic provinces the Reval gymnasium, the Emperor commanded that «it should be maintained for the benefit of Russian youth, and that an experienced teacher of the Russian language should be taken into the gymnasium and appointed a salary».

Later, in 1726, an academical gymnasium was formed of two sections: a German preparatory and a Latin, with the character of the humanist German schools, including courses not only of Latin but of Greek, the study of the Roman poets, etc. This gymnasium notwithstanding all efforts—the founding of stipends, the reception of sol-



diers' children etc., even in 1737 had only 18 pupils. But it must not be forgotten that in it the celebrated Lomonosof received his education.

Thus, in the mind of the Reformer of Russia had evidently already taken shape a whole system of educational and scientific institutions, from the lowest school to the University and Academy.

The twenty years that followed the death of Peter the Great were not signalized by any thing especially remarkable either in the region of national education or in the other branches of political and public life. His enlightened ideas spring to life again during the reign of the empress Elizabeth (1741—1761).

**2. The Empress Elizabeth and Shoovalof.** They found expression in one of the most cultured men of that time, the friend and patron of the celebrated Lomonosof, the great nobleman J. J. Shoovalof, to whom Russia owes reforms of the greatest importance in national education.

We have seen that the Academy of Science, founded by Peter the Great and opened after his death (1725), was at one and the same time a learned and an educational institution. Attached to it were a printing office, various workshops, engravers and draughtsmen's rooms, and other establishments. But it was only in 1747 that a charter was given to the academy, it being divided into two institutions: the academy proper, and the university. The former was constituted of 10 academicians, 10 honorary members, and 10 adjuncts, the last to be of necessity Russians.

In the beginning of each year, the academy proposed a problem in one or other branch of science, the best essays being by order of the president translated into Russian and printed at the expense of the academy. Thanks to the new arrangement of its affairs, the activity of the academy found expression in the 18<sup>th</sup> century not only in a number of remarkable works on mathematics and natural science, but in the collection and elaboration of the sources of Russian history. Thus, our academy soon occupied a distinguished position in Europe, and the wish of Peter I was realized, that «the academicians should acquire us confidence and respect, by proving indeed that we also have men working in the cause of science, and that it is time to cease regarding us as barbarians despising science». The university was separated from the academy, the president of the academy was ordered to select for it 30 students duly prepared; while for the training of such students in future the gymnasium attached to the academy was preserved as before.

It was not long that the academical university and gymnasium remained the sole institutions of the kind in Russia. Already in 1755, Shovalof, in his report to the Senate, affirmed that «the vast Russian Empire cannot be satisfied with this single learned body (the academy), that the cadet corps, for the landforces founded as early as the reign of Anna Ioannovna, and the naval corps reformed in 1752 from the navigation school of Peter the Great, do not satisfy the demands of education, and that it is, therefore, necessary to found

in Moscow a university after the European model, and, attached to it, two gymnasiums, one for the nobility, the other for the commoners, exclusive of the serfs. The latter exception is very remarkable; it was supported by the argument that «the sciences do not suffer compulsion and are reckoned among the most noble of human institutions». In the gymnasium the nobles are separated from the commoners, but the university course is attended by both in common «in order to stimulate the more to industrious application». This ennobling importance attributed to knowledge has been placed, as is well known, at the foundation of the whole of our contemporary political system: learning levels the noble and the commoner, affording the latter all the means necessary to distinction in his political career. This is the reason why till the present day each degree or diploma is with us connected with the right to a certain rank in the hierarchy of service.

And thus, in 1755, was opened in Moscow the first university in the present sense of this word, consisting of three faculties: jurisprudence, medicine, and philosophy. Of course this university was far from attaining the level of the universities of to-day; from the lack of professors only ten chairs were appointed for all three faculties. The teaching was placed under the complete superintendence of the two curators of the university; the professors were not allowed to conduct their courses at their choice, but were obliged to submit themselves to the system of teaching which was prescribed by the council of professors or the curators. Students were

elected from those who had completed the course of the university gymnasiums, and of that at Kazan, also founded at the expense of the Moscow university in 1758. Two years afterwards J. J. Shoovalof, who had become curator of the university he had created, presented to the Senate a petition upon the necessity of founding gymnasiums in all the great towns, as preparatory schools for the cadet corps, academy, and university; while in all the small towns schools should be founded, in which the Russian language, arithmetic, and other elementary subjects should be taught, and which should supply students to the gymnasiums». This scheme was fully approved by the Senate, but was never carried out.

And yet, during the reign of Elizabeth very much was done, and the question raised by Peter the Great as to a system of institutions with a course of general education was again brought forward.

**3. The Age of Catherine II.** The attempt to solve this question characterizes the age of Catherine, so distinguished by the flourishing state of literature and culture, by the number of prominent representatives of science and art, by which the throne of the Great Empress was surrounded. From the very beginning of her reign and to her death, Catherine II regarded as her most important duty the universal organization of normal public schools.

In 1763—1767 was issued the General Plan of the Moscow Foundling Hospital, in which the Empress' own ideas were expressed through the pen of Betsky.

«The main intention, as far as education is concerned», says the General Plan, «requires the production of pupils, healthy, strong, and capable of serving their country by art and industry, and that their minds and hearts should be so trained that they may be not only useful to themselves, but also good Christians and loyal subjects. It is necessary to strive to produce such an education that the useful examples of the teachers may edify the reason and hearts of the pupils».

In quoting the opinions on education of various writers of antiquity and of recent times, Catherine II shows particular esteem for the views of Locke, and of the founder of modern educational science, Komensky, who resolutely rejected pedantry, artificial systems, and the forcing of the child's personality, while pointing to the forming of the character as one of the principal tasks of education. *Mens sana in corpore sano*, was his fundamental principle.

With Locke, Catherine II said, «if you wish children to learn virtue, you must first make their teachers and trainers virtuous, and examples worthy to be followed». The Empress added, «the instructors must be Russians, for it is impossible for foreigners to give the pupils an example in everything, to be with them in church and in all places where the rules of religion are observed».

In 1767 was published the direction of the Commission for the drawing up of a new statute, written almost in its entirety by the Empress' own hand, where art. 245 reads: «Do you wish to prevent a crime? act so that education ~~way~~ be spread among the people»;

and in a letter to the celebrated Grimm of the 7 September, 1780, Catherine II adds: «No one will ever make me afraid of an educated people».

From the directions given to the deputies of the above mentioned Commission, it appears that the need for education then began already to find expression among all classes of the Russian people.

Thus, the measures taken by the Empress with a view to national education found a soil incomparably better prepared than their predecessors.

Eight years more had not passed before the Empress proceeded to practical measures of more or less extensive import. We do not here speak of girls' institutes; these will be treated later on in the section upon the Institutions of the Empress Mary. These eight years passed in the investigation of the subject, which the Empress did not allow to be discontinued even afterwards: she carried on a correspondence upon the organization of schools with many of the most celebrated thinkers and educationalists of Western Europe, such as Grimm, Diderot, Baron Dalberg, and others.

The Empress entered into the most minute particulars, collected articles on schools, even composed an alphabet with moral sentences for her grandson, the future Emperor Alexander I. An extract was made from this alphabet for the public, of which 20,000 copies were sold in a fortnight. «C'est cet ABC qui va devenir l'accoucheur de toutes nos cervelles futures», wrote the Empress. When founding the School Commission, the Empress ordered its President and one of its members

to write a textbook for teachers; she was, however, dissatisfied with the projects presented for her approval and seizing a pen, in half an hour, in the presence of the blushing President, herself wrote the textbook required. Evidently this was not a singular case, and the Empress, while taking part in the labours of the commission, probably examined all the other school-books also.

Finally, in 1775 ensued the publication of the statute for the administration of the governments. In each government were opened, under the presidency of the governor, Boards of Public Guardians for the control of the educational and charitable institutions. An order was given to open national schools in all towns and populous settlements with free teaching for the poor in reading, writing, drawing, arithmetic and, for orthodox, divinity. The teachers were forbidden to use corporal punishments; special attention was ordered to be given to the cleanliness and ventilation of the school premises.

Unfortunately the Boards met with an obstacle in the lack of means, and afterwards in the absence of teachers. The first schools were founded in 1779 in Petrozavodsk and Olonets; the Petersburg Board opened six parish schools, but here the matter ended. There was no general guidance until the foundation in 1782 of the Commission for the Opening of National Schools, to which was entrusted the drawing up a draft statute, the organization of schools throughout the Empire, the composition of textbooks and the training of efficient

teachers. In 1783 was opened at last in Petersburg a teachers' seminary under the name of the Chief National School. From that time in the course of three years there were 19 schools in the government of Petersburg alone, with 41 teachers and 2,355 pupils, besides which there were 30 foreign schools. In 1786 the Commission' already disposed of such a number of teachers that it was able to open main four-class national schools in 25 government towns. It was resolved to open in the district towns at their expense small schools, the teachers for which were to be trained in the main schools. The educational arrangements of the national schools were so good, that the Synod soon sent directions throughout the dioceses for the introduction into all theological schools of the plan of teaching adopted in the national schools, and the archbishop of Mogilef George Konissky, in a speech delivered on the occasion of the opening of the national schools, while condemning the old system of seminary instruction, praised the system of teaching adopted in the schools founded by Catherine.

Thus, Catherine II laid down a firm foundation for the further development of national schools.

In the region of higher education, the measures she took were a continuation of those taken before. The Academy in 1766 was finally made a purely learned institution without gymnasium or university. Having taken it under her own immediate care, the Empress helped to widen its scope by the despatch of scientific expeditions for the investigation of the con-



ditions of life in different parts of Russia. The activity of the Moscow university continued to develop, especially after the return from abroad of its pupils, who then occupied the professorial chairs. In connexion with the university was opened the Society of Amateurs, with the object of developing the language and of studying national history. In Petersburg, meantime, was founded, after the model of that in Paris, the Russian academy, with the view of purifying and enriching the Russian language, subsequently, in 1840, united to the Academy of Science.

The Empress Catherine proposed to open a whole series of gymnasiums and universities — in Yekaterinoslaf, Pskof, Chernigof and Penza. But these projects were never realized and Vilna alone entered among the number of the Russian universities, on the occasion of the annexation of the western governments; while under Paul I, in 1799, was founded the university of Dorpat, now called Yurief.

#### **4. General character of instruction in the XVIII century.**

If we review all that has been said on the course of development of education in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it is impossible not to note the considerable success which was attained in that period. Not to mention that Russia entered into lively intercourse with the West, borrowing from it much useful knowledge; in respect to educational matters, in particular, a great step forward was made by the adoption of more perfect methods of teaching, by the introduction into its courses of such subjects as, being almost unknown to the former schools,

made it possible to give a more varied character to the national development. Universities and academies were at last created, which abandoned the methods of scholasticism and applied themselves to true scientific investigation. But no system of educational institutions is yet to be seen at that time, although projects for the establishment of such a system began under Peter the Great. There existed, of course, higher, middle, and lower educational institutions, but the connexion between them was still very superficial. Neither had there been fixed, for it was as yet impossible, an exact delimitation between the educational establishments with a general educational course, and those with a special object.

We here refer to theological schools and military corps. Undoubtedly even now they bear to a considerable degree a general educational character, as the corps and theological schools and seminaries are alike entered by children at such an age that a general training is still required. But in the 18<sup>th</sup> century there was a peculiarity attaching to them, in that the corps and seminaries were essentially almost the only intermediate educational institutions, while gymnasiums hardly existed, the main (four-class) national schools, founded by Catherine II, being scarcely worthy to be reckoned as equivalent to intermediate educational institutions, although it was from them that the gymnasiums were subsequently developed.

The theological seminaries which arose in 1724 maintained for a long time their scholastic and classical tinge. It was only at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as

we have seen, that the question was raised of applying to them the humanistic principles of education. On the contrary, the corps bore rather the character of professional institutions: here the children of the gentry were taught, besides certain sciences and arts of a military nature, arithmetic, geometry, and drawing, «but as not every man's nature is inclined to military exercises alone, so in the State there is not less need of political and civil training, — therefore are there to be teachers of foreign languages, history, geography, jurisprudence and other useful sciences, so that having ascertained the natural inclination of the pupils, their training may be determined accordingly». These words of the ukas of 1731 for the foundation of corps clearly express their importance for general education. How thorough was the instruction received in the corps, appears from the fact that the professors of the Academy of Science, on examining several cadets, found them very well versed in jurisprudence, arithmetic, geometry, etc., and perfectly well acquainted with the German and even with the French and Latin languages.

If, further, the higher military schools — the engineering and artillery schools — were really special or professional institutions, the same cannot be said of the theological academy. The latter was essentially the old Slavo-Greco-Latin academy, which had yielded place to the university but had preserved all its former character, with this difference only that, already in the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, an end had been put to Greek influence and the whole of the teaching after

the example of the Kief academy and under the influence of its former pupils had received a Latin tinge.

To the theological academy all were admitted: nobility, commonalty, and even foreigners. Having received certificates as to education and conduct, the pupils obtained various posts in the ecclesiastical, educational and civil service, and this procedure continued not only in the 18<sup>th</sup> but in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, although with the increase of universities, the theological academies obtained more and more the character of professional educational institutions.

As far as concerns, finally, the elementary schools, no general information is at our disposal as to their number for this period; it is, however, beyond doubt that the former church schools were most likely to have attained a wide development. It may even be said that in the settlements outside the towns there could not then be other schools except the ancient church schools, because the elementary schools of Catherine II were opened principally in the towns, being, indeed, rather of the nature of model schools.

The 18<sup>th</sup> century left behind it the soil upon which was created our contemporary educational organization. Its elements are to be met with not only under Catherine II but even still earlier, before Peter the Great.

**VI. The XIX Century. 1. The Higher Educational Institutions.** Passing to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, we consider it necessary to remark that, after having elaborated in the preceding period the conceptions of higher, middle or intermediate, and elementary educational institutions, it

will be more convenient in what follows to subdivide the exposition of the subject according to the categories of these institutions.

A word must, however, first be said on the organization of the administration itself of the educational institutions. We have seen that under Catherine II for the administration of the schools was established in 1782 the Commission of National Schools, upon which was imposed in the main the elaboration of the plan of national education in Russia. Under the Emperor Alexander I, in 1802, this Commission was transformed into the Ministry of National Education, attached to which was the Chief Directorate of Schools, among whose members was distributed the management of the educational districts; they, accordingly, received the title of curators of these districts. But the real basis of the organization of this management was the educational institutions themselves. The Chief Directorate of Schools, whose members were the Emperor's intimates, Stroganof, Novosiltsof, Chartorysky and Pototsky, who invited the counsel of the most famous educationalists of the time,—based their action upon the general position that the universities must be placed in the closest connexion with the gymnasiums and national schools, by preparing for them a staff of teachers and publishing the necessary textbooks—an idea by no means novel, as may be judged from all that has been said above.

In consequence of this, according to the statute of 1804, the universities were made to be not only teaching bodies but administrative organs, to them were entrusted

the gymnasiums and the lower schools of the university district, which at the same time became the educational district. The scheme of administration was as follows: to the universities were subjected the governmental gymnasiums with governmental directors of schools and educational councils, to whom in turn were subjected the inspectors of the district schools.

The educational institutions were to form a scale proceeding from the parish school as a preparation for that of the district, thence to the gymnasium, and from the gymnasium to the university. At the same time, each of these institutions was to give a complete education to those who did not wish to proceed further. In what follows, we shall see how far the realization of this plan was successful. As far as concerns the universities themselves, the control of other educational institutions necessarily embarrassed their action in many respects, by diverting the attention of the professors from their scientific work; and this was the reason why in the next reign, in the year 1835, the universities were relieved of this burdensome duty, and became exclusively teaching bodies.

We will not dwell upon the details of the university statutes, promulgated before the last statute of 1884 (in 1804, 1835, and 1863). We will merely say that the essence of the charges consisted in granting the universities a greater or less autonomy in respect of the teaching and of their internal management, in dependence upon the tendencies which prevailed at one time or another.

According to the statute of 1804, the universities not only were independent in the management of their own affairs, elected rectors and deans, sanctioned the programmes of instruction, supervised the students and tried them and the servants of the university even in civil actions, but, as we have seen, shared with the curators the administrative powers over the other schools. This state of things did not, however, depend upon the strength of the statute. When, at the end of the reign of Alexander I, there prevailed a tendency to mysticism, which, preparing some new religion, directed a fierce attack against literature and education, the statute of 1804 did not protect the universities from interference in their affairs on the part of the curators Magnitsky, Runitch, and others, which found expression in the removal of professors and in the abolition of freedom of teaching.

When the mystic movement had finally lost credit, it was necessary to begin every thing afresh. The new statute of 1835 in this respect was a new creation; the resources of the universities were considerably increased, the faculties, thanks to the preliminary training of the new professors who had been sent abroad to complete their studies, were put upon a far wider basis, especially that of jurisprudence. The autonomy of the universities was indeed at the same time limited, and the power of the curator who supervised the students through the inspection under his control was increased, but all this did not retard the course of things until at the end of the «forties» under the impression of events in Western

Europe measures were taken even to restrict the access to the universities, by fixing a small establishment of not more than 300 to each university and by the prohibition of the attendance of lectures by outsiders.

The statute of 1863 appears as a reaction to these restrictions; the autonomy, consisting in the election of professors and rector and in the freedom of teaching, was reestablished, the normal establishment of students was abolished and outsiders were again admitted to the courses. At the same time, however, something quite new was created: the independence of the students themselves of the university. Outside its walls, they were simple citizens, subject to the general police, although there existed a university court for student offenses. Formerly, according to the statute of 1804, it was otherwise, e. g. the State students even lived in the university, they were placed under assistant inspectors chosen from candidates and masters, who had also their lodging there, dined with the students and helped them in their studies, like the English fellows of colleges.

It is impossible not to allow the benefit of such an institution: the youths who have left the gymnasium are still far from being prepared for independent work and they pass at once from a comparatively strict school discipline to complete freedom, without any near guidance in their studies, with the obligation of passing their examinations at the end of the year, while remaining for the rest of their time free to do what they like.

Certain disorders in university life, upon which it is not possible here to enlarge, finally resulted in



the issue of the statute of 1884, which is in force even now.

According to this statute, the universities, being under the special protection of the Sovereign, are subject to the control of the Ministry of National Education and are under the authority of the curators of the educational districts. Each university has four faculties: historico-philological, physico-mathematical, jurisprudential, and medical. Exceptions are presented by: the university of St. Petersburg where, instead of a medical faculty, replaced by a special Military Medical Academy, there is a faculty of oriental languages; that of Novorossisk in Odessa, without a medical faculty; Tomsk with a medical faculty only; and Yurief (until 1892 — Dorpat) consisting of four general faculties and one of Lutheran theology.

The immediate direction of the university belongs to the rector, appointed for four years by the Sovereign from among the ordinary professors, on the selection of the Minister of National Education. At the head of the faculties are the deans, elected by the curator and confirmed by the ministry also for a period of four years. The professors, ordinary and extraordinary, the minister either appoints himself, or allows the university to elect, in which case they are presented to the minister for confirmation. Professors may be only persons with the degree of doctor; privat-docents may be masters and in general persons who have acquired a reputation by their scientific work, and are admitted to deliver lectures on applying themselves and receiving the

consent of the faculty and the authorization of the curator. Finally, for the superintendence of the students a special inspection is instituted consisting of an inspector and his assistants under the authority of the curator and the rector.

From all the persons enumerated are formed in the university collegiate institutions in regard to teaching: 1) a council of the rector and all the professors, and 2) meetings of faculties, composed of the dean and professors of the faculty. For the management of economical matters, and to decide questions affecting the students there is a board constituted of the rector, dean and inspector.

Freedom of teaching, though not unlimited, is sufficiently great. Of course the faculty looks to the fulness, consistency and regularity of the teaching and of the scientific exercises of the students, and draws up one or several plans of study; but, within these limits, the delivery of lectures, the methods of exposition of science, the means of making it known to the students—depend wholly upon the teachers. A docent may be prohibited from delivering lectures only in case of teaching not worthy of the subject, or having a harmful tendency. Students in choosing their subjects are obliged to take for their guidance one of the plans sanctioned by the faculty; with the permission of the faculty, however, they may depart from it; every one is allowed to attend lectures in the other faculties also. Finally, if the subject is taught by several professors, the choice among them is also left to the student him-

self; but the passage from one university to another requires the consent of the authorities of the latter.

As far as concerns university tests, according to the statute of 1884, the centre of gravity lies in the State examinations. Moreover, if we turn to former times, it appears that then too our final university examinations could hardly have been called purely scientific. Clearly, the difference in examinations depends in a considerable measure upon the rights which are acquired by them: purely scientific tests give a learned degree; State examinations—the right to public service, special privileges therein or the right to a certain kind of activity, for which the State demands definite attainments, e. g. the function of a physician, advocate, etc. But if degrees are bound up with the right to public service or special activity of such a kind protected by the State—the difference between a scientific and a State examination becomes less essential.

In our country, the demand for educated persons in the service of the State from the very foundation of the universities compelled the attribution to the university diploma of considerable service privileges. In consequence of this, the title of candidate, which was formerly acquired by those who completed a course of studies, lost by degrees the importance of a real degree. It is true, that the examinations were conducted by the professors themselves according to their programme, and the aim of the examinations consisted principally in testing scientific knowledge. But, now, according to the statute of 1884, with the abolition of the degree of

candidate and the title of actual student, and their replacement by diplomas of the first and second rank, the programmes of the examinations are issued by the Ministry of National Education, and the examinations themselves are carried out in Commissions appointed by the Ministry. But, looking at the matter from the point of view of the students, it appears that the majority of them, both before 1884 and now, approach the examination with a utilitarian aim.

To the State examination are admitted only those students to whom the faculties have reckoned the appointed number of semesters for the completion of the course. A half-year is counted, if the student, having attended the proper number of lectures, has passed the halfyearly test examination in the faculty itself and has taken part in the proper practical work. But the halfyearly examinations cannot be called a scientific test. This is, according to the meaning of the statutes, a purely educational means with the object of securing the profitable course of the students' studies. There then remain the examinations for the learned degrees of master and doctor; although these degrees give the right to a certain rank, yet the scientific element is here of more importance than that of the service or any other practical aim. Those who proceed to the learned degrees usually do so, after having completed their university studies and after several years of work with a purely scientific aim; further, the chief element in them is not so much the examination as the defence of a thesis—a scientific work, upon which as a rule the most exacting demands are made.

THE HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

In conclusion, we must farther add that, according to the statute of 1884, the university receives those who have completed the course of a classical gymnasium with the «certificate of maturity». Besides students persons having a definite social position or occupation, are admitted, as free attendants at lectures. Although without the buildings of the university, the students are subject to the control of the ordinary police, yet even there they are under the surveillance of the university inspection. The fees for students are 25 roubles per semester to the university, and one rouble per weekly lecture hour to the professor. Poor students receive stipends.

In Russia there are in all ten universities: Petersburg, Moscow, Kazan, Kharkof, Novorossisk in Odessa, St. Vladimir in Kief, Warsaw, Yurief, Tomsk, and the Alexander university in Helsingfors, the latter having rules of its own.

On the 1 January, 1894, the total attendance on lectures was 15,368, among whom 14,842 students and 526 outsiders or free attendants.

The students were distributed according to faculties as follows:

1. Theological (Yurief and Helsingfors)	341
2. Historico-Philological . . . . .	937
3. Physico-Mathematical . . . . .	3,048
4. Jurisprudence . . . . .	5,244
5. Medical (excepting <sup>†</sup> Petersburg and Novorossisk) . . . . .	5,187
6. Oriental languages in Petersburg . .	85

14,842

The figures quoted are very eloquent: they shew that 70 per cent of the youth of our universities belong to the faculties of the most professional character — those of jurisprudence and medicine, although in Petersburg and Odessa there is no medical faculty. In Germany the same faculties reckon only 60 per cent.

Besides universities, we have further a series of educational institutions with a curriculum corresponding to one of the faculties, comparable to the French «*facultés*». Such are the Demidof Law Lyceum, and the Imperial Alexander Lyceum. The latter has a course like that of the faculty of laws, and is a closed institution, united with an intermediate school, having for its direct object preparation for the public service; into it, as into the Imperial School of Law, are received the children of nobles or of the higher civil and military officials. To the philological faculty correspond the Historico-philological Institutes of St. Petersburg, and Nejin; to the faculty of oriental languages, the Lazaref Institute of Oriental languages, with gymnasium classes. We here merely refer to the Military Medical Academy, the Clinical Institute of the Grandduchess Helen Pavlovna, and the four veterinary institutes.

With respect to higher female education, without counting the Helsingfors university, which admits women students as well as men, there exists a whole series of higher female courses. These are: the St. Petersburg Courses, consisting of an historico-philological and physico-mathematical division (557 students); the Gherie

and Loobiansk Courses in Moscow; and several more in other towns. An entirely special position is occupied by the female medical courses, appearing in Russia before they did in any other European country (1872). They were temporarily closed, but will be opened in the near future.

**2. Middle educational institutions.** We have seen that in the 18<sup>th</sup> century the establishment of intermediate educational institutions resulted in the opening of a very few gymnasiums, corps, theological seminaries, and also so-called chief national schools in the governmental towns.

These gymnasiums were intended to serve a triple object: firstly, to be a preparatory school for the university; secondly, to supply a general and, to a certain extent, complete education, necessary for a gentleman; and, thirdly, to prepare candidates for the post of teacher in the district, parish, and other lower schools. Such a varied programme demanded the introduction into the course of a number of subjects, which encumbered it to the detriment of the successful completion of their studies by the pupils. To attain all this, there were four yearly classes with only 128 teaching hours per week, and eight teachers. But not only were there no good teachers, there were not even textbooks on many subjects before 1814.

The great number of subjects and the lack of teaching power soon showed that the gymnasiums could not simultaneously achieve all their objects, prepare for the university and for practical life. Therefore, according

to the statute of 1828, gymnasiums became in the main preparatory schools for the university. At the same time the number of teachers was increased to 12, the number of lessons per week to 240, the course—to seven years. The centre of gravity was placed in the study of the classical languages. The material condition of the gymnasiums was also considerably improved.

The time that has elapsed since 1828 may be called the period of the flourishing of our gymnasiums. The object proposed by the statute, preparation for the university course, was attained with sufficient success. But, at the end of the «forties», the symmetry of the programme was exposed to considerable fluctuations, under the influence of the tendency to return to the gymnasiums the character not of preparatory only but of finishing schools. The course was divided from the fourth class onwards into two sides: one was to prepare for the university, in it was left only the teaching of Latin and partly Greek (for those who wished) — the other trained for military and civil service, and accordingly included more extensive teaching in mathematics and the Russian language, with the addition of a course of law. Later, according to the educational plans of 1854, the Greek language was entirely excluded from the majority of gymnasiums and replaced by the teaching of natural science. Thus were formed three categories of gymnasium: in the first, were taught natural history and law; in the second, only law; in the third, instead of this, Latin and Greek. It is necessary, however, to observe that the teaching of these languages had



little in common with what existed before. Instead of the old classical authors and the study of ancient Greek and Roman life, were read the works of the fathers of the church.

Owing to this, however, the gymnasiums were alike unfit to prepare for either university or practical life. It would, however, be extremely unjust to condemn too strictly all these fluctuations. At bottom lay the idea upon whose realization European science is still labouring not with any great success, namely, that intermediate education cannot be exclusively preparatory to higher education, cannot be isolated from actual life.

Under this influence already in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, attempts began to be made in the West to create so-called real schools, with the object of enabling persons who were not seeking a university education, to receive such a general education as would be applicable to their practical or industrial career.

The elaboration, however, of a wellgrounded system for such real schools proved still more difficult in consequence of the extraordinary variety of man's practical activity.

The establishment of special real gymnasiums, without classics, begins in 1864. The real gymnasiums did not, however, prepare for the university, but only for the special higher schools. Thus, they were gymnasiums only in name. At the same time, the Ministry of National Education was allowed to choose where the classical gymnasium should be founded and where the real gymnasium, although they in no wise replaced each other

in the sense of giving the right to further education. On the other hand, the classical gymnasiums also were not quite satisfactorily organized: their curriculum was too extensive for seven years, while some subjects, as law, were perfectly superfluous as preparation for the university.

Thus, although the statute of 1864 returned to more regular ground, yet the system of teaching was nevertheless still far from being properly worked out; on the other hand, this statute brought with it an essential benefit to the spread of intermediate education by authorizing the foundation of gymnasiums not only on the initiative and at the expense of the Government, but on that of societies, classes and private persons. Further, following the example of Germany, authorization was given to establish progymnasiums consisting of the four lower classes.

With the appointment of Count D. A. Tolstoy as Minister of National Education, the separation of classical and real education received its final sanction in the statute of gymnasiums of 1871. Classical schools only are now called gymnasiums, they alone open the way to university education. The course of the gymnasiums was accordingly increased to eight years, their programme itself was considerably changed — the teaching of ancient languages was expanded, logic was introduced, one of the modern languages was made optional, while drawing was to be taught only to those who desired it.

Further, in practice the teaching of ancient languages acquired at the same time an almost purely grammatical

character: the chief object consisted in translations from Russian into Latin and Greek, in the mastering of the grammar and style of the ancient languages. The works of the authors obtained the character rather of models, than of independent subjects of study. The new system of teaching demanded both the training of teachers and teaching appliances, which we did not possess. The textbooks were at first translated from German, and teachers had to be invited from abroad. Therefore it was that, already in 1867, the Historico-Philological Institute was founded in Petersburg; in 1875, a similar Institute was opened in Nejin, and, still earlier, in 1873, a Russian Seminary was founded in Leipzig with German teachers and directors, which was only quite recently abolished. As a model of what a gymnasium should be, the initiators of the statute of 1871, Katkoff and Leontief, opened in Moscow, in 1869, the private Lyceum of the Tsesarevitch Nicholas, with the object of contributing to the establishment of a thorough education for Russian youth, and by means of a living example of encouraging the development in Russia of independent educational work, and of elaborating in practice its bases and methods.

The strictness with which the programme of the classical gymnasiums was drawn up, the difficulty for pupils of average capacity in mastering this programme, and the lack of intermediate educational institutions of other categories — all this combined led to the result that, although the entries were very numerous, those who completed the gymnasium course with the right

to university education were comparatively few; thus, for example, out of 11,301 who quitted the gymnasiums in 1891, 7,762 or about 70 per cent left before finishing. The need for any possible relaxation of the programme and of the strictness of the examinations without detriment to the preparation for the attendance at university lectures was pressingly felt. The honour of approximating the programme of our classical gymnasiums to their scientific ideal belongs undoubtedly to Count Delianof, the Minister of National Education, in conjunction with Kapoostin, the curator of the Petersburg educational district. In 1890 were confirmed the new rules and programmes for gymnasiums, in which the main aim in the study of the ancient languages is recognized to be the intelligent reading of the authors and the understanding in the broadest sense possible of the contents of their works. In the two senior classes, grammar is repeated only subsidiarily in reading the authors. The gaining of the certificate of maturity is made dependent upon written translations from the ancient languages into Russian, while translations in the opposite direction are regarded as having a merely didactic value. At the cost of the ten lessons taken from the ancient languages, increased attention is given to the teaching of the Russian language and of literature, history, and physics. Thus, in the number of lessons devoted to ancient languages (75 out of 225 weekly lessons), our gymnasiums now yield to the Prussian, where ancient languages obtain 117 out of 268 weekly hours, and to the Austrian, where the numbers are 78 and 194.

Owing to this, the programmes of the examinations and the courses of instruction of the historico-philological faculties, which have always served as the chief source for the teachers of ancient languages, were changed in accordance with the gymnasium programme: the ancient languages lost their exceptional position; in teaching them, the principal attention was devoted to reading the authors and not to written exercises in translation from Russian into the ancient languages. In consequence of this, began the increase in the attendance which in its turn is a sure guarantee that our classical gymnasiums will have a sufficient number of teachers.

Such is the position of classical education. As to what concerns the real gymnasiums, in 1872 they lost this title and were renamed real schools. Their object remained as before indefinite enough: on the one hand, they prepared for the higher professional schools; on the other, they were to give their pupils a more or less complete education, necessary for practical life.

The attainment of both these aims in one school, even a real school, demanded as was to be expected, the division of the highest classes, the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>, into fundamental and commercial. In the first prevailed the teaching of mathematics and drawing, in the second, foreign languages, and commercial correspondence and bookkeeping. But, in fact even this was too little: the sphere of practice is not limited by commerce alone. Therefore, permission was given, at the desire of the zemstvo or society maintaining the real school, to orga-

## MIDDLE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

nize a third or agronomic section and, attached to the fundamental division, a supplementary class divided again into three sections: a general section intended mainly for the preparation of the pupils for entering the higher special schools, then a mechanical, technical and chemical, and even a building, section. The opening, however, of all the sections or even of one of them was far from taking place in all the schools. Thus, essentially, out of the real schools there was developed a whole series of professional schools, with a somewhat indefinite character. Therefore, already in 1888, as we saw in the chapter on industry and trade, the Ministry of National Education passed to the establishment of real industrial schools and at the same time there began the gradual abolition of the mechanical and chemical sections of the real schools, so that the latter remained in the main educational institutions of a general character, having for their object preparation for the higher special schools. But even in this respect, the classical gymnasiums successfully compete with them, because the entry from both the real school and the gymnasium into the Mining, Technological, and other Institutes requires the passing of a special checking examination; the universities, on the other hand, do not accept anyone from the real school but do so from the classical gymnasium without examination.

Thanks to this state of things, we have far more classical gymnasiums and progymnasiums than real schools.

On the 1 January, 1894, there were in all 178 classical gymnasiums and 58 progymnasiums, while the

real schools were only 106; the pupils in the classical gymnasiums were 64,000, in the real schools only 25,000, or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times less. On the average, there were 310 pupils to one classical gymnasium, while the real school contained a third less.

Surveying all that has been said so far upon intermediate educational institutions, it is impossible not to come to the general conclusion that neither the classical nor the real school, preparing simultaneously for higher education and for practical life, have as yet been successful in practice. Contemporary life has become so specialized, that a general mathematical or philological development alone is not sufficient. There is need for the choice of a more limited specialization, i. e. it is necessary to establish special middle schools: industrial, commercial, trades, technical, military, theological, and so on. In them there will, of course, always be also the element of general education in the form of teaching some of the sciences having a general educational value; but to limit oneself to these sciences is hardly possible; — what is wanted is their application. This is done either in the same school, in such case the school itself becomes a special school; or, on the other hand, it is transferred to another higher school, and then the first school must remain merely a preparatory school without utilitarian aims which are outside its reach. The objection may, of course, be made: what will those do, who have passed this middle school with a general educational course, but for some reason are unable to go higher? This objection is absolutely

of weight in the case where among the middle educational institutions those with a general educational character predominate over the special, but it loses force with the increase of the latter, with the limiting of the preparatory schools by the actual demand for higher university and special education.

With the removal of utilitarian aims from the course of the general educational schools, whether classical or real, it will be possible to analyze what sciences most contribute to the development of the intelligence, and to the acquisition of the knowledge obtained in the higher schools; and, consequently, it will be possible to elaborate types of general educational schools, corresponding to the various capacities of individuals, for some have a greater capacity for mathematical and exact sciences and others for philology.

Russia, as we have seen in all the preceding sections, has already entered upon the path of founding special middle schools; and when their number shall increase to such an extent that it will no longer be necessary to apply to gymnasiums and real schools for practical knowledge, the time will come for the final elaboration of their programme in accordance with their real aim — to be schools affording a general education, preparatory to higher education.

With respect to female middle class educational establishments, besides the Institutes and the other schools of the Department of the Empress Mary, of which we shall speak presently, the number of female gymnasiums is 161, and that of progymnasiums and like institutions



— 178, with a total of 68,000 pupils. The seven years course (the 8<sup>th</sup> year — pedagogical) embraces the principal educational subjects, the classics excepted.

The clergy have their female educational establishments likewise, more than 60 in number, with upwards of 13,000 pupils in all.\*

**3. Lower and elementary schools.** We saw that the Chief Board of schools proposed in 1802 to establish a direct connexion between all the categories of educational institutions. The Board also concerned itself with lower schools; they were divided into two kinds: parish and district. Each parish, or two parishes, was to have one school; hence, on completing the course of teaching, the pupils might pass into the district schools, which were ordered to be opened in all the governmental and district towns. In their turn, the district schools prepared for the gymnasiums. In crown settlements, the care for the parish schools was imposed upon the priests; and in those situated upon the estates of private landowners, it was imposed upon the latter under the general supervision of the superintendent of district schools, subject to the authority of the governmental director of gymnasiums. But most important of all, there was a lack of good teachers for these schools of the time of Alexander I; there was no school answering the purpose for their training. Therefore it was that Alexander I directed especial attention to the education of the clergy,

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\* In Finland the number of middle class general educational establishments of different kinds amounted in 1892—3 to 114, with about 6,700 male and 4,000 female scholars.

## LOWER AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

as the instructors standing nearest to the people, and organized a complete system of theological educational institutions.

The following statute of elementary schools was promulgated in 1828. According to this statute, the parish schools are to exist mainly for peasants, townsmen and tradesmen of the lower class, while the district schools are principally intended for the merchant class, subaltern officers children and nobles. At any rate, in both material and educational respects, district and parish schools alike were on a much better footing than before, and their number began to increase. But in the society of that time, there was not yet a sufficient consciousness of the importance of the school for the people: the Government almost alone had to consider and provide for everything. It is very natural, under such circumstances, that the Government, with the comparatively limited means, at its disposal, began to think first of all about easily attainable and utilitarian objects. In 1830, accordingly, came the Imperial order for the opening in the settlements of the crown serfs of volost schools with the object of preparing capable volost and village clerks. Upon the foundation of the Ministry of State Domains, with the same object were selected three boys from each volost and sent to the nearest town school. Only in the «forties» did this Ministry proceed to establish schools in general for the people. Under the management of the Courts of State Domains, the teaching in these rural schools was entrusted to the local clergy, and their

maintenance imposed upon a special tax levied on the community. But on the estates of the landowners, for the whole mass of serf population, there were yet but very few schools.

It was thus the rural clergy that preserved literateness among the people, by teaching children not only in the schools, where such existed, but also at their own homes, and herein was their great service.

At last, came the Peasant Reform of 1861, marked, as might have been expected, by a decided step in advance in the work of national education.

Recognising that, for the successful carrying on of the work of national education, there is need of the combined activity of all the Government and social organs and institutions, the Government by the new enactment upon elementary national schools of 1864 attracted to the organization of the national schools all the public and private forces, while taking upon itself the duty of facilitating the means for the opening of schools; of encouraging private initiative in the sphere of national education; of harmonizing scattered efforts, and of directing them to the attainment of one common object.

For the management of the elementary schools were formed district and governmental school councils from the representatives of various departments of the clergy, of the Zemstvo, and of the towns.

Authorization to open a new school was given by the district council, and upon it was imposed the task of improving existing schools. The superintendence of the instruction was entrusted to special Government

directors and inspectors of national schools. Besides this, the institutions supplying the means for the support of the schools were empowered to elect curators for them.

Later by the Imperial rescript of the 25 December, 1873, the chief care for national education was imposed upon the first class in the empire, the nobility, which was called upon to guard the interests of the national school, in order by a vigilant supervision on the spot to assist the Government in protecting the school from corrupting and destructive influences. In the following year (1874) ensued the final organization of the management of national schools, when at the head of the governmental school councils were placed the governmental marshals of the nobility, and at the head of the district councils, the district marshals; and not only was the representation imposed upon them, but the immediate supervision of the schools, of the teachers, of the moral tendency of the teaching, etc., with the right of being in direct communication with the curator of the educational district and even with the Minister of National Education. On the other hand, upon the clergy, in the person of the bishops, was imposed the supreme supervision of the instruction in divinity and of the religious and moral tendency. The statutes upon national education of 1864 and 1874 had the most decisive influence upon the development of elementary education. All the Government and social organs vied with each other in furthering as far as their strength permitted this sacred work.

The Ministry of National Education directed its chief attention to the preparation of the teaching staff. With this object it proceeded to the foundation of teachers' seminaries and of training courses in connexion with various kinds of educational institutions, and also of model Government schools.

The Zemstvos, on their part, having proceeded to found schools, began to organize their teachers' seminaries and schools, training courses, and teachers' congresses. But, seeing that, nevertheless, even in these conditions, the contingent of specially prepared persons was very inconsiderable, the zemstvos began to use their efforts in order that, of the persons who had not received a special training, those who entered the national schools should be the most highly developed and cultivated elements. With this object, the zemstvos began to show solicitude for the improvement of the material condition of the teachers.

At the same time, the Zemstvos took heed also of the intellectual interests of the teachers, by organizing in connexion with the schools teachers' libraries, similar libraries for the whole district and even for the whole government, whence books were distributed to the teachers free by the Zemstvo post. The Zemstvos again raised the extremely important question of admitting women teachers to the national schools, who, as experience has shown, are even more suited to the elementary school than men teachers. They also introduced teachers' assistants, for the most part, taken from the cleverest boys who have finished the course in the same

school, who thus by practice acquired skill in the teaching art and might subsequently themselves become teachers. The amelioration of the teaching staff very naturally was reflected in the improvement of the methods of teaching.

The Zemstvos opened in connexion with the elementary schools the first trades' classes, introducing into the sphere of subjects of instruction handicrafts and other practical work. Further, attention was directed to the difficulties arising from the scattered nature of the population, and the zemstvos strove to create conditions under which education should be accessible to the mass of the population, by establishing for the pupils night shelters and lodgings attached to the schools, even introducing movable schools wandering from one centre of population to another. In response also to the needs of the adult illiterate, some of the zemstvos organized in connexion with the schools evening, or Sunday, teaching for this class, which also was destined to serve as a powerful means for the struggle with recidivism in illiterateness. The material side also of the school was considerably improved, such improvement, affecting school premises, their internal arrangements, stores of books and appliances, etc. With the teaching proper the zemstvos have no concern, although they keep an eye upon it through their representatives in the school councils; for the supervision, however, of the internal economy, they usually possess their own inspectors and managers.

In 1869, the zemstvos expended upon national edu-

cation a total of less than a million roubles or about 6 per cent of the whole of their budget. In 1893, however, the sum assigned already reached 7,657,000 roubles, or 14 per cent of the budget, while the expenditure on National Schools alone in 1891 was 5,334,000 roubles.

No less zeal was exhibited by the organs of municipal administration. The schools of Petersburg, for example, justly enjoy a high reputation, and the expenditure of the various city institutions upon elementary education amounted in 1891 to about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  millions of roubles.

There remain the church schools. We mentioned above that, until the «sixties», priests and other servants of the church were almost the sole teachers in the village schools. It is very natural, accordingly, that at the time of the reform especial attention was directed to them.

Unfortunately, there were at that time still many obstacles in the way of their further development. The chief and fundamental of these was the entire absence of resources of their own at the disposal of the clergy for placing the schools' organization upon the high level demanded by the requirements of the time. On the other hand the organization of the church school system was of an entirely indefinite character.

Owing to all this, in the beginning of the «eighties» there were not more than 4000 church schools. The situation was evidently abnormal: the cause of education was losing gradually the very class which is called to take part in the work by the very nature of its duties. This circumstance did not long fail to attract the most

zealous attention of the Government. Already in 1879, in the Committee of Ministers, due consideration was given to the question of affording the orthodox clergy a proper influence upon national education, and in 1882, the High Procuror of the Most Holy Synod, Pobedonostsef, was commissioned to draw up a plan for the enlargement of the sphere of activity of the clergy in the cause of national education. The result was the promulgation of the rules of the 13 June, 1884, now in force, regulating church parochial schools, which inaugurate a new period in the history of the participation of the clergy in national education. The rules issued in 1891 concerning elementary schools complete the organization created by the law of 1884. According to this law, the church schools are all placed under the immediate control of the Most Holy Synod and of the school council attached to it. For their management is established in every diocese a diocesan school council, attached to the bishop, with a consultative voice, while there are branches of this council in each district. The diocesan council consists of clerical and lay members appointed by the bishop. The branches contain as *ex officio* lay members, zemsky chiefs (natchalniks), and inspectors of national schools from the Ministry of National Education. For the more immediate superintendence of the schools, the bishop appoints priests as district and diocesan inspectors. Further, there may be lay honorary curators of the church parochial schools, chosen by the Most Holy Synod from among those who have distinguished themselves by their zeal for the spread of



national education in the spirit of the orthodox church. However, both they and the representatives of the institutions which support the schools by their contributions, may only visit the schools and receive the accounts of the expenditure of the donations, but may themselves make no dispositions, limiting themselves to the communication of their observations to the spiritual authorities. Far more decisive is the part allotted to the lay founders of small elementary schools, who in the capacity of curator and in conjunction with the priest have the immediate care of the teaching and internal economy of these schools. The sources of the means of support of the church schools, indicated by the law of 1884, are very various, including the local resources of the parish and assistance on the part of public institutions, private persons, the spiritual authorities and even the treasury. But the help afforded by the treasury has been very small, 55,500 roubles in the first two years, and 175,500 roubles, in those following. And, notwithstanding this, thanks only to the fact that the church schools were given a definite and, most important, an independent organization, their number began to rapidly increase, and from 3,500—4,000 in 1884 reached 27,264 in 1892—1893. During the decade that has elapsed since 1884, the clergy have built 9,200 schoolhouses, costing as much as 7,000,000 roubles, and 7,000,000 copies of textbooks have been published and distributed, at a reduced price and partly free. In spite of all this, however, the existence of church schools could not be regarded as placed beyond danger

from a material point of view. Every case of crop failure or epidemic demanding the direction of local resources to other and more urgent needs, accordingly threatened the very existence of church schools. An act of the greatest importance, therefore, it must be acknowledged, was the Imperial decree of 1895, in virtue of which 3,279,145 roubles are now annually paid out of the treasury towards the support of the church schools. In this way their resources have been more than doubled.

Turning to the present state of elementary schools, we must first observe that these schools form a series of successive steps. Upon the lowest step of all stands the elementary school, at present as we have seen under the management of the clergy. These elementary schools are the most ancient schools in Russia, created by the people itself at a time when as yet there were no government schools. We have more than once had occasion to refer to them in this section. The teacher in them was a supernumerary clerk, a country laysister, a retired soldier, or some literate person or other. And at the present time, there is no qualification to be teacher in an elementary school. But at any rate, it is the duty of the parish priest to find a trustworthy teacher and to look after his teaching, which greatly improves the work, the more that the spiritual department is opening a series of two-class church parochial schools (there are 200 at the present time), with the special object of preparing from among the peasants themselves trustworthy teachers for the elementary schools. The

programme in the elementary schools is of course of the most limited character: divinity, church singing, reading Church-Slavonic and Russian, writing, and reckoning.

The parochial schools and the national schools of the Ministry of National Education, (those of the zemstvos, the crown, towns, etc) form the second step; they are in their turn divided into two categories: one-class and two-class. Even for the teachers of these schools there is no definite qualification fixed. In the ministerial schools teachers may be, with the permission of the inspector, persons alike from the laity and the clergy, confirmed in their posts after a year's performance of its duties. In church parochial schools, the posts of teacher are principally although not exclusively filled by persons who have received education in theological educational institutions, and in the girls' schools of the spiritual department. But the teaching of divinity is the direct duty of the local priest or deacon; in exceptional cases only are others allowed to teach. In 1891, in the Ministerial schools there were 53,260 male and female teachers, who had passed the following educational establishments in this proportion:

1. Higher educational institutions . . .	321
2. Middle       »               » . . .	26,731
3. Lower       »               » . . .	10,110
4. Special training colleges for teachers.	14,273
5. Without any educational qualification	1,825
	53,260

In the church schools, according to the information

for 1892—3, there were 11,500 divinity teachers and about 26,000 other teachers. Among the latter, 10,511 were clergy, including 2,960 priests, 2,604 deacons and 4,947 psalmreaders. Among those not belonging to the clergy, were 1,920 who had completed the course of the theological seminaries; 1,643 who had passed out of the theological schools; and 1,737 from the diocesan girls' schools. The remaining 11,000 teachers were persons who had come out of teachers' seminaries, elementary national schools, girls' gymnasiums, etc, and partly persons educated at home.

For the special preparation of teachers for national schools, the Ministry of National Education has at its disposal 61 teachers' seminaries and schools, with courses extending over three or four years, in connexion with which as a rule are opened model elementary schools, where the pupils of the seminaries are practically exercised in the art of teaching. There are more than 4,500 pupils in these seminaries. Approximately 900 to 1,000 pass out annually with the diploma of elementary school teacher, a result which is of course still very modest. The spiritual department has 10 special church teachers-schools, and further prepares teachers in 54 theological seminaries. Besides the seminaries, summer teachers' courses are established and also congresses of teachers. These courses and congresses have in view the acquainting of the teachers with the newest and best methods of teaching. They are there, under the direction of specialists, made to give trial lessons, to draw up plans of teaching, etc.

The programme of the Ministerial and of church parochial schools is essentially almost the same. It contains divinity, the reading of Church-Slavonic and Russian print, writing, and the elements of arithmetic. The difference consists in this that the course of divinity in the church schools is somewhat more extensive compared with the other subjects, and church singing is compulsory. The programme of the two-class schools, with the same subjects, is of course wider, and there are more teachers in them. Besides the subjects enumerated, which have from the earliest times entered into the programme of our elementary schools, latterly the need has been continually more and more felt for imparting to the pupils of the elementary schools, if not special, professional knowledge, at any rate that necessary skill whose possession would not allow them to be taken unawares by the exigencies of practical life. It were, of course, desirable that the peasant on completing the course of the primary school should take away with him the knowledge adapted to his profession, whether agriculture or a trade. But, on the other hand, the universal combination of a special, even elementary, course with that having a general educational character, is not so easy: it requires the extension of the school, the increase of its means of support, special training of the teaching staff, etc. At the present time, for example, to the whole mass of lower educational institutions of the Ministry of National Education there are only 464 trades classes. Such a combination is difficult of attainment, as we have seen, also in the middle educational insti-

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tutions, where both means and teaching power are far greater. At the same time, however, there is no doubt that the elementary school, created for the whole population, should not divorce it from practical life, but should impart to it not only the intellectual but the physical development, destined thereafter to facilitate the acquisition of a trade. This is why, already since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the question of manual work as one of the fundamental elements in primary education has attracted the attention of the thinkers and educationalists of Western Europe. The object of manual work as a subject of instruction consists not in the imparting of skill in any particular trade, but in the development of the attention, of accuracy and of love for physical labour in general, in the training of the eye and of the hand for the most varied purposes. Although it thus appears that, in theory, manual work is a question of long standing, yet the first attempt to teach it took place only in 1866, in Finland, where the first law was passed making the teaching of manual work compulsory in primary schools and teachers' seminaries. The example of Finland found many imitators in Western Europe. Elsewhere in Russia, namely in Yurief, courses for the preparation of school teachers of manual work were opened in 1878. But this was a solitary case. Russia owes the placing of this question upon a wider basis to the late Minister of Finance, Vyshnegradsky, who in 1884 obtained the assignation of the necessary sums for teaching the new subject in the Petersburg Teachers' Institute, whose example was followed by many teachers' seminaries and institutes, and



LOWER AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

in 1895 there were already many such courses in various places. From the training colleges the teaching of manual work passed gradually also into the ordinary schools, both town and country, while courses of manual work also began to be organized for village teachers.

Turning from the school and its programme to the pupils, we must first of all notice that the attendance of the primary school in Russia is not compulsory, with the exception of the Baltic governments. And this is perfectly intelligible: considering the great distances and the lack of schools, compulsory education would be an intolerable burden alike for children and parents, and even for the Government, which would be compelled inevitably to have every where boarding houses attached to the schools.

According to the information published by the Ministry of National Education and by the Spiritual Department, in 1895 (for 1891 in regard to Ministerial schools and for 1892—3 for church schools), the primary schools of Russia, exclusive of Finland, were distributed as follows:

Ministerial . . . . .	27,101
Church parochial . . . . .	11,342
Elementary (Shkoly gramoty) . . . . .	15,922
	<hr/>
Total . . . . .	54,365

The scholars in them are represented as follows:

Boys . . . . .	2,086,000
Girls . . . . .	590,000
	<hr/>
	2,676,000

LOWER AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

To which must be added about 89,000 scholars in Finland. In Russia, however, the number of children of school age, that is from 7 to 11 years of age, can hardly be estimated at less than ten million. Three-quarters, therefore, of the children of this age attend no school; and it is to be noted that the percentage of girls attending school is particularly small. The last circumstance is specially important, as the prevailing influence in the education of the family is that of the mother.

We have already above touched upon the means of support of the primary schools; we will therefore now only adduce the statistical data. The expenditure upon the Ministerial schools amounted in 1891 to 16,222,000 roubles or, on an average, to 600 roubles per school. This sum was made up as follows:

Zemstvos . . . . .	33 per cent.
Rural communities . . . . .	26 »
Towns . . . . .	18 »
Treasury . . . . .	9 »
Donations . . . . .	7.5 »
Various sources . . . . .	6.5 »

The sums received for the support of the church schools in 1892—3 amounted to 3,564,000 roubles, contributed as follows:

Rural communities . . . . .	18 per cent.
Benefactors . . . . .	13 »
Parochial resources . . . . .	8 »
Zemstvos and towns . . . . .	7 »
Balance from former years . . . . .	28 »

## LOWER AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

The expenditure, however, did not exhaust the whole income, but only 2,500,000 roubles, or about 92 roubles per school, i. e. 6 to 7 times less than the cost of the Ministerials schools. This difference in the expense of maintenance is explained by the circumstances that, among church schools more than half are cheap schools of the elementary («gramatica») type, that the members of the clergy hardly received anything for their labours as teachers.

The figures quoted above upon the expenditure on primary education are a witness to the lively interest in the cause shown by all the local institutions—zemstvos, towns, and rural communities. It must further be added that the rural communities make large offerings, not in money only, but in kind, such as premises, fuel, lighting, etc. It is to be observed that we have no general school taxes imposed throughout the Empire (with the exception of the western borderlands), but local school dues are met with in separate localities.

The second category of lower educational institutions is composed of district and town schools, which may contain two, three or four classes, and on the petition of the founders, even six. The difference between them is perfectly insignificant and consists only in the time of their foundation. Town schools began to arise in 1872, and latterly district schools are being gradually transformed into them, so that the town schools now number 488, with 66,000 scholars, and the district schools 149, with 12,000 scholars. The subjects taught in the town schools are divinity, reading and writing, Russian

language, and Church-Slavonic reading with translation into Russian, arithmetic, practical geometry, geography, and history (principally Russian), facts from natural history and physics, planning and freehand drawing, singing, and gymnastics. Further, in connexion with these schools may be opened trades classes and even Sunday and evening classes for adults. We should explain that town and district schools are founded in towns, but there also are a great many one and two-class schools; in 1891, for example, there were of the latter 2,885, with 228,000 scholars (without reckoning church parochial schools) and consequently far more than in all the town and district schools put together. Thus, even for the town population, town and district schools in the strict sense of the words represent the highest stage of elementary education. There are therefore greater demands made upon their teachers; the teachers in the town schools must have completed a full course of study in the teachers' institutes or have passed a corresponding examination. We have as yet but few of these institutes, only ten in all, attached to each of which is a town school for practice; the pupils number only 620. It must, however, be observed that the teachers of town schools are prepared, besides this, in the town schools themselves, from among the best pupils.

As schools of a higher category, the district and town schools are maintained principally at the cost of the treasury. In consequence of this, the management of these schools belongs exclusively to the officials of the Ministry of National Education; but the Zemstvos

and towns, supplying the means for their support, may appoint honorary inspectors on their own account, who visit the schools at any time and sit in the school council with the right to vote. In the question of the spread of elementary education among the people, the district and town schools have of course no essential importance, there the principal part belongs to the primary school and its auxiliary, the soldiers' school, where, as we remarked in the first volume of this book, more than 200,000 men annually receive the elements of education. Next follow Sunday schools for adults, school and people's libraries, etc.

Courses for adults are usually organized in school premises on Sundays or even on weekdays after lessons. They are largely attended by persons of all ages from 18 to 50 inclusive. The courses for adults derive a great importance from the circumstance that the children of peasants very often leave school before completing the course. In the peasant household economy, a child twelve or thirteen years of age is already a real workman; hence it is that, for example in 1891, the number leaving and not completing the course in the primary schools were fully 20 per cent of the total number of pupils, while the full course was finished by scarcely 10 per cent. Courses for adults undoubtedly render it possible to make good this defect. Next come holiday discussions and popular readings; by their means is attained another most important aim of the school — the religious and moral education of the people, and its protection from the injurious action of the market and the factory. The

statistics show that, in 1874, illiterate recruits formed 79 per cent; while in 1887, they formed 74 per cent, and in 1893 — 64 per cent. Although, in this way the number of literates increased in this country in the course of 20 years by more than 70 per cent (from 21 to 36 per cent of the total number of recruits), nevertheless Russia is in this respect far behind the other large states of Europe, where the figures for illiterate recruits in 1888—91 were as follows:

	Percentage of illiterate recruits.
Germany . . . . .	0.6
France . . . . .	9.4
Austria . . . . .	30.8
Hungary . . . . .	36.0
Italy . . . . .	42.0

The greatest percentage of literate recruits is yielded by the Baltic governments of Esthonia and Livonia, and by Finland. Here the state of education approaches that of the western European States. Then follow the governments of the capitals and the industrial Great Russian governments. The smallest percentage of literates, on the contrary, appears in the governments of the kingdom of Poland, in Siberia, and in the southern governments, inhabited by Little Russians.

**4. Learned Institutions. Art Education.** In conclusion, we must enumerate the chief learned institutions serving to disseminate knowledge.

Here the first place belongs to the Academy of Science, of which we have already had occasion to speak, comprising three sections: physico-mathe-

mathematical science, Russian language and literature, and historical science and philology. The Academy disposes of a whole series of museums and of the Poolkovo observatory. It is presided over by the Grandduke Constantine Constantinovitch.

Like objects with the Academy are pursued in regard to separate branches of science by the learned societies in connexion with the universities or by those which have been founded independently. Such are the Imperial Historical Society, the Imperial Geographical Society, and others.

Further, among the scientific institutions must be mentioned the Statistical Council, the Central and governmental statistical committees, the Archaeographic Commission with the Archaeological Institute, congresses of men of science, and especially libraries. Among the latter, undoubtedly the first place is occupied by the Petersburg Imperial Public Library, with 1,000,000 to 1,300,000 volumes. Its manuscript department may be said to include the whole history of Russian, and in part, of Slavonic, civilization. In respect of accessibility to the public, our library occupies one of the foremost places in Europe. Among the other public libraries deserve mention those of the Rumiantsef Museum in Moscow (300,000 volumes), the Academy of Science, the Historical Museum, and the libraries of some of the universities, of the Spiritual Department, and lastly the governmental libraries.

As far as art education is concerned, the chief organ for its propagation in Russia is the Academy of Arts,

founded in 1757, and now under the presidency of the Grandduke Vladimir Alexandrovitch. It not only represents the highest school of painting, sculpture, and architecture, but, besides this, helps to maintain the existing art schools of Russia and to open new ones, organizes exhibitions, congresses, museums, etc. The same object is pursued by the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, in St. Petersburg. It is impossible to make a complete enumeration of the mass of special drawing schools and classes, as well as clubs and museums, among the latter of which the most prominent are the Imperial Hermitage in Petersburg, and the Tretiakoff Gallery in Moscow for Russian painting. Further, Petersburg will shortly see the opening of the Museum of Alexander III.

For the spread of musical education conservatoires have been founded in Petersburg, Moscow and Warsaw, to which must be added a number of schools of music.

The dramatic art is taught in the theatrical schools attached to the Imperial theatres in Petersburg and Moscow, and in a whole series of private dramatic classes.

We have still to say a few words upon the organization of the **Ministry of National Education**, established in 1802. It consists of the minister, his assistant, the Council of the minister, and one department. A special institution of the ministry is the Scientific Committee, which examines questions concerning the art of teaching. Attached to it are sections for the examination of books recommended for popular reading. In the same ministry is the Archaeographical Commission of which we have already spoken above.



The local administration of education is entrusted to the curators of the educational districts. There are twelve such districts, namely: Petersburg, Moscow, Khar-kof, Odessa, Kief, Vilno, Kazan, Orenburg, the Caucasus, Western Siberia, Riga and Warsaw, each containing several governments. In Toorkistan, Eastern Siberia, and the Amoor region are appointed Chief-Inspectors. The curator is assisted by a Council and District Inspectors, and in some districts he has an assistant. The higher and intermediate educational institutions are immediately subject to the curator. For the lower and private schools there exist in the governments Directors, and in the districts, Inspectors of National schools.

Of the other institutions controlling the schools we have had occasion to speak above.

### 3. Institutions of the Empress Mary.

National Education, especially female education is entrusted not exclusively to the Ministry of National Education, but also to a perfectly independent Department for the Institutions of the Empress Mary. It was formed under the following circumstances.

#### I. Historical sketch. 1. Reign of the Empress Catherine II.

During the reign of Peter the Great a change took place in the position of Russian women, which did away with their former seclusion and invested them with new duties towards society. In this way the question of female education was brought to the front. The first step in this direction was taken by the Empress Catherine II soon after her accession to the throne. Fully aware of the influence which educated women

exercise on social life and the development of the rising generation, the Empress was induced in 1764 to establish a society for the education of girls of good families with a section for the daughters of burghers. The regulations for these educational institutions, drawn up by the celebrated philanthropist Betsky, were based upon the Empress' idea of creating a new race of fathers and mothers, and they served as a model for the subsequent organization of other girl schools.

In order to guard the girls in these schools as much as possible from the effects of outside influence they were strictly isolated from their families during the whole period of instruction. Girls were received at the age of 5 to 6 years, and the system of education was divided into 4 classes, and extended over 12 years. Besides instruction in general subjects, they were taught Scripture; the Russian language and three foreign languages with their respective literatures; arithmetic, history, geography, the fine arts, needle work and even the bases of agriculture. No little pains were also taken to teach the young ladies the strictest rules of social decorum, and to develop their wit.

The interest which the Empress Catherine II took in education was combined with concern for the young in their earliest years. In 1763 at Moscow, and in 1770 in St. Petersburg, homes for foundlings were established, with lying-in hospitals for women, and schools for teaching midwifery. These Institutions were secured by generous donations out of the Empress's private purse, subsidies from the Government, and various privileges.

The idea of the Empress was to increase the middle classes by bringing up these infants and turning them into skilled workmen and artists, for which purpose various kinds of factories and workshops were attached to the homes in question. The children were taught to read and write; also Scripture and arithmetic. In some cases those who showed special gifts or aptitude for the fine arts or mechanics were sent to the Academy of Arts or to England to complete their education. Finally, the first Commercial school was opened by the Home for Foundlings at Moscow.

The management of these homes for foundlings with their auxiliary institutions, and also that of the Society for educating young ladies of good family was placed by the Empress under the control of a special Council invested with legislative and executive powers. The members of this council were Honorary Guardians and «persons of distinction, who fulfilled their duties gratuitously out of love for humanity».

## 2. The administration of the Empress Maria Feodorovna.

The Empress Catherine died before being able to complete the organization of these institutions. Her successor in this good work was the consort of the Emperor Paul I, the Empress Maria Feodorovna, who first of all took steps to put order into the domestic management of the society for educating young ladies, employing for that purpose her own so called *kassetny* means, and then proceeded to introduce reforms in the teaching departments by increasing the number of pupils, extending the limit of age for admission, and

curtailing the period occupied by the full course of studies.

Subsequently, beginning in 1797, a number of new girl schools were established, namely, the Mary (1797) and Catherine (1798) Institutes, in St. Petersburg; the Catherine Institute at Moscow (1802—3), together with a section for the daughters of burghers; the Moscow Alexandrofsky Institute, and the Paul Institute at Moscow, (1807). These few of our first institutes for girls were all established on the same principles after the model of the society for educating young ladies of good family. Only in 1817, with the establishment of the Kharkof Institute a considerable change took place in this respect. Although still retaining connexion with the general plan of education compiled by Betsky, the statutes of the new Institute differed notably by their extension of philanthropic principles. The council of the institute for instance, were instructed not only to find situations 'as governesses for the girls on leaving the Institute, and to investigate their disputes with the families in which they were to live, but also to look after the affairs of pupils after their departure from the Institute, and even to find them husbands. The character of these statutes, with some small modifications, was applied by the Empress to the organization of other female educational institutions subsequently established. We need only mention four schools for the children of soldiers, and a school for deaf and dumb, founded by the Empress in 1806 out of her own private means.

## INSTITUTIONS OF THE EMPRESS MARY.

Not less fruitful was the activity of the Empress Maria Feodorovna in the management of the Homes for Foundlings; and here the first care of the Empress was to provide these institutions with sufficient material means. At the same time the Empress caused the strictest attention to be paid to the nursing and treatment of the children, created a special department to look after those of the children who were given out to be nursed and brought up in villages, and also established a special village lazaretto for them; but considering these measures still inadequate, the Empress ordered a special village home for foundlings to be opened in 1803 in Gatchina for 700 children, which was transformed in 1834 into the Gatchina Institute for male orphans.

For the further welfare of the children, Latin, French, German, and music classes were opened in these foundling homes; also workshops for shoe makers, book binders, etc., printing offices, and a village colony for grown up foundlings not able to learn any trade.

As chief means of imparting technical instruction the Empress chose the Alexandrofsky Manufactory near St. Petersburg. The more capable boys were here made acquainted with mechanical work, while the girls worked at cotton spinning, weaving, stocking knitting, and the manufacture of playing cards.

These mills and factories constituted a small well ordered town with its churches, hospitals, schools, and infirmaries. In spite, however, of all the efforts of the Empress this establishment was a financial failure, and in 1860 its various works and factories were all closed

with the exception of the mill for manufacturing playing cards. We need only mention a number of other institutions under the patronage of the Empress, such as homes for widows and extensive hospitals and infirmaries.

With the increase of the number of these establishments, and the expansion of their activity the Empress became convinced of the necessity of changing the organization of the central management in conformity with the requirements of the time. The personal composition of the Council of Guardians underwent reorganization, and the members were called upon to look after separate establishments as well as take part in the work of general control. At the same time the Empress concentrating in herself all power of final decision, made the president of the Council her assistant and the council itself a consultative institution from which all matters had to be sent up for the Empress's confirmation.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> October, 1828, the Empress Maria Fedorovna was no more. According to the just appreciation of her contemporaries\* the apostleship of charity was never in worthier hands, and a grateful posterity will place the name of the Empress Maria in the first rank of those chosen ones of the earth, who, without actually holding the reins of government, have nevertheless had the most lasting and essentially useful influence on the fortunes of the State.

**3. The reign of the Emperor Nicholas I.** By Imperial ukas of the 26<sup>th</sup> October, 1828, all the institutions for-

\* Comte Oubarof. «A la mémoire de l'Impératrice Marie».

## INSTITUTIONS OF THE EMPRESS MARY.

merly under the direction of the late Empress, were named in perpetuation of Her Majesty's memory, the Institutions of the Empress Mary, and placed under the direct and special protection of their Imperial Majesties.

In conformity with the wishes of the late Empress, as expressed in Her last will and testament, and in order that the organization of control over Her Institutions after Her death should remain unchanged, the Emperor Nicholas Pavlovitch ordered all matters which would have been submitted to the late Empress to be laid before himself; but everything concerning moral and educational matters began in 1831 to be first brought to the notice of the Empress Alexandra Feodorovna. For the purpose of concentrating the business of these institutions a IV Section was formed in HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY'S Chancery. The chief concern of the Emperor, who always took great interest in the Institutions of the Empress Mary, was to increase their number in the provinces; and consequently, between the years 1829 and 1845 Institutes for girls of good families were opened in Odessa, Kazan, Kief, Bielostock, Tiflis, Warsaw, Astrakhan, Kertch, Nijni-Novgorod, Novotcherkask, Tamboff, Orenburg, Saratof, Poltava and Irkootsk. But the period of the «thirties» was an important one in the history of this department. The cholera epidemic at that time necessitated the establishment of a large number of special homes for orphans, which were subsequently, for the most part, transformed into orphan Institutes. Such were the Nicholas Orphan Institutes in Moscow and St. Petersburg, and the Alexandra Orphan

## INSTITUTIONS OF THE EMPRESS MARY.

House in Moscow, for children of officials, officers and of the clergy; and at the end of the reign in 1853 the authority of the Department of the Institutions of the Empress Mary was further extended over 175 more institutions, which had been under the patronage of the Empresses Elizaveta Alexievna (wife of the Emperor Alexander I) and Alexandra Feodorovna. Among these were institutes (the Patriotic and Elizabeth Institutes in St. Petersburg, and the Elizabeth Institutes in Moscow, Poltava and Tamboff), and also the schools of the Imperial Patriotic, and other societies. In the last year of the reign of the Emperor Nicholas I the Department had under its direction 236 institutions, in which 9,534 boys and girls were being brought up and educated, 37,609 were under medical care for sickness and disease, and 60,898 children were being nursed and taken care of; while the capital of the Department had reached the respectable figure of 70 million roubles.

Of the legislative measures especially important was the reorganization carried out in the internal arrangements of girl schools. The continual increase of these establishments and the need of uniformity in the progress of public education resulted in 1855 in the publication of general statutes for institutions of female education under the Department of the Empress Mary. These new statutes united all regulations previously in force for separate institutions, which had been issued at various times under the influence of different views on female education. Special attention was



given to the supervision of educational plans and regulations of physical development by specialists, while the rules concerning moral training were applied in furtherance of the aim indicated by the Emperor Nicholas Pavlovitch; namely, to prepare girls for a strict and conscientious fulfilment of the duties awaiting them; so that in due time they might become good wives and useful mothers of families. These statutes, with few modifications, are to a great extent in force at the present day.

**4. The reign of the Emperor Alexander II.** The reign of the Emperor Alexander II like that of his predecessor, was also one of progress in the activity of the Department. The number of nursing, educational, and benevolent, institutions amounted to 459; the number of children under education 20,000, under treatment in hospitals about 62,000, with more than 80,000 children under the care of foundling hospitals and asylums. Among the separate institutions established during these years mention must be made of the children's hospital of Prince Oldenburg, which recently celebrated its 25 years existence, and which is a model institution of its kind, where all the latest improvements in hygiene medicine, and science are put into practice.

But most of the newly opened institutions were of quite a new type, namely gymnasium day schools for girls. Down to that time female education in Russia was strictly based upon the principle of separating the scholars from their families and society. The application of this system of education during nearly a century, howe-

ver (1764—1857), proved it to be defective in many important respects, and led to the necessity of doing away with the extraordinary seclusion of the Institutes by permitting the girls to visit their homes once or twice a week, and in some Institutes even day scholars were admitted, while on the other hand schools had to be established in which girls of all classes could receive education for moderate payment without being separated altogether from their families. The first school of this kind was opened in St. Petersburg on the 19<sup>th</sup> April, 1858; applications soon began to come in from all parts for permission to open these gymnasiums for girls. The demand was so great that the Department of Institutions of the Empress Mary was only able to take under its care those gymnasiums which could support themselves, the rest being placed under the control of the Ministry of National Education. General improvement in the treatment of the children which was called for by the medical report of 1859, was effected in all the institutions of the Department; and in particular a system of supervision was established over children taken from the foundling hospitals to be brought up in peasant families. This consisted of appointing guardians among the wives of local land owners, who also looked after the village schools established for the benefit of these foundlings. Besides village schools, the Department also opened seminaries and schools for preparing teachers, nurses, female medical assistants and female teachers.

**5. The reign of the Emperor Alexander III; administration of the Empress Maria Feodorovna.** In 1881 the

## INSTITUTIONS OF THE EMPRESS MARY.

Department of the Institutions of the Empress Mary came under the protection of the Empress Maria Feodorovna.

At the beginning of the «eighties» middle class education for girls was sufficiently well supported by the female institutes and gymnasiums; but general elementary education for the mass of Russian women was then quite unorganized. The absence of girl schools with a full elementary course of instruction between the lower schools and the middle class establishments was the principal cause that induced so many parents of the lower orders of the town population to send their daughters to gymnasiums although the studies in those establishments were far too severe for the majority of such girls, both as regards their family position, and want of preparation, being far too advanced, protracted, and expensive. Only a very few, therefore, complete the full course of studies. In order to supply this important want a project was formed in 1882 at the instigation of the Empress for the establishment of a special type of school for girls of all ranks who needed proper elementary education with the view either of helping in the work of their parents on leaving school, entering professional schools, or learning some craft or trade. The first school of this type, called Mary-schools, was opened in St. Petersburg, in November 1882, and was at once filled with pupils; while applications for admission continued to be so numerous that in the following year it was thought advisable to establish a second school of this kind in St. Petersburg, and in 1884 one at Vyshny Volotchok.

The spread of professional female education in Russia also engaged the attention of the August Patroness of the Department. For this purpose it was deemed advisable to reorganize the school of the Demidof house in St. Petersburg into an educational establishment on the plan of the Honorary Guardian Count Bobrinsky, with a very complete course of needlework, various trades, and book-keeping. (At the Chicago Exhibition a first prize was awarded to this school for its superior needlework). At the same time attention was turned towards helping the girls to make a start in life as soon as they left school. To this end special pedagogical classes were added to all the Institutes of St. Petersburg according to the ideas of the Empress, in order to prepare the girls of these Institutes in the capital and the provinces for the work of governesses and teachers.

The care of orphans, as we have seen, was one of the principal objects of concern in the two preceding reigns. But there are a number of children bereft of either father or mother, and who have a claim upon the Department by reason of the services of their parents. These half orphans, however, could not be taken into the orphan institutes, because all vacancies were filled by complete orphans deprived of both parents. It was therefore considered necessary to establish a special institution for these half orphans on the plan of the Nicholas Orphan Institute, (which however is only for girls destitute of both parents), but for some time the Department was unable to provide the necessary means. In this difficulty the late Emperor Alexander III came forward and gene-

## INSTITUTIONS OF THE EMPRESS MARY.

rously gave 100,000 roubles, and 152,000 roubles more annually, for the establishment of such an institute in honour of the marriage of His daughter the Grand Duchess Xenia Alexandrovna. This Institute was located in the former Nicholas palace and opened for 350 half orphans, daughters of officers in the military and civil service.

The internal arrangements of these institutes, especially the food and health of the inmates, were also the object of unremitting attention. Credit was increased for the purchase of provisions, and additional sums were allotted for the nourishment of girls of feeble health who thus received milk, wine, and better fare.

For the purpose of physical development, it was considered necessary to introduce into all the Institutes a course of medical gymnastics, based on the latest scientific principles, and to increase the hours of recreation for walking in the open air.

Having noticed the failure of attempts to cure chronic ailments by ordinary medical treatment, it was also considered necessary to establish a summer colony as a sanatorium for these female institutes of the Department.

The first of these was established in 1885 at Lipetsk in the government of Tamboff, a place well known for its ferruginous springs and salubrious climate. In the following year another sanatory station was established at Hapsal on the Esthonian coast, where the girls could benefit by sea bathing and mud baths; and recently 20 vacancies for weak chested girls have been gratuitously placed at the disposal of the Department in the Imperial Sanatorium of Halila in Finland.

The work of the Department has been equally beneficial during the last 14 years in establishing and developing public charity in Russia. In 1883 to the department of the Institutions of the Empress Mary was added the Guardianship of the Empress Maria Alexandrovna over the blind, which had been started in 1881 by State Secretary Grote, and which is intended for the blind throughout the Empire, without distinction of age, calling, religion, or nationality. Its chief aim is to establish, develop and maintain institutions for bringing up and educating blind children and for teaching blind adults some kind of productive labour.

All the schools of the Guardianship have elementary courses of study, but the main object is to teach the children suitable trades, so that they may be able to earn a crust of bread for themselves on leaving the institutions. The means of the Society is drawn chiefly from voluntary contributions. With the blessing of the Holy Synod collections are made in all churches of the Empire during the services in the so-called week of the blind, and these amount each time to about 85,000 roubles. Besides this, in June, 1888, the Emperor Alexander III gave the Guardianship a million roubles which had been allotted for benevolent purposes by the late Emperor, Alexander II, in perpetuation of His August Consort the Empress.

In 1891 new regulations were established for the admission of children into the Imperial Foundling Hospitals of St. Petersburg and Moscow. This had to be done on account of overcrowding and considerable mor-

tality among the children in consequence. The right of free admission also was continually abused. Instead of illegitimates, large numbers of other children were taken in. The new rules limited the right of admission exclusively to deserted children and the entry of children of lawful marriages was thus made as difficult as possible. The favourable results of these rules became immediately apparent. The rate of mortality declined, and the number of infants brought to the establishments greatly diminished. At the Foundling Hospital in Moscow the decrease was  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the former numbers.—Therefore the essential aim of these Foundling Hospitals in preserving the lives of children of unfortunate birth, has been in a great measure attained. At the same time, however, the complete exclusion of legitimate children was liable to have very serious consequences for the latter, especially in cases of extreme poverty; and therefore a benevolent Society was started in Moscow at the end of 1891 on the initiative of the Grand Duchess Elizaveta Feodorovna, wife of the Imperial Governor General of Moscow, for the purpose of nursing and bringing up the legitimate children of poverty stricken parents. On the 17<sup>th</sup> January, 1892, this Society was named after the grand Duchess Elizabeth. As far as its means will permit, this Society establishes asylums for taking care of infants, or gives the latter out to nurse in other benevolent institutions, or with private persons.

**II. Present state of the Institutions.** At present all the institutions of the Empress Mary may be divided into

two groups: to the one belong educational establishments, to the other, benevolent institutions.

The first group is composed principally of female educational establishments. These are:

a) 30 Institutes, (10 in St. Petersburg, 4 in Moscow, and 16 in the provinces), consisting of a seven years' course and additional pedagogical classes. The programme corresponds with that of the gymnasiums. In the current year of 1896 the number of pupils amounted to 7,897.

b) 30 Gymnasiums, (10 in St. Petersburg and its suburbs, 5 in Moscow and 15 in the provinces) with a total of 11,400 pupils. Attached to the St. Petersburg gymnasiums are the Female Pedagogical Courses, under the august patronage of H. I. H. the Grandduke Constantine Constantinovitch.

c) 3 Mary schools, (2 in St. Petersburg and 1 in Vyshny-Volotchok),\* with 259 pupils and the Anatole Demidoff Home with a foundation of 250 pupils.

Male education, as appears from the preceding sketch, never formed a special subject of the Department, hence its male educational establishments, though various are very few, namely:

1. The Imperial Alexander Lyceum, with 210 pupils; a higher educational establishment for the sons of noblemen and higher State officials, with a course of administration.

2. The Gatchina Nicholaiefsky Orphans' Institute,

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\* The Mary school in the town of Tobolsk belongs, as regards its course, to the group of female gymnasiums, and accordingly appears under b). Besides this, 7 Mary schools are under the control of the Ministry of Education.



with 660 pupils. A middle educational establishment with a classic and modern (real) division.

3. The Commercial Schools in St. Petersburg and Moscow.

Among the benevolent institutions, the first place must be ascribed to the Foundlings' Houses in Moscow and St. Petersburg, with 30,000 nurslings in each. Next come the Department of Childrens' Asylums, with 177 establishments, consisting of 146 infants' schools, 11 baby-homes, 2 hospitals, 2 lying-in houses, 1 alms-house, 1 children's library (in Moscow), and a school for preparing infant-school superintendents. The number of poor children cared for, brought up., and educated, in all these establishments amounts to 15,000. The department possesses 6,000,000 roubles capital and the property is estimated as 4,000,000 roubles.

Then come 13 hospitals, 8 of which are in St. Petersburg and 5 in Moscow, and 3 lying-in Institutes, with a total of 1804 permanent beds, whereas the number of consulting patients has often reached 410,000 per annum.

Benevolent institutions, in the strict sense of the word, are represented by widows' homes, asylums, and alms-houses, 12 in number, with 2,700 beds.

Finally, under the supervision of the Department of the Empress Mary are 9 benevolent societies, with 117 establishments, schools, alms-houses, medical establishments, and asylums of their own. Deserving especial notice amongst these are: the Imperial Patriotic Society in St. Petersburg, with its 17 schools; the Elizavetinsky Society in Moscow, of which mention has

already been made; the Society of the Empress Maria Alexandrovna for the care of the blind, which has 25 schools infant-schools, and alms-houses; the Moscow Society for aiding the poor, with 36 establishments, etc.

The Department of the Institutions of the Empress Mary though so extensive, costs the Government comparatively very little — in all 2,500,000 roubles paid instead of the income, which the Department formerly received from its credit operations. The reason of this lies firstly in the fact of the Central Management of the Department (exclusive of the separate institutions) possessing 45,500,000 roubles own capital, bringing in 2 million roubles interest, and secondly, in the large profits derived from the playing-cards monopoly (2 mil. roubles per annum), and the theatre and public entertainment tickets tax (1 mil. roubles a year), both of which sources of revenue having been set aside for this object. The expenditure of the Department is not limited, however, to the above enumerated means, as a still greater part is covered by various separate institutions, though no exact account of these funds exists.

At the head of all the above institutions stand, as before, the Council of Guardians, and the Director-in-Chief of H. I. M.'s Special Chancery for the Affairs of the Institutions of the Empress Mary.

The Council of Guardians is a higher State institution for all legislative matters connected with the Institutions of the Empress Mary, their most important economical and financial affairs, and their proper organization. It has its headquarters in St. Petersburg, where

all the affairs of the St. Petersburg and provincial institutions of the Empress Mary are managed, and an office in Moscow for the institutions of that town.

The members of the Council, called Honorary Guardians, are generally at the same time chiefs of separate institutions of the Department.

The higher executive and sometimes, regulating power belongs to the Director-in-Chief, who is vested with the rights of a Minister. The Chancery is a strictly administrative institution for carrying out the determinations of the Council of Guardians and the orders of the Director-in-Chief.

The local management of the separate institutions of the Empress Mary is either entrusted to one person (hospitals), or to a Board (Institutes), or finally, to one person, but with a Board to assist him (Orphans' establishments).

## V. POLICE OF SECURITY.

The preceding chapters were devoted by us to a sketch of the measures undertaken by State and public institutions with a view to the development of the material and spiritual forces of the Empire. The same object is served by the measures taken by the police of security, which protect the population from various evils, and thus indirectly contribute to its economical and moral prosperity. Such are the measures in connexion with public charity, public alimentation, the improvement of sanitary conditions, etc. Without dwelling upon them in detail, we must yet give in the present chapter a

brief account of the position of some of these questions in Russia.

### 1. Public Charity.

According to the just remark of the historian Kliuchevsky, Charity in ancient Russian society was not so much an auxiliary means to social organization, as a necessary condition of personal moral progress: it was more necessary to the benevolent than to the indigent. Mendicity was accounted in ancient Russia not as an economical burden upon the people, not as an ulcer upon the body of public order, but as one of the chief means for the moral education of the people, and no methods of sociological investigation make it possible to calculate, what amount of good was poured into humane relations by this daily, thousand-handed almsgiving, to what on extent it accustomed people to love man and disaccustomed the poor to hate the rich.

Of course, under those conditions, there could not yet be any question of a perfectly definite organization of public charity. On the other hand, however, in all probability, the care of the indigent members of each community and parish was the duty of this community or parish. Further, the intermediary between the benefactors and the poor was the Church; into her hands flowed immense wealth, which she again distributed with lavish hand to the population suffering from want; in years of famine, it often happened that the monasteries fed the whole district round about. In connexion with some of the monasteries there were even organized charitable institutions, such as hostelries for recei-

ving strangers, almshouses, and hospitals. The material defect of the arrangements described consisted mainly in the circumstance that neither the Government, nor the Church, nor the donors had means for distinguishing really poor people from fraudulent and professional beggars.

The first experiment in this respect was made by Ivan the Terrible. At the Hundred-chapters Council in 1551, to which we have already referred, a resolution was carried to separate the real poor, sick and decrepit, to ascribe them to various towns and to organize almshouses for them, for men and women apart, under the management of the priests and special trustees.

The successors of Ivan the Terrible continued to devote large sums to the work of charity. But it was only in 1670, under the tsar Alexey Mikhailovitch that the control of the whole matter of the care of the poor was concentrated in one organ — the Asylums Building Board. Moreover, at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Government became ever more and more convinced that the struggle with mendicity and want was a problem for the State to solve.

Peter the Great with still greater decision expressed the view of the necessity of separating those really in want from those who made a trade of it, of the importance of the State regulation of charity, without however removing the clergy from participation in the work, upon whom it was incumbent from the earliest times. The reformer, seeing the whole of the injury arising from badly directed charity, forbade the giving of alms under the threat of a heavy fine, and

## PUBLIC CHARITY.

prosecuted with severe measures those who engaged in begging as a trade. As far, however, as concerns the decrepit and sick, a decree was issued ordaining the establishment of almshouses in all the governments; in the same institutions it was likewise proposed to place illegitimate children. It was farther ordered that veterans and wounded and crippled soldiers should be placed in the monasteries with everything found them. Finally, not long before the death of Peter the Great, in 1724, an ukas was published for the taking of a census of all the poor; but apparently this ukas was not carried into effect.

The Empress Catherine II who was, in this matter as in many others, the continuator of Peter I, took active measures for the further elaboration of his plans. In her reign, they were crowned by the common organization of the whole of public charity, contained in the Institution of Governments of 1775.

In each government was founded a Board of Public Charity, consisting of representatives of the various classes and of the administration under the presidency of the governor. Under the management of the board were to be: 1) National schools, in which the poor might have the benefit of free instruction; 2) Orphanages; 3) Almshouses for the aged and indigent; 4) Houses for receiving free poor lunatics; 5) Workhouses for furnishing work to persons seeking it; 6) Houses of detention for the reforming of the vicious and lazy; 7) Hospitals, and 8) Houses to serve as asylums for incurables. The establishment of the charity

boards did not hinder private beneficence; Catherine the Great was well aware that in such a matter as the assistance of the poor, the activity of the Government alone, even if organized in the best possible manner, was not sufficient.

But a particularly wide development was assumed by the activity of private individuals and private societies during the reign of the Emperor Alexander I. Thus were founded: the Imperial Philanthropic Society, the Alexander Committee for the wounded, Spiritual Trustee Societies, etc.

All these institutions, equally with the boards, had for their object the realization of the most important task of public charity, the determination of true poverty really deserving of succour. Notwithstanding all this, the scattered efforts of the separate organs were apparently unequal to the task. In the capitals, where the greatest number of poor were collected, their distribution among the various institutions was especially difficult. Therefore, in 1835, the Government adopted a new measure to struggle with pauperism: a committee was founded for the classification and surveillance of the poor; a similar committee was founded in Moscow in 1838.

Such in its general features, was the organization of the administration of public charity until the reforms in local government under the Emperor Alexander II. The 55 boards had in all under their control only 769 institutions, among which were 524 hospitals; there further existed 17 private benevolent societies. Pauperism under such conditions could not fail to continue, and of

## PUBLIC CHARITY.

course the church and the monasteries, as in ancient times, remained the principal centres of charity.

When, in 1864, the Zemstvos were introduced, the duties of the boards of charity, among other local necessities, were imposed upon them; in the towns, on the other hand, these cares were entrusted to the urban public institutions, while in the 20 governments where there are no zemstvos, the boards are still in force. For 16 of these governments there are statistical data which show that the chief efforts of the boards are directed to the organization of medical aid. There are in all 39 institutions of a charitable character in the 16 governments under the control of the boards; in 1891 the persons living in these institutions amounted to 1,596. This activity, it is evident, is insufficient and is completed by the efforts of private persons and towns and class societies. The latter administer, in the 16 governments, 102 institutions with 2,755 persons in receipt of charity, while private individuals manage 676 institutions providing for 56,038 inmates. Still more extensive is the activity of the zemstvos and town institutions in the zemstvo governments. The means for the support of charitable institutions are afforded the zemstvos and towns by the landed estates belonging to them, the offerings of private individual and local taxes. On an average, the purposes of public charity in the proper sense of the word, i. e. not counting expenditure on medical aid, absorb about 5 per cent of the zemstvos' budget (2,380,000 roubles) or, together with the expenditure on medical aid, 14,550,000 roubles. The expen-



diture of the towns upon all these objects amounted in 1893, throughout the Empire to about 8,300,000 roubles.

The boards of public charity, properly speaking, have to do with two categories of the poor: on the one hand, with the decrepit and indigent who cannot themselves earn a living, on the other, with children for whom charity alone is not sufficient. In the zemstvo governments, charitable activity is far from being limited to these two kinds of benevolent assistance. Here the persons in receipt of aid are beginning to be divided into groups, for which special charitable institutions are arising, such as establishments for incurables, people's ordinaries, asylums, etc.

In respect of the care and education of children, the boards were acquainted only with orphanages and foundling hospitals, schools, stipends for scholars, and subsidies to educational institutions. In the zemstvo governments, the state of children left without oversight by their parents who are compelled to abandon them for their work during the day, has led to the foundation of free crèches, day homes, orphan asylums, etc. For children of a larger growth, such refuges are combined with schools and trade classes. A third kind of institution has for its object the prevention of impoverishment, but is, however, as yet little developed. Here belong many and various kinds of aid to emigrants, workmen leaving their homes for temporary spells of work, and the organization of bureaux and enquiry offices for the regulation of the movement of workmen, and for obtaining work for them.

PUBLIC CHARITY.

The institutions, in the 28 zemstvo governments, about which there exists information, are as follows:

	Institutions.	Inmates.
Supported by zemstvos	176	11,479
Supported by towns and class organizations.	497	314,576
Private . . . . .	417	746,091
Total	1,090	1,072,146

In all the 44 governments, on the other hand (28 zemstvo and 16 non-zemstvo), the institutions dispensing public charity and the persons in receipt of relief were in 1891 as follows:

	Institutions.	Inmates.
In government towns .	495	349,077
» district towns. . .	1,274	781,146 (including ru- ral inhabitants).
» settlements . . . .	138	2,342

The figures quoted show to demonstration how inadequately even now the work of charity is organized in the rural districts. The law imposes upon the peasant societies, among other burdens on the mir, the relief of the aged, decrepit and crippled, who are without relations, or whose relations are not in a position to support them, as also the maintenance of orphans without either parent. But the law is silent as to wherein this care should consist. As far as, finally, concerns private charitable societies, their number is very great in Russia and they often possess considerable capital.

Besides the institutions enumerated, in the management of the Ministry of the Interior, a considerable number of charitable establishments are under the im-

mediate patronage of Their Imperial Majesties and of members of the Imperial House. Part of such institutions is concentrated in the department of the Institutions of the Empress Mary. A separate, independent department is formed by the Imperial Philanthropic Society under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Petersburg. The activity of this Society is very extensive: in 1892, in its various establishments relief was given to more than 178,000 persons. Furthermore at various times, when occasion demanded it, for example, for the distribution of assistance to the indigent families of soldiers after the war of 1877—1878 and in consequence of the failure of the crops in 1891, there were founded different kinds of governmental, district and cantonal boards of guardians which resulted in affording most tangible help to the population. Finally, a perfectly distinct, although in the highest degree expedient, organization of charitable aid is presented by the Red Cross Society, placed under the August protection of Her MAJESTY the Empress Maria Feodorovna. Its chief object, in fact, is the nursing of wounded and sick soldiers in time of war. In the various governments, this Society possesses its local directorates, but in case of need it forms district committees and cantonal curatorships. Thus, in 1891, during the time of the famine, the local institutions represented as it were cadres, which in proportion as want became more intense rapidly expanded into a whole network of curatorships comprehending all the districts. We shall not again here refer to the numerous institutions belonging to various

departments, such as the spiritual department, that of war, the navy, etc.

Quite lately, during the reign of His MAJESTY the Emperor Nicholas Alexandrovitch, an order was issued which made good an essential defect in the Russian legislation upon the subject of public charity. Until then, of all the charitable institutions, the least extension had been obtained by workhouses, equally indispensable as they are in both their forms. The two forms in question are: houses of industry for affording work to persons who cannot find it themselves, and who voluntarily come to seek it, and workhouses with compulsory labour for the reception of those who have no desire to work but are engaged in mendicancy as a profession. The necessity of institutions of this kind was clearly recognized already by Peter the Great and Catherine II. But the workhouses founded by them continued to exist but a short time, and until the present time the question of the organization of houses with compulsory labour has not yet received in our country a satisfactory solution. As far, however, as concerns, workhouses, it was owing to the initiative of father John Serghief of Cronstadt that in 1881 was opened the first such house in Cronstadt; further, in 1886, two houses were founded in Petersburg; and, from that time forward, their number has so increased that quite recently there were reckoned to be 45 workhouses in various towns. The initiative taken by society received on the 1 September, 1895, August sanction and a definite organization. Under the high patronage and presidency of Her Majesty the

Empress Alexandra Feodorovna was founded the Curatorship of Industrial Homes and Workhouses, consisting of a committee and an unlimited number of members of various categories. The principal object of the curatorship is to maintain and found industrial homes, and with their assistance to afford support to the homeless, to those recently discharged from the hospitals but who have not yet found work, to discharged prisoners and, in general, to all who are fallen into extreme want. Since the foundation of the Committee, not less than ten new houses have arisen.

## 2. Public Alimentation.

In the feudal period of Russian history the princes confined their attention solely to assisting those sections of the population who suffered from want of food. Corn was brought from parts of the country where there had been good harvests, as well as from abroad; the famine stricken people were removed to more flourishing districts; the stores of wheat held by corn dealers were resorted to, and the export of corn from distressed districts was forbidden.

The Moscow rulers did not stop at these measures. With a better organized administration it became possible to fix a price (tax) for articles of food and establish Government stores at which bread was sold at reduced prices and distributed gratis among the destitute, widows, and orphans. Under the rule of the Tsar Boris Feodorovitch Godoonoff, during the famine of 1601, pecuniary assistance was also given uncondi-

tionally to the sufferers: and to this period must be referred the first attempts at organizing public relief work.

The necessity of taking timely measures of precaution in the matter of public alimentation was the idea of Peter I, but it was only realized under Catherine II, who, not only endeavoured to discover precautionary measures in the event of a failure of crops, but also did everything possible to alleviate the simple needs of the peasantry.

The first decree, in point of time, of the Empress Catherine II on this subject was the Ukas of 20 August, 1764, written in Her Majesty's own hand. This law directed the establishment of granaries «in all towns». In the following year another decree ordered them to be introduced into villages belonging to Crown departments, and eventually among the peasants of the private landowners and the State Domains. In conformity with these orders the reserve of wheat amounted in 1804 to 931,416 tchetverts. Besides the organization of the system of public granaries under the Empress Catherine another very important step was taken. Having strong belief in the opinion that the *supply* of wheat is the «best means of preventing not only insufficiency, but also clearness», Catherine II proclaimed free trade in wheat.

Finally, owing to the difficulties of accumulating reserves of wheat in poor localities which have to get it from other districts, it was decided in the «twenties» of the present century to form an alimentary capital.

Thus matters remained until 1861 when the peasants received their freedom. The emancipation of course

could not fail to have an effect upon the organization of alimentary assistance, as the landowners were thereby relieved of the obligation to provide for their peasants in times of bad harvests. It was necessary therefore to lay this duty upon some organ of administration, and by the law of 1864 the newly created zemstvo was selected for the purpose. Since that time no important changes have been made in our legislation regarding public alimentation.

By existing statutes the means of assuring sufficient corn for food and seed remain the same as before, namely: 1) *Wheat stored in public granaries* and 2) *alimentary funds*.

The construction and maintenance of *granaries* are duties imposed upon the peasant communes. The full quantity of corn in each granary is calculated at the rate of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  tchetverts for each male person according to the latest census, that is to say, one tchetwert of rye or wheat, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  tchetwert of oats or barley. From each peasant  $\frac{1}{2}$  a tchetwerik of rye or wheat and 2 garnets of oats or barley are collected each year until the full quantity is obtained.\*

The *pecuniary means* to the same end are: 1) alimentary funds of communes and classes; 2) alimentary funds of the provinces, and 3) a general fund of the same character for the whole Empire.

Loans of corn from the granaries or of money

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\* 1 tchetwert = 2,099 hectolitres = 5,8567 bushels.

1 tchetwerik =  $\frac{1}{3}$  tchetwert = 8 garnets (quarts) = 0,26238 hectolitres = 0,7446 bushels.

from the alimentary funds are granted by the village communities subject to the consent of the zemstvo authorities of the district. No interest is charged on these loans, which have to be paid back out of the next harvest, although postponement of repayment may be allowed for one or 2 years. The expenditure of the provincial fund is managed by the authorities of the provincial and district zemstvos. Loans from the general fund of the Empire are made up to 50,000 roubles per government on the authority of the Minister of Interior and above that amount by decision of the Imperial power.

At the beginning of 1891 the alimentation funds in hand and loaned amounted to 78,500,000 roubles; in grain stores to the value of 220,000,000 roubles.

In 1891 and 1892, however, a severe failure of crops afflicted a considerable number of the most fertile governments of the Empire.

In this difficult state of affairs the Emperor Alexander III called upon all organs of the Government and all public institutions to take part in combating the evil consequences of the national misfortune. The suffering populations had to be provided with food, and then with seed corn for sowing their fields. The exhaustion by that time of the alimentary reserves rendered it necessary for the Government to give assistance, which it did at once to an unprecedented extent. The sum of 146,500,000 roubles was assigned to reinforce the alimentary fund of the Empire which on the 1<sup>st</sup> July 1891, amounted to 7,000,000 roubles. The Ministry of the Interior thus had at its disposal altogether 153,500,000



roubles, by the help of which loans were advanced, and public relief work was organized on a large scale mostly in road construction and timber felling.

Loans and grants were made not only in money but also in bread which was prepared by the zemstvos, while the Ministry of the Interior sent its representatives into the districts, where the crops had been good, to purchase corn at first hand without the expense of intermediate factors. At the same time the Ministry of Communications sent officials over the railways to accelerate the transport of corn at those places where it had accumulated and been delayed.

An account of all the measures and instructions of both these Ministries was presented to the Committee of Ministers once every two weeks to be laid before the Emperor.

The distribution of help to the extent of many millions of roubles among the famished population raised the question as to how these loans should be paid back without too great a strain upon the borrowers. In order to avoid evil consequences the Emperor Alexander III agreed to a fresh sacrifice for the exchequer by allowing those who received loans of corn in 1891—1892 to make the return in money or in kind at the rate of pood per pood of wheat borrowed. Finally the present reigning Emperor Nicholas II on the occasion of his marriage, 14 November, 1894, ordered one half of the alimentary debt of 1891—1892 still outstanding to be cancelled, amounting altogether to 40 million roubles.

All institutions, classes and private persons readily

supported the Government in rendering assistance. The reports of governors testify to the abundant contributions of every kind which came in from all parts. Local committees of benevolence and guardianship were formed, and these opened free eating rooms, tea houses, bakeries, and asylums for children.

The late Emperor who followed with deep concern the multiform appearances of public assistance to the sufferers, was good enough to secure proper guidance and unity of operation for these magnanimous efforts of private charity in accordance with the importance of the matter. Accordingly, by an Imperial Rescript, 17 November, 1891, a special Committee for aiding the sufferers from famine was established under the August presidency of His Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Cesarevitch, the present reigning Emperor.

During something more than 12 months, ending the 5 May, 1893, this Committee collected 4,438,632 roubles and received 8,650,013 roubles from the proceeds of two lotteries. These sums were spent in giving loans for food and seed; for the purchase and feeding of cattle and horses; in developing domestic industries, chiefly the work of women, in establishing public relief work, reinstating those burnt out of house and home, and in providing medical aid against the cholera.

The difficulties with which the Government had to contend in 1891 and 1892 showed certain defects in the organization of public alimentation.

And all these evidences received by way of experience have served as valuable material for drawing up a pro-

ject of new statutes of public alimentation now in course of preparation.

### 3. Public Health.

In Russia, on the average for 9 years (1883—1891), the annual birthrate was 47.2 per mille, while the deathrate was 32.7; hence, the natural increase of the population amounted to 14.5 per mille. Only in 1892, owing to the diminution in the number of marriages during the famine year of 1891 and the development of epidemics of spotted typhus and cholera in 1892, the augmentation contracted to 5 per mille.

If we leave out of account this last year as being exceptional in character, it appears that, in respect of the increase in the population, Russia occupies a position superior to that of any other State in Europe, where this increase fluctuates from 3 per mille in Ireland to 13 per mille in Prussia, while in France, in the year 1892, the population even fell off by  $\frac{1}{2}$  per mille. This result proceeds from the considerably greater birthrate in Russia: in our country on an average there are 47 births per thousand inhabitants, while, in the countries of Western Europe, there are 22 in France and 36.3 in Prussia and Italy. The excess of births is so great that it covers with an abundant margin the mortality, which in Russia is also greater than in the West, namely 33 per mille, as against other countries where it varies from 18 in Norway to 29 in Austria.

As far as concerns diseases, it appears that in 1892, among a population of 119,288,804, there were registered 26,741,036 persons suffering from various illnesses

or 22.5 per cent of the whole; of whom less than 3 per cent died.

The explanation of the excess of the mortality per thousand inhabitants as compared with other countries must be sought alike in the general sanitary conditions and in the defective organization of medical aid.

Information as to sanitary conditions with a pretention to more or less completeness exists only in regard to the towns. But, as is well known, not more than one-eighth of the population of Russia resides in the towns. These data shew that out of 660 towns investigated only 10 per cent enjoy water good in appearance and taste, while in 285 of the remainder the water is considered to be quite unsatisfactory. Water works have been laid down in 91 towns, but 25 among them furnish unsatisfactory water, while in 8 there is not enough water even for the more thickly populated parts of the town. For the purity of the air, it is necessary to remove outside the towns the accumulations of sewage within them. The best results are furnished by the system of canalization which is applied most generally in Western Europe. In Russia, this system was first introduced in Nijny-Novgorod, and now sewage works exist in Odessa, Warsaw and Yalta. In the other towns, the extremely unsatisfactory system of cess-pools is in vogue, and even they exist in the majority of houses only in 278 towns. Public slaughterhouses have been built in only 73 towns, while in the rest there exist only private slaughterhouses very badly kept, or they are even entirely wanting, the cattle being killed in the

yards of the houses and the offal being thrown into the streets or into the kitchen gardens. It will thus be seen that there is still a great deal to be done in order to render our towns more healthy.

On the other hand, in regard to the character of construction and the disposition of the buildings, our towns undoubtedly enjoy great advantages compared with those of Western Europe. As the type of the Russian town we should take Moscow, where until the present day it is only in the centre of the town that houses of three storeys and more are to be met with; buildings here alternate with large courtyards, gardens, and boulevards. Only Petersburg, Warsaw, Riga, and Odessa possess the character of the centres of population in Western Europe, with their five- and six-storeyed edifices.

Passing now to the measures taken to counteract and diminish disease and mortality, we shall not dwell on those of a preventive character; they are in Russia more or less of the same kind as in other countries.

As to what concerns the solicitude of the State authority in regard to the treatment of disease, this is already apparent in Russia from the reign of Boris Godoonoff (1598—1605) with the foundation in Moscow of the Board of Apothecaries. At the same time foreign physicians were invited into Russia and Russians were sent abroad to study medicine. During the reign of Michail Feodorovitch, there were already physicians and their assistants attached to the regiments, but there did not yet exist a Russian medical school. It was only

Peter I at last who founded the first Government military hospital and, in connexion with it, a school of surgery

On the 1 July, 1895, the medical men in Russia numbered in all 16,300. Half reside in the large centres and governmental towns, one-fifth in the district towns, and the remainder in the districts themselves. In other words, in our towns there is one doctor to 1,500 inhabitants, and in the districts one to about 20,000.

The lack of doctors is made good to a certain extent by feldshers (both men and women) (24,400), and midwives (8,000).

There is an equal want in Russia, regard being had to the area and population of the country, of various kinds of institutions for the treatment of disease. In 1892, the hospitals under the control of the civil departments amounted to 3,969, and there were not less than 3,000 dispensing chemists' shops. Among these, the general hospitals, intended for the treatment of all kinds of diseases, contained 62,453 beds; while the special institutions— Asylums, lying-in hospitals, etc.— contained 11,790 beds. Furthermore, in the hospitals for special classes of the population, such as prison, factory, school, and railway hospitals, there were 21,924 beds.

Our general hospitals have on an average one bed to 1,600 inhabitants, the figures for the European countries being:

Austria . . . . .	700
England . . . . .	600
France . . . . .	500
Prussia. . . . .	400

## INSURANCE.

In these countries, however, medical aid outside the hospitals is considerably more developed than in Russia.

In connexion with medical organization is that of the veterinary department. In Russia, in 1892, there were registered about 843,000 cases of disease of various kinds in animals, which amounts approximately to one case per 200 head; and 162,000 among them died, or one per mille. Veterinary practice in 1892 included 2,647 veterinary surgeons.

The medical institutions of the Empire in 1892 necessitated an expenditure of 31,250,000 roubles, i. e. somewhat more than 25 kopeks per inhabitant.

### 4. Insurance.

In Russia, the development of insurance operations began at the end of the last century, but the attempts to organize it made at that time were of no practical importance. On the other hand, the uninterrupted expansion of trade and industry and the formation of large town centres evoked an urgent need for the organization of fire insurance. At the same time, two views were expressed upon the participation of the State in insurance operations: some recognized the national importance of insurance and therefore desired that it should be concentrated in the hands of the Government, others, on the contrary, regarded it as a purely commercial enterprise. The latter opinion prevailed, and Russian capitalists were invited to proceed to the foundation of an insurance company. This actually arose in 1827 under the title of the First Russian Society for Fire Insurance, with the exclusive right of insurance in the

governments of Petersburg, Moscow, in Odessa, and the three Baltic provinces for a term of twenty years. The extraordinary success of this undertaking encouraged the foundation of new fire insurance companies. Meanwhile, companies began to arise even without special privileges, as well as for carrying on other insurance operations. All these companies, however, were of importance exclusively for the town population, and the insurance premiums collected by them were moreover extremely high. Therefore it was that in 1864, in each government, there was instituted compulsory insurance for the rural population upon principles of mutuality, the management of the business being imposed upon the local organs of self-government. Still earlier, with a view to oppose the stock insurance companies in their efforts to exploit their clients, viz. in 1861, Government sanction was given to the general principles for mutual voluntary town insurance societies. There are 79 such societies. As for compulsory mutual fire insurance, this measure is now obligatory for all peasant buildings. The institution of a higher and lower limit for the insured amount in the case of various kinds of structures and the establishment of the rate of insurance premiums for each government are left to the governmental zemstvo board; while, in governments without zemstvos, the tariff is fixed by law. The insurance premium is levied at the rate of 1 per cent on wooden, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on stone, buildings. The privileged classes are not exempted from this insurance, but participate in it voluntarily.



## INSURANCE.

In all the mutual institutions taken together, the property insured in 1893 was of the value of 2,625,000,000 roubles, and the insurers pay annually 23,740,000 roubles insurance premium. A more considerable development has been attained by the stock fire insurance companies, who have on their books property to the value of 5,648,000,000 roubles, while the total annual insurance premium reaches 35,655,000 roubles.

We will here but mention in passing the nine companies for freight insurance by sea and land, the nine life assurance companies, and the attempts by zemstvos and societies to insure against the loss of cattle from plague and the destruction of crops by hail. The great importance of insurance as a means for the protection of the national wealth from natural disasters and unforeseen losses stimulated the Government to found a special organ for the superintendence of insurance in Russia. With this object in view, in the year 1894, was instituted the Insurance Committee, attached to the Economical Department of the Ministry of the Interior, composed of representatives of the Ministries of the Interior and of Finance.

Measures of precaution against fires, causing devastation to the extent of more than seventy million roubles annually, have an importance not less than that which attaches to fire insurance itself. In Russia the organization of the first fire brigade belongs to the time of the reign of the Emperor Paul I; until then the fire service was a personal charge upon the inhabitants. The first brigade was recruited from soldiers who were unfit

for service in the ranks, and was maintained at the cost of the town.

At the present time, the maintenance of fire brigades is incumbent upon the town public authorities, who expend upon this object annually more than 3,700,000 roubles.

In some places fire brigades are formed for extinguishing fires, the members of which are volunteers. Besides this, there are fire brigades supported by the contributions of private persons. The total number of fire brigades in Russia and Finland is 3,019, the force serving in the brigades exceeds 84,000 men, and they have at their disposal 19,000 horses, 10,000 fire-hoses and 35,000 water-casks. The number of rural fire brigades in the above total is most considerable of all, viz. 2,026, but, as compared with the population, it is still very small, and therefore it is laid down as a general rule that, in case of a fire, the peasants are bound to appear with the appliances which are registered as being stored in the different yards.

With a view to the prevention of conflagrations, it is ordered that the houses in the villages and hamlets should be built in nests of not more than eight together and latterly the custom has become more and more widely adopted of planting trees between the buildings, as the most effectual means of preventing the spread of fires.

Without touching upon the other branches of activity of the **Ministry of the Interior** in relation to the

## MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR.

maintenance of public order and security, we will say in conclusion a few words upon the organization of this Ministry.

According to its first institution in 1802, it was allotted the very extensive task of «caring for the universal welfare of the people, the peace, quiet and good order of the whole Empire». In harmony with this, its statute was also very complex.

In 1810, at the time of the new distribution of affairs among the Ministries, the Ministry of the Interior was referred, as we already mentioned in volume I, to a section of the State Economy. It was charged with the care of agriculture, industry, colonies, emigration, trade, posts, public buildings, etc. The care for public safety was concentrated in a special Ministry of Police. But in 1819, the Ministry of Police was united in almost its whole extent to the Ministry of the Interior. Since that time the competence of the latter has been changed several times. Before all, the care of the national and public economy went to the Ministries of Finance and State Domains; while in 1826, for the superior police, was founded the Third Section of His Imperial Majesty's Chancery. But, on the other hand, to the Ministry of the Interior were attributed: the department of spiritual affairs for foreign confessions, the censure, the building department, posts and telegraphs; and, finally, in 1880, with the abolition of the Third Section, the affairs belonging to the superior police.

At the present time, the Ministry of the Interior has the following establishment:

## MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR.

1. The Minister and his two Assistants.
2. The Council and Chancery of the Minister, with the usual organization.
3. The Medical and Statistical Councils.
  4. a) The Technical and Building Committee together with the Higher Building School, b) The Veterinary Committee, and c) The Central Statistical Committee.
  5. Two principal Offices, corresponding to departments but with a somewhat wider competence, viz.: a) For Press Affairs, with a special Council, and b) For Post and Telegraphs with a Technical Committee attached.
  6. Five Departments: a) The Department of Police, managing the executive and State police; for the latter object, the Minister of the Interior has under his orders, as Chief, the Corps of Gendarmes; this Corps is under the immediate management of a special Assistant of the Minister, with the title of Assistant to the Chief of Gendarmes. b) The Economical Department, managing public poor relief, public alimentation, zemstvo and town economy, and insurance (Insurance Committee). c) The Department of Spiritual Affairs for Foreign Confessions. d) The Medical Department. e) The Department of General Affairs.
  7. The Zemsky Section (to all intents a special department), for the control of the rural chiefs, *zemsky natchalniks* and in general, of the organs administering the affairs of the peasants, as also of matters concerning the liability to military service.

The local institutions of the Ministry of the Interior we do not here touch upon, seeing that a special chapter, the last of the book, is devoted to them.

## VI. JUSTICE.

One of the most important reforms of the reign of the Emperor Alexander II was a total reorganization of the administration of justice. At present the principles of justice and legal procedure, laid down in the Judicial Statutes of November 20<sup>th</sup>, 1864, have been applied in almost the entire Empire, such remote outlying regions alone excepted, in which the old judicial rules still obtain. Passing over the administration of justice and the order of procedure in the former ante-reform courts of law, we will therefore begin by a survey of the chief principles of the administration of justice and the organization and proceedings of courts of law in the regions in which the Judicial Statutes of 1864 are applied with the additions and alterations introduced by subsequent legislation.

The following persons and institutions are invested in these regions with judicial authority: justices of the peace, rural chiefs (*zemsky natchalniks*), urban justices, district members of the circuit courts, district sessions, circuit courts, courts of appeal, and the Ruling Senate.

The lowest judicial instance is the Justice of the peace, who is either district or honorary. Under his jurisdiction in criminal cases come all offences incurring fines not exceeding 300 roubles, and imprisonment not extending over a period of 18 months; in cases of civil offences — actions for sums not exceeding 500 roubles.

There are district justices of the peace at present

only on the borders of the State: in the West and Baltic provinces, in Poland, in the Caucasus, in the provinces of Archangel, in Siberia, etc. They are appointed to their posts by the Government. Besides these there are also district justices of the peace in certain of the more important towns, such as, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Odessa. These are elected by the town councils. In the majority of the governments of European Russia, by the law of July 12, 1889, the duties of justices of the peace were transferred to urban justices and district members of the circuit courts, and the same law endowed them and the rural chiefs (*zemsky natchalniks*), of whom we shall have to speak later on, with the competency of justices of the peace in cases arising without the precincts of town.

The next law instance with regard to justices of the peace is the Sessions of justices of the peace, and with regard to urban courts and rural chiefs—District sessions, an appeal against the resolutions of which can be made to the governmental courts and finally, with regard to the district members of the circuit court the next law instance is represented by the Circuit Court. This is an instance of the first degree and examines all matters exceeding the competency of justices of the peace; its resolutions in substance may be appealed against to the Court of Appeal (*Soodebnäia Palahta*), of which there are 11 in the following towns: St. Petersburg, Moscow, Vilna, Kief, Warsaw, Odessa, Kharkof, Kazan, Saratof, Tiflis, and Irkootsk. If the resolution be a verdict on capital offences pronounced by a jury,—an

appeal against it can be made to the Ruling Senate, though not in substance, but only in order of cassation, i. e. through the court having neglected law regulations obligatory to it. Should the Senate admit the existence of such a transgression, the case is allowed a new hearing in another court. In a similar manner of cassation the Senate pronounces its resolutions on complaints lodged against the decisions of the Courts of Appeal (*Soodebnäia Palahta*) and Sessions of Justices of the peace. The Senate thus constitutes the highest law instance in the Empire and terminates a long hierarchy of numerous institutions, engaged in administering justice.

Attached to the circuit courts and Departments of Cassation of the Senate, besides special chanceries, are 1) The persons of the *procuror*-control; they are the guardians of legality and the official organs of prosecution. 2) Examining magistrates, whose duties it is to perform preliminary investigation in capital crimes. 3) Other magistrates for executive functions. 4) Councillors chosen by litigants for the defence of the accused in capital crimes and for managing civil cases; and 5) Notaries for certifying and drawing up all manner of written acts.

The administration of justice in the institutions of law formed according to the Statutes of 1864 is penetrated with principles hitherto quite unknown to Russian justice.

The chief principles upon which the reform of the Emperor Alexander II is based, are in substance uni-

versally admitted and represent the best security that was ever found in the civilized world, that the truth in court will be discovered and the exact law applied. These principles are: 1) verbal or direct proceedings, by which means the court is enabled to form its decision during a special investigation performed in its presence and consisting of verbal examination of the witnesses, the litigants, and the accused. 2) Publicity, whereby the public is permitted to assist at the proceedings and to publish in the press what takes place in court and how justice is administered. 3) The principle of controversy, which gives the investigation the character of a contention between the two opposite sides, each endeavouring by all the legal means in its power to prove the justice of its view, and to convince the judges of it, thus enabling the truth to become fully elucidated. In civil courts this controversy is carried on between the plaintiff and the respondent or their counsels, and in the criminal court, between the representatives for the prosecution and either the respondent or his counsel. 4) The permanence or irremovability of the judges, securing to them independence from extraneous pressure or influence. 5) The requirement of a certain standard, moral, educational, and practical—to enable a person to become a member of the law profession. 6) Though conducted by officials appointed by the Government, the proceedings in certain cases necessitate the presence of a social element, viz, the jury, assistors, witnesses. 7) The proceedings must be conducted according to the weight of the proofs, yet



not with a preconceived formal theory, but upon a rational and, at the same time, free conviction of conscience. 8) The State must be represented in court by its special agent — the *Procuror* — protector of legality and organ of public prosecution. 9) The person of each citizen or resident must enjoy before the court a position which would completely protect its legal rights.

Independently of, and on a line with, all the above enumerated law authorities that administer justice in the general order of proceedings in Russia stand a whole line of other courts, under the jurisdiction of which come either cases of specially defined categories or persons belonging to a certain class; such are ecclesiastical courts, military courts, commercial courts, *stanitsa* courts (Cossack settlements are called *stanitsa*) and peasant courts. The latter bear the name of *volostny* courts and examine the less important capital and civil cases, occurring among the peasants, within the limits of the *volost* i. e. a commune embracing a population of 300—2000 males.

The order of proceedings in law institutions the power of which is either confined to a certain category of cases or extends only to separate class groups, must naturally be organized on special principle and differs materially from the order of proceedings adhered to in the general judicial institutions.

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The general direction of the judicial institutions is imposed upon the **Ministry of Justice**. To it belongs the control of the *procurors* and the appointment, of

all persons in the department. At the same time the Minister of Justice retains the duties of *Procuror* General as regards the Senate. The Ministry itself is under the administration of the Minister and his two colleagues, and comprises the following establishments:

- 1) A Board of Consultation for the examination of cases brought from the Senate before the Minister of Justice as General-*Procuror*.
- 2) Two Departments.
- 3) The Office of Surveys and the Surveying Institute.
- 4) Imperial Law-School.
- 5) Moscow Archives of the Ministry of Justice.
- 6) The Council on Prison Affairs and the Chief Prisons Office. A special inspection exists in the governments for the management of prison affairs.

The Chief Prisons' Office has under its control in all 883 places of confinement, which contain 116,000 prisoners. Besides the Government organs having the care of the prisons, there exists a Prisons' Society upon which is imposed the duty of seeing to the material good order of the prisons and to the reforming of the inmates from a moral point of view. It is divided into men's and ladies' committees. Besides this, special societies in Petersburg, Moscow, Kishinef and Odessa are engaged in looking after the welfare of discharged prisoners.

The foundation of reformatories for infant criminals is left to specially organized societies and bureaux, which themselves manage these institutions. Establishments of this kind number twenty-one.

## VII. LOCAL GOVERNMENT and SELF-GOVERNMENT.

**1. Historical Sketch.** In Russia before the time of Peter the Great, the fundamental division of the Country was the district, composed of the town—the residence of the voevoda—and of the volosts and stans, subordinated to it.

The voevoda was the local representative of the central government. To him together with his associates were entrusted nearly all the affairs of local government. However this may have been, there yet existed side by side with him a whole series of elective offices. At their head stood the elder of the whole district, who maintained relations with the Government on behalf of the borough and district inhabitants; next to him were the zemstvo elders and the sworn men, who had the management of the affairs of the mir. Further, for customs and tavern dues, were appointed, from among the wealthy inhabitants, trustworthy officers under the name of «heads» of customs and taverns; while cases of robbery, thieving and murder were entrusted to special sheriffs called «goobny starostas».

Upon Peter the Great ascending the throne, new problems of State were disclosed, demanding the extraordinary exertion of the national forces. This could, however, be attained only by a radical alteration in the organization of local government. In this respect, according to the just conclusion of Professor Gradovsky, Peter I, in the first place, laid the foundation for the

regular and uniform division of the country, replacing the chaotic «units» of the former period; in the second place, he attempted by means of general instructions to define the limits of the jurisdiction of local government; in the third place, he created the conditions of the local civil service; and in the fourth, he made the first essay to separate the judicial from the administrative function.

Until then, as we know, the voevodas maintained direct communications with Moscow, where were situated the boards which administered, not only a certain kind of affairs, but also separate portions of the State. Peter the Great abolished these local boards, divided the country into eleven vast governments, and transferred their administration, in the person of the governors, to the spot. Each government was divided into provinces (47 in all), and in these provinces was preserved the former office of voevoda. Although, further, upon the voevodas were imposed all the affairs of provincial administration, nevertheless, in respect of all that properly concerned finance, were instituted the independent offices of «camerirs» and treasurers, while in the districts, into which the provinces were subdivided, were appointed zemstvo commissaries for various departments of the administration, elected from among the local nobility and compelled to render an account to their electors, but subordinated to the governors and voevodas. As far as concerns the towns, according to the regulation issued to the Chief Magistracy in 1721, they were made perfectly independent of the voevodas and governors

and subordinated to the Chief Magistracy. In its turn, in each town, was established a magistracy, to whom belonged the judicial, economical, financial and police authority.

Moreover, already in the reigns of the immediate successors of Peter the Great, this independence of the towns was abolished, and, in general, the whole of local government returned to the state of things which obtained in the period before Peter.

At the same time, however, the ancient disorders reappeared. It is to be observed, further, that certain changes took place in the region of society. Formerly, the nobility, bound to personal service, was exclusively engaged in the public service and, furthermore, constituted a class belonging to the State in general and without any intimate connexion with any particular locality. After Peter's time, on the contrary, the burden of service considerably diminished and even no longer existed; land ceased to be the reward of service, the landed estate became a patrimony, and there began to be formed, as a matter of fact, in the various localities communities of noblemen having their own local interests, on a like footing with the taxpaying classes and the towns.

It is necessary to keep this circumstance in view, if we wish to understand the governmental administration as created by Catherine II.

The first act of the reform was the publication, in 1775, of the Institution of Governments. The principal defects, which this Institution had in view to correct,

were: the excessive extent of the governments, the insufficiency of administrative organs, and the confusion in them of all kinds of business and, as a consequence, delay and negligence. The new law established two territorial units: the government or lieutenancy with a population of from 300,000 to 400,000 souls, and the district or rayon of 20,000 to 30,000 souls.

The total number of governments was at first 40, later 51, but, for the most part, two governments were united under the control of one governor-general. The latter was the chief local authority: to him were entrusted the duties of political superintendence and the right of taking special measures for the removal of abuses. But the judicial authority did not form one of his powers. In each government there was a viceregal of governmental regency composed of the governor and two councillors. Its duty was to administer the government according to the laws, to publish the laws, Imperial edicts and other Government orders, as well as to see to their proper carrying out. Although the governmental regency was a collegiate institution, yet the chief actor in it was the governor. The councillors had but a consultative voice.

Under the authority of the governmental regency were placed all the inferior institutions of the government. They were divided into judicial and administrative. To the judicial belonged the courts for civil and criminal cases with a series of crown courts, i. e. with members appointed by the Government, and a court of conscience composed of a judge and six mem-

bers, chosen from the nobility, townsmen and rural population, two from each, without counting several courts of an appellational character, lower than the courts for civil and criminal cases, but higher than the district judicial institutions.

The administrative institutions of the government consisted of two bodies: the crown court for matters concerning the financial administration and the board for public charity, of which we spoke already in the corresponding section of this book.

The districts possessed three institutions:

1) The district court for the nobility with purely judicial functions, attached to which was the curatorship of the nobility; it consisted of a judge and of assessors selected by the nobility.

2) The inferior zemstvo court, in which indeed was concentrated the immediate administration of the district; it was composed of the zemstvo police captain and two assessors chosen by the nobility.

3) The court of first instance for the peasants.

Besides this, the crown court possessed in the district its own organ under the name of the district treasury, and in the district were also several officials, such as the surveyor, the doctor, etc.

This organization of the judicial and administrative institutions was supplemented by the establishment of the *procuror's* inspection. The office of *procuror* was founded in connexion with the colleges already during the reign of Peter the Great, and when the colleges were transferred under Catherine II to the various loca-

lities under the name of courts, the *procurors* went with them to the governments. The *procurors* had their place in the governmental regency and in the courts, and were charged with the examination of all the cases. Whenever they detected any illegal or irregular act, they were obliged to report the same to the authorities above them, up to the *Procuror* General of the Senate inclusive.

Such being the position occupied by the representatives of the nobility in the governmental institutions, the local nobility itself could not avoid receiving a special organization, and indeed, this organization was granted the nobility by the decree of 1785. But we shall refer below to the organization thus conferred upon the institutions of the nobility, for it has suffered but little change since the times of Catherine II.

As far as concerns the town communities, their rights were defined in the same year, 1785, in a similar manner to the regulations contained in the charter of the nobility. They assembled every three years for the election of the town officials and of the assessors of the various governmental institutions.

The town administration was entrusted exclusively with matters concerning the finances and organization of the town. Questions of police were left to the crown prefects and policemasters, with the assistance of the so called boards of «good order» composed of members elected by the town community, while the judicial authority remained with the magistracies.

The organization of the governmental institutions,



created by Catherine II, has been preserved in the foundation also of the present organization of local government. Nevertheless, already during the three following reigns, of the Emperors Paul I, Alexander I, and Nicholas I, several fairly important alterations were imported into this organization. With the foundation of the Ministries in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the administration was concentrated in these institutions, while the governmental organs assumed a subordinate position to them. Under these conditions, the office of governor-general could not but lose its former importance; from being a normal governmental institution, it becomes an extraordinary institution confined only to certain localities. The governors, on the other hand, become the immediate chiefs of the governments, subordinated to the central institutions and in particular to the Ministry of the Interior.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century questions of local government turned mainly upon three subjects: 1) Crown administration, 2) The administration of justice, and 3) The Police. But that which at the present time constitutes the principal subject of local government — local economy and organization — remained in an embryonic state. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, on the contrary, it is precisely upon these questions that the attention of the Government is mainly concentrated. The first subject was the mode of levying the local zemstvo burdens, by means of which the various requirements of local government and organization were satisfied. In 1805 was issued the preliminary Statute concerning them, replaced in 1851

by the Statute on Zemstvo Taxation. In virtue of this statute, the drawing up of the estimate for local expenditure and the distribution of the taxes were imposed upon special administrative institutions, with the participation only of representatives from the nobility and the town community. But these institutions themselves in reality decided nothing: both the estimate and the assessment were subject to be confirmed by the central authority. The execution of the estimates, i. e. the expenditure of the sums, assigned to each separate object, was taken from the committee and concentrated in the hands of the proper Government authorities. As far as concerns the control of the expenditure of the sums assigned, although this was imposed upon the meeting of the deputies of the nobility yet it concerned only certain questions and had the character of remarks which might be left by the governor without any consequences.

In the districts for the administration of the natural burdens there were established billeting and road commissions, but, as a matter of fact, the executive power was concentrated in the hands of the police—the commissaries of rural police (*stanovoy pristaf*) appointed by the administration, who since 1837 managed the subdivisions of the district called «*stan*».

For matters concerning buildings and national alimentation, there were established special commissions with a like composition.

In this way, the institutions which had cognizance of questions of finance and organization were, for the most part, consultative organs, while the decisive power

entirely belonged to the personal organs of the administration or to the central institutions.

In the region of peasant administration, the first attempts at organization began already in the reign of Paul I and received in 1837 a definite shape with the foundation of the Ministry of State Domains, albeit only in respect of the State serfs under its jurisdiction. For them was created a perfectly isolated administration under the control of the special courts of the State domains introduced at that time into the sphere of governmental institutions. The elective administration itself of the volosts and village communities was organized like that now existing, and therefore we shall not here speak specially about it.

The short historical sketch we have given shows that the Government, which assumed from the commencement of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the carrying into effect of the important tasks of public order, directed all the details of local administration.

But, upon the liberation of the peasantry from serfdom, the tasks of administration became so complicated that it was difficult to do without the direct participation of the public in local affairs. On the other hand, at that time the local public also was already far better prepared than before for the functions that awaited it.

Under these conditions, was created the new organization of local administration and selfgovernment, initiated by the reforms of the Emperor Alexander II.

**2. Local administration.** In consequence of the

vastness of the Empire, distinction is made between the large constituent parts of it, forming separate regions and governed upon different bases. Such divisions recognized by the law are: 1) European Russia proper, wherein operate the governmental institutions of Catherine II, with their subsequent amendments. 2) The Grandduchy of Finland. 3) The governments of the Kingdom of Poland. 4) The Caucasus. 5) The Steppe Region. 6) Toorkistan; 7) Transcaspian Territory and 8) Siberia. On account of the limits of our task, we shall not, however, speak separately of the organization of the administration in each of these parts of the Empire, with the exception of the Grandduchy of Finland, which presents more substantial differences.

The normal division of the country is the government, or the territory equivalent to it, principally occurring in the eastern borderlands. In Russia, with the exception of Finland, there are in all 70 governments and 18 territories. Further, four towns — Petersburg, Odessa, Sevastopol, and Kerch-Yenikale, are excepted from the governments and constitute so-called prefectures, while the towns of Cronstadt and Nikolaëf and the Island of Sakhalin bear the name of military governorships. There are thus in all 95 administrative units. The governments and territories in respect of administration are combined into larger units — Governorships General; such are the governorships general of Warsaw, consisting of the ten governments of the former Kingdom of Poland, of Vilno and of Kief. Further, here are also to be reckoned the governorships

## LOCAL ADMINISTRATION.

general of Irkootsk, of the Amoor, of the Steppe, and of Toorkistan. The government of Moscow is also placed under a special governor general. The region of the Caucasus, subdivided into 7 governments and 4 territories, also possesses the character of a governorship general.

At the head of the governoship general stands the governor general (in the Caucasus called the chief of the civil administration), appointed by the direct choice and as a consequence of the personal confidence of His Majesty the Emperor; at the head of the government is the governor, appointed by an Imperial ukas. The governor general is the local guardian of order in all its departments, superintending all institutions and suppressing all that is contrary to the laws, security or the general welfare, or what is not in accordance with the views of the supreme Government, which have come to his knowledge, as a person invested with the complete confidence of the Emperor. The governor, as the representative of the Government authority in the government, also superintends the whole administration, and presents annually a report to His Majesty the Emperor and himself promulgates obligatory regulations with a view to the more successful execution of the laws. In consequence of this, the whole administration and all the officials of the government are subordinated to him.

As the organ of the Ministry of the Interior, the governor has cognizance of all the local affairs of this Ministry, assisted therein by his chancery and governmental regency. The law calls the governmental regency

«the highest place in the government, administering it according to the laws in the name of HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY». It is constituted of the vice-governor, two councillors, the governmental medical inspector, the engineer, architect, surveyor, prisons inspector, and assessor: but other representatives of the local administration and selfgovernment may be invited.

The competence of the governmental regency comprises properly all matters within the cognizance of the governor himself. But some of these matters are decided «in collegio»; such are the so-called judicial cases, as the prosecution of officials, moot points of law, etc. In administrative matters, the regency has a consultative voice, while matters of less importance are decided by the governor alone, the vice-governors, or the councillors of the regency.

In immediate subordination to the governor and to the governmental regency, are placed the district and town police. At the head of the district police administration stands the police captain, appointed by the governor, to whom again are subordinated the commissaries of rural police and the inferior police officials: sergeants, centurions, and decurions. The police of the governmental and some of the larger towns are subordinated, not to the police captain, but to special policemen. The importance of the police in our local administration is very great. By law the police captains and policemen are the immediate organs on the spot of the representative of the superior Government authority in the government, i. e. of the governor

Therefore they are bound to look carefully to the performance, by all and every one in the district, of their duty as loyal subjects; they are further the guardians of local order and of the public peace.

In the second place, the police is the organ of the whole administration in general, seeing that no one except it, not excluding even the organs of selfgovernment, may take measures of a compulsory character.

Thirdly and finally, upon the police is imposed the carrying into effect, not only of the prescriptions of the governmental authorities, but of the demands of other departments, especially of the judicial, and cooperation with all in the fulfilment of their duties.

In those governments, where the zemstvo institutions have not been introduced (in European Russia alone there are fourteen such), there continue to exist governmental executive committees and charitable boards. Of the latter we have already spoken. The executive committees, on the other hand draw up estimates and assessments of the local burdens for three years, which are then examined by the State Council.

The governmental administration is finally completed by a whole series of courts and committees, established for various purposes, for the most part under the presidency of the governor himself, and composed of representatives of the various departments and institutions; such are the courts — for military and factory affairs, and for the liquor traffic. the committees — for the preservation of forests, of prisons, of statistics etc.

**3. Zemstvo institutions.** These institutions were introduced in our country by the Emperor Alexander II immediately after the liberation of the serfs, in 1864, and now exist in 34 governments of European Russia. In the «sixties», no one discerned in selfgovernment a special form of organization of local administration, but as it were the waiving by the State of the control of the economical affairs of the government and district which were foreign to it. In consequence of this, the zemstvo institutions were regarded as individual public units, not bound to the Government institutions in one organic whole.

In practice, however, the impossibility of isolation was soon discovered, which led to the promulgation in 1890 of the new Statute of Zemstvo Institutions. This statute united the functions of the zemstvo and of the local administration, and at the same time assigned a due place in zemstvo affairs to the most intelligent element in the public, the nobility.

In other respects, the principles of the statute of 1864 were preserved. Zemstvo institutions are divided into district and governmental. Both in the district and in the government, there is an administrative organ — the zemstvo assembly, and an executive organ — the zemstvo board. The district assembly is composed of district members elected for three years directly by the zemstvo electors; the governmental assembly is composed of governmental members, elected by the district assemblies out of their own body. The presidency in both one and the other belongs to the marshals of the nobility.



## ZEMSTVO INSTITUTIONS.

The right to be an elector belongs exclusively to persons, physical and juridical, possessing during not less than one year, by right of ownership or as life-estate, land of a definite amount for each district or other real estate valued at not less than 15,000 roubles. The electors are grouped in two elective assemblies: in the first participate hereditary and personal nobles, in the second, all the rest except the peasants. Small landed proprietors send representatives to the electoral body. The election of members from the village communities is left to the volost meetings; the representatives elected from the peasants are further subject to be confirmed by the governor.

To each district there is a definite number of members from each electoral body and from the village communities, the proportions being 57 per cent of nobles, about 30 per cent of peasants, and 13 per cent of the other classes. The presidents and members of the boards are elected by the assembly for three years from both members and persons generally, who have the right of voting in the electoral bodies. Both are subject to the confirmation of the governor, and on entering upon office enjoy the rights of government service \*). In consequence of this, there are applied to them also all the disciplinary penalties established for officials. The governor further possesses the right to carry out a revision both of the zemstvo boards and of all the institutions subordinated to the zemstvo.

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\*) The presidents of the governmental boards are confirmed by the Minister of the Interior.

Of the functions of the zemstvo institutions we have no cause to say more, after that which was said in the preceding sections about their activity. We will merely mention that the zemstvos, alike governmental and district, enjoy the right of exacting taxes from the population to cover their expenses and burdens. At the same time, the governmental assembly is allowed to issue orders obligatory upon the inhabitants of the government in regard to a whole series of questions affecting the public welfare, such as measures against fires, the protection of the public health, etc.

On the other hand, however, in regard to many subjects, the orders of the assemblies are carried into execution not otherwise than after their confirmation by the governor or even by the Minister. The governor is given the right of examining all zemstvo orders without exception, not only from the point of view of legality and of the advantages and necessities of the State in general, but from the point of view also of the interests of the local inhabitants, and of stopping those orders which, in his opinion, manifestly infringe the interests of the latter.

In matters of this kind, however, the governor does not act alone. Under his presidency is founded a governmental court upon zemstvo and town affairs, composed of representatives of the administration, nobility, zemstvo, and town, which has the superintendence of the course of zemstvo administration. Here, then, are referred the orders of the zemstvos, which have not received the confirmation of, or have been

suspended by, the governor. If they are suspended by the court, on account of their illegality, the zemstvo may appeal against the decision to the Senate; the resolutions, on the other hand, of the district assemblies, infringing the general interests of the State or local interests, are sent on by the court to the governmental assembly; while similar orders of the governmental assembly are presented to the Minister of the Interior, who applies for their abolition either to the Committee of Ministers or to the State Council, according to the character of the question.

**4. Town public institutions.** The organization of town selfgovernment, introduced in 1870 instead of the charter granted in 1785 and amended by the law of 1892, is constituted in general upon the same bases as the zemstvo selfgovernment. The elective right belongs here, however, not only to persons possessing in the course of the year real estate of a definite value, but also to persons, societies and associations, who support a commercial or industrial undertaking in the town, in the capitals, on a first guild certificate and, in the other towns, on a first or second guild.

All the electors constitute one body summoned every four years, which however, in case of its being especially numerous, may be divided into parts according to locality. For each town, in correspondence with the number of electors, there is fixed a definite number of members, ranging from 20 to 160.

The mayor presides in both the town council and the town board. In the capitals, the mayors are appointed

by the Emperor on the presentation of the Minister of the Interior, while the town council elects two candidates. In the other towns, the mayors are chosen by the town council, but both they and the members of the board must be confirmed by the governor or the Minister of the Interior. Finally, in small towns, the whole board is replaced by the sole authority of the mayor and his assistant. For the immediate control of the different branches of economy and administration, the town council may, with the authorization of the governor, elect special executive commissions.

The sphere of activity of the town public administration embraces the management of the capital and property of the town, the care for its external organization, for the supply of provisions, for the health of the inhabitants, etc. While enjoying the right of petitioning in the local interest, the town administration may issue orders obligatory for the inhabitants, and levy upon them taxes for the needs of the town on the value of the real estate, on trade certificates, etc.

The acts of the town public administration, like those of the zemstvo, are subjected to the inspection of the governor in the same manner as the zemstvo institutions.

The organization set forth of the town administration is replaced in the small town populations by a simplified system, where, instead of the council, there meets a body of representatives with due powers, (12 to 15 in number), elected by the local householders, the mayor and the board being replaced by the elder and his assistants.

**5. Institutions of the Nobility.** The community of the nobility is constituted of the hereditary nobles of the government; all of them may be present in the assembly of the nobles which usually meets every three years, but the right of voting is enjoyed only by those who have real estate in the government, and besides this have attained rank or gained an order, have completed the course of an intermediate educational establishment or served not less than three years in local elective offices. Finally, the right of personal participation in the elections of the nobles is enjoyed by those who, over and above this, own property in land to the extent giving the right to elect zemstvo members, or other real estate of not less than 15,000 roubles in value; moreover, the nobles with small estates also participate in the elections, though not personally but through representatives.

The elections form the chief business of the governmental assemblies. By election are filled the offices of governmental and district marshals of nobility, the deputies of the assembly of the nobles, and the secretary and members of the nobles' curatorship.

Hereditary nobles are eligible, although they have no property qualification and accordingly do not enjoy the right of voting in the assembly.

To the post of government marshals are elected two candidates to be presented through the Minister of the Interior for the approval of the Emperor. To each of the other posts one person is elected, whose confirmation rests with the governor.

After the elections, most important of all is the

right allowed the nobility of petitioning the central Government and even the Emperor, but only in respect of subjects under the immediate cognizance of the nobility.

Finally, the contributions of the nobility are collected either for objects of general common advantage or for private needs. The first are obligatory upon all, if they are accepted unanimously by the assembly, or sanctioned by the Emperor the second are binding only upon those who have agreed to them.

The executive organs of the nobility are: 1) The Assembly of Deputies, consisting of the governmental marshal of nobility and of the deputies from the districts; it keeps the genealogical book. 2) The Curatorship of the Nobility, and 3) The Marshals of the Nobility.

At the present time, the Marshal of Nobility is one of the most important offices in the local government. Being merely noble official personages, they at the same time preside in the zemstvo assemblies, in recruiting courts, at district congresses of zemsky nachalniks and in school councils. In the course of the two past reigns, there has been gradually imposed upon them the care for the material, intellectual, and moral welfare of the whole population. In this way, if at the present time the nobility does not elect to various institutions its own representatives, as was the case in ante-reform times, yet, in the person of its marshals, in the person of the zemsky nachalniks (also appointed for the most part from the local nobles), as well as in the constitution of the zemstvo assemblies, it is invested with a whole

series of duties in regard to local government, fully corresponding to its importance, as the class which always in our history was in the service of the Sovereign.

**6. Peasant institutions.** We saw in the historical sketch that the first foundations of the corporative organization of the rural population were laid already before the year 1861. But this organization could only obtain a general importance after the liberation of the serfs.

The corporative arrangement of the rural class is expressed in the organization of village communities and volosts, but these institutions are called upon to superintend not merely class affairs alone, but also matters of a general police character, although the latter concern persons principally of the same rural class.

The village community is constituted of the rural inhabitants of one settlement, or if the latter are former serfs, of those who are settled on the land of one land-owner. The volost, on the other hand, is composed of one or several settlements, with a population of from 300 to 2,000 males. The volosts are usually grouped according to parishes; where the volost consists of one settlement, the volost institutions coincide with those of the village.

The village administration is composed of the village meeting and the elder. The meeting, according to the general rule, is formed of all the householders belonging to the community; participation in the meeting is generally not limited by either sex or age, neither does it even require a property qualification.

The powers of the meeting include: 1) the election of village office-bearers, 2) the removal of harmful or vicious members, 3) the appointment of guardians, the division of family property, 4) land affairs, 5) consultations about the needs of the community, of every kind, 6) the fixing of the taxes of the community, the assessment of crown and zemstvo taxes and burdens, and measures for the prevention and exaction of arrears.

The executive organ of the meeting is the village elder, who, however, has also independent police duties as regards the supervision of persons of the taxpaying classes, resident in the community but not belonging to it. As an aid to the elder, the community may appoint tax collectors, inspectors of stores and schools, forest guards, etc.

The volost organization is far more complex. Besides the Meeting and the elder, there is here, further, the Volost Board and the Court. The volost meeting is constituted of elected representatives, one to each ten householders. It has jurisdiction throughout the whole volost in the same matters which belong to the village meetings, with a few exceptions only.

The executor of the decisions of the meeting is the volost elder and the collegiate institution assisting him—the volost board, which is formed of all the village elders, the assistants of the volost elder and the taxcollectors. The expedition of the business of the board is imposed upon the volost clerk, who is either elected or hired.

The volost court, finally, is formed of persons of unstained character not younger than thirty-five. Each



community elects one candidate for the post of judge and not less than eight to the volost, from whom the zemsky nachalnik appoints four judges for three years, and four as candidates.

With the abolition of serfdom and the organization of peasant selfgovernment, it was considered necessary to establish special organs for the superintendence of the latter. Originally, with this view, were established arbiters of the peace. They were selected by the governors, in consultation with the marshals of the nobility, mainly from the local landowners. Their final confirmation belongs to the Senate. Out of the arbiters, under the presidency of the district marshal of nobility, were constituted the district sessions, and, in the governments—governmental courts for peasant affairs under the presidency of the governor. In 1874 and the following years, the arbiters of the peace and their sessions were replaced by courts for peasant affairs and their permanent members, appointed by the Minister of the Interior from two candidates elected by the zemstvo from among the landed nobility.

In this way, however, the number of organs for the supervision of peasant selfgovernment was considerably diminished: instead of several arbiters of the peace, there was now one permanent member to each district. This circumstance was not long in making itself felt in various kinds of disorders in country life. The need was felt for a strong authority near to the people, which should combine the guardianship of the rural inhabitants with care for the interests of the peasants,

and with duties in regard to the preservation of public order and decency, and of the security and rights of private persons in the country localities. With this object, on the 12 July, 1889, ensued the abolition of peasant courts and justices of the peace, with the replacement of both one and the other by zemsky nachalniks, and in the towns, as regards the judicial part, by urban justices. The distinguishing feature of the zemsky nachalniks is the union in their person of the administrative and judicial power. Of their judicial functions we have already spoken in the section on justice. We shall therefore touch upon the conditions of the appointment of the zemsky nachalniks and upon their administrative duties. They are appointed, upon the governor's presentation, by the Minister of the Interior from among the local hereditary nobles. There is a fixed qualification in regard to both property and education: those who have received an intermediate education must own land, giving the right to participate in the zemstvo or nobles elections, or real estate of not less value than 15,000 roubles; while, for those who have completed the course in a higher educational establishment, it is sufficient that they have kept their own residence. In case of the impossibility of finding suitable candidates the Minister of the Interior is allowed to depart from these limitations. The list of candidates is drawn up by the governor in agreement with the marshals of nobility.

Of the zemsky nachalniks is formed, in the district, under the presidency of the district marshal of nobility, the district sessions; it has two courts — a Judicial,

composed of zemsky nachalniks, urban justices, honorary justices of the peace and the district member of the circuit court, and an Administrative, composed of zemsky nachalniks, the police captain and the president of the zemstvo board.

Here are received the complaints against the conduct of the zemsky nachalniks, and here too they present their reports. Next, for the supervision of the zemsky nachalniks, there is established the Governmental Court under the presidency of the governor, composed of the governmental marshal of nobility, the vice-governor, the *procuror*, two members from the nobility and others.

The administrative functions of the zemsky nachalniks, on the whole, are the same as were those of the former arbiters of the peace, concerning principally the organization of the peasants on the land, and their economical and moral welfare, with a slightly increased control over the peasant selfgovernment. Thus, the zemsky nachalnik has the right to examine all the resolutions of the village and volost meetings; he may stop the execution of those which are illegal or inexpedient, presenting them for the consideration of the district session. In regard to more important cases, the decisions of the meetings are sent up to be confirmed by the district sessions or the government court. Next, the zemsky nachalnik has discretionary power in regard to the removal of volost and village clerks, while he may inflict fines on all the other office-bearers, bringing the question of their removal before the district session. The right of punishment belongs to the zemsky nachalnik

in regard also to all the peasants generally, in case of their not carrying out his legal demands.

### 7. The local institutions of the Grandduchy of Finland.

In conclusion, we must say a word about the local institutions of Finland, as wholly differing from the general organization of the administration in the Empire.

Here, first of all, there are the organs of the superior administration. The highest legislative institution is the diet of Finland. It consists of four estates: 1) the knights and nobility, 2) the clergy, 3) the burgesses, and 4) the peasants. The diet is summoned by the Sovereign every five years or more often at the August discretion. The presidents («*talmen*») and assistant presidents of the estates are appointed by the Sovereign.

Until 1886, the right of initiative in legislative questions belonged only to the Emperor, but now it belongs to the Diet. In each diet, commissions are formed for the preliminary examination of questions. Further, each estate meets separately, although consultations together are allowed, after which, however, the estates vote separately.

The highest administrative and judicial institution of Finland is the Imperial Senate of Finland. It consists, under the presidency of the Governor-General, of a general assembly and two departments — an economical and a judicial. The senators are appointed by the Emperor for three years. Attached to the Senate are nine boards, having the management of different parts of the administration, and their chiefs are appointed by the

## THE GRANDDUCHY OF FINLAND.

Sovereign from among the senators. There are further the *procuror* and his assistant.

The central organ for the administration of Finland is the Secretary of State for the affairs of the Grand-duchy, in St. Petersburg, and on the spot—the representative of the Sovereign in the Duchy, the Governor-General of Finland.

Such are the superior institutions. As to the subordinate organs, the administration of the eight governments is entrusted to the governors and governmental regencies. The governments are divided into districts, under the control of «kronfogts», and circuits, administered by «lensmen», while the smallest division is the town and village commune.





## APPENDIX.

## RACES INHABITING the RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

	Number, (year).	Territory.
1) Abkhasians. Orthodox, Mohametans, and heathens.	60,000 (1886)	Kootäiss government.
2) Aboogatch. Mohametans.	100 (1859)	Yenissey government, Minoossinsk circuit.
3) Agrjanians. Mohametans.	107 (1857)	Town of Astrakhan.
4) Aissors. Orthodox.	2,272 (1891)	Kars territory; governments of Tiflis and Erivan.
5) Ajarians. Mohametans.	59,516 (1886)	Kootäiss gov., Batoom and Artvin districts.
6) Aleutians (Unangu- nians). Orthodox and heathens.	1,913 (1871)	Behring and Medny islands.
7) Arabs. Mohametans.	no exact informa- tion.	Samarcand territory.
8) Armenians. Gregorians and Roman- Catholics.	954,612 (1891)	Cis- and Trans-caucasia; territory of Don Cossacks; governments of Astrakhan, Taurida, Bessarabia, Kherson, and both capitals.
9) Arnauts (Albanians). Orthodox.	1000 (1861)	Government of Bessarabia.
10) Avars. Mohametans.	96,000 (1885)	Daghestan territory.
11) Baicats. Mohametans.	200 (1859)	Yenissey governm., circuit of Mi- noossinsk.
12) Balcars. Mohametans.	3,000 (1875)	Terek territory.

	Number, (year).	Territory.
13) Bashkirs. Mohametans.	600,000 (1887)	Governments of Orenburg, Oofa, Samara, Viatka, and Perm.
14) Belteers. Orthodox, partly heathens.	3,100 (1893)	Yenissey government, circuit of Minoossinsk.
15) Bessermians. Orthodox.	10,820 (1891)	Government of Viatka, Gläsof district.
16) Bieloroosy, (White-Russians), Orthodox, and Roman-Catholics.	5,000,000 (1886)	Principally governments of Minsk and Grodno, (except the extreme southern part of the latter); a small area of the government of Soovalky; government of Vilna (except its north-western corner); Mogilef; western part of government of Smolensk, and a small part of Tchernigof government.
17) Birars. Heathens.	2,000 (1883)	Amoor territory.
18) Bobyls. Heathens, Mohametans, and Christians.	no exact information.	South part of Perm government.
19) Bokharans. Mohametans.	9,000 (1880)	Governments of Tobolsk and Tomsk.
20) Booriats. Lamaites, heathens, and Orthodox.	270,000 (1891)	Irkootsk government and Transbäikal territory.
21) Bulgarians. Orthodox.	80,000 (1870)	Governments of Kherson, Taurida, and Bessarabia; Transcaucasia.
22) Cadjars. Mohametans.	5,000 (1873)	Governments of Elizavetpol and Erivan.
23) Cäibals. Orthodox.	8,500 (1892)	Yenissey government, Minoossinsk circuit.



	Number, (year).	Territory.
24) Calmucks. Buddhists, Christians, and heathens.	200,000 (1891)	Governments of Astrakhan and Stavropol; Don-Cossacks', Ural, and Semirechensk territories and Bisk circuit of Tomsk government.
25) Camasins. Orthodox.	400 (1893)	Yenissey gov., Can circuit.
26) Camtchadalians. Orthodox.	3,849 (1892)	Sea-coast territory, Peter and Paul circuit.
27) Caracalpacks. Mohametans.	250 (1851)	Governments of Astrakhan and Orenburg: Amoo-Daria region and Fergan territory.
28) Carachäievtsy. Mohametans.	25,000 (1891)	Koobäin territory.
29) Caragasses. Orthodox and heathens.	400 (1893)	Yenissey gov., Minoossinsk circuit.
30) Caräims. Jewish sect.	10,000 (1893)	Crimean peninsula; governments of Vilna, Voluin, and Kovno.
31) Cara-Kirgheze. Mohametans and heathens.	300,000 (1890)	Semiretchinsk; Fergan and Sur-Daria territories.
32) Carapapakhs. Mohametans.	24,000 (1892)	Kars territory.
33) Carelians. Orthodox and Lutherans.	300,000 (1875)	South of Finland and north-western governments of Russia, principally those of Tver, Novgorod, and Olonets.
34) Casakhs. Mohametans.	1,100 (1893)	Elizavetpol government.
35) Casi-Coomucks. Mohametans.	24,000 (1891)	Daghestan territory.
36) Catchints. Orthodox.	12,000 (1890)	Yenissey gov., Minoossinsk circuit.

	Number, (year).	Territory.
37) Chinese. Buddhists.	12,000 (1894)	Sea-coast and Amoor territories.
38) Coomucks. Mohametans.	108,800 (1891)	Daghestan and Terek territories.
39) Coords. Mohametans.	84,500 (1891)	Governments of Erivan, Elizavetpol, and Tiflis, and Kars territory.
40) Coorils. Heathens.	2,000 (1860)	Kamtchatka and Island of Sakhalin.
41) Coorish-Kenighe. Evangelic-Lutherans.	405 (1863)	Govern. of Courland, (between Goldingen and Gasenpot).
42) Coreans. Orthodox and heathens.	16,200 (1893)	Sea-coast and Amoor territories.
43) Coriaks. Heathens.	3,811 (1892)	Sea-coast territory, Gijiginsk and Peter and Paul circuits.
44) Crevings. Evangelic-Lutherans.	300 (1851)	Northern districts of governments of Livonia and Courland.
45) Cuerings. Mohametans.	55,000 (1891)	Daghestan territory.
46) Czecks. Czeck-Hussites, and partly Orthodox.	24,000 (1890)	Governments of Voluin and Black-Sea circuit in the Caucasus.
47) Darghinians. Mohametans.	54,300 (1891)	Daghestan territory, Darghin circuit.
48) Dāurs. Buddhists.	14,000 (1892)	Amoor territory.
49) Dunganians. Mohametans.	11,562 (1892)	Semieretchinsk territory, Issuk-Kool and Tockmack districts.
50) Esthonians. Evangelic-Lutherans and Orthodox.	656,000 (1880)	The entire gov. of Esthonia; 4 districts of the gov. of Livonia; Gdoff district of St. Petersburg gov., and Pskoff district of Pskoff, gov.; also partially gov. of Vitebsk.

	Number, (year).	Territory.
51) Finns. Evangelic-Lutherans.	2,000,000 (1890)	Grandduchy of Finland and partly governments of St. Petersburg, Olonets, and Archangel.
52) Germans. Evangelic-Lutherans, Reformed Church, Roman-Catholics and sect of Mennonites.	1,760,000 (1885)	Governments of Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland, principally; likewise all the other governments, especially the southern and southwestern.
53) Ghiliaks. Heathens.	7,000 (1890)	Sea-coast territory and island of Sakhalin.
54) Golds. Heathens.	5,000 (1885)	Along the rivers Amoor, Sungari, Usuri and around lake Khanka.
55) Goorians. Orthodox.	76,000 (1885)	Kootäiss gov., Osoorghet district.
56) Greeks. Orthodox.	60,000 (1889)	Southern governments of European Russia, and both capitals.
57) Groosins. (Georgians). Orthodox.	408,000 (1885)	Transcaucasia.
58) Hindus. Buddhists.	860 (1876)	Toorkistan.
59) Hollanders. * Roman-Catholics.	2,000 (1850)	Gov. of Grodno, Brest district.
60) Iessids. Heathens.	15,500 (1886)	Erivan gov., and Kars territory.
61) Ijora. Orthodox.	2,000 (1860)	St. Petersburg gov.
62) Imeritians. Orthodox.	423,000 (1886)	Governments of Kootäiss and Tiflis.
63) Inghiloisians. Mohametans.	9,000 (1886)	Zakatäil circuit.

\* Descendants of Dutch emigrants to Lithuania in 13<sup>th</sup> century.

	Number, (year).	Territory.
64) Ingoosh. Mohametans.	28,000 (1891)	Terek territory, Soonja district.
65) Jews. Hebrews.	5,007,000 (1884)	Principally 9 western governments, kingdom of Poland, and southern, and Little-Russia governments.
66) Khevsoors. Orthodox and heathens.	6,560 (1886)	Northern pars of Telavsk district, Tiflis gov., (about the sources of the rivers Aragva and Arguin).
67) Kille. Heathens.	1,000 (1883)	Sea-coast territory.
68) Kirgheze-Kaisaks. Mohametans.	3,290,000 (1890)	Orenburg and Astrakhan governments; Akmolinsk, Sur-Daria, Samarkand, Transcaspian, Ural, Toorgäi, Semipalatinsk and Semiretchinsk territories.
69) Kizils. Orthodox.	6,000 (1893)	Yenissey gov., Minoossinsk and Achinsk circuits.
70) Lakhamoolts. Orthodox.	300 (1864)	Kootäiss government.
71) Lamoots. Orthodox.	2,502 (1892)	Yakootsk and Sea-coast territories.
72) Lesghins. Mohametans.	597,000 (1886)	Daghestan territory; government of Baku and Elizavetpol, and Zakkatäil circuit.
73) Letts. Evangelic-Lutherans and Orthodox.	1,050,000 (1873)	Almost the entire gov. of Courland, partially governments of Livonia, Vitebsk, and Kovno.
74) Lithuanians. Roman - Catholics and Orthodox.	2,500,000 (1873)	Governments of Kovno, Grodno and Vilna; partially Kingdom of Poland and gov. of Tchernigof.
75) Livonians. Evangelic-Lutherans.	2,400 (1883)	North of Courland gov.; basin of river Salis; gov. of Livonia.

	Number, (year).	Territory.
76) Lopars. Orthodox.	3,380 (1859)	Government of Arkhangel, Kem district; north of grandduchy of Finland.
77) Malorossy, (Little Russians). Orthodox.	17,110,000 (1886)	1-st region: governments of Kief, Poltava and Tchernigof (these form the heart of Little Russia), governments of Kharkof, Podolia, Voluin, Koorsk, Voronej, the Novorossia governments (Ekaterinoslaf, Kherson governments and the steppe part of gov. of Taurida) where the inhabitants are for the most part Little Russians. 2-nd region: gov. of Lublin and part of gov. of Siedlets, government of Grodno and Minsk. 3-rd region: along the river Koo-bäin and the lower part of the river Volga.
78) Manegrians. Heathens.	1,000 (1883)	Amoor territory.
79) Mangoons. Heathens.	1,000 (1883)	Sea-coast territory.
80) Mantchoorians. Buddhists.	14,000 (with the Daur) (1891)	Amoor territory.
81) Mestcheriaks. Orthodox (35,000). Mo- hametans (125,000).	160,000 (1886)	Governments of Orenburg, Pensa, Saratof, Oofa, and Perm.
82) Mingrelians. Orthodox.	214,000 (1891)	Gov. of Kootäiss.
83) Moldavians. Orthodox.	653,000 (1859)	Southern governments — Bessara-bia, Podolia, Kherson, and Ekate-rinoslaf.
84) Mordva. Orthodox.	775,000 (1866)	Governments of Simbirsk, Penza, Samara, Nijni-Novgorod, Saratof, Orenburg, Oofa, Kazan, and Tamboff.
85) Navroosovtsy. Mohametans.	5,420 (1859)	Koobäin territory.

	Number, (year).	Territory.
86) Neidals. Heathens.	1,500 (1883)	Sea-coast territory, along the river Amguin.
87) Nogaits. Mohametans.	61,560 (1891)	Eastern part of gov. of Stavropol and northern part of Terek territory.
88) Nookhoorts. Mohametans.	1,150 (1890)	Transcaspian territory, Krasnovodsk district.
89) Orocks. Heathens.	1,000 (1883)	Northern part of Island of Sakhalin.
90) Orotchonians. Orthodox.	3,500 (1892)	Yakootsk, Transbaikal, Amoor, and Sea-coast territories.
91) Ossetins. Orthodox, partly Mohametans.	164,490 (1886)	Terek territory; governments of Tifis and Kootäiss.
92) Ostiaks. Orthodox and heathens.	26,000 (1880)	Governments of Tobolsk, Tomsk and Yenissey.
93) Permiacs. Orthodox.	90,000 (1885)	Governments of Perm and Viatka.
94) Persians. Mohametans.	32,300 (1889)	Terek and Daghestan territories, Transcaucasia, gov. of Astrakhan, and Transcaspian territory.
95) Poles. Roman-Catholics.	6,000,000 (1886)	Chiefly the Vistula region; an entirely Polish population exists besides only in the western part of Grodno. There are also Polish landowners in 9 western governments.
96) Pshāves. Orthodox.	9,000 (1885)	Tifis gov., Tionet district.
97) Sagäits. Orthodox and heathens.	11,720 (1864)	Yenissey gov., Minoossinsk circuit, and Tomsk gov., Kooznetzk circuit.

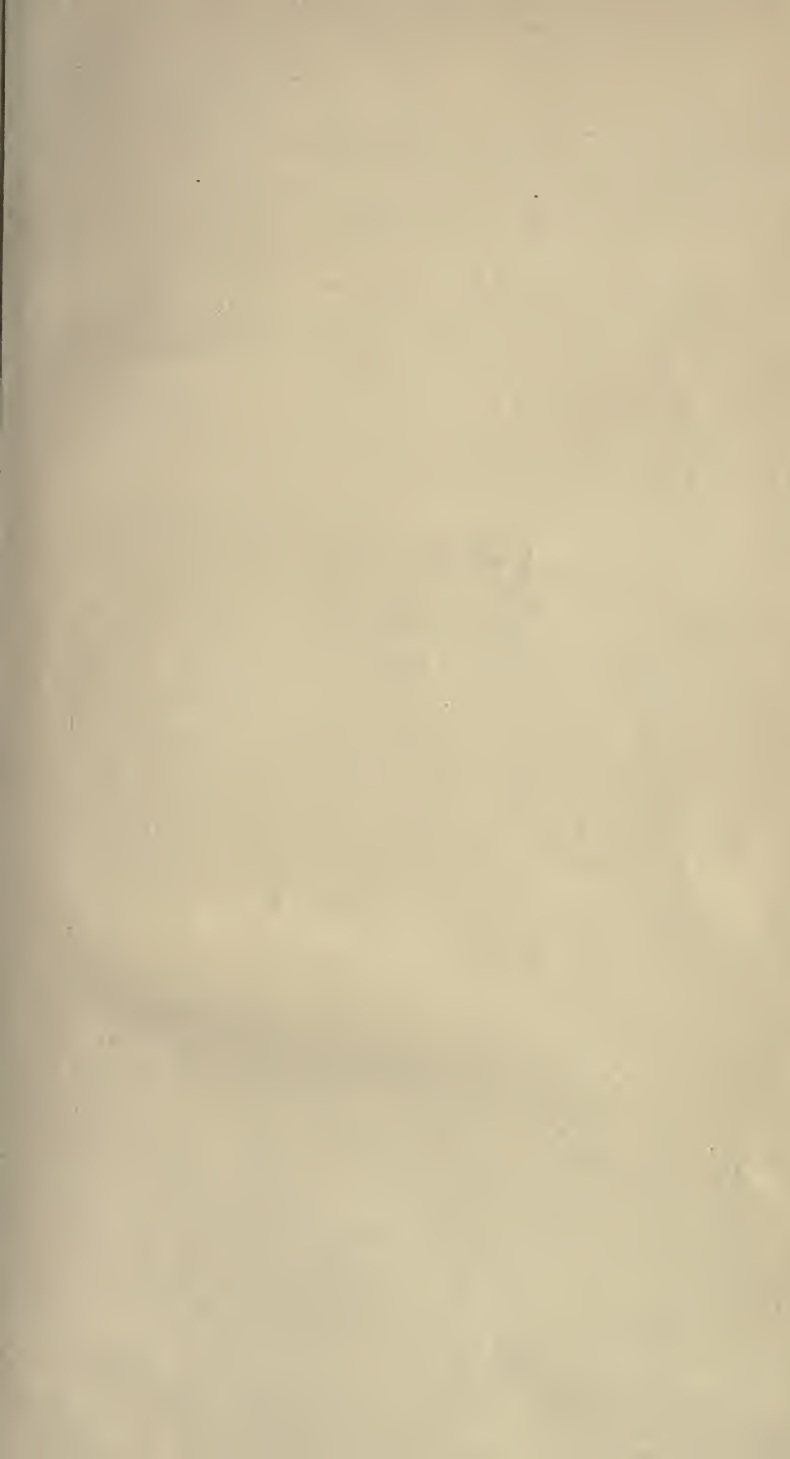
	Number, (year).	Territory.
98) Samagarts. Heathens.	900 (1883)	Sea-coast territory.
99) Samoieds. Chiefly Heathens.	22,000 (1859)	Coast of Arctic Ocean, from river Mezen (Archangel gov.) to river Khatanga (Yenissey gov.).
100) Sarts. Mohametans.	690,300 (1876)	Sur-Daria, Samarkand, and Fergan territories.
101) Scotchmen. Evangelic-Lutherans.	250 (1871)	Piätigorsk section, Terek territory.
102) Servians. Orthodox.	8,000 (1879)	Governments of Kherson and Eka-terinoslaf.
103) Soyots. Heathens.	1,000 (1890)	Irkootsk gov., Irkootsk circuit.
104) Svanets. Orthodox.	14,035 (1891)	Gov. of Kootäiss.
105) Swedes. Evangelic-Lutherans.	256,000 (1886)	Grandduchy of Finland; gov. of Esthonia, Reval and Hapsal districts; gov. of Kherson, Kherson district. A small number of Swedes still exist in the gov. of Tobolsk, descended from Swedish prisoners exiled thither during the war with Charles XII.
106) Swiss. Reformed-Church.	1,500 (1876)	Governments of Bessarabia, Sa-ratof, and Taurida.
107) Tabasaranians. Mohametans.	14,460 (1891)	Daghestan territory.
108) Tadjiks. Mohametans.	137,280 (1879)	Toorkistan.
109) Talishians. Mohametans.	50,510 (1886)	Baku gov., Lenkoran district.
110) Tarantches. Mohametans.	51,097 (1892)	Semiretchinsk territory.

	Number, (year).	Territory.
111) Tatars. Mohametans.	2,500,000 (1866)	All the eastern and south-eastern governments of European Russia; gov. of Taurida; the Caucasus, and western Siberia.
112) Täts. Mohametans.	124,683 (1886)	Governments of Baku and Elizavetpol, and Daghestan territory.
113) Tcheremisses. Orthodox and heathens.	283,800 (1892)	Principally governments of Viatka and Kazan.
114) Tcherkesses. Mohametans.	161,960 (1891)	Southern part of Koobäin territory and western part of Terek territory.
115) Tchetchens. Mohametans.	195,900 (1891)	Caucasian mountains (almost exclusively in Terek territory).
116) Tchoodi. Orthodox.	13,250 (1865)	Gov. of Olonets, Lodeinopolsk and Petrazavodsk districts; gov. of Novgorod, Tikhvinsk, and Bielozersk districts.
117) Tchooktchy. Orthodox.	13,000 (1893)	Yakootsk and Sea-coast territories.
118) Tchoovans. Orthodox.	143 (1893)	Yakootsk territory, Koluim circuit.
119) Tchoovash. Orthodox.	540,000 (1866)	Governments of Kazan, Simbirsk, Saratof, Viatka, Orenburg, and Tobolsk.
120) Telengoots. Buddhists.	18,470 (1859)	Gov. of Tomsk.
121) Teptiars. Orthodox and Mohametans.	130,000 (1866)	Governments of Orenburg, Oofa, Viatka and Perm.
122) Toobeens. Orthodox and heathens.	920 (1875)	Yenissey gov., Minoossinsk circuit.



	Number, (year).	Territory.
123) Toongoosians. Orthodox.	43,000 (1892)	Eastern Siberia, from the river Yenissey to the Sea of Okhotsk, reaching in the north to the Arctic Ocean and to the Chinese frontier in the south.
124) Tooralinians. Orthodox.	2,100 (1875)	Between the rivers Tobol and Irtush.
125) Tooshins. Heathens.	5,624 (1886)	Gov. of Tiflis.
126) Trookhmenians. Mohametans.	19,000 (1892)	Gov. of Stavropol.
127) Tsakhoors. Mohametans.	2,430 (1875)	Daghestan territory.
128) Tsigans, (Gipsies). Orthodox.	18,790 in gov. of Bessarabia (1868).	Principally gov. of Bessarabia. Also in Central Asia, under various namès—Mazan, Djugi, Liuli.
129) Turkomen. Mohametans.	262,700 (1892)	Transcaspian and Kars territories; Amoo-Daria region.
130) Turks. Mohametans.	70,216 (1892)	Kars territory, and Artvin circuit of Kootäiss gov.
131) Ubukhs. Mohametans.	25,000 (1867)	North-eastern coast of Black-Sea, Kooban territory.
132) Ukaghirs. Orthodox.	436 (1893)	Koluim and Verkhoiansk circuits, gov. of Yenissey.
133) Uracks. Orthodox and heathens.	343 (1877)	Toorookhan region gov. of Yenissey
134) Uriankhainians. Orthodox and heathens.	18,000 (1865)	South-eastern part of Bisk circuit, gov. of Tomsk; south-western part of Minoossinsk circuit, Yenissey gov.; Bâikal mountains.
135) Uroospëievtsy. Mohametans.	3,050 (1875)	Upper part of river Baskon, Terek territory.

	Number, (year).	Territory.
136) Usbecks. Mohametans.	182,120 (1876)	Territories of Sur-Daria, Samarkand, Fergan, Transcaspia; Amoo-Daria region.
137) Velicoroosy, (Great-Russians). Orthodox.	58,000,000 (1886)	46 governments of European Russia; Caucasus, Siberia, and Central Asia.
138) Vodi. Orthodox.	4,500 (1862)	St. Petersburg gov., Yamburg and Oranienbaum districts.
139) Vogools. Orthodox.	8,000 (1880)	Tobolsk gov., Tobolsk and Toorinsk circuits; Perm gov., Verkhotoorsk district.
140) Votiaks. Orthodox and partly heathens.	380,000 (1888)	South-eastern part of gov. of Viatka, and certain districts in governments of Kazan, Perm, Samara, and Oofa.
141) Yakoots. Orthodox and heathens.	230,433 (1893)	Yakootsk territory and Yenissey government.
142) Zurians. Orthodox.	120,000 (1865)	Governments of Archangel and Vologda.



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