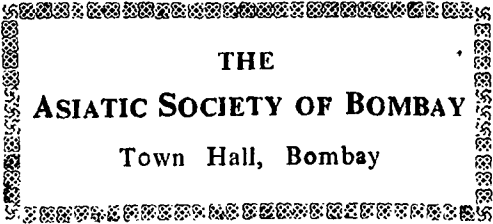


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**THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY**
Town Hall, Bombay

Уд. Б. 2

THE BALTIC SEA



CHRISTIANA
NORWAY

RUSSIA AS IT IS:

ITS COURT, ITS GOVERNMENT,
AND ITS PEOPLE.

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B. 1313

BY

JOHN REYNELL MORELL,

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WITH A MAP OF THE BALTIC.



TWENTY-THOUSAND.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.



THIS little book is intended to meet the wants of a large class of readers. Though near to us in distance, Russia is so remote from our moral and intellectual horizon, that the generality of men in this country know probably much more about the antipodes than they do of these uncouth neighbours, and though many voluminous and able works have lately appeared on Russia, in England, and especially on the continent, their length and price place them often beyond the reach of the general reader. Nor was it likely, till the present storm in the East broke the serenity of our political atmosphere, that many of the inhabitants of this busy country could patiently sit down to pore over ponderous tomes, on a people whose literary, æsthetical, and commercial produce has never exceeded, and seldom equalled, mediocrity. Now, however, the case is different, and though a heavy and lengthy book on Russia would be still out of place and time in this stirring epoch, a concise, clear, and comprehensive epitome of its most striking features, seems a legitimate demand that requires to be speedily satisfied. Hence it has been the attempt of the author to give a popular sketch of the most striking characteristics of that colossal empire. Hurry and brevity have necessarily led to omissions, and probably occasional inaccuracies, yet the author trusts that they are not serious, and that they will not militate materially against the value of the book. Many other little sketches of the same nature are before the public, but they generally differ from the present volume, by presenting the limited experience of individual authors, instead of a summary and comparison of all the best authorities on the subject, together with the inductions of the author drawn from them.

The principal authorities in Russia have been carefully consulted, and the pages of this work are largely indebted to the disclosures of Baron Haxthausen, Kohl, the Marquis de Custine, Ivan Golovin, Leouzon le Duc, de Lagny, von Heller, &c. &c. By comparing the conflicting accounts of the friends and foes of Russia, it

has been the conscientious endeavour of the author to arrive at an impartial estimate of the Czar, his empire, and his people. The portraits of the Romanoffs are from private sources and memoirs, written by actors in the scenes, and only recently published in Germany. Several of the anecdotes at the end of the book will, perhaps, not be unacceptable to the reader. It only remains to be added that in all works on Russia, great difficulties are encountered in rendering Russian names into English. Almost every traveller and writer spells Russian names differently. The plan adopted in this book has been to follow the most usual method, though not the most accurate. All Russian scholars are aware that where we put "w" or "f" at the end of a Russian name, it would be correcter to put a "v." Thus Orlov and Suvarov would be correcter than Orloff and Souvaroff. But the latter having become the accepted rendering, it has appeared preferable to refrain it rather than encumber these pages and the reader's mind with a new nomenclature.

Another considerable difficulty occurs in the introduction and comparison of Russian measures of surface, money, and weight. We subjoin a short table containing a comparative view of Russian and English measures, to which any numerical difficulty occurring in the text can be referred for solution.

| Russian. | English, &c. |
|---|--------------|
| 1 VERST = 0.143376 of a German geographical mile, 0.23960 of a French mile of 25 to a degree, $\frac{2}{3}$ rds of a British statute mile, or 1166 yards 2 feet. 104 versts make 60 English geographical miles. | |
| 1 SILVER ROUBLE = 3s. 2d., but varying from 2s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 4s. and upwards. Its present value, in French money, is about 4 francs. | |
| 1 PAPER ROUBLE = About 1 franc, or 10d. | |
| 1 PUD = (40 Russian lbs.) 35.20lb. avoirdupois. | |
| 1 RUSSIAN lb. = 409 French grammes, or rather less than 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ English. | |
| 1 SILVER COPECK = 4 centimes, or less than $\frac{1}{4}$ penny. | |
| 1 GERMAN SQUARE MILE = 20 English square miles.* | |

* See Schnitzler's "Statistique Generale de l'Empire Russe."—pp. 163—169.

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R U S S I A

AS IT IS.

SECTION I.—TOPOGRAPHY.

CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE AND POPULATION.

IN approaching Russia, the question naturally occurs—"Where does it begin?" and the echoes of Schönbrunn and Potsdam answer "where!" A paper, suspected of being the organ of the Russian embassies, has said—"The continent since 1848 is ruled by colonels in Russian uniforms." Possibly it may be as difficult to discover an end as a beginning of this enlightened empire, which smiles on us in the boudoir of beauty, allures us in the hell and at the faro-table, confers its benediction on us from the altar, and whispers into our ear in the drawing-room of western Europe. Germany protected, the Netherlands entrammelled, Italy awed, Denmark sold, England hoodwinked, the continent enthralled by Russian agents,—we may well ask, "Where does Russia begin?—where does it end?" Before 1848, Russian travellers, like angel visits, came few and far between; and whenever they first landed they could never be mistaken. It has been remarked that you can always know an Englishman on a journey, however disguised, by the amount of his luggage: similarly the Russian, first landing in freedom at Lubeck, could always be known by his frantic joy. It has been frequently compared to school boys at a breaking-up, or to prisoners reprieved.

Since the fatal era of Russian barricades, however, matters are much altered. There is no freedom in the west, and coming Russia casts her shadow before her. It is also very dark, and all smiles fade in gloom.

More Russians travel since 1848. They are not like angel's visits any more. There is no sunshine on their brow as they leap ashore at Lubeck; they feel at home,—Europe is protected. Their steps are dogged by agents—their words tortured by spies; they are half of them agents and spies themselves. Grand duchesses, state counsellors, and ministers of police thicken upon us,—we begin to fraternize with Muscovy, and expire in its embrace. The Czar must feel Western Europe safe, or he would not trust so many of his

children on its unsteady ground. The problem is solved,—we no longer know where Russia begins or ends.

But though, morally speaking, it is difficult to determine the boundaries of Russia, her ostensible physical frontier, though continually shifting, owing to the aggressive policy of her cabinet, is more easily ascertained. The ancient kingdom of Poland with its dependencies having been incorporated with Austria, Prussia, and especially Russia, the present frontier of the Russian empire on the continent of Europe is a line drawn through the heart of that ill-fated monarchy from Memel to the Black sea. On the side of European Turkey, the limits of Muscovy will have to be determined by the present contest.

The most accessible approaches to Russia from the west are the Baltic and Euxine seas, forming two highways from the west to the east of Europe. The Caucasus is the natural frontier of Russia in the south, though she has stepped over it into Georgia; and the Caspian sea, which is a Russian lake, admits her into the heart of Persia. It may be remarked in general that Siberia, or the eastern portion of the Russian empire, is divided from the table-lands of Mongolia, Tartary, and China by the Altai range of mountains and its branch chains; but it is proper to add that this colossal territory is surrounded by a girdle of protected and dependant nations and regions which smooth the way for its encroachments. Having viewed the external limits of Russia, we shall proceed to observe, in the words of the Marquis de Custine, "that Russia is not so well known, and that it has been less frequently described and illustrated than India; nevertheless, it is quite as curious as Asia, even under the head of art, of poetry, and especially of history."

An additional interest is now conferred on this anomalous country by passing events, which threaten to bring the bulky but unwieldy forces of Muscovy into collision with the strategy and the ornaments of an Anglo-French alliance. We shall therefore proceed at once to analyze it more closely.

THE MOUNTAINS.

We have only space to notice the most prominent chains of mountains in the empire, beginning with the Oural (a Tartar word signifying girdle). This chain begins from the White sea and the island of Novaya Zembla, and extends southward through the whole breadth of Russia, making a boundary between the governments of Archangel and Tobolsk, and dividing into two equal parts the government of Perme; then they enter the government of Oufa, and thence extend towards the deserts of the Kirghis-Kaisaks. The length of these mountains exceeds 2000 versts; and on both sides they branch out into different mountains, such as the mountains Okto Karagay, and the continuation of the same called the Alghinskoy Sirt, into the Gouberlinskio mountains, or the mountains of Gouberlya, the mountains called Obschey (common) Sirt, and others. The Oural mountains consist chiefly of granite, slate or schistus, and limestone, and partly of sandy hillocks full of talc, wherein copper ore and malachites are sometimes to be met

with; and near Ekaterinburg gold ore has been discovered. Iron ore is to be found in great plenty there, in which, sometimes, very powerful loadstones occur. These mountains, moreover, abound in mountain crystal, amethyst, topaz of different sorts, agates, cornelian, beryl, chalcedony, and marble of different colours. From these mountains descend the rivers Bolshaya (the great), Pichova, Kama, Oural, Bielaya (White river), and others which run into the river Tobol.

The next chain we shall consider is the Caucasus, a name associated with all that is most heroic in man and most sublime in nature. A great part of the Higher Caucasus is still in the possession of independent Circassian tribes, who, though not exceeding from one to two million inhabitants, have bid defiance to the whole power of Russia for above fifty years.

The Caucasian mountains begin with the Caspian, run through Daghestan, the territory of the Lesghis, the Kabardians, Abasians, and the Tcherkesses, and suddenly cease at the mouth of the Kuban, which falls into the Black Sea, near the Thracian Bosphorus. The principal mountains of this chain are the Elbrouz.

The chief rivers that rise in the Caucasus are the Kuban, which divides the mountain region to the north from the steppes of Russia, and forming a circle to the north-west falls, as before related, into the Euxine, near Anapa, and the Terek, which also rises near the Elbrouz, and flowing east falls into the Caspian.

The Caucasian mountains consist chiefly of granite, slate, limestone, and basalts. Lead ore, containing silver, and copper ore are found in them, and they produce the finest timber and the noblest men that decorate this earth.

Passing to Asia we have to notice the Poroobezniya Sibirskiya Gori, *i.e.*, the mountains bordering upon Siberia, which are the northern branches of the Asiatic mountains, that extend along the river Irtish on the east, and on the south along the borders of Siberia. That part of them which extends between the rivers Ob and Irtish, is called the Altai mountains, and the part surrounding the lake Teletsk, is called the Teletsk mountains. The range of mountains extending farther to the east, between the sources of the Enisey and Selenya rivers, and surrounding the Baikal lake, is called the Sayansk mountains.

Those mountains, from Baikal varying towards the south-east, approach other mountains which are called Yablonniya mountains: they stretch out to a very great extent by different branches, which following the course of different rivers, reach as far as the Frozen Sea. The principal range of these mountains lies near the coasts of the sea of Okhotsk, and is called Stanovoy Khrcbet. From this originates another ridge of mountains called Kamchatskoy Khrcbet, (ridge of Kamtschatka mountains), which extends through Kourilskie and the Japan Islands. It is likewise the branches of these very mountains which form the Tchoukotskoy Noss as well as that cluster of islands which is situated between Siberia and America, and is known by the name of Aleoutskie and Fox Islands.

As the mountains contiguous to Siberia occupy a vast extent of ground, so their different constituent parts are likewise various, and

contain great variety of metals, minerals, and stones. The best account of the mineral treasures and produce of the Altai mountains will be found in Mr. Cottrell's work on Siberia (1847), which though evidently coloured by a partiality for despotism, in the complacency with which he treats the exiles, may generally be depended on in all relating to descriptions of nature and of physical science. The rich mines of Kolivane are found in the Altai mountains. These mines exceed all others in abundance of gold, silver, and copper, as well as in porphyry and aqua-marine. The Sayansk mountains abound in copper and iron ore as well as in ochre, which appears like gold. The mines of Nerchinsk, lying in the Daourian mountains, which join to the Yablonnoy Khrebet, contains great quantity of lead ore of every kind, as well as calamines, abounding with gold and silver, quicksilver, antimony, pyrites, aqua-marines, chrysolites, amethysts, cornelians, onyxes, chalcedonies, porphyries, ophites, lapis-lazuli; and a great deal of native alkaline mineral salt is found in lakes and salt marshes. Almost in every part of Siberia, and particularly in the plains of it, there are found bones of the mastodon, &c., mammoth's teeth, and other fossils. The Royal Society, strange to relate, seems still puzzled to account for them. In this range of mountains originate the rivers Irtysh, Obe, Enissey, the two Tamgooskas, as well as the Baikal lake, and rivers which fall into it; likewise the rivers Lena, Yana, Indighirka, Alazeya, Kolhima, Anadir, Ouda, Shilka, and Argounya, which two last form the river Amour.

LAKES.

The transition from earth to water is natural and obvious, and we shall proceed first to a survey of Russian lakes.

EUROPEAN RUSSIA.—The Ladoga lake, anciently called Nevo, is the largest in Europe, being 175 versts long and 105 wide.* It lies between the governments of St. Petersburg, Olonetz, and Vyborg. It communicates with the Baltic sea by the river Neva, with the Onega lake by the river Tvir. The Ladoga canal is made near this lake.

The Onega lake is near the government of Olonetz. It is above 200 versts long, and the greatest width does not exceed 80 versts.† The other principal lakes in European Russia are the Peïpus or Tohude, 80 versts long, 60 broad, near Pscov, Revel, and Riga; the Ilmenozero, near Novgorod, 40 versts long, 30 broad; and the Bieloë Ozero, or White lake, also near Novgorod, 50 versts long and 30 wide. Passing to Siberia, the Baikal lake, or Holy sea, in the government of Irkutsk, is 600 versts long, and from 30 to 40 versts wide. Mr. Charles Cottrel, who gives a very interesting description of this lake, represents it as commonly or frequently frozen hard in winter, and answering the purpose of a great highway for passengers and traffic in sledges. During the thaw, however, these expeditions are attended with great risk, and are no unfrequently fatal.

* Ladoga Lake, 116 miles long, 69 wide.

† Onega, 183 miles long, 58 wide.

RIVERS.

In European Russia the most considerable river is the Volga, which is the largest stream in Europe. It takes its source in morasses in the government of Tver, and waters many governments, --viz., Yaroslav, Kostroma, Nijni-Novgorod, Kasan, Siubirsk, Saratof, and the Caucasus, and pours into the Caspian by more than sixty mouths, the principal of which is that of Akhtouba. The whole length of this river is 4000 versts. It is navigated for a great distance by different huge unwieldy barges, manned by uncouth and clumsy crews, of whom Mr. Oliphant gives a humorous description; and a few wretched steam-tugs are employed, whose introduction has been greatly checked, and whose benefits have been much neutralized by the ignorance, venality, and awkwardness of the natives. Many thousands of people find support in the traffic on the Volga, which Russian accounts represent as free from cataracts, whirlpools, and all impediments, though Mr. Oliphant found numerous shallows. The chief tributaries of the Volga are the Kama, Soura, Oka, Shosha, Tvertza, Mologa, Sheksna, Sviaga, Sarpa, Kostroma, Ounja, Vetlooga, Tcheremshak, Sok, and Samara.

The Neva is a wide and rapid river, washing the walls of St. Petersburg, and rising on the Ladoga lake. It forms an uninterrupted navigation from the gulf of Finland to the Caspian by means of a canal with the Volga. It has a course of 60 versts, and falls into the Gulf of Finland by different mouths after receiving the Ijova and Tosna.* The rivers Pernava, Narova, Looga, and Kuman, fall into the Baltic sea. The most interesting description of the Neva is in the Marquis de Custine's travels.

The other principal rivers of European Russia are the Dnieper, rising in the government of Smolensk, and after a course of 1500 versts falling into the Black sea at the gulf of Zenian, near Ekaterinoslav. This river has thirteen porogi, or cataracts, and used to flow through Polish and Turkish territories before the enormous encroachments of Russia.

The Bug is a considerable river rising in Poland; it flows south east into the Liman through the steppe of Otchakov.

The Don, anciently the Tanais, has its rise in the Ivan Ozero, in the government of Toola. It flows 1000 versts, and falls into the Azoff sea.† In Asiatic Russia we must notice the Obe rising in the Altai lake, and first called Biy. After its junction with the Katomya, it takes the name of Obe, and after traversing the governments of Koliwan and Tobolsk, it falls into the Icy sea.

The Enfssey is formed by the junction of the Oulookema and the Baykema, which rise in the Altai mountains in Mongolia. It runs through the whole extent of Siberia, and falls into the Icy sea, the length of its course being 2500 versts.

* The Dwina, or Western Dwina, rises in a bog in the Government of Tver, and falls into the bay of Riga.

† The Dwina Sievernaya, or Northern, is formed of two rivers, the Sookhana and the Yuka, and flows into the White sea.

The Lena is one of the largest or rather longest rivers in the world, rising in the mountains surrounding the Baical lake. Its course extends above 5000 versts, and it falls into the icy sea by five principal mouths.

The Yana, the Indighirka, and the Kolhima, are also considerable rivers in the government of Irkutsk. The first flows 800 versts, the second 1200, and the third 1500 versts.

The Amour is formed by the junction of the Shilka and the Argoonya, and running into the Chinese dominions it falls into the Eastern ocean.

THE RUSSIAN SEAS.

The Northern ocean surrounds the Northern parts of Russia, forming a deep gulf in the government of Archangel, called the White sea. That part of it which washes the coast of Siberia, east of Novaya Zembla, to the Tchoukotskoy Noss, is called particularly the Icy, or Glacial sea.

The Eastern ocean washes the coast of Kamtschatka, forming a deep bay, called the sea of Okhotsk.

The principal water approaches of Russia on the side of civilized Europe are the Baltic, the Black sea, and the sea of Azoff; and in the direction of our East India possessions she has complete command of the Caspian, which washes the heart of Persia.

The Baltic sea, anciently called the Varyazskoye More, *i. e.*, the sea of Varyaghi, lies westward of Russia. That part of it which bathes the coast of the governments of St. Petersburg, Revel, and Vyborg, is called the gulf of Finland, which is about 400 versts long, and 100 versts broad; the bay of Riga extends between the government of Riga and the island of Oesel.

The Black sea belongs to the province of Taurida, and to a part of the government of the Caucasus; the length of this sea from east to west is 1000, and the width from north to south 500, versts. The western side, off the mouth of the Danube, is exposed to violent winds, sweeping over the steppes, and has no good harbour, save Varna, in Turkey. On the north coast, near Odessa, it is often covered with ice in winter, but the Crimea offers admirable harbours at Sebastopol and Balaclava, and the great wall of the Caucasus protects the shores of Asia Minor from the north, and offers very good harbours.

The sea of Azoff is included entirely within the dominions of Russia, and by means of the straits of the Thracian Bosphorus, or Yenikaleh, in Turkey, forms a communication with the Black sea. It is surrounded on one side by the government of Ekaterinodar, and on the other by that of the Caucasus and the habitations of the Don Cossacks. The greatest length of this sea (not including the bay of Taganrog) is about 200 versts, and the breadth about 160 versts. At the western end of it, within the province of Taurida, there is a very large pool, called Sivash, or the Putrid sea, which is about 140 versts long and 14 broad. The Caspian sea (alias Khvalinskoye More) lies to the south of Russia, and on that part of it constitutes the frontier of the government of the Caucasus

and Oufa. The length of it from north to south is about 1000 versts, and the greatest breadth does not exceed 400 versts:

Russia is bounded on the north by the Northern ocean, or by the Icy sea; on the east it is washed by the Eastern ocean, and is divided from America by Behring's (anciently called Anian) straits, which are about 73 versts wide. From thence, towards the south, the Russian Empire extends along the chain of the Aleoutskie islands, which approach the north-west coast of America; and from Kamtschatka towards the south-west it extends, by a chain of other islands, called Kourilskie islands, as far as Japan; on the south it borders on the Black sea, on Persia, Khiva, and Turkish Armenia, on Ziungoria, Chinese Mongolia, and Daouria; on the west on Danish and Swedish Lapland; the Baltic Sea, Prussia, Austria, and European Turkey.

Some authorities represent Russia as occupying more than the seventh, others about the ninth part of the habitable globe. The greatest extent of Russia, from west to east,—viz., from the 20th to the 207 $\frac{1}{4}$ degree of longitude, contains 187 degrees, and the distance from Riga to Tchoukotskoy Noss, in Kamtschatka is about 16,500 versts (12,256 miles). The greatest extent of the Empire from north to south, *i. e.*, from the 78th to the 40 degrees, contains 38 degrees. The breadth of Russia, reckoning it from Cape Taymour, which is the north-eastern promontory, to Kiakhta, on the borders of China, will constitute 3200 versts (2120 miles).

In 1792, it embraced 12,150,000 square versts, and the latest estimates give it 368,000 square miles, of 15 to a degree, or 370,000 square geographical German miles (7,770,000 square English miles).

Thus the greater part of the Russian Empire lies in what Muscovite authors call the temperate zone, and some part of it, or whatever exceeds the 60th degree north latitude, lies in the frigid zone. "Hence it is clear," says a Russian officer, * with pardonable pride, "that there is not at present, and never has been in ancient times, an empire, the extent of which might be compared to that of Russia." A recent French writer, on considering this colossal monarchy, indulges in the following strain of rhetoric:—"The Empire of Russia exceeds in extent all the other states of Europe. The superb monarchy of Alexander, the vast compass of the Roman republic, the fabulous progress of Arab conquest, scarcely suffice to give an idea of it."† And we may add that the most accurate notion of its gigantic proportions can be obtained from a comparison with the Mongolian conquests of Genghiz Khan, and the Tartar Empire of Tamerlane.

Russia is bisected by nature into two great divisions, by a range of mountains called Oural, that forms an uninterrupted barrier between Siberia and European Russia, which is, moreover, divided from Tartary, Turkey, and Persia, by the natural bulwark of the Caucasus chain, that western diplomacy has surrendered into the grasp of Muscovite aggression, together with the province of Georgia, lying to the south of the Circassian uplands.

That part of Russia which lies on this side of the Oural moun-

* Survey of Russia. By Capt. Sergey Pleschcef.

† *La Russie Contemporaine*, Introduction.

tains presents a very extensive plain, verging westward by an easy descent. The vast extent of this plain has a great variety of different climates, soils, and products. The northern part of it very woody, marshy, and but little fit for cultivation, and has sensible declivity towards the White and the Frozen seas. The other part of this vast plain includes the whole extent along the river Volga, as far as the deserts extending by the Caspian and the Azoff seas, and constitutes the finest part of Russia, which, in general, is, according to Russian authorities, very rich and fruitful, having more arable and meadow land than wood, marshes, or barren deserts.

The most remarkable for superior quality and taste of every kind of fruit and produce is that part which extends towards Voronez, Tambov, Penza, and Sinbirsk, as far as the deserts. It has everywhere a most admirable rich soil, consisting of black earth, richly impregnated with saltpetre; but that part which begins between the Azoff and the Caspian seas, and extends near the shores of the latter, and between the Volga and Oural, and as far as the river Emba, is nothing but desert, level, dry, high, barren, and full of salt lakes.

The Count de Segur divides European Russia into three regions: the hot, the temperate, and the cold. The first begins at the 40th degree, the second at the 50th, the third at the 57th. A more recent author divides the whole territory of Russia, according to climate, into four regions or zones—the polar zone, the frigid zone, the temperate zone, and the hot zone.

Keeping for the present to Segur's analysis, and to European Russia, we find that the middle region contains thrice as many inhabitants as the other two. Why does this country experience a greater degree of cold than England, Holland, or Prussia? This phenomenon has generally been attributed, first, to the continuity of the Russian territory as far as the polar circle, while all the western countries of Europe are bounded by the sea to a much remoter distance from the Pole; and, secondly, to the trifling elevation of the chain which separates the northern and southern slope of that territory; an elevation insufficient to shelter European Russia from the polar blasts.

Here, nevertheless, are the points from which, in opposite directions, descend the Dwina and the Dnieper, the Volga and the Sukhana.

Custine* and Segur agree in describing this swell of ground which forms the watershed, as a dubious and uncertain line, passing by Valdai, to which it gives its name. Yet this undulating district is styled the Russian Switzerland by natives. It is found again between Vologda and Yaroslav; and it indicates, in several parts of it, the commencement of the cold region.

It is from this swampy table land, and from these insignificant eminences, that the waters of European Russia glide down and slowly find their way into the north, north-east, and south seas.

The three Russian climates, however, are said to admit, as far

* Letter XXII.

as Voronez, of the ripening of the most essential grains, and even of others. To the southward, the country produces honey, all varieties of fruit, salt, and especially rich pasturages, which stretch into the temperate region; even the north has those pasture lands; and all are covered with immense flocks, including camels in the south, and reindeer in the north, but especially horses and horned cattle in the Ukraine, which furnish almost all the tallow consumed in Europe, and of which Kohl has given a full and faithful description.

Segur says that Russia abounds in impenetrable forests, of trees of various kinds in the middle and southern regions, and of birch and resinous trees in the northern parts; but Custine represents the forests that he saw as consisting chiefly of swamps with bushes, and scattered fir trees of stunted growth. The consumption of fuel in Russia is enormous. These forests, from all accounts, are well stocked with game of all descriptions, including numerous bears and wolves, and animals producing rich furs.

Bounded by several seas, covered with lakes towards the north-west, furrowed by deep rivers which, through the means of easy canals, unite by three communications the northern seas to the seas of the south, this vast country abounds, like Siberia, with marine monsters and with fish of every description, including the sturgeon of the Volga, yielding the celebrated caviare, the delight of aristocratic gourmets of Petersburg and Moscow. A fabulous quantity of this substance is said to be consumed annually in Muscovy.

In short, from north to south, the Oural chain offers inexhaustible mines of iron, copper, platina, silver, and even of gold. However magnificent this picture of Russia may appear, says Segur,* it is faithfully copied from nature.

The best authorities are agreed in representing Asiatic Russia or Siberia as a flat tract of land, sloping imperceptibly to the Frozen sea, into which it pours its rivers, and rising by equally imperceptible degrees towards the south, where at last it forms a great range of mountains, constituting the borders of Russia and China. This slope, and the loftiness of the table-land, which gives birth to its rivers, are the two chief causes of the severity of its climate. Its superficies contains about 700,000 ordinary square leagues, of which not more than two-fifths are susceptible of cultivation.

Between the rivers Irtysh, Obe, and the Altai mountains, natives inform us that there is a very extensive plain, known by the name of Barabinskaya Steppe—viz., the desert of Baraba, the northern part of which is excellent for agriculture; but the southern part, on the contrary, is a desert, full of sands and marshes, and very unfit for cultivation. Between the rivers Obe and Enissey, there is more woodland than open ground; and the other side of the Enissey is entirely covered with impervious woods, as far as the lake Beikal; but the soil is fruitful everywhere; and wherever the trouble has been taken of clearing it of wood, and of draining it of unnecessary water, it proves to be very rich, and fit for cultivation,

† History of Russia, page 4.

and the country beyond the Baikal is surrounded by ridges of high stony mountains. Segur agrees in allowing the south-west of Siberia to be very fertile, but he coincides with the Russian surveys in describing the climate to the east of the Enissey, and in the east of Siberia generally, as being more rigorous, the winter longer, and the summer shorter; and the French historian adds, that all culture ceases to the north of the 60th parallel of latitude, which he attributes to the great barrier of mountains to the south, in Mongolia, which exposes the intervening level to the influence of their eternal glaciers to the south and of the pole to the north.

The middle and southern parts of Siberia; are, however, represented by Russian writers as exceedingly fertile and fit for every kind of produce; but the northern and eastern parts they admit to be deprived of these advantages, being unfit both for the cultivation of grain and for grazing of cattle. The whole of this part is full of swamps and bogs, covered with moss, which would be totally impassable, had not the ice, which never thaws deeper than seven inches, remained entire under it. Segur informs us that the two seas of this gloomy country are thronged with whales and other cetacea yielding much oil; its rivers are filled with shoals of fish; by the testimony of recent travellers; its plains, its immense forests, its icy deserts, are full of wild animals, yielding the most valuable furs, thus provided to suit the wants of man in high latitudes, by a beneficent Providence. The mountain chains encompassing Siberia on the south, are, moreover, rich in every kind of precious metal, and the unfortunate or imprudent sons of Poland and of Russia, who have incurred the Imperial displeasure by the profession or the practice of revolutionary principles, are compelled to toil here for weary years, being literally reduced to the dignity of ciphers.

The south of Siberia is subject to short but burning summers, and to biting winters. So rigorous is the climate in other parts that it is sufficient for the punishment of the greatest crimes. Over these vast deserts wander or dwell a scattered population of two millions.

Generalizing the foregoing details in a comprehensive outline, we shall analyze the Russian Empire in Europe and Asia, into four zones, limited and distinguished by climate. The polar region reaches to the 78th degree of north latitude, and has to endure a winter of eight months. So rigorous is the cold experienced in this zone that the mercury freezes there annually, and the sea is either a solid though rugged field of ice, or covered with floating icebergs and floes from September till June. No portion of the earth's surface is probably more gloomy than this region, whose products consist of stunted shrubs, dwarfish men, dogs, reindeer, and fish. The cold region extends from the 67th to the 57th degree of latitude, and does not offer much more attractive features, being exposed to severe winters, and a puny vegetation, consisting exclusively of barley, birch trees, and firs. This zone has no spring or autumn, and only a brief attempt at summer. It is from the 57th to the 50th degree of latitude that Russia becomes a suitable dwelling-place for man. This constitutes the temperate region, which has a

climate very similar to that of Prussia and Denmark; its population is numerous, cultivation rich and varied, and it is the most fertile part of the Muscovite soil. Lastly, the fourth zone extends from the 50th degree of latitude, as far as the extreme southern frontier of the empire. This section of Russia enjoys an analogous climate to that of Lombardy and the south of France. In this part of the empire the spring is hot and premature, the summer dry and burning, the autumn tardy and short, the winter also short but severe. The excessive heats in these latitudes are often fatal to men and animals; but the Russians do not complain, for they find in the 4th region all the treasures which a luxurious vegetation and a generous soil lavish on the most fortunate nations.

The vast territory of the Russian Empire is occupied by an immense population, containing more than 60,000,000 of inhabitants, who are, however, very unequally distributed over the land. While the government of Moscow has 2823 persons per square league; that of Kaluga 2999, the government of Archangel has only 16; Siberia $3\frac{1}{2}$ ths Russian America only $2\frac{1}{2}$ ths, and the Asiatic Islands, $\frac{1}{11}$ ths. But the most remarkable feature in the population of the empire is the multitude of races of which it is composed. They amount to more than 100, all distinct from each other, in type, morals, customs, and language. It appears to me that it would be useful, in a work destined to throw new light on Russia, to give an exact account of these races, and to show at the same time the relative and numeric position which each of them occupies in the whole. This last question, which no writer, that I am aware of, has ever yet sufficiently explained, deserves yet more to fix our attention, as it may aid us effectually in appreciating what is real or fictitious in that national unity of which the Czars so proudly boast in the eyes of the world.

All the races subject to the Russian crown may be resolved into twelve principal ones.

First, the Slavonian race, the most numerous and the most compact. It is estimated at no less than 44,000,000. The formidable centre of the great *Panslavonic* league, whose formation develops itself continually, and which will probably be finally established, unless a still greater league of other races should arise to stop it, the Slavonic race comprehends the Great and the Little Russians, the Rousninks of Lithuania, and the Cossacks. These last, a mixture of Little Russians, of Poles, and of Tschetkessians, are divided into several branches; the Don Cossacks, the Black sea or Tschernomorské Cossacks, the Cossacks of Orenbourg, of the Oural, and of Siberia. Including all these branches, the Cossacks form an effective force of about a million people, partially nomadic, partly migratory, partly sedentary, but all of them intrepid warriors, dashing and thievish horsemen, worthy scouts of an army of Huns or Moguls. The Cossacks have not lost their instinctive love of independence, though incorporated in the Russian Empire. They still remember Mazepa.

The Polacks and the Poles are connected with the Slavonic race, as well as certain Servian, Bulgarian, Moldavian, or Wallachian colonies, established on the banks of the Dniéper, and in Bessarabia.

The Wallachians and Moldavians, sprung, as it is supposed, from a mixture of Slaves and Roman colonists, speak an idiom of which the greater part is Latin. The community of religion considerably increases the strength of the cohesion which the Slavonians derive from their nationality. With the exception of the Poles, some thousands of Lithuanians, Moldavians, and Wallachians, in all about six or seven millions, all the Slavonians I have just mentioned profess the Greco-Russian creed. This same confession possesses also numerous adherents amongst the other races of the empire. If, lastly, we pass the frontiers, and we collect together the various foreign subjects, who belong to it, we should obtain an amount of about sixty millions of souls for the schismatic Greek church in general. This number is certainly far inferior to the 150 millions which the Latin church reckons. Nevertheless, we cannot deny its importance; and we can conceive how the Czar has made a pretext of his title of Chief of the Greek Church, in order to mask his exorbitant designs, which have so deeply compromised the peace of the world.

After the Slavonic race comes the Lettish or Letto-Lithuanian race. It has scarcely more than 2,000,000 of individuals, nearly two-thirds of whom are composed of Lithuanians, established in the western provinces of the empire; the rest consist of Letts, spread through Courland and Livonia.

The Finnic, numerically inferior to the Slavonic race, since it amounts only to about 5,000,000 is superior to it, at least, in what is most essential—in character and intelligence. This race is thus divided:—the Laplanders, in the government of Archangel and in Finland; the Fins, in Finland, in Ingria, and in the governments of Archangel and Olonetz; the Esthonians, in Esthonia and in Livonia; the Livonians, in Courland and in Livonia; the Permians, in the government of Perm and on the lower course of the Obe; the Syriaines, in the governments of Vologda, of Perm, and Tobolsk; the Votiaks, upon the banks of the Viatka, in the same governments, and in the environs of Orenbourg; the Tschérémisses, upon the Volga; the Tschuvasches, from the Volga as far as to Siberia. These three last tribes speak a Finnic idiom, mixed with the Tartar and Slavonian; they live in the country, practice agriculture, feed on horse flesh, and, although converted officially to Christianity, do not remain the less faithful to the rites and customs of Shamanism. The Finnic race also includes the Mordvins, on the Oka and the Volga, in the governments of Novgorod and Kasan; the Obian Ostiaks, on the banks of the Obe and the Irtisch; lastly, the Teptiairians proceeding from a mixture of the Votiaks, of Tschérémisses and Tschuvasches, at the foot of the Oural mountains, in the government of Orenbourg.

The Germanic race, which has furnished for so long a time able functionaries to all the great offices of the Czar, amounts to about 500,000 individuals. These are, on the one hand, the Germans of Esthonia; of Livonia, and of Courland; on the other, the Swedes, established in these same countries, and still more in St. Petersburg and Finland. You also see members of this race dispersed here and there, either in the interior cities of the

Empire, in the colonies of Southern Russia, or in the principality of Astrakhan.

The Tartar race is not more compact than the Finnic, with which it has also numerous analogies. It extends from the Dniester, along the Black sea, and the sea of Azoff, as far as to the Caspian sea. Reckoning three millions, it is divided into several tribes, both settled and nomadic, thus localized; the Tartars of Crimea, in the Taurus, at Cherson, and at Ekaterinoslav; the Tartars of Kasan, upon the right bank of the Volga; the Nogais, to the north of the Caucasus, upon the banks of the Black sea, and of the sea of Azoff, of the Kuban and the Don; the Baschkirs, at Orenbourg and at Perm; the Kirghises, in the Steppe which bears their name, and between the Volga and the Oural, upon the shores of the Caspian sea; the Jakutes, upon both banks of the Léna, as far as to the Frozen Ocean, in the province of Jakutsk and at Okhotsk; the Bouckares, in the governments of Tobolsk and Tomsk, in short here and there, in the different circumscriptions, a crowd of other small tribes, whose names are of little importance.

On the side of the Caucasus, Russia only acquires 1,500,000 inhabitants. But this is the most beautiful population of the land, and is likewise distinguished by its commercial skill and warlike spirit. It is composed of various races; the Armenians, established in their country, or colonized at Ekaterinoslav, are constantly devoting themselves to commerce at Orenbourg and in the Caucasus; the Georgians, at the southern and western extremities of the Caucasus, divided into Grusians or Grusinians, Mingrelians, and Lasians; the Tscherkesses, at the north of the Caucasus; the Aychasiens, upon the north-west of the Caucasus, along the Black sea, as far as the mouth of the Kuban, and the Lesghians, near the sources of the Kuban, in the elevated region of the country; the Ossetes, to the north of the Caucasus, near the Terek and the Kur.

Generally speaking, the Caucasians are still half barbarous. They live chiefly on the animals they rear, on the chase, on pillage, and on war. They have no taste for agriculture, and most of them lead a wandering life, or live in poor villages.

The Mongul race resembles the Caucasian as regards its manner of life. It amounts to 400,000 individuals; for instance, the Mogûls, properly so called, on the banks of the Selenga, in the government of Irkutsk; the Calmucks, between the Don and the Volga, as far as the Caucasus and the Caspian sea, in the governments of Ekaterinoslav, of Cherson, and of Taurida; the Burates, to the north and north-east of Baikal, as well as on the river Argun and its tributaries.

Such are the principal races which cover the soil of the Russian Empire. It yet remains, in order to complete the picture, to describe the races of the Mandschoures, Samojedes, Ostiaks, and some other American people, such as the Esquimaux and the Indians; but all these diverse races or people, only forming in the whole an amount of 250,000 individuals, I think it sufficient to have mentioned them. We must not, however, forget the Jewish race, which, though enjoying but little favour in the states of the Czar, nevertheless retains a considerable position there. Would it be

believed that in the south-west, which comprises Poland, the number of Jews amounts to nearly 600,000?

What are our thoughts when we consider in detail all the population of the Russian Empire? Do we really find there the elements of a redoubtable force? We certainly see imposing masses, but are these masses so firmly united to each other that they partake of the same genius and run fatally towards the same end? on the contrary, that which strikes us in these masses is, a flagrant difference of instincts and tendencies; there is besides a moral want in the centre, which resists everything.

An additional evidence of this want of coherence is presented in the great diversity of dialects prevailing in Russia. The greatest bond of union or cause of discord, next to religion, is commonly to be traced in the unity or the opposition of the idioms spoken in a country. Russia labours under serious disadvantages in this respect, because a considerable portion of her population speak dialects either entirely distinct from, or only remotely connected with, the Russian tongue—*e.g.*, the Tartaro-Finnic, the Lithuanian, and Polish languages. In short, most of these subject tribes resemble branches attached to a trunk without enjoying its sap, and without communicating their vigour to it. Such is the case, at least, with the greater part of these last races, Autochthonoi of the Steppe, inexorably rebellious to all that would tend to muzzle the savage independence of their every-day life. As to the more compact races, and consequently those more easily moulded to the common uniformity, their condition is still worse. There exists amongst them, owing to their isolation, and their inaptitude to work, an underhand hostility and a permanent disaffection. Can it be believed that the Poles, the Fins, the Germans of the Baltic Provinces, these three most important conquests of the Muscovite sceptre, could be identified with Russia? Who would dare to affirm it? Does not each of these people gnaw its yoke in despair, and is it not listening and waiting for a liberator? The Cossacks themselves, have they devoted their lances for ever to the service of the Czar? We do not speak of the Caucasian provinces; Russia herself well knows that they may one day escape her, and that such is their wish.

Thus then, on one side, there are indifferent or useless races; on the other, races full of hatred, and who would, if provoked, probably become injurious: it is to this that the population is reduced, which Russia has superadded to her national nucleus. Now, that population amounts to more than 20,000,000 souls.

Where then is the strength of the Empire? evidently in that which we have just called its national nucleus, that is to say, in these 20 or 25 millions of Slavonians, who gravitate around Moscow, and who call themselves the only legitimate and devoted sons of Holy Russia. But even there, is unity so rigorously compact? Do the Little Russians sympathize in all points with the Great Russians? Consider also that this Muscovite population, this uniform population which gives but one name to Russia, is almost entirely attached to the soil and wears the livery of slavery.

Let us reckon all the Russians, and we shall not find amongst

them a million and a half free men. If that be called a force, by what name shall we qualify it?

Kohl* says, that the title Emperor of all the Russias, is applied from the division of Russia into Great, Little, White, Black, and Red Russias. The great distinction, however, is that of Great and Little Russia. White Russia is that part formerly chiefly dependant on Lithuania on the upper sources of the Dwina and the Niemen. Red Russia is chiefly Austrian, and the term Black Russia, always indefinite, is now obsolete. White Russians are Polish Great Russians, and Red Russia is a part of Little Russia.

The Great Russians inhabit central Russia, amount to 28,000,000, and form the pith of the Muscovite nation. They are always called Rysski; these men are the chief business employés and traders in the empire, and their tongue is that of literature and the official language. The Little Russians inhabit the south, especially the Dnieper territory, Oldkiow having been their cradle. They are 12,000,000 in number, and are named Malo Russiani, or Rossiani and Ruthenians.

The Great Russians are a very compact body, remarkable for uniformity and unity. The inhabitants of Moscow, Novgorod, Tobolsk, and Irkutsk, however remote, are precisely alike. The same remark applies to the Little Russians.

The Malo Russian, under the Sultan, is everywhere and always the same; and this whole race of Great and Little Russians is remarkable for easily assimilating with the home or a foreign government. Yet the two divisions are very different.

The Malo Russian is the older of the two. The Great Russians have more open intelligent and broader faces; the Little Russians are a haggard, Mogul-looking race. But more closely examined, and well-dressed, it is found that the Little Russians can present a much more pleasing appearance than the other. Most of the cavalry of the Guards at Petersburg are picked Little Russians. The moral features of the two races are equally discordant.

The Muscovites and Slavonians generally, but the Great Russians, in particular, are a cheerful, musical race. The Great Russian is a most joyous creature, quick and tender in liquor, but the Little Russian is always more measured. The Great Russian is more courteous and less selfish. He has more talent and influence than the Ruthenian, who is coarser and more secret. The fact of the Malo Russians having once been free may partly account for their present peculiarities.

The more active ingenious temperament of the Great Russians is seen in their pursuits: they are merchants and mechanics; the Little Russians shepherds and husbandmen.

Notwithstanding all this, Kohl places the genius of the Ruthenians higher than that of the others.

The Malo Russians have had the most distinguished generals of the empire,—Suwarow, Paskewitsh, &c. A certain cleverness, tact, and elegance is perhaps more diffused among the Great Russians, but the Little Russians are capable of rising higher. Both are

* *Reisen im Innern von Russland und Pohlen. Part ii. p. 339.*

hospitable, the Little Russian most: he is also more superstitious. Kohl accuses him of cowardice: he admits, however, the valour and utility of the Cossacks; and that the women, among the Malo Russians, stand higher than with the others. The Malo Russian is also much cleaner than his neighbours.

We are unable to follow this antagonism further, but it extends to language, dress, and everything.

Since Peter I., Russia has achieved the labour of a Hercules, (p. 337), 120 cities built in deserts; Petersburg peopled with 500,000, Odessa with 70,000 inhabitants; canals dug, making a length of above 400 miles; 130 hospitals, 70 to 80 great prisons built, 6 universities founded; an army of 1,000,000, disciplined; 100,600 employ es organised; some thousand churches built in the new style; a fleet created superior to all but the English; 12 fortresses erected; 20,000,000 subjects added by conquest; laws created for all circumstances, and a literature; manufacturies founded, and 6 great mines opened.*

The final political organization of the Empire took place under Alexander, in 1822, who divided the monarchy into fifty governments, or fifty-one, reckoning the circle of Bialystok, which has a separate administration, and moreover, into four provinces or *oblastes* (jurisdictions), to which was subsequently added a fifth. The following year both were distributed into twelve general governments, of which he made Petersburg, Moscow, Tver, Riga, Smolensk, Kief, Odessa, Nijegorod, Orenbourg, Perm, Tobolsk, and Irkutsk, the capitals, to which must now be added Tiflis. The Grand Duchy of Finland also received a governor general; but the government of Vyborg was re-established, and enjoys now with the rest of Finland, a special administration.

It is most convenient to class the subordinate governments into three regions corresponding to natural divisions:

1. Northern Region.—St. Petersburg, Noygorod, Tver, Pskof, Esthonia, Livonia, Courland, Olonetz, Archangel, Vologda, Kostroma, Jaroslaf, Viatka, Perm, Tobolsk, Jenisseik; then the non-organized province of Jakutsk, the country of the Tchouktohis and Kantschatka.

2. Central Region.—Moscow, Smolensk, Vladimir, Kaluga, Toola, Riazan, Tambof, Orel, Koursk, Voronez, Simbirsk, Penza, Kasan, Nijni-Novgorod, Orenburg, Vitepsk, Mohilof, Vilna, Grodno, Minsk, Slobodas of Ukraine, Tomsk, Irkutsk; besides the circle of Bialystok the non-organized province of Omsk and the country of the Okhotians.

3. The South Region.—Kief, Tchernigof, Poltava, Volhynia, Podolia, Cherson, Ekatenisoslav, Taurida, Saratof, Astrakhan, Georgia; and the non-organized provinces of Bessarabia, of the Caucasus and of Armenia, lastly the territory of the Don Cossacks.

The smallest is that of Bialystok, 158 square miles; the largest, that of Jenisseik, 100,000 square miles. To this must be added the islands. All the tribes in these regions are not subdued as in Mingrelia and Imeritia, and are called vassals.†

* Kohl, *ubi supra*.

† Schnitzler, *Statistique*, pp. 49, 50.

CHAPTER II.

THE BALTIC AND THE BLACK SEA.

The Gulf of Finland and Bothnia—Statistics—Mr. Urquhart—The Sound—Denmark—Mr. Laing—Norway—Scandinavia—Lapland—The Black Sea—Its perils and ports—Its importance—Mr. Urquhart's views of it.

WE have already observed that Nature has prepared two high-ways from the west into the heart of Russia,—the Baltic and the Black Sea. There was a time, indeed, when Russia did not possess an inch of coast, but since the Romanoffs have encroached on Sweden and Turkey these two inland seas have washed a broad stretch of her territory. The gulf of Finland, one of the three large arms that the Baltic, stretches into the northern lands. The entrance to the gulf lies between Revel and Abo. In the middle it expands into a wide lake, then narrowing more and more, ends in the small bay of Cronstadt, which is, in fact, only the expanded mouth of the Neva, or rather the basin through which the waters of the Delta reach the open sea.

From her strongholds at Cronstadt and Sveaborg, in the gulf of Finland, as well as in the island of Aland, in the gulf of Bothnia, Russia has assumed as threatening an attitude towards Stockholm as that which she maintains towards Constantinople at Sevastopol. In winter it is customary to cross the gulf of Bothnia, between the two countries, on the ice, an expedition occasionally attended with danger.

The natural statistics of the Baltic present us with the following facts:—It has a surface of 200,000 square miles; its depth is generally inconsiderable, its water is brackish, its waves are short and chopping, and it is exposed, especially in the spring and autumn, to tempestuous weather. Mr. Urquhart is eloquent on the value of the Sound: * “A strait,” he observes, “which brings the power of the land to control the navigation of the seas, is not only interesting as a geographical and political, but also as an intellectual matter: it fixes the attention, excites curiosity, awakens activity, suggests apprehension, and, finally, prompts designs, and thus calls into existence faculties of the mind seldom appreciated, even in those very transactions of which it is the spring.”

The traffic of thirty millions of souls passes through the Sound; it is conveyed in some 20,000 vessels; that traffic consists of grain, timber, spars, hemp, and iron; the holder of these straits has therefore a power over at once the material existence and the military operations of the rest of Europe. But this exportation affects the internal prosperity of the countries from which it is derived.

Did the Danes of the present day possess the daring hardihood of their ancestors, that nation might exercise vast influence over the countries around the Baltic, Russia herself would be at their

* There are three entrances to the Baltic—the Sound, which divides the island of Zealand from Sweden; the Great Belt between Zealand and Funen, and the Little Belt between Funen and Denmark.

mercy, and there is little doubt but that the Emperor Nicholas has been long sensible of his danger, and to avert the possible annihilation of even St. Petersburg, he has strongly fortified his position. It is not, however, one enclosed sea with a narrow outlet which Russia has to study, for as in the north there is the Baltic with its Sound, there is in the south the Black Sea with the Dardanelles; besides these points of watchful care, there is the vast internal sea, the Caspian, whence issue the great sources of the revenue—grain, timber, and hemp.

Little more than a hundred years ago Russia had no possessions on either sea; she has simultaneously spread herself over both, making them the passage of a new-born trade, and the experimental fields of a suddenly-created navy, as they expand she stands in the centre, containing within her own breast the completeness of knowledge and system; whilst her antagonists, severally destitute of both, have been alike incapable of separate resistance or concerted action.

The accession of that ambitious and unscrupulous princess, Catherine II., in 1762, gave an impulse to Russian policy, which from this time assumed the steadily aggressive character which it has ever since maintained. In 1764, she placed her former paramour, Poniatowski, on the throne of Poland. In 1770, the first Russian fleet seen in the Mediterranean destroyed the Turkish navy at Tchesme; while by land they subdued Crim Tartary, Moldavia, and Wallachia. In 1773, they first crossed the Danube, and forced the Ottoman Porte, by the treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, to cede to Russia an extensive tract of territory. In a second war (1787-92), Choczim, Oczakow, Bender, and Ismail were successively taken, with fearful slaughter, and the peace of Jassy established the Dniester as the boundary of Turkey and Russia. Her acquisitions in Poland do not fall within our province to particularize. Nor need we allude to the part taken either by Paul or Alexander in conjunction or against Napoleon, until, by the Treaty of Tilsit, Russia declared war against England and Sweden, the result of which was, that by the Treaty of Fredoriksham, in 1809, the latter ceded all Finland, East Bothnia, and Aland. A long and desultory war with Persia, concluded by the peace of Goolistan, in 1813, put Russia not only in possession of Georgia, but also most of the Caucasian provinces. The Greek revolutionary war having been entered into by the Russian emperor, his troops crossed the Balkan in 1829, and invested Adrianople, where a treaty was concluded, giving Russia numerous frontier fortresses on the Black Sea, and further powers in Wallachia and Moldavia. In 1838, the march of a Persian army against Herat, in Khorassan, headed by Russian officers, was viewed as a preliminary to the invasion of our Anglo-Indian Empire; but the measures were foiled by the subsequent conquest of Afghanistan by the English troops, and Russian aggression checked in that quarter.

Mr. Laing, in 1839, stood forth as the champion of Muscovite aggression, and gratified his readers with the following reflections on the Baltic and the Black sea. It is well, however, to promise that Mr. Laing had not been in Russia, which may account for his ardent attachment for that region.

"The population of the Russian Empire, including Poland, Finland, the Caucasian, and the Siberian tribes, amounted, according to the official returns of the year 1830, to 49,000,000. (It is now above 60,000,000.) The number of the human race existing on the face of the earth is computed, or guessed by learned men of the present day at 800,000,000. Of the whole human race, therefore, nearly $\frac{1}{16}$ th part is under the Russian government. Every 16th human being that is born is a Russian subject. The objects and views of a government ruling over so large a portion of mankind, cannot be measured by those which actuate other powers. Extension of dominion, and such objects of ordinary ambition, may fairly be admitted to form no objects of Russian policy!!! It is not by accession from without that this mighty power can become more powerful. It is judging partially when we ascribe to its government a desire for additional territory, a love of conquest, and all those other motives which have actuated minor potentates." In this passage Mr. Laing is guilty of at least six absurdities, and as many contradictions. It will be admitted that Alexander had no ordinary ambition, that Tamerlane and Genghis Khan had no limited empire, and that the sun never set on the Spanish dominions; yet we have heard of the invasion of India by the Macedonians. The Tartar empire was not satisfied with the greater part of Asia; and England has heard of the Invincible Armada, equipped by a Spanish king, to protect England from heretics, and annex it to the crown of Spain. Again, surely it is not a rash assumption that Russia would be more powerful in possession of the Dardanelles and the Sound. In fact, as much is admitted by Mr. Laing in another place. But the strangest postulate of this cautious Scotchman, is that whereby he says, we cannot ascribe a love of conquest to Russia, when we have the annexation of Poland, of Lithuania, of the Crimea, of Georgia, of Armenia, of Finland, and of the Danubian provinces and Bessarabia, within one century.

But let us dissect a few more of Mr. Laing's axioms:—"It is within herself alone that the ambition of the most blindly ambitious monarch who ever held a sceptre would seek for the additional greatness of the Russian Empire. But although the extension of dominion, unless as required for internal security, and all the objects of ordinary ambition as well as the ordinary jealousies and fears of smaller powers, must fall out of view, on fair consideration, in an estimate of Russian policy, Russia may fairly and reasonably have objects, and even positive duties to fulfil towards that large portion of mankind which depends for civilization and social happiness on her sway, which will unsettle the world as much as the wildest ambition." Here, then, because Russia, in her self-denial, has swallowed up all the neighbouring states, she is bound in duty to swallow up as many more. This amounts to asserting that because Britain has occupied India, it may fairly and reasonably occupy China, not for the good of China, but of India. Again, these encroachments are to be made for the civilization and social happiness of the Russian Empire, one half of whose subjects are members of what were free states, whom she has reduced to slavery and barbarism. Thus she is vindicated in

making more slaves for the civilization of her present slaves who were free before she seized upon them.

But Mr. Laing proceeds in his wisdom: "It cannot be for any length of time that a power which rules over so large a portion of the human race, and whose millions of subjects are *daily acquiring more and more the tastes and habits of civilized life*, should submit to be excluded from that great highway over which passes almost every article which those tastes and habits of civilized life require. Russia must have a side of her dominion on the Atlantic." (Why not also on the side of the Indian ocean?) "We may endeavour to conceal the truth from ourselves, but it will be no unreasonable demand on her part, when she is prepared to make it, that so many rational beings as dwell under her sway should enjoy, in common with the rest of mankind, that common good of nature, intended, like the air we breathe, or the water we drink, for the use and enjoyment of all the human species—viz., the free access over the great ocean to those countries and climates of the earth, which produce the objects required by civilized man."

It is painful to find that Mr. Laing plunges into greater difficulties as he proceeds. His arguments are all admirable and applicable to an empire like Britain, that enlightens and blesses as it progresses, and he demonstrates most clearly the right of England to universal empire. But before his arguments justify the annexation of the Sound, and the Dardanelles, of Scandinavia, Turkey, and England, he must establish the postulates that Muscovites are daily advancing in civilization, and that they are rational beings who dwell under Russian sway.

A people who have fewer rights and severer penalties than the American negroes, who look upon the Czar as God, who are nationally more universally and extensively false and thievish than any South Sea Islander, can scarcely be entitled to be called civilized. As to their being rational beings, it seems a matter of dispute, from the descriptions of Mr. Oliphant, the Marquis de Custine, and Leouzon le Duc; and if they are, the Emperor and Boyards are greatly to blame, for they never, by any accident, treat them as such.

Mr. Laing, pleading the cause of his patron, says:—"Russia will have reason on her side when she tells the other European powers to make room for her on the coast of the world's great ocean; and that she requires a wider gate for her supplies, and one not shut up by nature for half the year, and liable during the other half to be closed by every petty power which may have a few ships of war to blockade the entrance."—Every person moderately acquainted with Russian history is aware that in every instance of her territorial aggrandizement, she has conferred the blessings of chains, Siberian exile, secret police, the knout, and venality, on her fortunate acquisitions. Hence she is the great foe of humanity and barrier of civilization. Is it then consistent with the interest and duty of the civilized world to give her the keys of their house; or should she not rather be locked up and kept in custody, till she becomes rational and civilized? If it is usual to handcuff thieves, and shut up pirates, shall Russia be an exception? But the bland and phi-

lanthropical Scotchman proceeds:—"There is an amount of human happiness, a mass of interests, and an extension of civilization among the human species, involved in this view, which may, if considered without prejudice or local feeling, outweigh all the advantages that mankind derive from the European system of a balance of power among small states, which, like a balance of houses built of cards, tumbles to pieces as fast as it is erected. It is, therefore, not among the events which could be reckoned unjustifiable in principle, if, on the rupture of the present political arrangements of Europe by a war, Russia should urge that the supply of her vast population, with all that civilization requires, can no longer be sacrificed in order to preserve a second rate power, connected by no family ties with any other monarchy, and by no important interests with any other state; and it is within the verge of probability that Sweden and Norway, the Scandinavian peninsula, may be the battle field of the first great war we have in Europe. It is here that Russia will endeavour to acquire for her empire a side to the sea. It is only by the possession of an ocean coast, that she can ever become a naval power. That great and certainly rational object of Russian ambition—rational and justifiable, when the above circumstances are considered—can only be accomplished by the acquisition of a portion at least of this peninsula."

Here we pause to remark that Scandinavia was the cradle of our noblest energies and blood; that its Varangians marched forth, and subdued the Muscovite empire, reduced a broad space of France; the whole of Britain, Naples, Sicily, Iceland, and discovered America before Columbus, where they have founded the most energetic State on earth. The Scandinavian branch of the Teutonic stock has subdued three-fourths of the globe, has been adorned with the most brilliant intellects and the brightest virtues recorded in history. The Gothic family are, intellectually and physically, the masters of the world, and Scandinavia represents the purest section of this family. Aristocratic tyranny drove the bold Norsk Vikings to form a Republic in Iceland before Russia was heard of, and Norway, in the present day, contains a model constitution as admirable in practice as in theory, and better even than that of England, whose liberties and far-famed trial by jury were thence derived. Is it likely that this race will bow the neck, and koo too, to the Machiavellian Tartars of Muscovy? that they will submit to a secret police and venal tribunals? that they will bare their backs to the knout, sink into serfs, and people Siberia? We think not, so long as true Viking blood flows and glows in the veins of North-men.

"The exclusive navigation of the Black sea," says Mr. Laing, "the possession of the Dardanelles, and of Constantinople itself, would be acquisitions very inferior in real importance to Russia to the Norwegian coast of the Atlantic, north of the 62nd degree north latitude. This part of the peninsula, which in wealth and population is insignificant compared to Finland, would place Russia at once at the head of the naval powers of Europe. It would give her innumerable harbours and fiords, open to the navigation of the

Atlantic at all seasons,—each capable of containing in safety all the navies of the world, and connected by sea with all navigable parts of the globe; and by land, on the best of railroads, the snow, during a great part of the year, with Finland, and the centre of all Russian power and wealth—St. Petersburg itself. It would render Russia independent of all other nations for the supplies she requires of transatlantic productions. The distance across from Levanger, on the Drontheim fiord, to Sandsval on the Bothnian gulf, may be 280 to 290 miles.

"It would be," says this high-minded Scot, "an imputation on the good sense and ability of the Russian cabinet to suppose that it is not preparing for such an acquisition, should any of the political convulsions in Europe, which may be expected in the course of human affairs, put it in the power of Russia to make the acquisition fairly, and according to the now admitted principle of acquisition of territory among States." Mr. Laing—honest man—seems just to have discovered that the Russian cabinet has a dexterous diplomacy, nor does he appear to question its integrity. As to accidental political convulsions in Europe, he is apparently ignorant of the glorious fact, that Russia is an earthly providence, which has an eye and ear in every cabinet and drawing-room, and that *order reigns in Paris, London, Berlin, and Vienna*, so long as it pleases the Czar. As to her fair acquisitions, we are all aware that the laws of morals are waived in her case, and that what would be unjust, treacherous, and perjurious in others, is fair in Russian and Jesuits, because of the end in view.

Russia fronts Europe on a line extending from Archangel to the Black sea. The manœuvring is all on the left of the line, but the real object in view is on the extreme right. Therefore Mr. Laing admits at once that duplicity and craft are the pillars of Russian policy; but he is mistaken in his other supposition, for she aims equally at both ends and on all sides.

He goes on to speak of the prudent treaty of 1828, regulating her trade from the White sea with these provinces, whose inhabitants are daily becoming more and more dependent upon her. By an ukase, in 1835 (August), the trade to and from Finmark and Norland was declared free to all classes of Russians in the districts of Archangel, Cola, and on the White sea, and not only to them but to the people of two provinces of Norway, who may trade to the White sea; thus placing them in a more favoured situation with regard to trade than their fellow subjects in the rest of the united kingdoms of Norway and Sweden. What would our government say if a foreign power were to grant special immunity or favour to the trade of any portion of its dominions, which, like Ireland and Canada, might happen to be but loosely connected with the body politic? If it be allowable to draw any inference from public measures, none other can be drawn than that Russia is preparing, by the most judicious and unobjectionable means, for any change in the connexion of these two provinces with Norway, which political circumstances might at any future period enable her to carry through. With Russia, unhappily, there are *no circumstances*; were not Mr. Laing too heavy and dull to be jocose,

we might think the last passage irony. This was written after the *Vixen*, a British ship, had been sequestrated by Russia whilst trading with Circassia, an independent country. But the question of justice is evidently exploded as childish by this gentleman, who vindicates Russia through every public crime and secret iniquity on the ground of expediency. The sequel will show if it is expedient for humanity and Britain that Scandinavia be annexed to Muscovy.

"Besides this," continues the indefatigable agent, "the disproportionate military establishment kept up by Russia in the islands of Aland, in the Bothnian gulf, almost within sight of the Swedish coast, and the disproportionate naval force of twenty-two sail of the line, kept up in the Baltic—disproportionate as compared with any possible call for military or naval defence on that part of her dominions—clearly show that she is prepared for aggression as well as for defence, on that point, and is ready armed to act, upon the spur of the moment, if just and reasonable grounds be presented, either from the political state of Europe in general, or of Sweden in particular."

Russia always has just and reasonable grounds for all aggressions, such as the keys of a heap of rubbish in Syria, or the protection of men who heap maledictions on her head.

"Russia, by this acquisition," he concludes, "would have a naval power on the coast of the Atlantic able to cope instantly with Great Britain on the high seas."* This is a worthy finale to his ingenious and memorable vindication of the powers of darkness. He looks on calmly and complacently to the day when they shall successfully combat the principles of light, of liberty, and of honour. Verily, the worthy agent must rejoice at the robberies of 1853, and smile at the massacre of Sinope. But others have helped to smite the innocent, and bare the right hand of Cosack despotism, and an Elphinstone could clear the way for the knout at Constantinople by destroying a Turkish fleet under Catherine II. Unhappily he did not get his fee, which was given to the Russian Admiral, who was his pupil, and Elphinstone, in disgust, threw up his Russian commission. Probably Mr. Laing, having spilt very much ink in the service of Russia, has retired to enjoy his well-earned laurels.

THE BLACK SEA.

Although the Black sea is entirely free from shoals or islands, it is still now, as in ancient times, one of the most dangerous inland seas in the world. The inaccuracy of the charts, the scarcity even of such as they have, and the want of good harbours, contributes much to this insecurity. So little has been done either by Turks or Russians to improve its navigation, that on an irregular line of coast extending upwards of 2000 miles, there are not more than eighteen lighthouses. On some points the perils are increased by the barbarous character of the inhabitants, and besides all this, there is much that is still unexplained in the nature of the sea it-

* "Residence in Norway."

self, and in the sudden changes of wind and currents, that render it unsafe for navigators.

In winter the navigation of the Black sea is usually interrupted for several months, as the storms rage there as violently as in the neighbouring northern steppe, during the whole winter. The northern parts are frozen, too, and the sea is frequently covered with ice for a distance of eight miles from land.

Instances have been known of the ice from the Crimea to Odessa being solid enough to travel over. There is no doubt that the immense extent of the flat steppes exercise an evil influence on the Euxine. * * * The most dreaded part of the Black sea is still, as in the time of the Argonauts, the entrance to the Thracian Bosphorus. Many vessels perish there every year, and much depends on having a stout ship.*

With regard to the political importance of the Black sea, it must be confessed that it has a considerable relation with the destiny of Europe and India, though Mr. Urquhart exaggerates its influence in the following passage:—"It was said by one of the plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Reichenbach, that the Black sea was more important to England than all Asia: this is no paradox; in the words of Sir John McNeill, 'the policy of Russia is based upon the certainty of spoiling England of her Indian dominion:' this spoliation can be prevented only in the Black sea. Were the space filled by that water, dry land, or were it, like the Caspian, girt round with coasts, England would probably have had nothing in Asia to possess; at all events, she would be now without the means of defending what she has. If you stop up the passage by a parchment chain, it is just as if in the Euxine there remained no water to float your vessels, and in the Bosphorus no soundings for them to pass.

"To close the entrance against you, is to open the passage to the Indus to Russia. To that end it is that the fabulous darkness of the ancient Pontus has been diplomatically extended over the modern Euxine, and that no Jason is to be found in the British navy. How resolute and intent has she been during your languid slumber or somnambulent convulsions! During the great European war, in which her very existence seemed at stake, Russia would not concede one point in reference to the Danubian provinces. In 1812 she would not, when struck home by Napoleon, relieve herself from the Ottoman Empire as a foe by the slightest surrender. † The pertinacity with which she clung to what appeared useless and unintelligible clauses bearing upon wilds and deserts, so far from awakening the curiosity of European statesmen, raised only a smile of pity at her expense.

"The paramount importance of the freedom of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to the well-being of the people, and the independence of the nations of Europe, none will deny. The Black sea linking these to the Danube, and that river joined by railway to the Rhine, we have a system of communication by internal waters,

* Kohl's "Russia," p. 424.

† In 1800 she made these principalities the occasion of replunging England and France in war, and, in 1812, gained Bessarabia.

which armies can span and batteries close, capable of realizing the old maxims of Neptune's lordship of the land. That ancient supremacy rested upon the joining of rafters and the manning of ships: this was no commonplace or practical affair; the element itself was to be created. The Danube pursued its tranquil course through the picturesque Teutonic valleys, the vast plains of the descendants of the Avars, and the teeming granaries, the inheritance of the Dacians; the Euxine nestled in the bosom of the Othmanic King;* the Bosphorus and Dardanelles bisected his states. These water-courses, dispersed to many nations, were clung to by each, and all had to surrender up their patrimonies before this unity could appear. It was not by any of the partners that this new edifice was planned; a stranger conceived it; possessed herself of the ground for its erection; has gone on from foundation to parapet, from story to story, buttress to buttress; the covering in is all that is now wanting to this creation of enchantment, surrounded, as it has risen, by that cloud of invisibility which conducted Æneas into the Tyrian citadel; here has been surpassed the invention of the bards of Etruria and Samos, and by illusion the means have been found of acquiring such command of the will of the world as they have achieved of its admiration.

"At the time that this project was first formed, the frontiers of Russia on the west were restrained behind the Dnieper, and on the east fell far short of the Caucasus; she had no ports or outlet whatever upon the Black sea, and touched the Caspian only by uninhabited wastes. Yet the first basis of operations required that she should be in possession of the trans-Caucasian provinces, and have the control of the Araxes; also that rival flags should be excluded from the Caspian and the Euxine.

"The sudden expansion of the Russian power under Peter the Great does not require repetition. Sir John McNeill has traced it with a masterly hand, and after referring to the disaster on the Pruth, and the recovery of Persia under Nadir Shah, he concludes his sketch in these words: 'The projects of Russia were thus for a time abandoned, to be renewed at a later period with better success.'"[†]

* "Populum late regem."

† "The Progress of Russia," by David Urquhart, 1863, p. 291.

CHAPTER III.

ST. PETERSBURG.

Its situation—Statistics—The Neva—Streets—Churches—Buildings—Dangers—The inundations—Its dreariness.

THE town of St. Petersburg is situated in $59^{\circ} 56' 31''$ N. lat. and in $47^{\circ} 59' 30''$ E. long. of the meridian of Ferro. It is built on both banks of the Neva, and also on several islands formed by this river at some versts from its mouth. To the south-west and west it commands the Gulf of Finland, while on all other sides its approaches consist of a wide flat and uniform plain, only occasionally and rarely broken by a few slight undulations.

The country surrounding St. Petersburg consists of woods and marshes. The soil is ungrateful, cold, and damp, and renders vegetation difficult and stunted; barley even can scarcely ripen in this unpropitious region. Nevertheless, the land on which the city and its immediate precincts stand is favourable to the growth of vegetables, and yields a sufficient number of market gardens to supply the city.

Larger than Paris and even London, St. Petersburg is estimated at about twenty miles in circumference. It is bisected by the principal channel of the Neva into two almost equal parts, which are subdivided into two islands—the island of St. Petersburg and Wassili Ostroff; and into three quarters—the quarter of the Admiralty and the quarters of the Liteinia and of Viborg. These islands and these quarters constitute the town properly so called. It may be safely said that nearly three-fourths of its surface is occupied by gardens, cemeteries, meadows, and waste ground.

The Neva is at once the support and the ornament of Petersburg; we shall see further on, that it may also become its scourge. The Neva is the vehicle of most of the produce of the interior of the Empire as well as of Western Europe. This river forms on one hand a continuation of the Caspian sea and the Volga, and on the other of the Baltic and the Gulf of Finland.

One speciality of the Neva worthy of consideration is the fact that it brings down and deposits at its mouth an accumulation of sand and mud, emanating from the lakes Onega and Ladoga. Gradually the deposit extends, becomes consolidated, and rises above the waves so as to form dykes that gain on the gulf. This is the origin of most of the islands on which St. Petersburg is built; they have been formed like the Delta of the Nile, by the slow and constant action of the river. This phenomenon, moreover, is in continual operation; the Neva is constantly depositing, in the direction of Cronstadt, sand banks that will some day become islands.

The water of the Neva is sweet, limpid, and beautifully transparent, resembling in this respect the water of the Finland lakes. It is pleasant to the taste though apt to engender inconvenience to those not seasoned to it, but to those used to it, is considered healthy.

The Neva is generally full to the brim, facing the quay of the Court, it has a breadth of 600 metres, or 1968 feet; but its usual width is 1300 feet, which is that of the Rhine at Cologne, and of the Vistula at Warsaw.

Every year, in the month of November, the Neva becomes covered with ice, and is transformed into a splendid and solid highway, sprinkled with sledges and skaters, and enlivened by reindeer races got up by Lapland speculators. This state of things lasts about six months. The thaw takes place about the first fortnight in April. No one who has not witnessed it can conceive the appearance of the river at this season. It becomes a raging torrent, rolling—instead of waves—fearful icebergs and immense domes of snow, which fall together in chaotic confusion as it draws near its mouth. Before the stone bridge was built that now unites the two principal banks of the Neva, the thaw interrupted all communication, and Petersburg became two cities, severed by a stream like boiling lava. No wooden bridge or bridge of boats could stand the shocks of these icebergs, and it is still doubtful if the iron and granite of the new bridge will hold out long. Yet all these icy horrors do not prevent fleets of little boats from trying to cross the river during the thaw. Most of them land safely, but occasionally blockaded between floes of ice, which it is impossible to break through, they are swept away and founder in the stormy waters of the Gulf of Finland.

The thaw of the Neva only lasts three days, after which the navigation is open. The opening takes place with a certain form and state, like the commencement of the inundation of the Nile at Cairo. The Director of the Building Slips at the Admiralty sails about with all the pomp and circumstance of a London Mayor, and meets the Commandant of the Arsenal amidst the booming of cannon. The Director delivers a speech, a rarity in Russia, but it is with authority from On High, *i. e.*, the Czar, and pronounces the communication re-established, and that henceforth the steam-boats can get up the steam and sailing vessels weigh anchor. Before this solemnity no boat is suffered to navigate the Neva. This does not apply to the little adventurous skiffs spoken of above.

But not only does the Neva present a singular appearance in winter and spring, its aspect in summer, and especially at night, being equally remarkable. The following graphic description is from the pen of M. de Muistre:—

“Nothing is rarer, but at the same time more beautiful, than a fine summer’s night at St. Petersburg, perhaps because the long winter, and usually leaden sky, give it an especial charm, or really because, as I fancy, such a night is more calm and lovely than in finer climates.

The sun, which in temperate zones dips below the horizon and only leaves a pale and evanescent twilight, at Petersburg, in summer, only grazes the earth slightly and gradually, seeming loath to leave this sphere. Its disk, surrounded by blushing mists, rolls like a chariot of fire over the dismal forests that crown the horizon, and its rays reflected by the windows of the place, give the image of a vast conflagration to the spectator. Large rivers have usually

a deep bed and steep banks, which give to them a wild, savage aspect. The Neva flows between margins level with the stream itself, in the bosom of a magnificent city, its limpid waters laving the verdure of the islands it surrounds, and through the whole extent of the town, bordered by quays of granite further than the eye can reach; a sort of magnificence which is continued along the three grand canals that pass through the capital, and of which neither the model nor the imitation is to be found elsewhere. A thousand boats skim along, leaving their light track on the water in every direction. In the distance foreign vessels are visible, taking in their sails and casting anchor. They bring to these northern regions fruits from the tropics and the productions of the universe. The brilliant birds of America glide along the Neva, with groves of orange trees, and find again, on arriving, the cocoa nuts, the pine apples, the citrons, and the fruits of their native land. Russia takes possession of all these riches offered to her, and in return throws back untold gold to the rapacious merchant. We met, from time to time, elegant boats, the oars withdrawn from the water, so as to allow them to float gently along the stream. The rowers sung national airs, whilst their masters enjoyed in silence the beauty of the scene and the tranquillity of the night. A large boat passed rapidly near us, carrying the wedding party of some rich merchant. A canopy of crimson and gold fringes covered the young couple and their friends; Russian music, issuing from between the two lines of rowers, sent far and wide the sound of horns. This music is completely Russian, and is, perhaps, the only thing peculiar to this people which is not ancient. Many persons, still living, knew the inventor (M. Narischkine), whose name awakens in his country the remembrance of antique hospitality, elegant luxury, and refined taste. The equestrian statue of Peter the Great overlooks the Neva from one extremity of the Isaacs-place. His severe countenance looks towards the river, and appears still to animate the navigation created by his genius. His arm is still stretched over the town, and it is difficult to define whether it be to protect or to menace. As our boat gradually advanced, the song of the boatmen and the confused noise of the town insensibly died away. The sun had sunk below the horizon, brilliant clouds spread a soft light around—a twilight, difficult to be described, and such as I have seen nowhere else. Light and darkness seem to be mingled to form the transparent veil which at that hour covers the surrounding country.*

Ten rivers, of various dimensions, fall into the Neva at St. Petersburg, or in its precincts, and eight canals are also connected with it. It may easily be conceived what an influence such a mass of water must have on the climate of the modern capital, which is severe, variable, and frequently subject to deleterious miasmas. All writers agree in pronouncing it an unhealthy climate, exposed to the action of frequent winds which sweep freely over this flat and swampy region. Hence arise many diseases, especially in spring and autumn. Delicate lungs have no chance in its trying temperature. The best season (as throughout Russia) is the winter;

* "Soirées de St. Petersburg."

the summer being painfully hot and broiling. A frost of 30 degrees below zero, with virgin snow, and a pure and calm atmosphere, is preferable to the sun of twenty hours, that disturbs all social and domestic economy in summer, and only confers the blessings of dust and suffocation. Organized and seasoned for cold, the people of the north understand the art of neutralizing its annoyances; but against the heat they are absolutely unprotected, and suffer all its intensity.

The population of St. Petersburg has increased ever since its foundation, but especially since Catherine II. At the death of Peter the Great it amounted only to 75,000 souls, mostly strangers; at the accession of Catherine it had reached the figure of 110,000; at present it reckons about 500,000, including foreigners. All competent authorities agree in assigning to it above twice as many men as women, adding that the men are remarkable for their good looks, and the women for the contrary. An official document explains this enormous disproportion between the sexes, on the one hand by the army, which is included in the census, and also by the host of Government *employés* and agents in the chancelleries and dockyards, most of those functionaries being bachelors.

St. Petersburg has only 446 streets, a small number compared with the size of the city, but they are excessively broad and drawn at right angles to each other, hence this number is sufficient. It must be admitted that they are generally handsome, clean, and well kept, through the terror of the police. Wood pavement, similar to that extensively introduced in London, has been in vogue since 1832.

The chief thoroughfares are called perspectives, because of their length. The Newski perspective, and the great Morskoi, are the handsomest streets in Petersburg, and have wood pavement throughout.

After the streets we must notice the quays, magnificent works in granite, the bridges, amounting to 140, and the squares, whose vastness corresponds to the proportions of the city. The most considerable spaces are, the square of Isaac, where a hundred thousand men pass easily in review, and containing the finest monuments in the city; the Winter Palace, the Hermitage, the Senate, the Admiralty, the Etat Major, the column of Alexander, the equestrian statue of Peter the Great, the Isaac's Church—the latter is intended to become the religious wonder of the empire, nothing has been spared in its construction, Finland has supplied its most beautiful granite and porphyry, Italy its finest marble, and eminent artists have contributed their genius in its erection.

Notwithstanding this, good judges doubt if this church will ever produce an effect corresponding to the care and cost bestowed upon it. Seen afar off it presents a dark unshapely mass, looking more like the tomb of some ill-omened prophet than a temple raised to the Deity.

Another remarkable square is the Sennaia, where the great market of St. Petersburg is held. During the Christmas festivities, so elaborately described by Kohl, it presents a spectacle entirely foreign to anything of the kind in the rest of Europe. The Sen-

naia is then covered with sledges, mostly proceeding from remote parts of the Empire. These sledges are so many cooks' shops, or rather larders, of a novel description. Custine gives a graphic picture of pigs, sheep, calves, &c., frozen stiff, standing upright as in life, and seeming to challenge a purchaser. The strangest scenes result from this phenomenon. One man catches up a fat pig on his droschki, and holds it tight in his tender embrace, for fear of losing it. Presently an *employé* with his mistress passes through the throng with a *laquais* behind his equipage, holding an enormous calf. Much merriment is occasioned by these expeditions. If you wish to buy a few pounds of meat, you only obtain it by the proprietor resorting to his axe, and it has to be thawed before it is dressed.

The best way to obtain a correct notion of Petersburg is to follow the Newski from one end to the other, about two and a half miles in length. This street is 160 feet wide, and lined with handsome palaces and residences. It contains the chapels of most confessions, Catholic, Armenian, Lutheran, &c., besides the cathedral of Kasan, built after the plan of St. Peter's at Rome; the Imperial Palace of Anitschkoff, the residence of the Czarovitch; the Greek Theatre of Alexandrinsky; the Imperial Library; the Gostinoi dvor, or people's market, the Bank, &c.

Turning to the right out of the Newski, and following the Fontanka, you arrive at the square of the Grand Imperial Theatre, then returning by the Great Morskoi to the palace of the late Duc de Leuchtenberg, to the New Post Office, you reach the Hotel Demidoff, and the splendid barracks of the Chevalier Guards.

In short, wherever you turn in Petersburg, you meet handsome, and especially colossal structures. Such are the Academy of Fine Arts, with its two granite sphynxes; the University; the Custom House; the Romanzoff Museum; the Marble Palace of the Grand Duke Constantine; the Hotel of Count Scheremeteff; the Foundling Hospital, and numerous churches of unheard-of splendour.

But there is a shadow to this picture. Petersburg has 8500 houses, whereof 5000 are built of wood. True, these wooden houses look clean and handsome outside, but it is at the expense of ridiculous and despotic police regulations, which treat houses and landlords like a file of soldiers in uniform. Moreover, these wooden buildings break the harmony of the city's appearance. Why should this metropolis be disfigured by a heap of parasitical hovels and huts? It is worse than Calcutta.

Perhaps the most interesting, if not the most elegant monument of St. Petersburg is the Fortress, which was built before the city, and contains the tomb of Peter the Great, and of all his successors.

Another description of the metropolis, by Robert, an eminent French writer, is graphic and comprehensive:—

“Generally speaking, one cannot feel too much astonished that the Czar Peter should have thought of building St. Petersburg in the midst of so severe a climate, a soil so marshy, in a desert country, sterile, far from salubrious, covered with sand and immense forests; a situation which obliged the inhabitants to pro-

quire provisions at a great expense from the neighbouring provinces. In addition to this we must remember that the Neva, on which St. Petersburg is built, is frozen over generally for six months consecutively; that vessels are obliged to sail very late, and to return very early; that even if the ice is melted, they can only sail down when the wind is east, and in those parts, during the summer, the west wind most commonly prevails; and that the soft waters of the Neva destroy the vessels in a few years. If we consider, besides, that the locality of St. Petersburg is subject to inundations, which sometimes cause great ravages; that the severity of the cold causing them to prefer building wooden structures, the city is exposed to frequent and destructive fires: if we observe, in short, that the Czar, in placing his capital near the sea, to advance commerce, has separated himself from the centre of his Empire, where it was so essential for him to be, on account of its immense extent; if we consider that he has gained nothing for commerce by this maritime position, since by fixing it at St. Petersburg, he has ruined it at Archangel, we must conclude that with regard to the most important and essential relations, the position of St. Petersburg is not a happy one. But Peter I. had his head full of the wonders which he had seen worked out in Holland, by its maritime commerce, and his ardent genius had easily persuaded him that he could realize on the Gulf of Finland the scene which had presented itself to him on the Zuyder Zee."

Let us proceed to consider the probable future of the metropolis of Peter. Even the Russians are terrified to think of it, for this magic city is exposed to three probable and terrible accidents: civil war, foreign war, and inundation.

1st. Civil War. If Petersburg had not been situated in such a remote corner of the Empire, the Cossack insurgent Pougatscheff would not in all probability have succeeded in organizing such a formidable Jacquerie. A sovereign gifted with the genius and decision of Catherine II. would have stifled the conspiracy much more rapidly. The Emperor Nicholas is exposed to the same danger in the present day, a great part of the Empire might be occupied by an insurrectionary army, and the Autocrat might be blockaded in his capital before a single regiment could be summoned to go forth and quell the rebellion.

2nd. Foreign War. Petersburg is worthless as a frontier stronghold, if we bear in mind what took place during the war with Gustavus III. The Swedes were ten times on the point of entering St. Petersburg, and they would have infallibly done so, had but their squadrons better commanders, and their troops possessed more spirit. In 1790, several hostile battalions, landing five miles from the capital, took possession of Pardakoffski, which might have easily forced the Muscovites to give the keys of their metropolis to Gustavus. The court was in the greatest state of alarm, and a more active foe would have certainly taken advantage of it. Eight thousand Russians were unable to drive 2000 Swedes from the post they had taken; the thaw alone saved the city by preventing the timely arrival of the reinforcements of the enemy. In case of a war with a great maritime power, such as England or

France, St. Petersburg would be at the mercy of a hostile fleet. When once the Russian Baltic Fleet had been beaten, the fortress of Cronstadt would be the only protection of the capital, and though the Russians maintain that it is impregnable, no walls that have hitherto been constructed can long resist the weight of our broadsides.

The third risk of St. Petersburg is inundation. Numerous and eloquent pens have portrayed the terrible floods to which this Northern Rome has been exposed. This is, perhaps, the most probable and the most fatal disaster that is likely to visit it. "How often," says a French traveller, "have I been suddenly awakened at night, in St. Petersburg, by the guns of the fortress announcing the sudden overflow of the Neva!" During the spring and autumn, the inhabitants are always on the look-out, and never feel at home. The following is a chronicle of the floods at St. Petersburg, justifying the terrible anticipations of its citizens.

The first occurred in 1714 (5th November), when St. Petersburg nearly disappeared beneath the waters; the bridges were swept away, the quays and the dock-yards were destroyed. In 1716, the Imperial navy port of Revel was laid waste. On the 8th of November, 1721, a violent westerly gale having prevailed for nine days, drove back the waters of the Neva up the stream, and placed the city on the verge of destruction. In the highest parts the horses were immersed to their chests, and in the lower streets the inundation was 7 feet 4 inches in depth. All the streets were covered with boats. The Czar Peter, who was at a ball given by the German ambassador, was hardly able to return to his palace. On the 10th of the same month, as the river began to threaten another flood, the capital was once more thrown into a state of terror. On the 6th of October, 1723, occurred another disastrous inundation. On the 23rd of May of the following year, the Neva, crowded with ice, overflowed the town and injured much property. On the 1st of November, 1725, a sudden rise of the river injured those parts of the city bordering on it, and the Empress, who had started for the church of the Holy Trinity, was surprised on the road by the flood and forced to turn back.

But the most terrible inundation that ever visited St. Petersburg, was that which occurred in November, 1824. "On the night of the 10th of that month, so strong a westerly wind impeded the current from the Ladoga Lake, that the Neva and the canals rose to an unusual height, and lamps were hung out around the Admiralty steeple, to warn people not to sleep in their lowest apartments—a signal which custom has familiarized them to. Early on the next day the waters had so risen, that the white flag was hung out, and guns were fired to admonish the city of its danger. It was soon too apparent that these admonitions were necessary; the Neva rose so as to inundate the whole city, and the confusion and destruction became indescribable. The St. Isaac's, the Touchkoff, and Summer Garden bridges, were broken away from their anchors, and dispersed and
Wooden barracks, with many of their inmates, were totally overwhelmed, and an entire regiment of carabineers, who had climbed up the roofs of one of them, perished! Eight thousand

dead bodies had been already found, and multitudes were carried by the retreating waters down the Gulf of Finland. The Imperial establishments at Cronstadt suffered greatly, and the fleet sustained irreparable damage. A ship of one hundred guns was left in the middle of one of the principal streets. In the Imperial iron manufactory at Catharinoff, two hundred workmen perished. The loss of commercial property was immense: in sugar alone, it is said that 10,800,000lbs. were damaged, and nearly half the quantity completely melted."

Alluding to the inundations, Lady Eastlake observes:—"No one can judge of the daring position of St. Petersburg, who has not mounted one of her artificial heights (such as the gilt spire of the Admiralty), and viewed the immense body of waters in which she floats, like a bark overladen with precious goods; while the autumn waves, as if maddened by the prospect of the winter's long imprisonment, play wild pranks with her resistless shores, deriding her false foundations, and overturning in a few hours the laborious erections of as many years."

The real and peculiar magnificence of St. Petersburg consists in thus sailing apparently upon the bosom of the ocean, into a city of palaces. Granite quays of immense strength now gradually closed in upon us, bearing aloft stately buildings modelled from the Acropolis, while successive vistas of interminable streets, and canals as thickly populated, swiftly passing before us, told us plainly that we were in the midst of this northern capital, ere we had set foot on ground.

The number of magnificent palaces and public buildings is so great, that we can do little more than barely notice the most remarkable:—The Imperial Winter Palace, which is united by covered bridges with that named the Hermitage; the latter contains a costly library, as well as a valuable collection of paintings; the Marble Palace, which although elegant, is certainly a gloomy looking building; the Taurida Palace, with its beautiful gardens; the Anitchkov Palace, the residence of the Emperor Nicholas while he was grand duke; the old Michailov Palace; and the new Michailov Palace with its park, this, which is the residence of the Grand Duke Michael, is one of the finest palaces in Europe.

The Kasan church, standing just where the St. Catherine's canal intersects the Nevski, is a superb specimen of what Russian architects, Russian quarries, and Russian mines can produce. Here riches glittered around in fabulous profusion, while a subdued light, a stupefying perfume, and a strain of unearthly harmony disposes the senses for mysterious impressions.

Turning from walls of silver and hangings of pearl, to the poor creatures scattered about the church, may be seen old hags of nuns, in filthy attire; wretched cripples, and loathsome beggars, whom one seed-pearl from the Virgin's shoulder-knot would have enriched.

The Academy of Arts on the Wassili-Ostrov is one of those outwardly splendid piles, with ten times more space than in England would be allowed for the same object, deplorably out of repair, and ten thousand times dirtier than any place ever known.

The great alternations of temperature render St. Petersburg a most unlovable residence; it has been calculated that on an average of ten years, there are 97 bright days, 104 rainy, 72 of snow, and 97 unsettled; and the few bright days are generally during the greatest heat or severest cold: in autumn, St. Petersburg is allowed to be one of the most disagreeable spots on the face of the earth. The winter is the best season, and the Russians know better than any other people how to defend themselves from cold. On New Year's day, a masked ball at the Winter Palace brings 30,000 of all classes together.

CHAPTER IV.

MOSCOW AND THE PROVINCES.

Moscow—Plan—Style of Buildings—Streets—The Kremlin—Custom—Catherine—The brilliant aspect of Moscow—Odessa—Sebastopol—Cronstadt and Sveaborg—Tula—Its manufactories—Nijni-Novgorod—Its fair—Kasan—Its characteristics.

Russia has two capitals: Petersburg, representing the west, progress and civilization: Moscow, symbolizing the east, conservatism and barbarism.

Petersburg is Russian, but not Russia. The ground on which it stands was once a foreign country. Moscow is still the heart and soul of Russian life and nationality. It is in lat. $55^{\circ} 45' 46''$ N., and long. $55^{\circ} 12' 45''$ E., and 728 versts from St. Petersburg, to which it is now united by a railway.

The assertion sometimes made, that no city is so irregularly built as Moscow, is, in some respects, true. None of the streets are straight; houses, large and small, private dwellings, public buildings, and churches, are mingled confusedly together; but when, instead of looking at it in detail, we consider it as a whole, it must be admitted that few cities are more regularly or more rationally built than Moscow.

The original founders settled, without doubt, on the Kremlin hill, which naturally became the centre of the city at a later period. Nearest that fortified hill lay the Kitay Gorod (Chinese city), the oldest part of Moscow. Around both the Kremlin and Kitay Gorod lies Beloi Gorod (white city), which is encircled by the Tver Boulevard and the other Boulevards, forming together one street. Round Beloi Gorod runs, in a like circular form, the Smelnoi Gorod, surrounded by the Garden-street, and by other streets which must be considered as continuations of it. These rings, forming the body of the city, properly so called, are intersected by the Tverskaya, Dimitrevka, and other streets, radiating from the open places round the Kremlin, as the common centre. Nowhere is there a sufficient length of street to form a perspective. The greater number of the streets wind like the paths of an English park, or like rivers meandering through fields.

We always fancy ourselves coming to the end; and in every part where the ground is level, we appear to be in a small city. Fortu-

rately the site of Moscow is, in general, hilly. The streets undulate continually, and thus offer, from time to time, points of view whence the eye is able to range over the vast ocean of house-tops.

It is difficult to decide on the exact number of the churches in Moscow, the accounts given differ so widely. While some speak of 1500, others reduce the number to 500; and others even to 200. Some reckon every chapel attached to the larger churches, those in private houses, convents, and those erected over graves, which might easily swell the number to thousands. Some people reckon the summer and winter churches separately, and others together. There are even some churches in Moscow which do, in fact, consist of several joined together, of which each has its own name, and is quite apart from the rest. In this manner, the church of the Protection of the Holy Virgin might be set down as twelve. Lastly, some of the convents have one chief church, and three, four, and even five supplementary churches, in each of which service is performed only once a year; these are passed over in some estimates, and included in others.

It is sufficient to say, that the buildings in Moscow destined for divine service are countless.

The population of Moscow is now considerably more than 300,000.

Kohl and the Marquis de Custine have exhausted Moscow, whose chief features are the Cathedral of St. Basil and the Kremlin. The church of St. Basil stands at the entrance of the fortress, *Vassili Blagennoi* is a mosaic or *pot pourri* of every imaginable style of architecture, thrown together in the most capricious and fanciful disorder. It is certainly the most singular, if not the most beautiful, monument in Russia. The effect it produces is prodigious. Certainly, the country which would name it a place for prayer, is not Europe, but rather India, Persia, China, and the men who go to worship God in this box of bonbons are not Christians; thus I exclaimed on looking on this singular church of *Vassili*. It is, also, small and dismal, and Custine pronounces that all churches in this land of slavery are dungeons.

The centre of attraction at Moscow is, however, the Kremlin, the ancient fortress of its Tzars, the dungeon of a nation of giants. This is one of the most stupendous edifices in the world. "I shall never forget," observes Custine, "the freezing feeling of horror which I experienced on first beholding the cradle of the empire of modern Russia: the Kremlin deserves a journey to Moscow.

"The Kremlin is not like any other palace, it is an entire city, and the head of Moscow; it serves as a frontier to two parts of the world, the east and the west. The Old and the New Worlds are in the presence of each other there.

"The walls of the Kremlin! The wood walls can give you no idea, the wood is too common, too mean, it deceives you; the walls of the Kremlin, they are a chain of mountains. . . . This citadel, built on the confines of Europe and Asia, is, compared with ordinary ramparts, what the Alps are to our hills; the Kremlin is the Mont Blanc of fortresses. If the Giant, whom we call the Russian empire, had a heart, I should say that the

Kremlin was the heart of this monster. . . . it is the head of it. . . . I wish I could only give you an idea of that mass of stones, sketched out like steps along the sky—singular contradiction!! This asylum of despotism was raised in the name of liberty, for the Kremlin was a rampart opposed by the Russians against the Calmouks; its walls at both ends have favoured the independence of the state, and served the tyranny of the sovereign. They follow boldly the sinuosities of the earth; when the slopes of the hill become too rapid, the rampart is lowered by steps; these steps, which mount between the sky and the earth, are enormous, it is the ladder of giants, who make war with the gods.

“The line of this first enclosure of structures is cut by fantastic towers so lofty, so strong, and of so whimsical a form, that they represent rocks of divers figures and glaciers of a thousand colours: the obscurity, doubtless, caused all these things to increase in size, and to give them an unnatural outline and tints; I say tints, because night has its colouring as well as *gravure*. . . . I cannot account for the influence of the illusion which then possessed me; but it was impossible not to feel a secret terror . . . to see ladies and gentlemen dressed in the Parisian costume walking at the foot of this fabulous palace; one imagines that it is a dream. I was dreaming. What would Ivan the Third have said—he, the restorer, we might say, the founder of the Kremlin, if he could have seen at the foot of the sacred fortress these old shaven Moscovites, with their hair curled, in dress coats, white pantaloons, yellow gloves, lounging at their ease to the sound of music, and eating well-sugared ices before a well-illuminated café? He would have said as I do: it is impossible! And yet this is to be seen at Moscow every summer’s evening. I have been over the public gardens planted upon the glaciers of the old citadel of the Czars, I beheld towers, then other towers, flights of walls, and then again other flights; and my eyes wandered over an enchanted city. It is saying too little to call it Fairy land! it requires the eloquence of youth, whom all surprises and astonishes, in order to find words analogous to those wonderful things. Above a long vault which I had just crossed, I perceived a suspended road by which foot passengers and carriages entered the holy city. This sight appeared to me incomprehensible; there was nothing but towers, doors, terraces raised one above another, in contrary lines; nothing but rapid ascents and descents, and arches supporting roads by which you go out of the Moscow of to-day, and the Moscow of the past, to enter the Kremlin, from the historical Moscow to the marvellous Moscow. These aqueducts without water support again other stages of edifices still more fantastic. I saw a low, round tower, all bristling with battlements and buttresses, leaning against one of those suspended passages: the brilliant whiteness of this singular ornament detaches itself from a wall as red as blood: what a contrast! and which the obscurity, always somewhat transparent in the nights of the north, never prevents you from observing. This tower was a giant whose head seemed to command the whole fort of which it seemed to be the guardian. When I was satisfied with the en-

joyment of this waking dream, I endeavoured to find my way home.

“Wishing to compare the Kremlin in full daylight with the fantastic Kremlin of the night, I recommenced my walk of yesterday. Obscurity increases and displaces all things, but the sun restores objects to their forms and proportions. I was again surprised at this second testing of the fortress of the Czars. The moonlight enlarged and brought out certain masses of stone, but it had concealed others from me, and thus by rectifying some of my mistakes, and acknowledging that I had imagined too many arches, covered galleries, and suspended roads, of porticoes and caverns, I still found a sufficient number of all these things to justify my enthusiasm.

“There is everything to be found at the Kremlin: it is a landscape of stones.

“The solidity of those ramparts surpasses the strength of the rocks which bear them; the number and the form of these monuments is a marvel. This labyrinth of palaces, of museums, of donjons, of churches, of prisons, is fearful as the architecture of Martin, and as vast but more irregular than the compositions of the English painter. Mysterious sounds proceed from the depths of the caverns; such dwellings cannot be fit for beings like us. You dream there in the midst of the most astonishing scenes; and you tremble when you remember that these are not merely pure invention. The sounds you hear there seem to proceed from the tomb; in such a spot you can believe in everything, except that which is natural.

Convince yourself thoroughly that the Kremlin of Moscow is not what it is reported to be. It is not a palace; it is not a national sanctuary where the historical treasures of the empire are preserved; it is not the Boulevard of Russia, the revered asylum where the saints sleep, who are the protectors of the country; it is less, and it is more than all this; it is simply the Citadel of Spectres.

“This morning, walking along, and without a guide, as usual, I arrived at the very centre of the Kremlin, and I penetrated alone into the interior of some of those churches, which are the ornaments of this pious city, venerated by the Russians, as much for their relics as for their worldly riches and the glorious trophies they enclose. The Kremlin, situated on a hill, appeared to me from a distance like a princely city, built in the midst of an ordinary one. This tyrannical chateau—this proud heap of stones—towers above the common dwellings of men, with its high rocks, its walls, and its belfries, and, contrary to that which happens with regard to monuments of ordinary dimension, the nearer we approach to this indestructible mass, the more we are astonished. Like certain bones of gigantic animals, the Kremlin proves to us the history of a world, of which we still have doubts, even when we discover its remains. In this prodigious creation, strength takes the place of beauty, caprice of elegance. It is a Tyrant's dream, but it is powerful; it is terrifying, like the thought of a man who commands the thoughts of a people; there is something out of proportion in it.

"I see means of defence, but which suppose wars such as are no more carried on; this architecture is not in harmony with the wants of modern civilization.

"The heritage of fabulous times, when kings reigned without control; jail, palace, sanctuary, a bulwark against the stranger, a bastille against the nation, the support of Tyrants, dungeons for the people,—behold, this is the Kremlin!

"A kind of Acropolis of the north, or a barbarous Pantheon, this national sanctuary might be called the Alcazar of the Slavonians. Such, then, was the beloved residence of the old Moscovite princes and, nevertheless, these formidable walls did not suffice to calm down yet the terror of Ivan the Fourth.

"The fear felt towards an all-powerful man is one of the most terrible things in the world; thus you tremble on approaching the Kremlin. Towers of all forms; round, square, pointed like arrows, belfries, donjons, turrets, vedettes, the watch towers on the minarets, steeples of every height, of different colours, style, and destination; courts, look-outs, embattled walls, loop-holes, machicolations, ramparts, fortifications of all sorts, whimsical fancies, incomprehensible inventions, a kiosk by the side of a cathedral—all announces disorder and violence—all betrays the constant watchfulness necessary for the safety of those singular beings, who are condemned to live in this supernatural world."

The Kremlin, the first erection of which began in 1367, is certainly a most singular object; it contains the remains of the ancient palace, and also a modern one rebuilt in 1816; it has besides four cathedrals, in one of which (the Assumption) there are 249 full-length images of angels, saints, sovereigns, &c. The Cathedral of St. Michael contains the tombs of all the Russian sovereigns to the time of Peter the Great. There are, including the cathedrals, thirty-two churches in the Kremlin. It is surrounded with walls from twelve to sixteen feet thick; of heights varying from thirty to fifty feet.

Deserving of notice in Moscow is Count Sheremetof's Hospital, an extensive and noble edifice; it has the appearance of a fine Grecian temple; the noble founder dedicated a sum equal to 150,000*l.* to its foundation, to which his son made large additions. The objects besides relief of the sick, are portioning twenty-five female orphans, and allowing pensions to aged and indigent females. There is also a Military Hospital founded by Peter the Great, now capable of receiving 1500 patients.

Colonel Cameron, who looked through rose-coloured spectacles on all he saw in Russia, was enchanted with Moscow. Churches, palaces, mosques, pagodas, and pavilions, with their gorgeous and glittering domes, and golden spires, mixed with gardens, majestic trees, shrubberies, and buildings of every description of architecture—the elegant Grecian, the massive Gothic, the fantastic Chinese, and the graceful Saracenic, in the midst of which wound the noble waters of the Moskwa, all formed a tableau, which the imagination, perhaps, may readily conceive, but which it would be difficult for the ablest writer effectually to describe. Such is the view from the tower of Ivan Veliki, or John the Great.

There is also in Moscow a Foundling Hospital, and relative to the institution, to its honour be it said, that the principles of humanity, kindness, and attention, on which it is conducted towards its helpless, deserted inmates, are beyond all praise. The cleanliness, order, and arrangement were most praiseworthy. Nothing could present a finer picture for the philanthropist than the groups of chubby looking children. The education afforded is solid and good, qualifying the girls for governesses, and the boys for such professions as their talents or inclination may lead them to.

One of the most splendid and benevolent institutions in the world is the Moscow institution for the children of the poorer order of the noblesse. It may proudly throw the gauntlet to the entire world to find its equal. There were in 1845 three hundred orphans under its roof. A traveller describes the scene of a holiday evening in the garden of the Summer Palace of Petrowski as a most unique affair, and where the two extremes of Europe and Asia had been met. The elegant Parisian toilette of the ladies, and dashing uniforms of the military, mixed with various costumes—Turk, Tartar, Chinese, Armenian, Cossack, and Persian, combined to form a *tableau vivant* as singular as it was pleasing.

The view of Moscow from the celebrated convent of Simonowski, about four or five miles from Moscow, is thought to be the finest of all.*

ODESSA.

After this account of the two capitals of the empire we shall condense a few particulars relating to the most important seaports and inland towns. Beginning with the seaports, our space will compel us to give only a cursory notice of Odessa, Sebastopol, Cronstadt, and Sveaborg, which claim our special attention from their importance in time of war. Odessa contains about 70,000 inhabitants, lies on the linian or estuary of the little river Perossip, in the Black sea. The harbour is bad, but the roadstead has some advantages. This town was founded by Catherine II., in 1792, and rose rapidly under the judicious administration of the Duke de Richelieu, a French emigré, under Alexander. It owes its flourishing condition to the exportation of wheat from Podolia, Bessarabia, and New Russia. The population is very mixed, presenting specimens of most nations subject to and bordering on Russia. The buildings

* Schnitzler's Statistique, p. 58, gives this concise picture of Russian towns:

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|---------------------|----------------------|
| Moscow | 246,545 inhabitants. |
| Kasan | 50,000 " |
| Riga | 47,949 " |
| Kief | 40,000 " |
| Astrakhan | 26,000 " |

Towns above 20,000—Toula, Cronstadt, Odessa, Jaroslavl, Kalouga, Koursk, Tobolsk, Vilna, Tver, Orel, Orenbourg. 1822 less considerable towns; 1210 forts or slobods; 227,400 villages; and an infinite number of hamlets.

Toula is termed the Birmingham of Russia. Its prosperity began under Peter I.; but received a check under Nicholas by fire in 1837. Mineral treasures and the estates of Prince Demidoff are near this place.

are chiefly in the Italian style, the streets unpaved, very dirty in summer, and muddy in winter. There are two harbours, one for Russian ships of war and coasters, the other, the Quarantine harbour, for ships coming from the Bosphorus. Odessa contains many fine public institutions, including a fine Botanical Garden, an Exchange, and an Italian Opera, principally supported by Prince Woronzoff.

The numerous country seats in the neighbouring steppe are called Khuters, and Prince Woronzoff has very extensive vineyards in the vicinity.

SEBASTOPOL.

We next pass to Sebastopol (the illustrious city), an entirely new and very strong town, built on a deep and sheltered creek of the Black sea, on the S.W. face of the Crimea. The population of the place is about 30,000, and the greater part of the fortifications date only from the reign of the present Emperor. The materials have been furnished by the soft limestone found in the neighbourhood, which a good deal resembles the shell limestone used in the building of Odessa. It is of so yielding a texture that balls would remain sticking in it, as in sand. It would be, however, so much the more vulnerable to the attacks of time, as may be judged from the houses of Odessa. Kohl says, "It would be a secure place of refuge for the Russian ships, should they ever be driven, by English gunpowder, from the Dardanelles." He speaks also of the marvellous docks then building for the navy. Nature has indeed freely contributed to this giant work by preparing a long, straight, deep bay, protected on all sides. Nevertheless, there yet remained enough to be done. Thousands of workmen were employed on them for years. The stone used in their construction is chiefly a beautiful, almost snow-white limestone, in immense blocks. Here and there granite was visible. Some of the subordinate parts were astonishing enough, such as the machinery for pumping out the water, the draining and fortifying a low town on the neighbouring shore; and the enormous extent of the basins themselves is something quite colossal. At its mouth the harbour is represented as 30 fathoms across, defended by two large forts, and it afterwards widens to 1400.

CRONSTADT.

The island upon which Cronstadt is built occupies the entrance of the gulf of Finland, about thirty-one miles from St. Petersburg, which is partly constructed, as they say, upon the delta of the Neva. Four channels lead from Cronstadt to St. Petersburg, through the islands of that river. The deepest of these channels has not more than seven feet of water. As it is in a sea without tides, the west winds only raise it to a level with the channel. In this case it attains sometimes eight feet and a half in height. The arm of the gulf, whose entrance is partly formed by the island on which Cronstadt is built, is eight miles in width; but the sands which extend on the north and south of the two banks only leave it two channels—that to the north, which is only two fathoms deep, is dangerous, on account of the rocks under water, with which it abounds; that to the south, from four to five fathoms

deep, is extremely narrow, closed in besides between the fortifications of the place and the batteries of Cronstadt.

The forts of Kronschlott, of Kotlinoi Ostroff, and of Riesbank, seem to have made the defences of the harbour almost perfect. The harbours, docks, and basins of Cronstadt have cost many millions of roubles and thousands of lives. There is a navy harbour and a commercial harbour, and a mole 450 fathoms long. Cronstadt contains 30,000 inhabitants.

SYEABORG.

In a very romantic situation, on a rising shore near several rocks and immense fragments of granite, stands Helsingfors; near it is Sveaborg, the Gibraltar of the north. This fortress is not less singular in its construction than remarkable for its strength. Six islands, which lie within the circumference of four miles, in the Gulf of Finland, about three miles and a half from Helsingfors, compose the fortress; or rather, strictly speaking, the three largest of these islands, connected by bridges, form the fortress itself, while the other three, strongly fortified, serve as its outworks. The works are partly blasted from the granite rock, and partly built of the same material. The walls are from 6 to 10 feet thick, and, in a few places, 48 high. Eight hundred pieces of cannon protect this fortress, which has accommodations for 12,000 men. There is also a dry dock, with an arsenal, &c. These works, which nature and art seems to have combined to render impregnable, were surrendered by treachery to the Russians, both in the first and second wars of Finland.

We have selected the preceding seaports from their importance in a political and military point of view, and as our space forbids our dwelling on any other Russian towns situated on the coast, we shall finish this section with a brief sketch of its most important or interesting inland towns, of which we shall select Toola, Nijni-Novgorod, and Kasan, as those best entitled to a short description. Mr. Cottrel has left us a full description of Toola, the Birmingham of Russia, in 1841, and Mr. Oliphant gives us a view of the present state of Novgorod and Kasan, in his voyage down the Volga, in 1852.

TOOLA.

Toola is the chief town of a district to which it gives its name, distant 909 versts from St. Petersburg and 185 from Moscow. It is built on both sides of the Upa, in a situation partly low and partly elevated; and is divided into three districts, which, together with the suburbs, inhabited by the post-boors, communicate with each other by a number of wooden and stone bridges. The population is estimated at 30,000 or 35,000; the number of houses at 5000. It contains a monastery, a nunnery, and 26 churches, all of stone. This town is chiefly distinguished for its manufacture of arms, knives, inkstands, and all sorts of cutlery and works in polished steel. There are very considerable iron mines in the neighbourhood.

The manufacturers are divided into five trades, barrel-makers, lock-makers, stock-makers, furnishing makers, and makers of

small arms. At present they can manufacture 50,000 stand of arms annually, and, in case of necessity, 100,000.

Nijni-Novgorod, the capital of a government to which it gives name, is situated on the high banks of the Oka, opposite to where it loses itself in the Volga. It stands in lat. $56^{\circ} 16' N.$, long. $44^{\circ} 18' E.$; 1120 versts from St. Petersburg, and 390 from Moscow. Its situation at the confluence of two of the principal rivers of Central Russia is extremely well adapted for commerce; and the largest portion of the internal trade of the empire centres here. It communicates at once with the provinces of the north, with the Baltic, and with Moscow.

Its commercial importance has lately been much increased by the removal to it of the great annual fair, which used to be held at Makariof, 84 versts distant. This fair is well known over Europe; it generally lasts from six weeks to two months.

Captain Cochrane is of opinion that "the fair, in point of value, is second to none in Europe, the business done being estimated at nearly 200,000,000 rubles." The fair is visited by 300,000 persons.

Kasan, inferior only to the capitals, is situated on the small river, Kasanka, about four versts from where it falls into the Volga. It is 735 versts from Moscow, by land, but much more by water. It stands in lat. $55^{\circ} 47' 51'' N.$, long. $49^{\circ} 21' 29'' E.$ The city was nearly destroyed by fire about thirty years ago; but it has been in a great measure rebuilt in a more substantial and regular manner. It is the see of an archbishop, and the seat of a university. Its population is estimated at 40,000, of whom 12,000 are Tatars, who dwell in the suburbs. The Kasan Tatars are said to be a more civilized people than their Russian masters.

Our limits will prevent our entering into a description of Poland and Siberia (places so naturally connected), in this portion of our work, and we shall pass to a survey of the masters and subjects of this colossal empire, deferring a short description of Warsaw, Tobolsk, and the mines of Siberia, to the Appendix. Before we describe the present Imperial family, it has appeared desirable to give a few portraits of the Romanoffs and Holstein Gottorps, in the ensuing chapter.

SECTION II.—HISTORY.—THE COURT, NOBLES, & PEOPLE.

CHAPTER I.

PORTRAITS OF THE ROMANOFFS AND HOLSTEIN GOTTORPS.

Peter the Great—Alexis—Peter III.—The Orloffs—His murder—Catherine II.—Paul I.—Pahlen—Alexander Benningsen—The Czar's murder.

It has not been an uncommon practice with the wise men of the west, to compare Peter the Great, to the greatest luminaries of ancient and modern history, and in some respects to represent him as original and matchless in the sublimity of his genius. All

candid and impartial inquirers will admit, that his energy and industry have seldom been emulated, that his views were singularly enlarged, though perhaps not invariably enlightened, and that his perseverance and versatility have never been surpassed. Naturally prone to hydrophobia, he founded the Russian navy, and taught his people to be sailors. Repeatedly vanquished by Charles and his Swedes, he ended by entirely overthrowing his opponent at Pultava. Man and nature forbade the erection of Petersburg, on a foreign strand, amidst a dismal swamp, and under the level of the raging Neva. But there stands the Imperial city in its pride, a monument of the power of one man's will. In short, the importance and weight of Russia in the scale of nations date from Peter. He found it of wood, he left it of stone. Yet, as in so many masterpieces, we may perchance find shades as well as lights in this portrait. Sprung from a Prussian stock, he had imbibed all the vices as well as virtues of his native land, and of his lineage. The Romanoffs had long been conspicuous in the annals of their country, alike for strength of body, and weakness of mind, and Peter was a true scion of the stock. Equally remarkable for intellectual vigour and moral debility, his body though strongly knit, was subject to a distemper of a distressing nature, and requiring a singular and special remedy.

It is not our purpose in these pages to repeat the oft-told tale of his biography, or to present our readers with an epitome of chronology. We take it for granted that they are already familiar with the most prominent facts and figures of his reign. Saardam and Deptford, Lefort, Narva, and Pultava, pass in a rapid succession of dissolving views before our eyes, and we pass on to the shadows and mysteries of his reign, which, though equally important, have been less dwelt upon by his biographers, probably on account of the unpleasant nature of the theme. To deny Peter genius and intellectual greatness of the first order, after what he achieved, must proceed from bigotry and blindness, and we cordially agree in passing the highest encomiums on the brilliancy of his conceptions and the power of his will. To cut off the Strelitzes and the beards of the Mujiks, and to place the patriarchal mitre on his casque and crown, bespoke a master mind and stroke of policy. These are the lights of the picture. Of the modes by which he effected these changes, the less said the better, as they fall into the shade, like the dark sides and features of other times and places. Yet it must be our unpleasant duty to pause awhile on the more sombre features of his character and life, in order that we may obtain a juster estimate of the man, the dynasty, and the empire.

It has been the admirable practice of the brilliant few and the dull multitude, in pre-Christian and post-Christian times, to worship intellectual greatness and strength of will, whether working weal or woe, or smiting for evil or for good. The philosopher and the saint have trod with noiseless step across the scene of life, and left their fragrant odour, or breathed their harmony to two or three unnatural souls, weak enough to believe in the beauty of holiness, whilst the victor and the churchman have dazzled and blasted countless multitudes gazing at their path of fire, fasci-

nated by the storm of battle, by showers of gold, the minster, and the Miserere. A Socrates could live unknown amidst the palaces and porticoes of Pericles, the Waldensian church could whisper its silent prayers and protests to the Throne of Grace amidst the roar of battle and the tempest of revolution or reformation, and thus the hero, the sage, and the saint have often appeared awhile and toiled for the unseen, till the refined spirit has shaken off its mortal coil, and passed away unhallowed and unknelt on earth. And thus it is, that in judging of the great of the past, our measure smacks too much of earth and too little of heaven. Far be it from us to judge of the fate of departed souls in the other life. We leave this to God and conscience. But reason and revelation bid us not confound good and evil here, nor can we stoop to reverence crime, be it clothed in purple, and adorned by the gifts of genius and of person. A Channing and a Landor can chastise the memory of the Emperor Napoleon, and truth and justice bid us unveil the deformity of Peter.

Passing over minor instances of ferocity, we shall first pay attention to the treatment of the Strelitzes, the Prætorians of Russia, who, like the Janissaries of Mahmoud, and all Slavonians save the Poles, conspired against his reforms. Like all malcontents, the Strelitz believed that discontent was universal. Two of their leaders at Moscow planned a nocturnal conflagration. They knew that Peter would be the first to hasten to it, and in the confusion they meant to murder him and massacre all foreigners. But two of the conspirators lost their boldness, and revealed the plot to Peter, who went alone to the banquet of the criminals, just before the time appointed. In this situation he did not lose his presence of mind, but he confounded the conspirators, who, whilst hesitating if they should kill him, were disarmed by his guard. His vengeance was terrible; the punishment was more ferocious than the crime. First, the rack, then the successive mutilation of each member; then death, when not enough of blood and life was left to allow of the sense of suffering. To close the whole, the heads were exposed on the summit of a column, the members being symmetrically arranged around them as ornaments; a scene worthy of a government of masters and of slaves, reciprocally brutifying each other, and whose only God was fear. In Turkey, even before the reform, this would have been called barbarous. This was the first insurrection. Afterwards came another, seventeen months later. The combat was a brief one; Gordon, a Scotchman, with 1200 disciplined men, speedily vanquished, disarmed, and fettered the Strelitzes. Peter, who was at Vienna, hurried back. Just returned from civilized countries, he relapsed into all the ferocity of the savage manners which he wanted to reform, and which he now displayed by torturing and rending with his own hands 2000 of these wretched malcontents. Enormous as were their crimes, they cannot justify the atrociousness of so many executions; nor can it find an excuse in the strong influence of the manners and customs of that period, nor in the necessity of the circumstances, and of the severe measures which it was indispensable to adopt with brutal and ferocious slaves. The details of them are horrible, but history cannot

pass them over. Peter himself interrogated the criminals by torture; then, in imitation of Ivan the Tyrant, he constituted himself their judge and their executioner; the nobles who remained faithful, he compelled to cut off the heads of the guilty nobles, whom they had just condemned. Seated on his throne, the cruel being witnessed the executions with tearless eyes; he went still farther; with the festivity of banquets, he blended the horrors of these punishments. Intoxicated with wine and with blood, the glass in one hand, the axe in the other, in a single hour, twenty successive libations marked the fall of twenty heads of the Strelitz, which he smote off at his feet, exulting, meanwhile, in the horrible skill which he displayed. In the following year, the consequences, either of the insurrection, or of the brutality with which the poor wretches were punished, manifested themselves in distant parts of the empire, and fresh insurrections broke out. Eighty Strelitz, loaded with chains, were dragged from Asoff to Moscow, and their heads, which a Boyard successively held up by the hair, fell again beneath the axe of the Czar. For five whole months he made wheels and gibbets incessantly exhibit to the gaze their disgusting prey.

Our space and a regard for our reader's feelings forbid our dwelling on numerous similar cases of objectionable severity, and we pass to the damning sin or crowning glory of his reign, *i. e.*, the condemnation and execution of his son Alexis. This unhappy prince was the great stumbling-block in the way of his father's reforms. He was easily recognised by his lofty stature, his powerful voice, the filthiness of his dress, and the stupidity produced by continual and disgusting drunkenness. The evil genius of his mother, whom Peter had dethroned to gratify an illicit love, had, after a lapse of twenty years, involved the son in her ruin. He was perpetually surrounded by the most ignorant and debauched priests, who were his dearest confidants; to those men he had promised the surrender of all his father's labours, the exile or death of those by whom his parent had been seconded, the destruction of Petersburg and of the navy, and the restoration of the ancient usages.

Hence had arisen his passive resistance to the orders of the Czar and his desertion of his country. In September, 1716, Alexis deceived and fled from his father. To escape from the nascent civilization of the Russians, he took refuge in the midst of European civilization. He put himself under the protection of Austria, and lived in concealment at Naples, with a mistress.

Peter discovered his retreat. He wrote to him. His letter began with just reproaches; it ended with terrible threats if Alexis did not obey the orders which he sent to him.

These words, in particular, held a prominent place—"Are you afraid of me? I assure and promise you, by the name of God, and by the last judgment, that if you submit to my will, and return hither, I will not inflict any punishment upon you, and will even love you better than ever!"

Relying on the faith thus solemnly given by a father and sovereign, Alexis returned to Moscow on the 3rd of February, 1718; and on the next day he was disarmed, seized, interrogated, and

ignominiously excluded from the throne, with all his posterity; he was even laid under a curse if he dared ever to appeal from this sentence.

Nor was this all; he was secluded in a fortress. There every day and every night, *violating his sworn faith*, every noble feeling, all the laws of nature, and those laws which he had himself given to his empire, an absolute father armed himself against a too confiding son, with a political inquisition, which equalled the religious inquisition in its insidious atrocity. He tortured the pusillanimous mind of this hopeless being with every fear that heaven and earth can inspire: he compelled him to impeach friends, relations, and even the mother who bore him; and lastly, to accuse himself, to render himself unworthy of living, and to condemn himself to death under pain of death.

This protracted crime lasted five months. It had its paroxysms. In the first two the exile and spoliation of several grandees, the disinheriting of a sister, the confinement and scourging of his first wife, and the execution of a brother-in-law, did not suffice.

And yet, in one day, Glebof, a Russian General, the known lover of the divorced Czarina, had been impaled in the midst of a scaffold, the four corners of which were marked by the heads of a bishop, a boy, and two dignitaries, who had been broken on the wheel and decapitated. This horrible scaffold was itself surrounded by a circle of trunks of trees, on which more than fifty priests and other citizens had been beheaded!

This was indeed taking a terrible vengeance upon those who, by their intrigues and superstitious obstinacy, had reduced this unbending heart to the necessity of sacrificing his son or his empire! a punishment which was a thousand times more culpable than the offence; for what motive can furnish an excuse for such atrocities? And nevertheless this direful butchery has found flatterers!

It is even said that, prompted by a restless ferocity, he ascended the scaffold, to question again the agonized Glebof, and that having made a sign to him to approach, the latter spat in his face.

Moscow itself was laid under his ban; to quit it without his leave was a capital crime; its citizens were ordered, under pain of death, to act the part of spies and informers against each other.

The principal victim, meanwhile, had remained trembling and insulated by the many blows which were struck around him. Peter then dragged him from the prison of Moscow to those of Petersburg.

It was there that he laboured to torture the mind of his son, and to wring from him the slightest particulars of his past intractability or rebellion; numbering every sigh and tear, and struggling to convert into a capital crime all these fleeting thoughts and vain regrets.

When, at length, by dint of putting his own construction on these confessions, he supposed that he had made something out of nothing, he hastened to summon the most eminent of his slaves. He described to them his accursed work; he set forth to their view its ferocious and tyrannical iniquity with an artless barbarism.

and a candid despotism, which was blinded by his right of absolute sovereignty; as if any right could exist independent of justice, and was dazzled by his object, which, fortunately, was great and useful.

Thus he hoped that the sacrifice which he made to policy would be attributed to justice. He wished to justify himself at the expense of his victim, and silence the double cry of conscience and of nature by which he was persecuted.

When, by his lengthened accusation, this absolute master thought he had irrevocably condemned, he called upon his hearers to decide. "They were well aware that to himself alone belonged the right to give judgment; nevertheless he asked their assistance, for he stood in fear of eternal perdition, and the more so, as he had promised forgiveness to his son, and had sworn it to him by the decrees of God." It is true that he mixed up with this clear and terrible order a few words of clumsy cunning. "They ought to pronounce without flattering him or fearing to fall under his displeasure."

The slaves comprehended their master; they saw what was the horrible assistance which he wanted of them; accordingly the priests, who were consulted, merely replied by quotations from their sacred books, choosing, in equal number, those which condemned and those which pardoned, and not daring to throw any weight into the scale, not even that sworn promise of the Czar, of which they feared to remind him.

At the same time, the grandees of the State, to the number of a hundred and twenty-four, yielded implicit obedience. They pronounced sentence of death unanimously, and without hesitation; but their decree condemned themselves far more than it did their victim. We there see the disgusting efforts of this throng of slaves labouring to efface the perjury of their master; while their mendacity being added to his own, but makes it stand out with a still more striking prominence.

For his own part, he inflexibly completed his work; nothing made him pause; neither the time which had elapsed since his wrath was excited, nor remorse, nor the repentance of a wretched being, nor trembling, submissive, suppliant weakness! In one word, everything which usually, even between foreign enemies, is capable of appeasing and disarming, was powerless to soften the heart of a father towards his child.

Nor is this all. He had been his accuser and his judge—he chose also to be his executioner! On the 7th of July, 1718, the very day after the passing of the sentence, he went, attended by all his nobles, to receive the last tears of his son, and to mingle his own with them; and at the moment when he was imagined to be at last melted to pity, at that moment he sent for *the strong potion* which he himself had ordered to be prepared! Impatient for its arrival, he hurried it by a second message; he presented it to him as a salutary medicine, and did not retire with "a very dismal countenance," it is true, till he had poisoned the unfortunate creature, who was still imploring his forgiveness. The death of his victim, who expired in dreadful convulsions some hours afterwards, he

then attributed to the terror with which his sentence had inspired him? This was the flimsy veil with which he sought to cover all these enormities from the eyes of those who were about him; he deemed it sufficient for their brutalized manners; he, besides, commanded their silence upon the subject, and was so well obeyed, that but for the memoirs of a foreigner, who was a witness, an actor even, in this horrible drama, history would for ever have remained in ignorance of its final and terrible particulars.*

We shall pass over the reigns of Catherine, widow of Peter the Great; of his grandson, Peter II., and the Empress Elizabeth, as they do not present features of particular interest, and we shall take up the history of the Romanoff dynasty at the accession of Peter III., of Holstein Gottorps, husband of Catherine II., in 1762.

The Empress Elizabeth died the 25th of December, 1762, only fifty-two years old, and the Duke of Holstein was now emperor, as Peter III. Although he had done nothing to form himself a party in the kingdom, yet not only was his accession to the throne effected in perfect tranquillity, but the satisfaction of the people was very evident, who rejoiced at having an emperor once more at their head. It is to be regretted he was not an able man as well as an emperor. Good intentions are not denied him, neither did he lack good counsellors. In many other countries he might have had a happy and a prosperous reign, but he did not understand Russia: he knew not how to accommodate his reforms to the Russian character—an error which was later the rock upon which Joseph II. split. Above all, he did not understand how to rule Russia and to maintain his power, which it is first necessary to acquire, before thinking of the way to govern. Elizabeth was certainly morally below Peter, neither was she intellectually great; but she, like the Empress Anne, was far better qualified to reign, or rather, to maintain herself on the throne in Russia. The qualities requisite for this purpose were a union of cunning and strength—the art of inspiring the multitude with fear and sorrow, by the greatest severity in certain individual cases, and that of winning over enthusiastic and devoted adherents by overlooking the scandalous excesses and rapacity of others; thus making this clemency a pledge of their future fidelity and obedience. To these characteristics of successful sovereignty in Russia must be added the faculty of winning the mass of the people by a popular ostentation, and the appearance of a theatrical and patriarchal benevolence and liberality, without loosening the oppressive burdens by which the upper classes sought to indemnify themselves on the lower for their own vassalage to the Crown. In short, to rule in Russia, the first thing needful was to be an Autocrat. Whilst appearing to give a good amount of delegated authority into the hands of statesmen, it was necessary to keep a strict watch over this delegated authority; to play off one man against another, never to give the reins out of your hands, and to make men feel that you are always ready to step in and suspend or annul their measures. Many writers do

† See Segur's Hist. of Russia, and the article on Peter the Great in *Characteristics of Men of Genius*.

not deny that Catherine had good intentions as well as Elizabeth, and that they were greatly superior to their predecessors in cultivation; and they represent that she speedily learnt the art of governing in Russia. Indeed, many of the qualities requisite in a sovereign of Muscovy are nearly allied to womanly tact and discrimination, though they are far from constituting the noblest ornaments of the female character. Peter was ignorant of all these arts.

↓ He was too much imbued with German orthodoxy for that; he was honourable, conscientious, headstrong; without pliancy, enthusiastic, full of preconceived opinions; without talent for observation, pedantic, full of national singularities; without taste for Russia, without any conception of his position. Generally, some few Germans of cosmopolitan nature might easily take root in Russia, but the genuine German individual will adapt himself only to Germany; and will adapt himself neither to Slavonians, Italians, nor Greeks. It was already a mistake of Peter I. that he did not develop Russia out of its individual Russian self, but forced upon it a borrowed cultivation. He began his reign by a great act of mercy. With few exceptions, among which Bestucheff was the principal; all exiles were recalled, and for the most part reinstated in their honours. Biron, Munnich, and Lestocq were of the latter number, and of these, Munnich, in particular repaid his master's favour by constant fidelity and sage counsels, which were, however, rarely followed. It is said that 20,000 unfortunates, the victims of former reigns, returned from banishment on the occasion of this amnesty.

Peter appears to have devised many, and accomplished some, excellent reforms. Thus he abolished the Secret Chancery (a kind of Star-chamber), but it was restored under Catherine II. The employment of the torture was also forbidden, and the proceedings of justice were expedited. The plan of a civil law was proposed, but took the hateful form of an introduction of Prussian laws. He paid his wife's debts, and presented her with very large domains on the occasion of her birthday. He freed the nobility from all compulsory service, and gave them unlimited liberty to travel. He removed injurious monopolies, and did much to advance the interests of trade and industry, including a credit bank. The price of salt was lowered by twenty copeks. These reforms came so unexpectedly, and appeared on so grand a scale, that the Senate sent a deputation to the Emperor, begging permission to erect a gold statue to him. And four months later, where was he? The Emperor declined the honour. But gratitude for these benefits was less profound and enduring than the alienation excited by new regulations and plans. The Emperor proposed to curtail the possessions of the convents. He wished to remove fasts and pictures of saints from the churches. It does not appear, however, that he ever really threatened the beards of Russian ecclesiastics. Sertschin, Archbishop of Novgorod, remonstrating with Peter against these innovations, was ordered never to appear in his presence again. But the order was cancelled in a week, because of the reverence attaching to his character.

He made good but severe regulations in favour of the police, but

he committed a great fault in deferring or overlooking the coronation.

The principal friends and advisers of the Emperor were Prince George and Peter Augustus of Holstein, the Count of Munnich, Count Michael Woronzof, General Field-Marshal Count Troubetskoi, Bridahl, the States Counsellor Wolkow, Lieutenant-General von Korf, the Solicitor-General Glebof, and Prince Ivan Galitzin. Instead of a Cabinet, a Commission was established, consisting of the Princes of Holstein, Munnich, Woronzof, Troubetskoi, Wolkonski, Villebois, and Lieutenant-Generals Melgunow and Wolkow. Most of these were men of intelligence and integrity, and their choice does him honour; but it is doubtful if they were the best adapted for Russia at that period.

It was, however, the military reforms of Peter that especially brought odium on his name, and also his foreign policy. His military regulations affected forms and uniforms. He discharged the Body Company, which was endowed with many privileges, the same company of the Preobatschenskoy Guard, which Lestocq, Schwartz, and Grunstein had gained over for Elizabeth, and had helped her on the throne; and he was imprudent enough to raise a Holstein cuirassier regiment into its place, as Imperial Life Guards. He changed the uniform of the Guards into short Prussian coats, with golden shoulder knots, which made the soldiers grumble. He formed the plan of suppressing the guard regiments, and changing them into line regiments, and had them instructed in the Prussian exercises by General Bauer. The regiments received different uniforms, and were named after their commanders; twenty-four generals were dismissed from the service. The knout was abolished in the army, and the rod substituted in its stead. The Holstein troops received enviable tokens of favour, and a Lutheran church was built for them at Oranienbaum. Peter also sought to improve the navy, and he actually effected a great deal; indeed, far too much, considering the short period of his reign.

What gave especial umbrage, however, was the alteration he made in foreign policy. He immediately concluded peace with Frederic the Great, his idol, whose pictures hung up everywhere. He placed Russian troops at the disposal of Prussia, and borrowed a Prussian regiment, and wore almost constantly the Prussian uniform. He is said even to have lent money to Frederic. He thus excited the hostility of the enemies of Prussia, who were powerful in Russia, and had many influential partisans there. He had several ambitious plans in connexion with Denmark and Germany, in which he was encouraged by Frederic the Great, but the downfall of Peter put an end to all his visionary as well as useful schemes. Peter fancied that a soldier must be severe and rude; that if he were not inhuman, he was a coward. His unpopularity increased daily. They incessantly regretted the Empress Elizabeth. He was a martinet, a liar, a sot, and did not appear to them a worthy successor to her throne.

Disaffection increased daily. He continually offended those who least deserved it. He teased and worried the soldiers with perpetual parades. His favourites were fools or traitors. His

mistress, Mademoiselle de Woronzof, was ugly and stupid. He thought it hon ton to have a mistress. He generally spoke German, and seldom Russian, which he pronounced badly. He wanted to change and overthrow everything. Holstein seemed in his eyes more important than the Russian empire. No one was satisfied with him. The Guards spoke loudly against him. Count Nitika Panin, a nobleman of Italian extraction, born 1718, was obliged to address them a few weeks before his fall, promising them a change, in order to keep them quiet.

Peter continuing stubbornly to carry out his unpopular measures, Panin conceived the thought of transferring his crown to another head tranquilly, and without bloodshed. The idea first occurred to him about four weeks before its accomplishment. He soon felt the necessity of making confidants, and the first persons to whom he intrusted his secret were the Hetman Count Rasumowsky and General Prince Wolkonski. The former was continually near Peter, a man of decision, in command of a regiment of Guards; the other enjoyed consideration in the army, was prudent and brave.

Panin proposed to accomplish his plan when Peter came to town to inspect the departure of the Guards for the army, at the end of July, 1762. July 7th, two days before the revolution, he explained his scheme to Rasumowsky and Wolkonski, after having previously imparted his secret to the Empress, to Princess Daschkoff, the three Orloffs, the French Ambassador, who advanced gold to promote it, &c. Four captains of the Guard, commanding the four disaffected companies already mentioned, had also been let into the secret. Unfortunately one of them, Passek, being suspected, was arrested, and put to the torture; this hastened the catastrophe.

Panin sent a coach and six to the Empress, at Peterhof, to fetch her quickly when the time was come. The four companies were to be in readiness in the night, if the alarm was given. Panin then hurried to Peterhof to inform the Empress of Passek's arrest, and to tell her to be ready to start in the carriage at once for Petersburg. On her arrival she was to go directly to the barracks of the Guard regiment, to receive its oath of allegiance. Thence she was to go to the barracks of the other Guards, after having previously waited at the Kasan church for Panin, who was to bring her the Grand Prince.

Panin having informed Rasumowsky and Wolkonski of what had passed, retired to the Summer Palace. He lay down by the Grand Prince to avoid suspicion, and ordered them to awake him if he were wanted. He expected Alexander Orloff at four, and that the Empress would reach Petersburg at five. Six o'clock came, and no Orloff, who had lost courage, and went first to Princess Daschkoff, who ordered him forthwith to proceed to the Empress. Her Majesty entered the city at six, received the oath of the Guards, and awaited Panin at the Kasan Church, escorted by the half-clothed regiments. Panin brought her the Grand Prince, and she proceeded to the new palace, which was surrounded by the four regiments. The Senate and Synod were now collected in the

wooden palace, and the grandees tendered their allegiance to her. Measures were then adopted to secure the success of the revolution. The governor of Neva was gained, the garrison of the city strengthened, oaths of allegiance tendered by the troops and the nobles; but it was late before they thought of securing Cronstadt, a good refuge for Peter. The latter, if he had possessed more decision, might have easily defeated their schemes, and he actually endeavoured to secure Cronstadt; but the decisive attitude of the party of Catherine defeated his measures, and when he arrived off Cronstadt in an open boat, at two in the morning, he was told that no orders were obeyed, save those of the Empress and they threatened to fire on him.

During the previous occurrences, Peter had sent his Chancellor, Count Woronzof, to the Empress, to remonstrate with her on her strange behaviour, and he delivered his message loyally, but was not suffered to return to Peterhof; and when he found that it was the will of the people that Peter should be deposed, he wrote to that effect to him, and tendered his allegiance to Catherine.

The next step was to secure the person of Peter. Friday and Saturday were occupied in arrangements, and Saturday evening the Empress marched at the head of all the troops to Peterhof, whither a courier was to be despatched every half hour to announce the state of things in the capital.

All Holstein Hussars met on the road to Peterhof were arrested, and all partisans of Peter. Learning on the road that the Emperor had started for Cronstadt, Panin, with twenty-four Guards, was detached to the left bank of the Neva, to observe all boats on the river. Finding that Peter had been refused the entrance of Cronstadt, and that he had retired to Oranienbaum, the Empress wrote to him, requesting him to write a formal abdication, which he did; and thereupon he was fetched, together with his mistress, and brought to Peterhof. The soldiers were so irritated against the Emperor that it was with difficulty that they were restrained from falling upon him.

Panin went to see Peter, and a distressing scene ensued. The Emperor begged to be allowed to retain his mistress, shedding tears, and trying to kiss Panin's hand, and his mistress begged the same favour on her knees. Panin broke loose as soon as he could, and promised an answer from the Empress, which was a negative. Peter was thus removed to the estate of Ropscha, near Petersburg, and Mademoiselle Woronzof afterwards married Brigadier Poljowski.

Peter was only allowed to see officers and soldiers of the Guard chosen by the Orloffs. He begged for a bible, a violin, some novels, and a pot dog. These were refused with mockery. The Orloffs wished his death, partly for security's sake, partly because Gregory Orloff conceived a plan of marrying the Empress, whom they endeavoured to persuade that his death was desirable. A reaction was feared, and it is said that this made an impression on Panin, though it is not known if he was privy to the murder.

Peter being ill, the Empress sent him a clever physician, Luders, which cannot have been from sinister motives, as they applied to

another surgeon for the poisoned claret with which Alexander Orloff rode to Ropscha, July 17. He was joined by Gregory Orloff, the youngest Prince Borjatinsky, Teplow, the actor Wolkow, and a cabinet courier. The elder Prince Borjatinsky, the Sergeant Engelhardt, and two guardsmen, were also enlisted at Ropscha. Teplow and Alexander Orloff first went in to Peter, who sat undressed at table. They announced his speedy liberation, and he asked the other officers to dine with him. He himself asked for Burgundy, but scarcely had he tasted a glass, when he observed the poison, and complained bitterly. He asked for milk, which they brought him, and which occasioned excessive perspiration. The murderers went out, and held a council of blood. They then returned, and Alexander Orloff seized Peter by the throat; but when the latter jumped up, scratched his face, and said, "What have I done to thee?" Orloff let him go, and ran about in utter perplexity. At length they seized upon their victim, threw him on the bed, and tried to stifle him with a cushion. Then they threw him into an arm-chair, and finally on the ground. His screams are said to have been fearful. At length the elder Borjatinsky made a napkin into a slip knot, and threw it round his neck. Then the murderers held his hands and feet, while some stood and knelt on his body and legs, and Engelhardt drew the napkin tight. It is said that Teplow, the younger Borjatinsky, and Gregory Orloff, were mere spectators of the terrible scene. Then Dr. Luders was called in, and informed that the ex-Emperor had died of apoplexy.

Immediately Alexander Orloff rode off to the Empress to break the news to her. She was alarmed at first at the hurry, and feared it might excite suspicion. Panin advised it to be hushed up for a day or two, and Catherine returned to a reception, and continued her conversation tranquilly. The next day she expressed great distress. A public proclamation announced his death as the result of hæmorrhage. A physician was commissioned to say, in a report, that the Emperor had had a polypus in his body. But a surgeon, who opened his body, is reported to have said, drily—"I have known the Emperor long enough to know that he could not live any longer." The signs of a violent death about his neck could not be gainsaid. On the night of the 18-19th of July, the corpse was brought to the Alexander Newsky Convent, and on the 19th it was exposed to public view, after a very thick cravat had been put round its neck. Though he had been unpopular, a very large crowd congregated, kissing the hand of the departed—Russian fashion. Old Field-Marshal Prince Troubetskoï called out frankly:—"O Peter Feodorovitch, what a thick cravat they have given thee; thou hast never worn such in life!" and he tried to tear it off, but was prevented by the guards. On the 21st the corpse, whose face had become quite black, was carried into the vault by the court attendants. Masses for his soul were, however, forgotten, which gave an opening for pseudo-Peters to pretend that he was not dead.

CATHERINE II.

The reign of this sovereign was one of the most brilliant and successful that Russia has witnessed, but was, at the same time, stained by political turpitude—as in the partition of Poland and by most barbarous murders, such as took place at Praga, near Warsaw, and on the capture of Ismail, in Bessarabia. The licentiousness of her morals equalled her political duplicity; and the savage manner in which she ordered or permitted her generals to carry on war, was revolting to humanity. It must be acknowledged, however, that she pursued with zeal, perseverance, and success, what may be justly characterized as the hereditary plans of the Russian Sovereigns—the extension of their empire in all directions, but more especially towards Constantinople, the Mediterranean, and the East Indies. She was continually at war with Turkey, the fleet of which was burnt; and was one of the confederate powers in the partition of Poland. She added to her territories the Crimea, Azoff, and a part of Kuban, and all the country between the Dnioper, the Boug, the Dniester, and the Black Sea. Having plainly and strongly pointed out her crimes as a sovereign and a woman, justice requires that we should not pass over her meritorious actions. To her hereditary love and plans of conquest, to be achieved by any means and at any cost, she added what may be deemed an equally hereditary object, the civilization and improvement of her subjects. She formed a new code of laws on principles, perhaps, too abstract, and having too little reference to the peculiar character, habits, and circumstances of her people; but, in their influence, generally beneficial. She encouraged the arts and sciences, literature, and commerce. One of the chief and most effectual, as well as obvious means of improving Russia—that of inviting foreign settlers, which seems to have been adopted even so early as the reign of the immediate successors of Rurik—was followed by her with great effect. But she not only invited and encouraged foreigners of talent and science to settle in her dominions, she also established colonies of them on the Volga and the Don. She embellished the capital, and, in short, advanced, in many respects, the improvement of the nation. At no period and on no occasion was her cautious, or, perhaps, it may be called selfish, policy more apparent and influential than in her conduct at the commencement of the French revolution. She was open and violent in her reprobation of it; encouraged the views and plans of the Continental Sovereigns in their attempts to crush it; held out promises of assistance; made preparations for it; but died without having done anything effectual and decisive. Her reign began in 1762, and ended in 1796.

PAUL I.

Catherine was succeeded by Paul I., ostensibly the son of Catherine, though by some suspected of being a Finnish foundling. This prince was endowed by nature with distinguished talents, and

though hated by the Czarina, she spared no pains in giving him a good education. Count Nikita Panin had been intrusted with this important duty, and acquitted himself creditably in that capacity. When he had reached man's estate, the Czar was found to be an amiable, spiritually-minded prince, endowed by nature with a rich fund of wit, well educated, full of delicate refinement, magnanimous, ready to atone for the injuries he inflicted during a moment of passion, and equally ready to forgive the injuries of others. He had been a tender husband and an affectionate father down to the time of his accession. Here was a fine union of noble qualities! but what a sad change was wrought in him by his obtaining a power too great to be wielded by any mortal man with safety to himself and others.

Two defects had been perceived in him at an early age, and these gradually increased to inordinate magnitude as he advanced in life, till they presented the characteristics of insanity. These defects were great volatility and caprice, and extreme suspicion of others. The unpleasant dependence in which he lived before his accession to the throne, and the alienation of Catherine from her real or pretended offspring, may have created or fostered these salient features of his character. But whatever the cause, this remarkable man presented two distinct and opposite phases, the one a manifestation of all that can grace a sovereign and adorn a man, the other a mixture of singularity, extravagance, and caprice, that can only be rationally attributed to aberration of mind.

Within four years and a half the Russian Court concluded and broke off treaties with almost all the European Powers; the direction of Foreign Affairs changed hands four times in the same period, and four Attorney-Generals, or Home Ministers, were appointed in that interval. The longest reign never presented a greater change of men and measures. After his accession, his defects developed rapidly and fearfully. Every experience of human iniquity and depravity increased his severity, and his extravagances were encouraged by many about his person. Many circumstances lead one to infer that he was a lunatic, with numerous lucid intervals, when his better nature shone forth in a clear and beautiful light. Unfortunately he was only surrounded by selfish and interested persons, who neutralized the beneficial influence of the Empress Mary, an excellent German princess.

Count Rostopchin, Abalyanow, and Count Kutaizow (once his barber), shared all his favours, were his chief ministers, and used all their influence to disturb the tranquillity of his mind and push his defects to extremes. Count Pahlen soon obtained an unusual power over the mind of the Czar, and exerted a greater authority than any subject has possessed in Russia for many ages. Many of the former favourites being detected in malpractices and ruined, Pahlen centred in his own hands many of the most important offices of the Crown; and this man, who owed everything to the Emperor, became eventually the head of the conspirators who wrought his downfall. Pahlen was descended from a noble Livonian family, and served with distinction in the Turkish war. But he was noted, like many Russian noblemen, for his love of play,

and his honesty was suspected. It is probable that his official position, bringing him into frequent and familiar intercourse with Paul, he perceived more clearly than others the signs of insanity in the Emperor, and saw the propriety of deposing him from the throne. At all events, in the autumn of 1800, he conceived this plan, and proposed to substitute the Grand Duke Alexander in his stead. Count Panin was used as his instrument to gain over adherents, and to bring the Prince Alexander to consent to the measure. It is asserted that the character of Panin and Alexander forbid all supposition that they were privy to any scheme of assassination. Admiral Rivas and Lieutenant-General Talyzin were amongst the earlier conspirators. It is affirmed that Alexander only consented to this step because he thought it for the good of his country, and necessary, from the violence of his father; and his enduring grief after his father's death shows that he viewed his assassination with horror and regret.

The execution of the plan was delayed for some time, owing to the disgrace of Panin. General Benningsen, a German, was now added to the conspirators, and forwarded the plan actively. At the end of 1800, a kind of amnesty was proclaimed by Paul, and Count Zoubow and Benningsen were of the number of those recalled to Petersburg. It was now agreed that Benningsen should command a detachment in the palace, and Pahlen should guard all access to the Imperial residence with a large body of troops. The conspirators were few in number, but the most determined men in Russia. Adherents were also obtained among the *élite* of the Guard.

Paul himself accelerated the catastrophe by his growing suspicions. Imprisonment and banishment resulted from mere suspicion.

All that was now required was the unconditional answer of Alexander. To obtain this, Pahlen increased the suspicions of Paul against his son, and obtained orders for his arrest, which he showed to the Prince, thus forcing the latter to consent to the deposition of his father.

It has been asserted that Paul and the Empress intended to appoint the present Emperor Nicholas, their third son, as their successor.

The extravagance of Paul, in his foreign policy, as well as in his household, hastened his downfall. It is said that the empire would have been ruined if the Czar had not been removed from the throne. Paul, always suspicious, was about to replace Pahlen by Araktschejew, a creature devoted to himself, when the conspiracy resolved to carry its deed into execution on the night of March 23, 1801.

The place where the deed was committed was the colossal palace of St. Michael, built by Paul, on the Fontanka canal, in the form of a castle, surrounded with moats, and approached by drawbridges. This residence was adorned with the costliest luxuries, and united a religious and worldly character in its walls.

The Imperial family went to reside there at the end of 1800.

On the evening of March 23rd, the conspirators supped together, and Pahlen addressed some energetic words to them at General

Talyzin's. The latter then marched up a battalion of Guards, and enclosed the palace. But the conspiracy nearly failed through the cawing of a vast flock of crows in the palace garden. Pahlen occupied the approaches of the palace with cavalry, and some accounts say that he did not enter the residence till all was over. Others assert that every one believes him to have murdered Paul himself, with a handkerchief, and that he is known in Russia by the name of *Schnupftuch Pahlen*. Those troops who had not been initiated into the conspiracy, and whose duty, it was to guard the palace on that day, were disarmed without resistance, and a special body of men penetrated into the Emperor's apartment, led by the brothers Zoubow, Generals Benningson, Tchitscherin, and others.

Prince Platow Zoubow and General Benningson went first into his chamber, and meeting some resistance from a Hussar guarding the entrance, the latter received some cuts and ran away, crying for help. An adjutant went into the room first, and Prince Zoubow, with Benningson, accompanied him, dressed in full uniform, and armed; they approached the bed, and said, "Sire, you are arrested!" The Emperor, in surprise, asked them to explain, and they said, he was deposed. The adjutant and Zoubow went to the door to call in the other conspirators, and Benningson was some time alone by the Imperial bed, when he said—"Sire, it is a matter of life and death! You must submit, and sign your abdication!" At the same moment a number of officers rushed into the room. Benningson turning away a moment; Paul leaped out of bed; one of the officers seized him by the throat; he broke loose, ran behind a screen, and fell down. Benningson exclaimed again, "Sire, do nothing; your life is in jeopardy!" But the Emperor arose, and turned to a table, on which lay several loaded pistols. Meanwhile a noise was heard within, occasioned by the approach of a detachment ordered by Benningson to guard the entrance. And now the sovereign was thrown to the ground by the ruthless hands of the conspirators. It is said that Yeschweh, a Tartar, was the first who struck the Emperor, and after some resistance, threw him down; and that heroupon Paul was strangled with the scarf of an officer of the Semenowskoy Guard, called Senariatin. The scarf had first been intended to bind his feet. Other accounts speak of a fierce struggle and much cruelty, asserting that the Emperor had one of his eyes trodden out by Benningson. Our German authority says nothing of this.

Thus died Paul I., aged forty-six. The number of conspirators was so great, and Alexander's participation so well known, that no one was ever punished, and many boasted openly of the deed long after.

When the news of his father's death was announced to Alexander, he was plunged in despair, and through the rest of his life he was always subject to melancholy.

Paul I. married twice—first, Princess Wilhelmina of Hesse Darmstadt, who left no issue; secondly, Sophia Dorothea Augusta Louisa, of Wurtemberg, known as Maria Fevdorovna; she had four sons and six daughters. The sons were—first, Alexander (afterwards Emperor; second, Grand Duke Constantine, born 1779; died 1831; third, the present Emperor Nicholas; fourth, the Grand Duke Michael, born 1798; deceased 1849.

CHAPTER II.

ALEXANDER AND NICHOLAS.

Alexander.—Tilsit.—Moscow.—Paris.—Nicholas.—His foes.—His friends.—
The author's verdict.

FOUR memorable events mark the reign of Alexander: the treaty of Tilsit, the annexation of Finland, the burning of Moscow, and the capitulation of Paris. Alexander had many virtues and some defects. The former were European, the latter national; but a certain clemency and facility of temper, often degenerating into weakness, were the peculiar characteristics of his mind. He commenced his reign by various reforms and amnesties, cancelling many of the foolish institutions revived by Paul. At the beginning of the last war, subsequent to the peace of Amiens, he joined Austria and Prussia in opposing the encroachments of Napoleon, but after his defeat at Friedland (1807), he was glad to conclude peace with the great captain at Tilsit. Here he was regaled with plans and suggestions for the partition of Europe and a grand Duocracy, to divide the world between the Emperors of France and Russia; and Alexander had the baseness to give in to these schemes, and to abandon his old and trusty friend the King of Prussia and his noble-minded queen. But the two great autocrats could not long agree, as each wanted the lion's share of the spoil. Whilst Napoleon was humbling Austria for the fourth time, Alexander marched into Finland, took the gallant and chivalrous Gustavus of Sweden by surprise, bought the commandants of Helsingford, Sveaborg and other strongholds, and reduced the grand duchy under his sway. Recent visitors attest the regret of the Fins in being severed from their mother country; describe them as having relapsed from civilization into barbarism, and as having been virtually deprived of all those immunities which were guaranteed to them on the annexation. The importance of this conquest to Russia was incalculable, as it secured St. Petersburg, brought the forces of the empire to the gates of Stockholm in the Aland Islands, and placed the granary and market garden of the capital of Sweden in the hands of her deadliest foe. Equally dexterous and successful was the policy of Alexander on the side of Turkey, which he stripped of Bessarabia, thus diminishing the distance to the Danube and the Bosphorus, and preparing the way for the events of 1853. Alexander wanted Napoleon to give up Wallachia and Moldavia as a compensation for some western annexations to France. But Napoleon, to do him justice, was not a fool, and saw that by resigning the Principalities, he would be smoothing the way for the occupation of Constantinople by Russian bayonets, and that once in that position, Muscovy would be the arbiter of the world's destiny. His refusal led to a breach, and instinctive jealousy widened the quarrel into the campaign of 1812, the fall of Napoleon, and the triumphs of Russian diplomacy in

the Spanish and Greek revolutions. Many have attributed the burning of Moscow to accident, some to patriotism; but all admit that it is involved in mystery. One thing is certain, Alexander did not order it. Nevertheless, it saved his throne and his honour, and was a grand episode in modern history. Napoleon never recovered that blow, and the onward strides of Russian aggression have been multiplied and accelerated from that hour.

We next follow Alexander as the *protector* of Germany to the gates of Paris, where he dictated peace to Europe, and became the arbiter of her destiny; nor did he abuse his power, or forget his dignity. The humility and courtesy of Alexander in the hour of his triumph are very honourable to him, who was, undoubtedly, the most enlightened and amiable sovereign that Russia has ever seen. Alexander was not insensible to the spirit of the age, and the progress of society; he was a pre-eminently humane monarch; he endowed his country with scientific, literary and educational establishments, and Poland with a constitution. In short, he was a monarch of refined tastes, liberal views and cultivated mind. Yet must we not forget that he never lost sight of the hereditary purpose of his dynasty—the annexation of neighbouring countries. His eyes were always fixed on the Bosphorus; and Germany paid dearly for her emancipation from Napoleon by thralldom under Russian protection. Nor was he deficient in the national dissimulation and duplicity of Russians, having masked many of his most ambitious views under a disinterested and a religious exterior. Vacillation and infirmity of purpose were also among the chief defects of this amiable sovereign, who was too lenient to use the stern hand of reform requisite to root out the venality of the subordinate agents of the Muscovite government. He was well aware, however, of the knavery of his employés; and was heard to say, that they would steal the teeth from his mouth, in his sleep, if they dared.

His latter years were embittered by the projects of liberal-minded noblemen and officers who had visited England and France, and wished to introduce the constitutional forms of government of western Europe and improved legislation into their native land. Thus, secret societies and factions burst into activity immediately after the death of Alexander. It is also reported that the whole life of Alexander was coloured with melancholy, by the consciousness of complicity in his father's death and downfall, if not in his murder. The tongue of report has not spared the death-bed of Alexander; his decease, together with the subsequent sudden deaths of Constantine, General Diebitch and others having been charged to the account of Count Gregory Orloff, the present minister of Police, and the bearer of the recent commands of Nicholas to the Austrian Emperor. Alexander died suddenly at Tauganrog, November, 1825.

NICHOLAS I.

It is always a difficult, if not impossible, matter to pronounce an impartial judgment on an eminent living character, especially if the passions of the principal witnesses are strongly interested in

blackening his defects or in exaggerating his virtues. This applies pre-eminently to the Emperor Nicholas, than whom it is probable no monarch has been more variously or incorrectly portrayed, according to the bias of the writer. In approaching this difficult and delicate question, we feel it doubly incumbent on us, at a time when England is virtually at war with Russia, to employ a more than usual measure of courtesy in treating of our great foe; and it should be our endeavour rather to palliate his defects than to deal in unkindly and unnecessary personalities. But in order to enable the reader to judge in some measure for himself, we shall select the opinion of a few eminent authorities from the rival camps, and listen with equal patience to the disparagements and laudations that have been liberally bestowed on the present Czar.

We shall commence with a few extracts from the negative testimony of those who have had ample opportunity and ability for judging. The anonymous author of "Revelations of Russia," who has made the Autocrat of Muscovy the especial object of his most violent philippics, is disposed to cast a great part, though not all, the blame of the present corruption, ignorance, and barbarism on the shoulders of Nicholas.

He observes—"It would be difficult to calculate how far the public opinion of the West has been influenced by the enormous sums so judiciously spent by the Russian Cabinet to secure its favour or to modify it; or by the diamond rings, snuff boxes, orders, or presents, profusely distributed to strangers, by a Sovereign who taxes so oppressively his subjects, and pays his servants in so niggardly a manner, that they are forced to rob to avoid starvation. Men are prepossessed by the person and the urbanity of a sovereign who neglects none of those arts of seduction, which it is to be regretted he does not with his own subjects substitute for imperious violence.

"This imperial personage subscribing to a treaty for the suppression of the trade in human flesh, is not only the slave-holder, but the possessor, of more slaves than all the planters in the Southern Union, of the French and Spanish colonies, and of the Brazils together. This founder of a racing-cup in England, it is well known, is a man who profoundly despises British sports.

"The spirit of the martinet, the jealousy of a suspicious government, and the intrigues inseparable from its profound corruption, award the gains of the Russian despotism to the most ignoble subjects; for this despotism is not like Bonaparte's—a bloody lottery, from which generals' scarfs and marshals' batons were the prizes destined to reward the stake of skill and daring."

This author continues in another place:—"Nicholas, as an individual, has neither been the founder of Russian despotism, nor will it die with him. He has merely increased its intensity. Until within the last two years, those whom this powerful despot chose to prosecute, were so profoundly wretched that they could not even find defenders. Harshness and a certain vindictiveness are the most salient traits in the despotism of Nicholas. He never alters sentences passed on those condemned by civil or military tribunals, but to add to their cruelty."

Notwithstanding the antipathy of this author to Nicholas, he has the good sense to add—"It would be unjust to saddle the whole blame on the Emperor, or to hold him responsible for the evil which he found existing. But on his head and his alone, must justice visit its countenance and increase. If, therefore, only as the obstacle to all improvement, it is impossible to treat of his empire, and to spare him personally. One tithe of the exertion lavished on details worthy of the army-tailor and drill-serjeant, one hundredth part of the sufferings caused in his empire to uphold the terror of his name, would have sufficed in some degree to root out from it the corruption and demoralization which more than ever extend and flourish. Who but he is answerable for the decimation of Poland, and those sanguinary persecutions of the Jews still ringing in our ears. Let us admit that he had no cognizance of the revolting details of individual cases, is it to be believed that the monarch who signs the sentence of every soldier condemned by court-martial, to be flogged, is ignorant of the cruelties in a persecution, comprising millions of his subjects; that he has signed hundreds of orders for perpetual banishment, or for the infliction of the plitt or knout on religious recusants. But if, in his habitual character, Nicholas, who never loses an opportunity of presiding in military executions in person, is merciless and vindictive, a few exceptions mark his conduct; but only towards those who have given evidence of their baseness." With regard to the Emperor's private life, after alluding to the excellent domestic character that he generally bears, the author observes:—"The moral characters of sovereigns, save when their defects are glaring, is a matter with which the public have no right to interfere." But he advances cases of heartless adultery, in which the Emperor is represented as an accomplice, and which he considers well authenticated. Golovin, however, is rather lenient to his amorous weaknesses, and describes him as tolerably constant to his mistresses, whom he keeps many years. This sturdy antagonist sums up his charge by asserting that all the Romanoffs, or rather Holstein Gottorps, become more arbitrary or moody with increasing years, supporting the charge by the fact that many of his old favourites are now discountenanced.

It is with regret that we are forced to admit that some of these charges are corroborated by unexceptionable testimony, such as that of Ivan Golovin, a Russian aristocrat of the highest rank; and the Marquis de Custine, a French nobleman of cultivated mind and refined feelings. It is proper also to add that they contribute additional particulars of a negative character touching the Emperor, only their censures are always couched in the language of perfect courtesy, and expressed with the calm dignity of impartiality. After a few specimens of their opinion on the Czar, we shall pass to the positive view of his character.

The elegant pen of the Marquis de Custine has dwelt with acerbity on the harsher features of Nicholas; and his eloquence in branding imperial iniquity has not fallen far short of that of Victor Hugo. It may appear to many that his French or constitutional bias may have given his judgment a colouring of

exaggeration, yet we pity any person unconnected with Nicholas or Russia by the ties of blood or gratitude, who can read his powerful statement of the case of Princess Troubetzkoi and her children in Siberia, condemned, after fourteen years' imprisonment and labour in the mines, to settle in a part of Siberia so remote and barbarous as not to be laid down in the maps, without a shudder and tear.

Circumstances, birth, and education may go far to blind or intoxicate the despot, but no antecedents and no arguments can absolve a Christian autocrat, a gentleman, or a man, from persevering and unbending cruelty practised on the gentle, the fair, and the innocent, a holy wife and an angel mother. We may be dazzled by the splendour of his person; his glorious brow and majestic eye may be imposing; he may be the idol of his serfs and the blessing of his family; but so long as there is a God in heaven and a conscience in man, so long as truth and justice are the pillars of the Eternal's throne, and tenderness can vibrate in the human breast, the present Czar, the absolute autocrat of 70,000,000 of men, stands condemned before the bar of Christendom of vengeance on the guiltless and the unprotected, on women and children. Nor is this all; for Custine insinuates, and equal authorities affirm, that the cases of oppression and premeditated injustice are but few in comparison with those that never transpire.

M. de Custine passes the following summary judgment: "When I draw near the Emperor, when I see his dignity, his beauty, I admire this miracle; a man in his right place is rarely found anywhere; but on the throne such a being must be a phoenix. I rejoice to live in an age that has produced such a prodigy, seeing that I take the same pleasure in showing respect as others in bestowing insult.

"If, however, I attentively examine the object of my respect, it unfortunately results that, on looking closely at this unique personage, his head seems to present two faces, like that of Janus; and that the words violence, exile, oppression, or their equivalents, are engraven on the side concealed from me.

"This idea haunts me incessantly, even when I speak to him. It is in vain that I strive to think of nothing but him, my imagination wanders against my will from Warsaw to Tobolsk, and the name of Warsaw alone destroys all illusions."

Ivan Golovin says: "Nicholas is a good father; but is that a virtue which merits to be so lauded? Do not the most ferocious animals love their young? If the ladies consider the Emperor Nicholas a handsome man, the phrenologists, on the other hand, have no very exalted idea of his cranium, and say that it has little of the organ of causality; physicians affirm that his skull contains water; while historians pretend that the members of the Holstein Gottorp family lose their senses after the age of forty-one. But on this point, as on so many others, perhaps the fair sex is right. This much is certain, that the Emperor is a tall man, but there are hundreds of grenadiers, cuirassiers, and even eudots, who have the great honour to equal him in stature.

"His eye is that of a despot, and nothing delights him so much as to see people stand in awe of him. The man who looks at him with

a steady eye will never be one of his favourites. * * * Notwithstanding all that I have said I do not think that Nicholas is a tyrant by nature, but only from conviction. He is persuaded that if he acted otherwise, public affairs could not succeed. The habit of governing upon this principle has given him a taste for cruelty. The Russians say that it requires an iron hand to govern Russia, but that his hand should be gloved. Nicholas has the iron hand, but he has forgotten the glove."

Passing to the advocates of the present Czar, we meet with a numerous chorus, of various degrees of merit and adherence, who fall into three categories, forming a sliding scale, ascending from the positive, through the comparative, to the superlative. To the first category belong writers of the prudent and cautious stamp of Leouzon le Duc, and Kohl; among the comparatives we may class Schnitzler, De Lagny, and Baron Haxthausen; the author of "Letters from the Baltic," and Colonel Cameron will fall into the superlative category, as they see no flaw in the beau ideal of man and sovereign in this offspring of the Romanoffs.

First, let us take Colonel Cameron's description of the physical development of the Emperor:—"His frame, though colossal in its make, moulded in nature's finest proportions, well assimilated with his erect, noble, and military carriage, bringing forcibly to mind an observation which I had once heard made by a Persian regarding him, viz., 'that if any human being was ever qualified for a monarch by the exterior advantages of majestic figure and high and kingly bearing, it was the Emperor Nicholas.' One evening enlightened me as to the cause of his Imperial Majesty's universal popularity with his lady subjects (that is, the younger of them), since there he was laughing, chatting, and doing the agreeable, beyond all competition, which, coming from a splendid figure, six feet two or three, decidedly the handsomest and most soldier-like looking fellow in Europe, and Emperor of Russia to boot, the effect may easily be conceived: indeed, to do him justice, a better judge of, and sharper eye for, a pretty face, I never remember to have met with.

"There is certainly something to be said in favour of the Emperor Nicholas in the fact that from his very first accession to the throne, the whole force of his active and vigorous mind has been turned towards decreasing the Augean evil of corruption in the employes.

"The example of the Emperor in encouraging the literature of his native language and country has of late years wrought a most beneficial change, and many works of belles lettres, history, and voyages and travels, have been produced by writers of considerable merit. But this patronage admits of no expression of opinion contrary to the Imperial will.

"In the catalogue of Imperial virtues, it may be said, his conduct as a father, husband, brother, and in every tie of domestic life, commands esteem and respect from all; as the ameliorator or the open and avowed enemy of slavery, and the true and steady friend of the lower classes of his subjects, towards raising whom from their present debased position the whole force of his powerful mind is now turned by the introduction among them of arts, manufactures,

commerce, and improved mode of agriculture, and by whom he is regarded with feelings approaching almost to religious veneration, and as the noble, liberal, and generous master, ever mindful and prompt to reward with munificence, devotion and attachment to his government and person."

The amiable author of "Letters from the Baltic" describes the Czar as a figure to which there is no second in Russia, if in the world itself: a figure of the grandest beauty, expression, dimension, and carriage, uniting all the majesties and the graces of all the heathen gods—the little God of Love alone, perhaps, excepted—on its ample and symmetrical proportions. Had this nobility of person belonged to a common Mugik instead of the Autocrat of the Russian, the admiration could not have been less, nor scarcely the feeling of moral awe. It was not the monarch who was so magnificent, but the man who was so truly imperial.

The person of the Emperor is that of a colossal man, in the prime of life and health, fifty-four years of age, about six feet ten inches high, and well filled out, without any approach to corpulence; the head magnificently carried, a splendid breadth of shoulder and chest, great length and symmetry of limb, with finely-formed hands and feet. His face is strictly Grecian; forehead and nose one grand line; the eyes finely lined, large, open, and blue, with calmness, a boldness, a freezing dignity, which can equally quench an insurrection, daunt an assassin, or paralyze a petitioner; the mouth regular, teeth fine, chin prominent, with dark moustache and small whisker, but not a sympathy on his face! His mouth sometimes smiled, his eyes never! There was that in his look which no monarch's subject could meet. His eye seeks every one's gaze, but none can confront his.

With the mind filled by the absoluteness of his sway, and the eye possessed by the magnificence of his person, Nicholas I. seems too grand a combination for mortal ken.

Of his domestic character Lady Eastlake says, "As for the Emperor, his high moral character has been the pride of the Russian world; and though much is now in his power to invalidate that opinion, yet by one of the lightest and prettiest women in the high circles, it was said of him, with an accent of entire sincerity, *il ne peut pas être léger, il vous dit tout crument qu'il vous trouve jolie, mais rien de plus!* Nevertheless, in her Majesty's place should rather mistrust this passion for masked balls!"

It is with regret that, after a patient and sober estimate of the conflicting testimonies, we are compelled to pronounce an unfavorable verdict on the character of Nicholas.

We are fully aware of the difficulties of his position, and of the good that he has done. We know how he is beloved by the serfs and feared by the venal employes; we remember the great temptation to which he is exposed by his unbounded power and his unequalled person; we remember the influence of early education and the obstacles of a barbarous people; yet so long as in the Cabinet and in the field he countenances, on a large scale, that deception and that pecculation which he condemns in details; so long as he commits national injustice to Poland, Circassia, and Turkey, whilst punishing the minor injustice of his tribunals; we are forced to the

conclusion that all his intentions and efforts for the improvement of his country, or the human race, are abortive and contradictory, since the public acts of his Imperial will are so frequently and ostensibly in opposition to the letter and the preaching of his laws.

Nor can we forget that the most recent and the most temperate authorities admit that he has, in a great measure, extinguished the literary taste and intellectual life patronized by his more liberal brother, thus forming an alliance with old Muscovite barbarism, against the introduction of civilization, and helping to break down the great work erected by Peter the Great with so much labour, and at the cost of so much blood.

It must, moreover, be admitted that, though indefatigably laborious in superintending all departments, and almost gifted with ubiquity, neither in the Cabinet nor in the field has he shown any ability rising above mediocrity. A Napoleon might justify his aggression and oppression by the splendour of his genius; he might point to the trophies of Austerlitz and Friedland, and vindicate his conquests on the ground of advancing civilization and destroying feudalism; but what plea has Nicholas to advocate the expediency of his annexations? He has fettered education and extinguished literary effort; he openly advocates a retrograde policy, and he is neither a great captain nor a statesman. Perhaps we may be asked, What is he, then? It is with regret that we are forced to reply—a very handsome and a very healthy man, of unbounded industry, but without a heart!

Having endeavoured to portray this remarkable man, we shall pass to the other members of the Imperial family, beginning with the Empress, the daughter of the heroine of Prussia, Louisa.

CHAPTER III.

THE IMPERIAL FAMILY, THE COURT, AND THE GOVERNMENT.

The Empress.—The Czarowitch.—The Grand Dukes.—The Grand Duchesses.—The Ministers.—The Court.—The Senate.—The Synod, and Councils.

HAVING taken a survey of the Romanoff dynasty from Peter the Great to Nicholas, and endeavoured to present the reader with an impartial estimate of the reigning Czar, we shall adopt the natural series pointed out by the organization of the State in treating of the remaining classes or castes in the empire. Beginning with the Imperial family and the chief functionaries, we shall pass to the court and the machinery of government, and we shall proceed to an analysis of the nobles and the serfs forming the great bulk of the nation, winding up with a general view of Russian society and a final verdict on the national character.

It is almost unnecessary to state that the present Empress is the daughter of the lamented queen, Louisa of Prussia, and sister of the reigning King; that she has been troubled with a distressing nervous affection since the 25th December, 1825, on the occasion of the mutiny that accompanied the accession of Nicholas to the

throne; and that the delicate state of her health has led to the necessity of frequent visits to warmer climates, particularly in 1844, when the Imperial family, including the august Czar, paid a visit to Palermo, where the most flattering distinctions were lavished on the illustrious visitors by the obsequious King of the Two Sicilies. The following descriptions of the Empress will be acceptable and entertaining:—

The Empress has always exercised a beneficial influence over her husband, by tempering his passion and his excesses. Though she does not possess any superior qualities, the atmosphere in which she lives has not been able to efface the good principles which she imbibed in the Court of Prussia. The countenance of the Empress is represented to be mild, radiant, and benignant, resembling in its sweetness of expression that of a ministering angel. The Marquis de Custine says:—"I saw the Empress rapidly descending the flight of steps in front of the pretty English-looking habitation which the Emperor built in the magnificent park of Peterhoff in the style of those villas of gothic architecture, so numerous on the banks of the Thames, near Twickenham. The Empress is tall and slender, and singularly graceful; her walk is quick, light, yet noble. She has certain motions of the hands and arms, certain attitudes and movements of the head not to be forgotten. She was dressed in white, and wore a little white bonnet. Her eyes had a melancholy expression about them, yet sweet and serene; her face was surrounded by the folds of a lace veil; a transparent scarf was draped about her shoulders, completing a most elegant morning toilette. Never had she appeared to me to greater advantage."

The late Marquis of Londonderry, in his "Tour in the North of Europe," says—"The indescribable majesty of deportment and fascinating grace that mark this illustrious personage are very peculiar. Celebrated as are all the females connected with the lamented and beautiful Queen of Prussia, there is none of them more bewitching in manner than the Empress of Russia; nor is there existing, according to all reports, so excellent and perfect a being."

This estimable and amiable princess has enjoyed the blessings of domestic life on a throne, having lived in constant harmony with her illustrious consort, whom she has presented with numerous and lovely pledges of her affection. The mutual sympathy and affection of the Imperial family have been described in glowing colours by those even who are most hostile to Russia, and the noble and chivalrous bearing and character of the heir to the Throne, and the matchless beauty of the grand duchesses have resounded throughout Europe.

"The countenance of the Grand Duke Alexander, the Emperor's son," says Custine, "is expressive of goodness, his walk is graceful, buoyant, and noble, he is truly a prince; he appears modest, without timidity, which makes one at ease with him. An embarrassed manner in the great is so disagreeable for every one, whilst an easy manner appears like affability, and is so, in fact. When princes imagine themselves demi-gods, they are embarrassed by the opinion they have of themselves, and which they hope to inspire in

others. This puerile desire does not impair the charming ease of manner so striking in the grand duke, he leaves the impression of a perfectly well-bred man; if he ever reigns, he will enforce obedience, not by terror, but by his attractive grace, unless the change of position should also effect a change in his disposition. The grand duke is conspicuous amongst those of his own age with whom he associates, for the distinction which is so remarkable in him, and which can only be traced to the perfect grace of his person. Grace is always indicative of an amiable disposition. The soul of a man is often perceptible in his manner, his expression of face, and in his movements. And such, in a word, is the case with the grand duke Alexander, one of the finest models of a prince it is possible to imagine."

This description, though penned fourteen years ago, is said by Leouzon le Duc to be equally applicable now, though his youthful gentleness has slightly yielded to a more manly and dignified bearing. Having been educated in a Finland school and university, and devoted much attention to the Finns, he is said to be popular among them. Is this a menacing sign for Sweden?

A more recent traveller reports—"the heir to the throne inherits his father's majestic person, and somewhat of the regularity of his face, but with the utter absence of the Emperor's unsympathising grandeur. On the contrary, the son has a face of much sentiment and feeling, the lips full, the eyelids pensive; more of kindness than of character in his expression." It is certain that he is of an amiable disposition, and this is much to go upon. He is thought to be a great deal like his uncle Alexander. His education has not been so brilliant as his father imagines, who, in fact, has undertaken to finish it himself, but it is to be hoped that he will not succeed in modelling him according to his own likeness.

He is thirty-four years of age, and has married the sister of the present grand duke of Hesse Darmstadt, a family which like that of Württemberg, has frequently formed alliance with the Romanoffs, the Holstein Gottorfs, and the Hohenzollerns of Prussia.

Constantine, the second son of Nicholas, is a more impetuous and abrupt character than his brother. He is said to coincide with his father's ambitious designs regarding Turkey, to be deeply versed in all matters relating to the Ottoman Empire, and very familiar with its language, and we have heard from good authorities that in tyranny he is equal to his late uncle Constantine. He is at present high admiral of the fleets.

The present grand duke Michael is represented as bearing a greater likeness to the Emperor than either of his other sons, both in person and character, the violent passions, however, predominate.

The grand duchess Marie, the elder daughter, is a lovely woman, married in 1839, to the Duke de Leuchtenberg, who however died a few years afterwards, and was buried amongst the Czars, in the arsenal of Petersburg. The illustrious widow paid a visit to Great Britain in the summer of 1853, on which occasion many of the noblest of the land had an opportunity of appreciating the justness of her claims to celebrity for beauty and grace.

The second daughter, Olga, is represented by the late Lord Londonderry, and other English travellers, as one of the most lovely of her sex, and the *beau-ideal* of a beautiful blonde; she is also said to be very like her grandmother, the high-minded and heroic Louisa, the late Queen of Prussia. A long and distressing fever, from which she suffered some years since, contributed to render her health extremely delicate.

The birth of the late grand duke Michael having taken place after the accession of his father the Emperor Paul, he inherited greater private property than any of his brothers. This personage is also described as a magnificent figure, with immense length of limb, and a peculiar curve of outline, which rendered him recognizable at any distance among hundreds in the same uniform. "The grand duke Michael has a kind disposition," says Golovin, "but a rough exterior, and a propensity to make puns." It is affirmed that he has been seen to weep at seeing Russian soldiers slain in Poland, while his brother Constantine rubbed his hands, saying, "what do you think of my Poles?" He was the greatest courtier in Russia; in public he was always seen bent double while speaking to his brother. This eccentric prince died in 1849. His palace was the most splendid in Petersburg, no trifling boast, and was worthy of his rich inheritance.

Of Constantine, who died in 1831, it will suffice to say that he exhibited the eccentricity and defects of his father, without his redeeming virtues; that having married secondly a Polish lady, he gave up his prior right to the throne to Nicholas, and was viceroys of Poland, till the revolution of 1831. By all authorities he is allowed to have been the most atrocious tyrant of modern times; his cruelty was constantly exercised towards the unfortunate Poles, to whom his death was a merciful relief.

The grand duchess Helen, or Helena Pavlovna, the widow of the grand duke Michael, is by birth a princess of Wirtemberg, and suffered more particularly from the present condemnation of all rational tastes. Endowed by nature with a most studious and reflective mind, and educated with corresponding advantages, her imperial highness was thrown alone at a very early age into a court, where such qualities, far from finding encouragement, hardly met with sufferance. Neither her great personal beauty, nor acknowledged charm of manner, could redeem her in the eyes of the powers who control the tastes of Russia.

Her imperial highness is about fifty-four years of age, with a tall, graceful person, and great beauty of feature and complexion. The education of her three daughters has been conducted on a directly opposite system to that usually observed in the high circles of Petersburg, and has been successful in producing, or rather retaining, those natural and bashful graces which are the best inheritance of youth.

Having attempted a brief outline of the imperial family, we shall pass to a summary account of the great ornaments of the court and functionaries of the state, adding a general description of the unrivalled splendour of the court, and concluding with an analysis of the organization of the machinery of government.

COUNT NESSELRODE, COUNT ORLOFF, ETC.

THE MINISTERS AND THE COURT.

Charles Albert, Count Nesselrode, who has now attained the mature age of eighty-four, is the only man amongst the Emperor's advisers, who has been well known in foreign countries for the last thirty years. He was the son of German parents, subjects of Russia, and born off the coast of Portugal, on board a British ship. Hence his origin and nationality may shortly become as mythical and problematical as those of Homer. He was first a sailor, secondly a cuirassier, thirdly a diplomatic attaché at Paris, and finally he has become the first statesman of Europe, and more than a match for Metternich and Palmerston. Though he has exhibited the usual pliancy and duplicity of Russian diplomatists, it is reported that in connexion with the present contest in the East he has been always opposed to the extreme measures of the war party, which appear at present to have the upper hand in the imperial councils.

Count Orloff, who recently paid a visit to the German capitals, is said to be a man of unenviable notoriety, having been accused of poisoning the Emperor Alexander, the grand duke Constantine, general Diebitch, the empress Elizabeth, wife of Alexander, and princess Lovioz his mistress. It is certain that any sudden deaths of illustrious persons in Russia are generally attributed to a violent cause, and Orloff is an ill-omened name.

Count Orloff owes his rise to the events of 26th December, 1825. Being then colonel of horse guards, he was the first to place himself at the head of his men, and march to Isaac Square. He has since been loaded with favours, and is now minister of police, having succeeded Count Benkendorf in that office. When made minister of police he is said to have made a profound observation: "I do not comprehend the utility of all this institution." May the Count one day see its total inutility, and contribute to abolish it. The reports of his having poisoned so many eminent persons are represented as false by Schmitzler, and this author speaks of him as a faithful friend and servant of the Czar, and an honourable man. His age is sixty-seven.

Prince Mentschikof, the minister of Marine, is rather witty and rich than profound and independent. He pays much attention to trifles, such as the dress of seamen. The wit of Mentschikof makes him so many enemies that he is obliged to seek the support of the strong.

Paskewitsch, prince of Warsaw, enjoys an indisputable military reputation. His campaign in Persia was admirable. Good fortune has, however, had a great share in his exploits. It was necessary to have recourse to Paskewitsch to conclude the war in Poland; and his arrival alone raised the spirits of the army. Having been appointed governor of Poland, he has been so happy in this post as to moderate the cruelties of his master.

Some authorities represent him as the only man in the Empire invested with the highest order of the Tohm.

Before we conclude our sketch of the principal functionaries of

RUSSIA AS IT IS.

Empire, we cannot omit to notice prince Woronzof, governor-general of Southern Russia, the second authority in the Empire. This eminent man, the son of a former Russian Ambassador to London, was partly educated in England, and having acquired the refined and liberal tastes of the British aristocracy, to which he is allied, he has invariably used his great authority to improve and civilize his government. His estate and villa, at Alupka, are a centre of taste and cultivation. He has employed every endeavour to ameliorate the condition of Georgia, and the arts and commerce have materially advanced and flourished at Odessa, and in the Crimea, under his fostering care. Prince Woronzof, who served with distinction in 1813-14, is perhaps the most experienced commander in the Russian army, and has encountered a gallant antagonist in the Circassian Schamyl. He is represented as suffering from indisposition, and as desiring to retire, but it is devoutly to be hoped, for the good of Russia and Europe, that he may retain his influential post for many years.

Cameron describes the Russian court receptions thus:—"The blaze of magnificence which burst upon the view was utterly beyond description, and rendered all that I had previously witnessed in the other courts of Europe a mere bagatelle in comparison; the rich paintings, the exquisite statuary, the innumerable works of the choicest vertu, in which the rarest malachite seemed as general as the most ordinary material in other lands; the costliest mirrors, columns, and ceilings; the gorgeous habits *à la cour*, superb uniforms, and various striking costumes—formed a picture dazzling and wonderful to the eye of a stranger. There was another circumstance still more striking, especially to an Englishman, remembering the ultra still formality of his own court, and that the one in which he stood was representative of the most absolute government in the world, and this was the urbanity, kindness, and condescension of the Emperor, Empress, and the whole of the Imperial family, who, full of life and joyous spirit, with a smile, congratulation, and kindly welcome for every one, rendered the scene replete with gaiety and pleasure. Never do I recollect, even in private life, a more perfect picture of freedom and amusement."

Since the Emperor Nicholas has introduced the old Russian costume for ladies at his court (the gentlemen keep their uniforms), there is no other court in the world that presents so splendid an appearance on gala days. The chief ornament is the *sarafan*, a wide open robe without sleeves; underneath is worn a full long-sleeved gown. The *sarafan* itself is usually made of velvet, richly embroidered with gold of different colours, and varying in the embroidery according to the rank of the wearer. The under dress is lighter in colour, generally of silk, and the long sleeves clasped at the wrists with gold bands. The hair is braided smooth, and adorned with the *kokoshnik*, a kind of diadem, crescent-shaped, with the points turned towards the back. This *kokoshnik*, richly set with pearls and precious stones, and from the back of which descends a long veil, gives each fair wearer the air of a queen. The directions, with respect to form and colour of these robes, are

very exact, but enough is still left to be varied by the taste of the wearer. The maids of honour are distinguished by their head-dress. The whole has at the same time the imposing effect of uniformity, with the interest of variety. Although the court of Vienna lays claim to a more solid magnificence in its courtiers and magnates, still for splendour of colour, and tasteful arrangement of forms, no court can be compared with that of St. Petersburg; and with respect to manners, if we are to suppose the well-known prescriptions of Catherine for the demeanour of her courtiers at the Hermitage to have been seriously meant, the court must have undergone an extraordinary change. The Russian courtiers now find as much to ridicule in other courts as others formerly found in theirs.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE TRIBUNALS.

Though, strictly speaking, there is only one authority—the crown—in Russia, it employs a very complicated machinery as its instrument. As the limits of the present work forbid a minute analysis of the administration and of its functionaries, we shall content ourselves with a brief outline of them, taken chiefly from the elaborate descriptions of Golovin, and the more cursory notices of Leouzon le Duc.

The three principal councils of the empire are,—1st, the Council of the Empire; 2ndly, the Holy Synod; 3rdly, the Directing Senate.

The Council of the Empire, established by Alexander in 1810, has to examine the administrative measures relating to home policy submitted to it by the emperor. It consists of all the imperial princes (of age), of statesmen, generals and admirals named by the emperor, amounting to forty. This council is divided into five departments, with suitable officers. These departments relate to—1. Laws; 2. Army and Navy; 3. Civil and Ecclesiastical Affairs; 4. Public Economy and Commerce; 5. Poland. The members of the council meet in common or in the departments, according to the subject broached; if in common, the emperor is speaker, if apart, a president. The departments have about five members each.

The Holy Synod attends to ecclesiastical affairs and all relating to them. It only depends on the emperor, who is represented by an attorney, now a general of cavalry, Protasoff.

The number of its members is not determined, but they must all be ecclesiastics. It generally consists of a metropolitan, three archbishops, one bishop, the confessor of the emperor, an archimandrite, the almoner-general of the army and navy, and of a protopope. One session of the Synod remains at Moscow, but capital cases are decided in the assemblies at Petersburg.

The Directing Senate was founded in 1711 by Peter the Great. It consists of about 100 members, chosen by the emperor in the three first classes of the state. The ministers have a right to form members of it, as also generals of the army when at Petersburg.

This is the highest legislative authority in the state, the emperor

alone can confirm or annul its decisions. It promulgates and watches over the execution of the imperial enactments; it answers the purpose of a court of final appeal in civil and criminal matters; it watches over the expenditure of the state, and suggests measures for the relief of the people. It has eleven departments—six at Petersburg, three at Moscow, and two at Warsaw. An unanimity of votes is necessary to pass a measure in the departments; two-thirds is enough in the general meetings.

The Emperor is its president, and can annul all its decisions.

The Emperor is as absolute as in the times of Ivan Vasilovitch the Terrible, and however this despotism may be modified by the progress of civilization, the actions of Paul prove that, should the Autocrat of Russia wish to indulge himself in any freaks of tyranny, even bordering on insanity, there is no power to prevent him from doing so. Many classes enjoy certain privileges and immunities; but these liberties have no other guarantee than the pleasure of the monarch, who may abolish them just as he granted them. A remarkable feature in the political organization of Russia is, that none has of right any rank but such as he obtains by filling a civil or military office.

As a means of preventing the youth of Russia from imbibing the liberal opinions of Western Europe, an ukase of 1831 prohibits all Russian subjects, except those who are employed on diplomatic service, from educating their children, from 10 to 18 years of age, abroad. All children educated in contravention to the ukase are declared incapable of holding office in Russia.

After these councils we have first the committee of Ministers, presided over by the Emperor. The latter can add an unlimited number of members besides the ordinary Ministers.

Before Alexander the ministerial functions were concentrated in a few hands, or confided to special colleges dependent on the Senate.

Alexander created ministries independent of each other, with no other head or link than the Emperor, who thus became the premier. They are nine in number. 1. The Imperial Household; 2. The Interior, or Home Department; 3. Foreign Affairs; 4. War; 5. Navy; 6. Home; 7. Education; 8. Finance; 9. Justice. There are also three general directions—1. The Imperial Post; 2. The Highways; 3. The Board of Control of the Empire for Auditing all Accounts of the Empire.

These ministries are sub-divided into special sections and departments which we cannot here enumerate.

On the Ministry of Foreign Affairs depend the envoys to foreign countries, which fall into three classes:—1st, Three Ambassadors of the 1st class, at Vienna, Paris, and London; 17 Ministers Plenipotentiary at Berlin, Stockholm, Copenhagen, the Hague, Brussels, Lisbon, Turin, Rome, Naples, Constantinople, Munich, Dresden, Stuttgart, Frankfort, Washington, Rio Janeiro, and Teheran; 7 Chargés d'Affaires, in Switzerland, at Carlsruhe, Florence, Weimar, Hamburg, Athens, and Lucca. There are, moreover, numerous Consuls-General, Consuls, &c.

Passing to the internal administration of the provinces, in every

provincial capital is a chamber of regency which attends to matters of general administration. The Civil Governor is the president. The chamber is composed of four counsellors named by the Government.

Every district has a tribunal of police, or *zansky sond*, which has not, however, any judicial cognizance. It has to attend to the police, to inquiry into criminal matters, &c. It consists of the *Ispravnik*, or police-master, and an assistant.

The principal agents of the Government in the provinces are the Governor-General and the ordinary governors. They have to take part in the judgment of criminal matters. The administration of the towns is separate, and consists of a kind of municipality, *freely* elected by the community, and composed of two burgomasters and four counsellors, paid by the towns, and called a *donma*. It regulates the sale of immovable property, settles disputes of citizens, &c. It is renewed every year. Voters must be 25 years of age.

There is, moreover, in each town, a *common municipal council*, and a *council of six*, presided over by the chief of the burghers, called *Golova*, and receiving salaries. It is renewed every three years. The first attends to commercial interests and the peace of the parish. The Common Council supplies the members of the council of six, which has to keep in repair the buildings, look after the finances, &c., in the parish.

Each town has also a commandant named by the Government, and often a minister of police, or a bailiff. These officials attend to the Crown magazines, and command the *home militia*—old soldiers, who have to keep the peace and guard prisoners.

Each province has a Chamber of Finance, composed of a president and several counsellors, who have each a special department, such as brandy, &c.

The institutions connected with State credit are four in number :

1. The commission for liquidating the national debt.
2. The Bank of Paper Money, charged with its manufacture and issue.
3. The Loan Bank, making advances from the public funds.
4. The Commercial Bank, making discount, and advancing money on goods.

In judicial matters each province has a civil chamber and a criminal chamber, composed of counsellors and assessors named by the nobility and burghers. An attorney, dependant on the Minister of Justice, also resides in every province, to watch over the regularity of the procedures.

In each district there is a tribunal of inferior jurisdiction, having three members named by the nobility, and also an assistant attorney to watch them.

The sessions of the different tribunals are permanent. From the foregoing description it is evident that there are but three degrees of Russian Courts of law :—1. The District Court ; 2. The Government Court ; 3. The Departments of the Senate. But if the matter in dispute authorizes a new appeal, it may pass through eleven jurisdictions.—1. The Attorney-General of the Departments of the

Senate; 2. The Commission of petitions to transfer the case to the General Assembly of the Senate; 3. That Assembly; 4. The Minister of Justice and his council; 5. The Commission of application to transfer the affair to the Council of the Empire; 6. The department of the Council of the Empire; and lastly, the Emperor.

CHAPTER IV.

VARIOUS CLASSES OF SOCIETY.

The nobility, hereditary and personal—The Tchinovniks and middle class—
The Tchernoi Narod—The serfs—The Esthonians.

By some enthusiastic lovers of the Autocrat, the despotism of Russia is regarded as the very acme of perfection; and to Nicholas may justly be applied the celebrated assumption of Louis XIV.: "L'etat c'est moi!" Head of the church in his own person—sole commander of the armies,—the fountain-head of all its civil and judicial functions—absolute master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects—the will of the Muscovite Sovereign is paramount, the old Slavonic laws serving as rules for his guidance, when not interfering with his own determination.

Golovin has analyzed the Russian nobility, which, he says, is the head and heart of the nation; nay, it is the entire nation; for, unhappily, it alone possesses rights, though illusory, while the rest of the people have nothing but obligations. It is in its ranks that the most civilized and distinguished men are to be found. In 1825, more than 100 nobles sacrificed themselves in the cause of national progress. Literature and the army are indebted to the nobles for their most illustrious chiefs, Puschkin, Karamsin, Suwarof, and Kutusof.

In order to form a just idea of the Russian nobility, it must be divided into several classes. The courtiers and functionaries have nothing in common with the nobility, properly speaking. The nobility ought farther to be distinguished according to the different provinces. The Germans and Little Russians have not much in common with the Russians of Muscovy. In Little Russia, the Tartars have not left such profound traces of their domination as have thoroughly demoralized Russia, properly so called. There are two kinds of nobility, hereditary and personal. The latter is official. The former is divided into six degrees.

Nobility has sunk in public opinion. It has been too generalized, its foundations and wealth are destroyed. Till the government became moral, and its agents be independent, every effort ought to be made to extend the share of the nobles in the administration, and to gain respect for the functions which are allotted to them. There are government assemblies of nobles who have a local authority and jurisdiction. They can address petitions to the Emperor, and present opinions to the government ministers, &c.

Schnitzler gives the Russians the following virtues and defects :—

| VIRTUES. | VICES. |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Goodnatured. | Violent and passionate. |
| Courteous and Hospitable. | Brutality, disgusting in his oaths, |
| Gay and Active. | Cringing and grasping. |
| Daring to rashness. | Crafty, and rich in artifice. |
| Dexterity. | Great duplicity, under an exterior |
| Faithful, loyal. | of gentleness. |
| Patriotic. | Degraded abasement before those |
| Religious, charitable. | in authority. |

In order to preserve the serial order which we have adopted, we shall proceed to analyse the characteristics of the nobles, hereditary and functional, before passing to consider the prominent moral and physical features of the serfs; and after presenting the reader with a series of remarkable facts derived from recent and competent authorities, we shall attempt a general and impartial estimate of the national character in a special section. It will be obvious, however, that when we speak of national character, we allude to the Slavonic stock, and chiefly to the Muscovite family, as the Finns, Esthonians, Livonians, Circassians, Georgians, Tartars, and even Poles, present many differences of temper and feature, some of which we shall endeavour to point out.

It is generally agreed by competent judges that, besides the Autocrat, Russia only presents two classes, the Boyards and the Serfs. There is, indeed, as we have seen, a sickly, mongrel middle class, presenting all the defects and without any of the virtues of that class in happier lands. In Russia this tiers état is composed chiefly of traders and civilians in the towns, especially in Livonia and Esthonia. But the two broad distinctions are those of nobles and slaves, and there is, properly speaking, no link between them. This engenders a state of things somewhat analogous to our colonies when we had planters, and to the slave-holding states of America now. The usual result may be summed up as follows :—corruption and tyranny in the master, degradation and brutality in the slave. Such is the conclusion forced upon us after reading the most intelligent witnesses, such as Custine, and the most impartial, such as Kohl and Leouzon le Duc.

Yet much of this evil must emanate rather from the system than the unhappy nature of the Muscovites. Facts such as the conspiracy of the nobles against the throne, in 1825, to establish a constitution and European reforms, prove that here, as elsewhere, there are aspirations for a higher ideal, and a sense for higher harmonies. Again, the insurrection of the serfs in 1837, attests the inborn instinct for freedom which these degraded beings feel in common with all of human kind. In short, Custine, who does not spare Russia, is ready to admit many virtues in Russians. Their character has still much of an Oriental colouring, like the cañan and the long beard.

In our analysis of these two great sections of the population, we must begin with the Boyards and descend to the serfs.

Custine and Leouzon le Duc, who lived amongst the nobles, had

many opportunities of knowing them thoroughly, and are agreed in applying censure rather than praise to the body in general. The crapulous indulgence of their banquets, and the excessive luxury of their fêtes, have only been matched by the extravagance of Roman sensuality during the decline of the empire.

The licentiousness and voluptuous excesses of the young Boyards of Moscow can only find a parallel in the pages of Boccaccio, or in the villas of Baizé. But perhaps the most painful feature in the Boyards' character, is the brutal treatment to which they expose their serfs; and so utterly is the national character imbued with servility, that Russia is, probably, the only country pretending to be civilized where a blow from a superior is not regarded as a disgrace. It is probable that the sun has never yet shone on a country so injured to stripes as Russia. Indeed, of 70 people on earth, the Russians alone, if we may believe their advocates, are found to thrive on showers of blows. Yet, at times, the dignity of man seems to flicker up for a moment, and the fearful reprisals of a Jacquerie of the serfs, or an insurrection in the military colonies, shows that all sense of self-respect has not been entirely flogged out of them.

In giving such an unfavourable picture of the Russian nobles, the reader must remember that we are far from denying that there are many exalted exceptions. Yet the tendency of the present despotism has been to crush all independence in the nobles, especially since the conspiracy of 1825, which Nicholas correctly attributed to the advanced intelligence of some of that body, and having thrown himself into the arms of the old Muscovite party and the serfs, he tramples under foot the only body of men who are capable of mitigating the despotism of the sovereign and of removing the ignorance of the mass. For since, as we have shown, Russia has no proper middle class as the vehicle of reform, it is evident that improvements from the West can only be introduced by the intelligent and travelled nobles, especially as the Czar himself, instead of welcoming them, does all he can to oppose them.

One of the most fatal effects of the thralldom in which the Boyards are now kept is found in the fact that mind, thought, and genius have no vent, no field. If any literary talent appears, it leads to the Caucasus or Siberia. All soarings and exercise of intellect and fancy are crushed and blighted. The principal topics of discussion and converse among senators, councillors and generals are, the pirouette of a ballet dancer, the toilette of the ladies of honour, or the buttons and spurs of the soldiery. It is proscribed by fashion, custom, and the will of the Emperor (which is law), to introduce any elevated topic of conversation in society; and this evil is represented as having greatly augmented since the death of Alexander.

In the works of the Marquis de Custine and of Leouzon le Duo, it will be seen that the Russian aristocracy is the most unfeeling and unprincipled in Europe; the necessary result of the debasing thralldom in which they submit to be kept.

We are informed that a certain prince, who appears to have been a hyperborean Don Juan, succeeded in concealing himself in a

convent of nuns, where he remained a whole month indulging in every voluptuous delight, till at length the holy maids, satiated with his society, and fearing disclosures, put him to death, and cutting the body into small bits, threw them into a well, where they were discovered. This history was related in public, and corroborated by men of weight and standing.

The drunken excesses and licentious habits of the young nobles and officers of Moscow are dwelt on, at some length, in the twenty-ninth letter of Custine, and if any confidence can be placed in his discrimination, it must be admitted that they excel the high-born youth of the rest of Europe in crapulous libertinism. Indeed, the orgies of the young nobles under Nicholas must belong to the same type as those under Peter, save that there appears more refinement in vice in the former than in the latter. Many scenes witnessed by Custine are such as *he* cannot describe, and many of those that appear in his work are unfit for translation into our more moral atmosphere. We must, however, sincerely hope that he fell in with the most dissolute part of the aristocracy, and we are happy to know that the influence of the excellent Empress has always been directed to diminish and extirpate these scandals.

It has appeared to us that we cannot give the reader a better idea of the luxury and charms of aristocratic life than by making some extracts from the work of a lady who was domiciliated in one of their most elegant abodes and amiable circles.

“But why do I longer suppress what is foremost on my lips,—why longer tamper with the irresistible desire to challenge any country, any clime, and any nature to produce fairer flowers of another and a nobler kind than this fitting nursery has reared;—to throw the gauntlet to all the living generations in any known or unknown land, to outshine in beauty the peerless daughters of Fall? Never shall I forget the first moment when these three exquisite creatures stood before me. The eldest, tall, straight, and slender as the glistening birch stem on her own mountain side; with skin of wax, and hair of gold lighting like an aureole round her delicately formed head; and features and dimples like Hebe ere she knew disgrace, and a character of face of the highest aristocratic English style; beautiful, in short, to her finger ends. And then the second, with her scarce nineteen summers, and matron care already slightly resting on her marble brow, and yet a face like a vestal, with mild, pensive sentiment written on every chiselled feature—pale as alabaster, with tresses which seemed, by the weight of their massive coils, to bow down the stooping head and languid form. Lastly, that sweet youngest! as if Nature, to make a third, had joined the other two; with character more decided than her scarce ripened charms, and in both distinct from her sister beauties—with the mind to will and the power to do; and a natural gift of penetration into others’ thoughts, and secrecy over her own, lurking behind the loveliest, demurest, most transparent mask of tender beauty, (true daughter of the man who knows and *keeps* all the secrets of Russia,) which, unless a practised reader in physiognomy be greatly deceived, will make her the most fascinating and dangerous of the lovely trio. Of her, an old diplomatist said:

'Jeune comme elle est, Mademoiselle Sophie a déjà le grand art de savoir paraître ce qu'elle veut,' a rich compliment in his coin; and so long as the calm remains only in the exterior, and the warmth all within, a very safe one. Alas, for those which my fancy had hitherto treasured as models of female beauty! fallen are your sceptres, broken are your crowns! Not even the gilding of remembrance, that natural cosmetic which the mind bestows on all absent favourites, can deck you in colours which may venture comparison with those before me. The world will see and hear of this lovely trefoil, whose charms will probably be transplanted to other countries: but Fall was their proper setting, and few will view them here united again."

It may interest the reader to have a description of the country seat of Count Benkendorf, the father of this interesting family, at Fall in Esthonia, presenting, as it does, a charming picture of a Russian nobleman's princely residence; a residence in praise of whose natural beauties and artificial decorations every one who has visited it expatiates most enthusiastically.

This is one of those favoured spots where nature has compressed every imaginable beauty together, fitting them closer than, abstractedly considered, would be deemed pleasing; though, once presented to the view, criticism has nothing more to say.

Fall is in the possession of Count Benkendorf, whose wealth and taste render him second only to the Emperor. Here he has secured to his family a retreat from the world, or what might be so, did not the world follow them faster than they can retreat; in other words, a summer residence, where that most luxurious of all luxurious existences—one equally commanding the healthy gifts of the country and the lively gifts of the capital—is as well understood and practised as in our own land. A week spent in this charming spot is sufficient to make the evidence of the senses doubtful. It is not Esthonia—that's quite sure; it is not Russia—here is no disorder; nor France—though the echoes answer in French numbers; nor England—though as like that as any. What is it, then? Where are you? In beautiful, delicious, unique Fall—the garden of nature—the *pot pourri* of all nations—the quintessence of all tastes; where the courtier, the philosopher, the lover of nature, the votary of fashion, the poet, the artist, the man of sense, or the man of nonsense, may all be happy in their own way. The Count was not unmindful of the effect and power of contrast in selecting a residence, for miles round which the eye is wearied by the monotony of one of the dullest and flattest plains in Esthonia, where even a river, that foil to all dull landscapes, sulks gloomily along, spreading itself over marshes it cannot beautify, and hiding itself behind rushes and sedges it cannot hide, till, viewing lofty banks rising in the distance, and graceful trees leaning pendent to caress it, it gathers its forces together, and cuts its way along with increasing willingness. And now all the beauties of an Alpino scene mirror themselves tremblingly on its ribbed and rapid surface, and light, airy bridges, fit for fairies' feet to cross, o'erleap it with their slender span, and groves of blooming orange-trees, and every other incense-breathing flower, perfume its banks, and, in

the gladness of his heart, the river-god flings himself, in a bound of joy, down a thundering cascade, rounding the edges of peaked and jagged rocks in a veil of oily transparency, and hiding their blackened bases in clouds of foam. Thence, dashing forward in many a changing, wreathing circle, its agitated fragments reflect for a moment the light Italian chateau, or ancient ruin, or classic temple, or repeat in quivering lines the white flowing dresses and gay uniforms of some wandering group, till, gradually abating from its wild career, the stream winds heavier along, and, steering slower and slower to its final fate, quits the landscape, of which it had enhanced the every beauty, to spend its puny waters on the wide breast of the Baltic. From this cascade, or *fall*, the German name for this estate is derived; but the Esthonian one of Yoala, though less significant, is more harmonious. There is something in the air of Fall which gives beauty to every living thing on its surface. Owing to the position of the hills and the vicinity of the sea, spring is here earlier, and autumn later, and all vegetation wears a correspondingly grateful aspect. Not only do the oak and beech flourish with English luxuriance, but trees foreign to this soil, the chesnut, the sycamore, the plane, here abide the "bitter nip of frost." While velvet lawns, green and fresh as the banks of Thames, encircle the bases of the high *Bergrücke*, or mountain backs or ridges, whose woods, assuming a more arctic nature as they stretch upwards, fence in this happy valley with a battalion of hardy pines. Nor may the beautifying influence of a Russian summer sky, which may defy comparison with any other in the world, be forgotten.

Having given a sketch of the hereditary, we pass to the personal aristocracy, styled Tchinnovniks, i.e. employés.

The Tchinn is composed of fourteen classes, and each of these has privileges suited to them. The fourteenth is the lowest.

Placed immediately above the serfs, its only advantage is that of being composed of men called free. This liberty consists in a man's not receiving blows without its being subject to criminal process. In return, every individual who is of this class must have his number of class written on his door, in order that no superior may be led into temptation or error. Being informed through this precaution, one who would attempt to strike the free man would be guilty, and subject to punishment.

This fourteenth class is composed of the lowest employés of the government, of clerks of the post office, postmen, and other sub-alterns charged with carrying or executing the orders of the superior administrators: it answers to the rank of sub-officer in the imperial army. The men who compose it, servants of the Emperor, are not serfs to any one; and are conscious of their social dignity; as to human dignity, you are aware, it is not known in Russia.

All the classes of the Tchinn answer to as many military grades, the hierarchy of the army, so to speak, is parallel with the order which reigns in the entire state. The first class is at the summit of the pyramid, at this time it is composed of one man: Marschal Paskiewitsch, Viceroy of Warsaw.

I repeat it, the will of the Emperor alone can advance an individual in the *Tehinn*. Thus, a man mounting by degrees to the most elevated rank of this artificial nation, may arrive at the highest military honours without having served in any army.

From careful observation, and the judgment of those longer experienced, some writers would infer that the guarantees for the continued stability of Russia lie exclusively in the person of the monarch and in the body of the people. In the nobility, whose elements of national character fall far beneath those of the serf; the monarch finds no efficient help. Foreign education and contact has, with a few brilliant exceptions, rendered them adepts in the luxury and frivolity, rather than in the humanity of civilization, or grafted them with democratic Utopian ideas that in no state, and least of all in Russia, can bring forth good fruit. The Emperor, therefore has full ground for the double mistrust with which he views money taken out of the empire and pernicious ideas brought in.

Again, in the so-called middle class—here the mere exerescence of a partial civilization, who have renounced all of their nationalities save its barbarity—all real support to the crown seems still further removed. These occupy the lower departments of the state, closing all straightforward dealing, perverting the real intention of the laws, and intercepting every humane imperial act by the most cunning and unprincipled dishonesty. What will be said of other and more important intentions of the Emperor, when it is known that the snuff-box destined to reward some act of benevolence which leaves the Imperial hands embossed with diamonds, reaches those of its destined owner deprived of every stone? And redress is to be had under laws where an equal accumulation of formalities and liability to abuse meet the innocent at every turn.

Despised by the nobles, this class retaliate by a species of persecution which it is impossible to guard against. No lion's mouth or familiars of the Inquisition, are needed in a state of things where, ere a false denunciation can be sifted and dismissed, the denounced is equally ruined in purse and worn out with constant care; and nowhere, sad to say, are denunciations of this kind so frequent as at this time in Russia—nowhere so tedious and ruinous in their exposure. Rank, consideration, long service, and high reputation are of no avail. Once an accusation is laid, however it may bear the stamp of malice, it must distil through all the corkscrew windings of the Russian law, ere the property of the accused be released from sequestration, or his mind from the most corroding anxiety—and this done, there is neither compensation for the injured nor punishment for the injurer, who has thus cloaked his cupidity or revenge under the semblance of what the people honour most, viz. his loyalty.

This class it is who have made Russian courts of justice a by-word and a proverb—who have called down upon Russia the unmerited sarcasm of being "*pourrie avant d'être mure*"—while, by a natural retribution, the name of *Tehinnovniks*, or the betitled (for these men are generally distinguished by an order), is fast becoming the synonyme for low dishonesty and intrigue. The national proverb which says no Russian without "*Chai, Tschai,*

and Chin"—tea, sour-kroot, and a title—is perfectly true; but the sarcasm on the latter is derived from the abuse of a noble principle. Peter the Great, the well-intentioned founder of this rage for orders in Russia, was right when he foresaw the veneration with which the mass of the people would regard every individual invested with an insignia emanating direct from the sovereign, and calculated thereby on putting a wholesome power into the hands of the middle ranks: but he reckoned too soon on the formation of this class, which, to be safe or to be useful, must be gradual and spontaneous in growth; and the careless and lavish hand with which orders have been distributed since his reign has only debased the distinction without elevating the possessor.

It is predicted by these conservatives that, should any political convulsion occur in Russia, this miserable class, who suffer the double ill fate of ideas below their station, and a station above their maintenance, would meet with the nobility in jarring collision, and with equal danger to both, while the Crown, firmly seated in the instinctive loyalty of the people, would have nought to fear. By a providential adaptation which surpasses all speculation of legislative philosophy, the people of Russia venerate their sovereign simply because he is absolute. With them, respect for the anointed sovereign is a religion; and to restrict him by human ordinances would be to strip him of his divine credentials. What Czar has yet been dethroned or murdered by an act of the people?*

German authors friendly to Russia observe, that the tshornoi morod (black people, *i. e.* blackguards) varies in so many respects from the mob of other countries, and have so many good and bad qualities of their own, that they have furnished matter for comment and wonder to all travellers who have visited Russia during the last three centuries; and these peculiarities are the more deserving of attention inasmuch as they are often national rather than confined to a class. There are people who believe that the lower classes in Russia are a separate and oppressed caste, without a will of their own, and without influence over their superiors; and that the civilized class floats over the mass like oil over water, neither mingling nor sympathizing with the other. Now, this is the very reverse of the truth. There is, perhaps, no country in the world where all classes are so intimately connected with each other as in this vast empire, or so little divided into castes; and the same peculiarities which we notice in the bearded moujik manifest themselves, with only trifling modifications, among the loftiest pinnacles of that Babylonian building, the social edifice of Russia.

To some extent, there exists in every country, a certain affinity and family likeness between the highest and the lowest classes; but nowhere is this more the case than in Russia, because, contrary to the prevailing belief, in no country are the extremes of society brought into more frequent contact, and in few are the transitions from one class to another more frequent or more sudden. The peasant becomes a priest on the same day perhaps that an imperial

* "Letters from the Baltic."

mandate degrades the noble to a peasant, or to a Siberian colonist. Degradation to the ranks is a punishment frequently inflicted on Russian officers. Hereditary rank is disregarded, while public services often lead rapidly to the highest dignities.

It requires but little polishing to convert the raw material of the moujik into a shrewd trader.

The common man of St. Petersburg has precisely the same characteristics as the common man of Moscow or Odessa, or as the labourer on the confines of China. All cling with the same fidelity to the customs of their ancestors, and all remain the same in manners, education, and tastes. Their food is the same throughout the whole of the vast empire, and centuries will probably pass away before any sensible change will occur. This circumstance gives to the Russian people a unity of character, which we should vainly look for in other countries where the manners and habits of one province often present a striking contrast to those of another.

These partisans of Russia assert that Englishmen are too apt to attribute the courtesy of the Russian to a slavish disposition, but the courteous manner in which two Russian peasants are sure to salute each other when they meet, cannot be the result of fear engendered by social tyranny. On the contrary, a spirit of genuine politeness pervades all classes, the highest as well as the lowest. Foreigners generally describe the Russians as rogues, with whom it is impossible to conclude a bargain without being cheated, and no one can deny that the frauds daily practised in the market places are innumerable. Nevertheless, examples are also numerous among them of the most romantic acts of integrity.

The case is much the same with their temperance as with their honesty. The nation is inclined to cheating from top to bottom, and yet people most pedantically honest may be found amongst them, and a hundred instances might be cited in which a Russian rogue would be more punctiliously honourable than a German Herrnhuter. The whole nation is most undeniably voluptuous and addicted to intemperance, and yet affords examples not only of exemplary sobriety, but there are times when the most intolerable bibber amongst them will practise the severest abstinence. It is said that the Russians surpass all other nations in the consumption of brandy, and yet, strange to say, it does not seem to do them much injury.

In the countless booths and drinking-houses in St. Petersburg in the year 1827, brandy and other liquors were sold to the amount of eight millions of rubles; in 1833, to eight millions and a half. That gives for every inhabitant, women and children included, twenty rubles yearly for brandy, or about two and a quarter pailsful. These advocates of Muscovy add that:—

Melancholy as the fact is of this enormous abuse of spirituous liquors in Russia, yet, as before observed, it is certain that the evil consequences are not so glaringly offensive as they would be among any other people. It is perhaps a general law of nature, that all abuses, where they are generally prevalent, shall not be injurious in a like proportion with their strength, because all poisons carry

a certain antidote with them, and human nature in its most desperate condition is yet to be saved from utter destruction. Thus despotism depraves men less in Russia than it would do in a free country, because a multitude of devices have been formed for avoiding the evil. Serfdom in Russia is not half so oppressive as it would be to men who passed from a state of freedom to one of slavery; for the people develop a great elasticity of spirit, freedom from care, and cheerfulness in the midst of their humiliations, and have found out a multitude of alleviations which a people unaccustomed to slavery would not turn to account. Any other nation in the bonds of Russian despotism and serfdom, among whom such rogery and cheating were in practice, who were fettered in such a darkness of ignorance and superstition, and so plunged in sensual excess, would be the most detestable and unbearable people on the face of the earth.

But the Russian, whose reason is little cultivated, and who, when he is good, is so from innate kindness of feeling, cannot be so degraded by drink. He shows himself what he is—a child much in want of guidance. It is curious enough, however, that, even in drunkenness, a Russian's native cunning never forsakes him. It is very difficult to move him, be he ever so drunk, to any baseness not to his advantage. The deeper a Russian drinks, the more does the whole world appear to him *couleur de rose*, till at last his raptures break forth in a stream of song; and, stretched upon his sledge, talking to himself and all good spirits, he returns at length to his own home, whither his wiser horse has found his way unguided.

"He must be a cunning fellow who outwits a Russian."—"He who is not cheated by a Russian must be a cunning fellow."

The Russians are sometimes called the French of the North; as lame a comparison, if seriously meant, as that of modern Moscow with old Rome. The differences between the two nations are endless. Something of likeness there is, however, in the fact that in the demeanour of the lowest Russian there is a certain adroitness, a *savoir faire* and *tournaire*, altogether wanting to the Germans. Look at the cut of the commonest national garment, and in spite of dirt and coarseness, there will be a something *comme il faut* about it. Even under the bearskin, slender and rounded forms may be perceived. The awkward and ridiculous vestments occasionally seen among us, are unknown here: to judge by his clothing, a Russian must be one of the most elegant and rational of men. Observe a couple of Russians of the lowest class: if they have a heavy burden to transport, how cleverly and readily it is done, in spite of the most deplorable means of carriage. In St. Petersburg, the most ordinary peasants, picked up quite at random, will be charged with the transport of the costliest and most fragile articles; for example, immense looking-glasses, porcelain, &c., and will execute the commission with as much dexterity as if had been their employment from childhood. I should like to see one quantity of glass packed and carried by German peasants, and another by Russians, and strike the balance between the

relative skill and address of the two nations, according to the quantity of merchandise demolished!

French writers less partial to Russia, inform us that the class of Russian serfs vulgarly called *mougiks*, does not represent less than the twentieth part of all the population of the known world; they exceed by many millions the population of France, and double that of England. The number of Russian serfs in the whole must be valued at not less than forty millions, of which one half belong to private individuals, and the other to the crown. I have said that the condition of these serfs with regard to their masters, is almost identical with that of the American negroes, under the authority of the planters. This deserves to be explained. One of the first dispositions of the Russian code, relative to serfs, is to declare them unfit to acquire any landed property.

Before the Russian code, the serf is absolutely nothing: nothing through himself, for he is the property of his master; nothing through any property he possesses, for he may not attach even his name to it.

The negroes of the French colonies have been, by law, invested with the rights of inheritance. The poor Russian serfs may envy something even in those miserable beings. And yet, the name of Russia figures amongst the treaties which condemn and stigmatize the slave trade!

How many other scandals might I not reveal were I to penetrate into the dark existence of these avaricious and cruel proprietors, of whom so many are to be found in Russia.

But it is not merely over the external property of the serfs that the power of the noble extends, he is also the absolute master of their bodies and their souls. The Russian serf can will nothing, decide nothing, I might almost say, he cannot think for himself.

Whilst the law remains such as it is, the proprietors who may judge it apropos to despoil their serfs, will always have a sure refuge, an authentic justification in it. A social state, which pretends not to be barbarous, would seem to require, one would think, to lean upon another basis than the laws, which must be necessarily infamous if they are not considered to be the correctives of morals.

In order to bend his serfs to his will, the Russian noble is authorized by the law to use all the means he judges to be proper.

The mania for the stick is so great in Russia, that there are seigniorial lands where it is almost permanently used.* On the least forgetfulness, or the least negligence, the serf is stripped naked to his waist, and thrashed without mercy. Strange system!

* M. de Haxthausen expresses himself respecting this subject in terms which, if they did not refer to such a sad thing, would recall the jokes of Sganarelle.—“Amongst the Russians, all social power makes itself respected by blows, which do not change either affection or friendship. Every one deals blows: the father beats his son, the husband his wife, the territorial lord, or his intendant, the peasants, without there resulting from it any bitterness or revenge. The backs of the Russians are even accustomed to blows, and yet the stick is more sensibly felt by the nerves of their back than by their souls.”

But I am grieved to say, that the brutal state to which this slavery has reduced them, makes it almost necessary. I have known mougiaks, who were certainly neither wicked nor corrupt, out who would not fulfil their duties with exactitude without being taught from time to time by the stick. Some are so familiarized with this punishment, that to the most cruel assaults, they manifest a marble insensibility.

A very singular whim once took possession of the Empress Catherine II. She published a ukase, according to which the word *slave* was struck out for ever from the Russian vocabulary. (Doubtless it was an additional title she desired to acquire to the homages paid her by the philosophers and liberals of the west.) But observe the mystification: whilst Catherine suppressed, through a ukase, the word of the language, she spreads the thing itself, by another ukase, to every part of the empire which had till then been ignorant of it. It is known, in fact, that the peasants of Little Russia were reduced to the condition of serfs during the reign of this Empress.

But it is especially in the popular proverbs that the miserable condition of the Russian who is on the land, is described. *All is for God and the Sovereign: what supreme abnegation! A guilty being without any guilt: what exaltation of arbitrariness! what servility of obedience! yet more: God is too high, the Czar is too distant. Though contrary to your pleasure, be always ready to do that which you are commanded to do.* A man who is beaten is worth two who have not been. They are the idle only who do not thrash us. The labourer works like a peasant, but he sits at table like a master. The bird is well in a golden cage, but he is better off on a green branch!* Do you not perceive in all these adages a dull impression of the knout and the stick, a brutal resignation, and also, let us add, a melancholy aspiration after liberty?

This pretended extension of the abuses of serfage, on which our Russian contemporaries congratulate themselves, gives me almost the idea of imposture. What were then the horrors formerly, that they pardon so easily those which are committed at the present time? Is it then nothing to whip human beings with strokes of rods and sticks for the smallest fault; to abuse at pleasure the honour of women and of girls; to snatch, under the pretext of *interest*, the husband from the wife, the child from its mother; to transport men from one country to another like cattle; to crush them with unjust contributions of labour; to despoil them of the field they have cultivated, or the money they have gained; to exile to Siberia those subjects they cannot provide for? In a word, is it nothing to treat rational beings like brutes, and to refuse to recognise in them that which God himself has placed there, an intelligence and a heart? •

* A Russian in the time of Peter I., (says M. Tourgueneff,) having been employed by foreigners, settled down definitely abroad. Being invited to go back to his country to fill some important post there, he replied, that he would not return till three Russian proverbs (those I have just cited) should cease to be true. It is needless to say that this brave man died without again seeing his country.

There is nothing more amusing, and at the same time affecting, than to see the Russian peasants intoxicated. They embrace each other with effusion, and address the most pleasant things to one another. You will see them place themselves before some noble or some officer in his place, or even some stranger whom they recognise for a friend, and throw themselves at their feet and assure them of their inviolable attachment, and eternal fidelity. How many times have I myself received, on their part, the most touching protestations! The Russian peasant drunk is the man of nature, mixed with all its smiling benevolence, and beatific perfume. Take care how you advise a Russian noble to proscribe drunkenness in his domains. He is so enchanted with the happiness it procures for his peasants, that, far from putting any obstacle to it, he encourages it with all his power. The government, on its side, supports a certain number of public houses upon the lands of the nobles, from which it draws, as is well known, a considerable revenue.* These are the only establishments which they could possess upon those sort of lands. The noble has no right to oppose their being established; he only chooses the place which it suits him to have appropriated to them. Such customs appear strange to us, but they are so deeply rooted in the ways of the country, that no one ever thinks about modifying them; and if, by chance, some noble happens to be capricious, one can easily imagine all the serfs of his domains rise against him, leagued with the farmers of ardent spirits and the clerks of the crown. The temperance societies have never been able to take root in Russia.

The Russians, having slight frames and flexible figures, easily find an equilibrium which astonishes us: in the exercise, swinging, they show great agility, grace, and boldness.

A French traveller stopped at several villages in order to see young girls vying thus with young men, and found at last some countenances of young women to admire of the most perfect beauty. Their complexions are of the most delicate white; their colour, so to express it, appears to be under the skin, which is transparent and extremely fine. They have teeth of dazzling whiteness: how rare a thing! their mouth is perfectly pure, and of classical form; their eyes, usually blue, are nevertheless of the almond oriental shape; they are a fleur de tête, and they have that expression of suspicion and inquietude natural to the look of Slavonians, who generally look sideways, or even behind them without turning the head. The whole is very charming; but whether it is through the caprice of nature, or the effect of costume, all these accomplishments are much more rarely found united in the women than in the men. Amongst a hundred female peasants, one meets with one very charming, whilst the greater number of men are remarkable for the form of the head, and the regularity of features. There are old men with rosy cheeks, with bald heads cased in white hair, and whose beards, equally white and silky, hang down on their

* The tax on brandy forms the most considerable revenue of the empire. It amounts to more than fifty millions of roubles (two hundred millions of francs).

breasts. One would say that those handsome faces gained indignity, by increased age, that which they lose by youth. These heads are more beautiful for paintings than any I have seen of Rubens, Spagnoletto, or Titian, but I never found the head of an old woman worthy to be put in a picture.

Custine, commonly so severe on Russia, allows the seffs and common people some advantages:—

“The Russian people are gifted with a natural elegance, a grace which makes every thing which it arranges, touches, carries, take unconsciously a picturesque attitude.

“The Russian peasant is industrious, and knows how to get out of a difficulty on all occasions; he never goes out without his hatchet—a little iron instrument, fit for anything in the hands of a dexterous man in the midst of a country still abounding in wood.”

The Russians rob with the cleverness which enables them to do anything; aprons, leather straps, the girths of your trunks and carriages do not hinder those devoted men.

A Russian lady of high rank once said to Custine:—

“There is not in all Russia a tradesman or a merchant who would dare to refuse us unlimited credit; with your aristocratic opinions,” she added, “you ought to feel yourself quite at home with us.”

He replied—“When you assure me, that in your families, it is not necessary to think of your debts, I do not believe you, even on your word of honour.”

“You are wrong; many amongst us who are supposed to possess enormous fortunes, would be ruined if they were to pay all they owe.”

“At first I regarded this language as a sort of boasting in very bad taste, or perhaps even as a trap for my incredulity; but the informations which I have gained later have convinced me that she was in earnest.

“I am assured that moral feeling is scarcely developed amongst the Russian peasants; they are scarcely aware of their family duties; and my daily experience confirms all that I have heard from people who are the best informed on the subject.”

The condition of the serfs in Poland is even worse than in Russia, and the Esthonians, though emancipated, are not much better off.

The Esthonians, who have been emancipated by Alexander, are represented as at best a fretted nation, borne down by the double misery of poll-tax and liability to recruitment,—the one the price they pay for their breath, the other for their manhood. Happy the family when only girls are born, who offer the double advantage of working as hard, and paying less than the other sex. The present Kopf steuer, or poll-tax, levies four rubles sixty copecks, *i.e.* about four shillings English per head, not only upon the adult and able bodied men, but on every chick and child of mankind. This is enormously heavy, considering the relative value of money. A revision of the population takes place every sixteen years; and, though a household is not bound to pay for those born, it pays for those deceased in the interim, and the crown is no loser. A fre-

quent succession of masters, much absenteeism and German bailiffs, middle-men or disponents—a most disreputable set, not nearly so trusty as the native Esthonians whom they affect to despise—are a great source of oppression and misery to the Esthonian peasants.*

CHAPTER V.

SOCIETY IN RUSSIA.

Various opinions—Lady Eastlake—Colonel Cameron—Leouzou de Duc.

THE following opinions are a summary of impartial verdicts; Golovin says, "The happiest day in the life of a Russian, is incontrovertibly that on which he journeys from Travemunde to Lubbeck. Nothing can be compared to his happiness."

The Russian is naturally good and mild, more so than other nations; this is a point which is generally conceded. He still retains something of his primitive barbarism, as he has already borrowed some of the defects of modern civilization; but he merits esteem more than respect, and if he does not decay before he is ripe (a puerile fear), he may in time rise high in public opinion. A bad and unhappily too common penchant of this people is that of cheating. Drunkenness is nowhere so common as in Russia. These two vices are attributed to his misery, precarious position, and above all lack of education. The Russian is pious, hospitable, and generous.

Speaking of corruption, Mr. Schnitzler observes—"On this head authors can never exhaust their subject, and the assertions of the Russians themselves are no less formal and condemnatory. In every age, the vice of corruption has been stigmatized even from the throne and the pulpit."

Having taken a broad view of Russian character, we shall examine the characteristics of Russian society:—

In Muscovy, as in France, society is so artificially constituted, that no enjoyment is to be reaped, save by violating its rules. A "*jeune personne*"—in other words, a spinster—is considered a mere cipher in society, danced with seldom, conversed with seldom, and under these circumstances anticipates her *mariage de convenance* as the period which is to begin that which it ought to terminate. From the day of her marriage she is responsible to no one, so that she do not shock propriety by the freedom of her conduct; while her husband is rather vexed than otherwise, if her personal advantages fail to procure her the particular attention of his own sex. "*Personne ne lui fait la cour*" is the most disparaging thing that can be said of a young wife. It is distressing to see the difference in a short interval from the modest girl to one whose expression and manners seem to say, that "Honesty coupled to beauty is to

* Section IV.

add honey-sauce to sugar.' Nor is it easy for a timid young woman endowed with domestic tastes, or marrying from choice, to stem the torrent of ridicule of those who would destroy others to vindicate themselves.

This social evil is seen in the more striking light from the total want of all intellectual tastes or literary topics. In other countries it is justly deplored that literature and education should be made the slaves of fashion,—how incomparably worse is it when they are proscribed by the same law! In other countries all fashion, as such, is condemned as evil—how infinitely worse it is where evil is the fashion! Here it is absolute bad taste to entertain a rational subject—more *podantry* to be caught upon any topics beyond costume, dancing, and a pretty foot. The superficial accomplishments are so sublimated as scarcely to deserve the name. Russia has no literature, or rather none to attract a frivolous woman; and politics, with all the chit-chat which the observations, machinery, &c., of a constitutional government bring more or less into every private family, it is needless to add, are tabooed. What is left then! Sad to relate, absolutely nothing for old and young, man and woman, save the analysis, discussion, appreciation, or criticism of *toilette*—varied by a little *cuisine*, and the empty twaddle called drawing-room wit. To own a carelessness or an ignorance on the matter of dress, further than a conventional and feminine compliance, would be to ruin your character alike with the gentlemen as with the ladies of the society; for the former, from some incomprehensible motive, will discuss a new neck-lace or a new dress with as much zest as if they had hopes of wearing it, and with as great accuracy of details as if they had served at a milliner's. It may appear almost incredible, but in Russia these externals so entirely absorb every thought, that the highest personage in the land, with the highest in authority under him, will meet and criticise a lady's head-dress, or even a lady's stays, with a relish and science as incomprehensible in them, to say the least, as the emulation of sporting slang in some of our own eccentric nobility. Whether in a state where individuals are weighed by every idle word, or rather where every idle word is actually pregnant with mischief, the decorations of the toilet, from their political innocuousness, are considered the least suspicious topic of conversation, we must leave undecided; but it is very certain that in high life at Petersburg, it would seem, from the prevailing tone of conversation, that nothing was reckoned more creditable than a pretty face and figure, or more important than the question how to dress it. Added to this dreary theme, it is the bad taste of the day to encourage indelicate language, which some affirm to result from the example of the court of Prussia, and which renders at times even the baubles of toilet or jewellery rather an acceptable change of subject.

There is more freedom in society at Moscow than at Petersburg, where in society the most guarded caution is both rendered necessary and invariably preserved. Speaking of the respect with which governesses in most families are treated in Russia, Colonel Cameron justly remarks, after saying, that one found an

honourable asylum and a cordial welcome at the home where her earlier days were passed in arduous and industrious employ, venerated as a second parent by its younger inmates, and regarded as a highly-cherished friend and relative by its seniors, "how might this very laudable and praiseworthy example, which is very general throughout Russia, be in some degree imitated in other countries, claiming a higher degree of civilization, where the description herein portrayed presents a picture sadly and painfully the reverse."

CHAPTER VI.

Character of social life in the Russian towns—The necessity of connexions—No public life—The hospitality of the Russians—Their mania for display—The general and his cellar—The value attached to Russian protestations—Barbarism—The Russian ladies—Theatres and censure—Ridiculous follies—The speculation of play.

WE shall next proceed to examine the different phases of Russian society, described by a popular French writer, who, having resided some time in Russia, has become familiarized with its virtues and defects, and whatever his errors, cannot be accused of a want of impartiality in pronouncing his judgments.

The complete absence of public life, particularly strikes a stranger, who passes some time in a Russian city. We find nowhere as with us, those assemblies and balls, which are frequented by crowds, and where one is able to penetrate the national character, through the free expression of overflowing feelings. In Russia, every thing gives way to etiquette; no one dares to take a step without being dressed in uniform.

Unhappy the stranger who arrives at St. Petersburg, or at Moscow, without letters of introduction. He would be compelled to languish in solitude, unless he allowed himself to be dragged by a miserable droschky, to get rid of his ennui, across deserted streets, or amongst monuments, curious, no doubt, but which, after all, soon exhaust curiosity or admiration.

In order to live, I will not say agreeably, but in a manner at all tolerable, in a Russian town, it is absolutely necessary to have *some acquaintances*. And that is easily attained; it is quite sufficient, if you are received by one family, to have a hundred others offering you their hands. Without any trouble on your part, invitations will pour in upon you like rain. The only way in which the Russians of the present day can be at all compared to their ancestors, is in regard to hospitality.

If a boyard is seen to keep open house and rejoice in the constant attendance of his guests, it is the exception. The most magnificent of them give their dinners on a fixed day. I knew a young lord who devoured in that way each Monday a part of his fortune. It happened once at his house that I was seated at dinner with eight companions, and I rose up for coffee with forty. Of course those things must be foreseen, so that in case of need the cooks of the Amphitryon may exceed themselves.

Finally, even among these *extra* grandees, we must be on the alert to discover any of the generous and disinterested instincts of the ancient Muscovite hospitality: most frequently it is pure speculation. They speak of themselves, create patrons for themselves, and attain their end.

The mania of ostentation is so natural to the Russians, that it is found even amongst those who are the most reluctant to incur the expenses. If you are presented to a Russian he will load you with politeness, he will shake you heartily by the hand, he will even embrace you; above all, he will not fail to tell you that he reckons on your assiduities, and that the greatest pleasure you can afford him will be to consider his house and table as your own. How many times during my first residence in Russia was I not thoroughly deceived by these kind attentions! very shortly I became less unreserved.

Once having been introduced to General X——, I was overwhelmed with the most flattering courtesies; one would have said by the manner by which he treated me, that our meeting realized for him one of the brightest dreams of his life. He conducted me across his saloons, introduced me to his company, and whilst placing everything before me, seemed to say, "This is yours!" He kept me that day to dinner.

At table the compliments were redoubled; at the end of half an hour the Russian general had arrived at a degree of intimacy with me which in France would not have happened for long years. He told me, that since I intended to prolong my residence in his country, he expected that I should accept his hospitality only, and that he wished me to dine at his table at least four times a week; and in order, no doubt, to seal the sincerity of his declarations, he added, that he had a perfect cellar, and that he should engage me to taste successively each of his wines, in order that I might fix my choice upon the one I should wish generally to drink.

This last engagement appeared to me singularly liberal. I resolved not to forget it. At the second dinner the general executed his promise: at the third he hesitated somewhat; at the fourth nothing more was said about it. I recalled to him his promise.

"General," said I, smiling, "I thought your cellar a much richer one than it is."

"Ah! pardon me, pardon me!"

And immediately a bottle of excellent Bordeaux appeared on the table.

But it may be easily imagined that it would have been rather inconvenient to play the same comedy over at every dinner. I left the general quiet; henceforth I was contented like the rest of the guests with kwass, with beer, and with brandied sherry, which figures principally at every Muscovite banquet.

I heard afterwards that this general, who acted his part so awkwardly with the civilized man, thrashed his soldiers to an excess, imposed on those he employed, and robbed the government. In contrast to this, he went to church, where he used genuflections without number, and spoke with his hat pulled down and eyes on the ground of his Majesty the Emperor Nicholas, of his Imperial

Highness the Grand Duke Constantine, and his highness the Prince Menschikoff.

If you would live happily in Russia, or at any rate sheltered from deceptions, it is absolutely necessary to avoid receiving any protestations that are made to you as serious; it is a coin of which the Russians are too prodigal for it to be considered genuine. Besides, when you attach a certain price to politeness, it is natural to respond to it. This is the rock of stumbling: misery to any one who is over polite to a Russian! A slave himself in spite of all his elegance, he could not understand any of your feelings, or rather, he would take it for servility, and he will treat you accordingly. If you wish to be respected by a Russian, be cold—even arrogant; he will think you a superior man. It is sad to be compelled to say this, but it is true.

In France, we judge the Russians very falsely. Because we see them in our saloons conforming to our manners, to our ideas, and to our refinements, we think them our equals. It is all nothing. Follow them to their own country, penetrate into the domestic sanctuary, live their life—I defy you, even if you had the least susceptible mind possible, to be able to bear it more than a month. At first you would feel an indescribable uneasiness, a heavy annoyance; then will come clashings of interests, vexations; at last the day will come, when you tear yourself violently away from these great perfumed lords, throwing in their faces this terrible judgment: You are barbarians!

I have lived too long amongst the Russians, and have suffered too much from my contact with them, not to have acquired the right to judge them. This, then, is the impression they have left on me. A noble Fin said to me one day, "I have lived thirty years in Russia, and I cannot reckon one friend." In fact the title of friend is unknown amongst the Russians; it does not exist even in their language; they only use the term acquaintance, *gnakome*. When you see a stranger determine to remain on Muscovite soil, be certain that he is chained by interest. His fortune once made, he hastens to fly towards other lands. However, it would be unjust to require this appreciation to be taken as absolute and without appeal. In Russia, as elsewhere, there are exceptions, very noble ones; I have myself met some whose memory is dear to me; and had I not resolved to avoid individualizing, I might cite here names which might do honour to the most civilized circles. But still the brilliancy of the exceptions does not overwhelm the rule! An excellent way of avoiding being disenchanted of the Russians, is to fly from all intimacy with them, and to meet them only in their saloons. It is there they shine, and are masters. In a saloon, in fact, everything consists in appearance. Those who succeed the best are the best comedians. The palm is yours if you salute with grace; if you dance with elegance; if from time to time you make some sparkling repartée, or some witty sally. The Russians excel at this game; but do not require anything more of them. But notwithstanding this there are some more solid qualities to be found in them. Here, however, I have especially to plead the cause of the ladies.

French writers assert that the Russian ladies are incomparably superior to their husbands. For the most part educated, they know well how to display their instruction with infinite grace. I do not know a more seductive pleasure than to hang upon the words of a beautiful Muscovite princess whilst relating certain travels, or the court festivals.

It is a radiance of exquisite language, of delicate observations, of unexpected applications, but full of justice. And then what joyous animation, what charming *laissez-aller*! If there is anything of intelligent civilization in Russia, it is certainly amongst the women.

The Russian ladies speak our language with perfect purity; they also give it a sort of new originality by a certain melodious chant which only belongs to them, and by spontaneous sprinkling of exotic expressions with which they enamel it at pleasure. They are quite epicurean with regard to our literature. Certain boyards still hold to Pigault Lebrun and to Paul de Kock. These are their pillars of Hercules with respect to French literature. The Russian ladies have long since passed this limit; all our authors are known to them. They even carry their worship too far, and we might reproach them for doing honour in their boudoirs to names which the pens of our critics have never recognised, and whom we little care to know. It is also the privilege of the Russian ladies to control the fêtes and spectacles, of which the societies of the saloons of St. Petersburg and Moscow are so lavish. Nothing can equal the luxury which is displayed on such occasions. I have assisted at domestic theatricals, and at tableaux vivants, which might have caused envy to the most intelligent and lavish of our fashionables. Would to God that the Russian ladies were also called to fix the standard plays of the imperial theatres! We certainly should not see there all those anomalies—all those misconstructions—which distinguish the taste of the general who has the right of administering them. It would be difficult to form an idea of the pieces which figure, for example, in the Michael theatre, of St. Petersburg. If some drama, some ballad, should spring up at Paris, strongly marked with local colouring, and consequently intelligible only to the Parisians, it is immediately taken possession of. The public understand nothing about it, but what does that matter? The director, who arrives from Paris, comprehends all. Who, then, would dare to criticise his choice? If the Russian ladies had a voice in the council, actors and actresses would not then probably, as happens at the present time, every day be thrown out of their natural part. Have I not seen Madame Plessy transformed into Agnes? This is almost a parody. We must add, also, that at the theatre, as almost everywhere else, censorship—*Russian* censorship—is sovereign. It is very difficult to escape from its mutilations. Happy only is the director if he succeeds in saving his own responsibility from the follies which they impose on him! There might be a great deal said on this chapter. Could one imagine that, at St. Petersburg, the four first acts of *Ernani* are forbidden? They only play the fifth. Figure to yourself then the spectators coming suddenly into the middle of the fifth act,

which is so touching, so dramatic, and the actors obliged to work themselves up at once to the height of so many passions—of so much frenzy. Singular logic of Russian censorship, which invites men to violate its decisions by the very act itself which it employs to display it. At any rate, if it has not to do with a stupid audience, is it not in fact evident that, to develope the enigma of the fifth act, which it is permitted to see, it will read the four first acts that are prohibited? Do you know an opera of Auber's, entitled *Fenella*? No. Well, it is the *Dumb Girl of Portici*, under another name and form.

A polite Frenchman says, that the esteem which is inspired by the Russian ladies is increased, inasmuch as they give interest and variety to a life which, without them, would be disagreeable monotony. What conversation can be carried on in the Russian saloons? A difficult question. — Science?—it is very tedious. Art?—it is very professional. Politics?—Oh! horror! Literature?—but the allusions. Thus the men abdicate. The ladies alone do not lose courage, and raise the gauntlet. With what skill do they fertilize their narrow parterre, and how out of nothing do they succeed in making something! We say, also, that even upon the most dangerous subjects they can allow themselves such boldness as could rarely be excused in the other sex. Notwithstanding, however, their good intentions, the really interesting saloons which they succeed in forming are very thinly attended at St. Petersburg and at Moscow. In spite of them, gaming draws the men away. Yes; in almost all the houses of the two capitals, and for a stronger reason in the towns of the provinces, they play, and they play frantically. Scarcely have you entered a saloon and have taken the friendly cup of tea, than already your place is marked at a table of whist, or of *preference*. Whether you wish it or not you must sit there. I know some Russians who, if you refused, would treat you as a revolutionist. In Russia, he who does not play is a conspirator. Play is, besides, an excellent speculation for many a great lord who receives; and this is the reason. It is the custom in Russia never to make more than one round with the same pack of cards. At the beginning of each round they take a new pack, and on receiving them from the hands of the domestic charged with this office, they give him the price of the preceding, that is, according to the rate generally fixed on, a rouble (four francs). That money is placed in a trunk, to be distributed to the men servants; but if that distribution really takes place in the houses which receive but little, it is not thus in those where the tables for play are numerous. In such a case the master first deducts a portion, which he appropriates to himself. Suppose then, a case which commonly occurs at St. Petersburg, a house where there are twenty, twenty-five, even to thirty, tables of play, and from the beginning of the evening till supper-time they have made five or six rounds, or even more, you will easily find a produce from the cards of a sum of from 125 to 150 roubles, that is, from 5 to 600 francs. We can easily comprehend, therefore, why certain Russian noblemen, even of problematical fortune, so often renew their soirées.

CHAPTER VII.

Popular fêtes in Russia—Blessing of the waters of the Neva—Procession of Saint Alexander Newsky—Presence of the Emperor—Sentiments of the people—The carnival—Easter—Great ball at the winter palace—Gloom of the Russian fêtes—The principle of joy is wanting—Masked balls and lordly soirées.

WHAT we call public life is totally unknown in the Russian cities. This accounts, as M. de Custine says, for our never seeing a crowd. Still there are certain times of the year when these cities expand themselves to the most pompous and popular solemnities. Movement then succeeds to calm, noise to silence. The streets, usually so deserted, are filled with tumultuous masses; all heads are turned.

Amongst these solemnities, we must first mention the religious. What can be more imposing than the blessing of the waters of the Neva, on the day of the Epiphany! A magnificent octagon temple rises on the surface of the river, opposite the winter palace. In the centre of this temple, a large opening made in the ice affords a view of the water. A cannon-shot gives the signal. A long procession is then seen emerging from the palace, composed of the Archbishop and his clergy, the high dignitaries of the court, pages, officers of the guard, and followed by the Emperor, surrounded by the members of his family. Every one is in full uniform, and bare-headed. Whilst the procession proceeds towards the temple the crowd rushes in disorder, and soon the banks of the Neva, and the Neva itself, are lost to view, covered with the dense mass. It is fortunate that at this period the ice of the river is five or six feet deep. The ceremony commences. A solemn silence enables the prayers of the Archbishop, and the melodious response of the court choristers, to be heard. At last, the prelate takes the cross and plunges it in the water, which rages at his feet. The cannon then roars anew. The Emperor tastes the water, which is consecrated, in a golden cup that he receives from the hands of the clergy; after which, he returns in silence to the palace. From this moment the people have the coast clear; they precipitate themselves with frenzy towards the temple, carrying pitchers to be filled with the holy water. It is a struggle, a tumultuous crowding, a *pêle-mêle* which it is impossible to describe. Some individuals even plunge into the river; mothers bathe their children in it. I have mentioned also to what extreme the Russians carry out the fanaticism and ridicule of these superstitions.

Another religious fête, which also produces an excitement in the crowd, is the fête of Saint Alexander Newsky, at St. Petersburg. All the clergy of the city go in procession from the church of Kasan to the monastery of the saint, which is about a mile distant from it, upon a road constructed of wood for the occasion. The Emperor follows the procession, as on the day of the Epiphany, and with him the court and great officers of the crown. It is a splendid sight. The people on their side go along with the

cortège, murmuring prayers, and making vigorous signs of the cross. But, in the midst of these marks of devotion, that which mostly occupies their attention, is, neither the saint, nor his ministers, it is the Emperor. Gossoudar! Gossoudar!* they cry on all sides. What then is a saint, even a saint Alexander Newsky, in the eyes of the Russian people, in comparison with its autocrat? I shall say nothing of the Easter fêtes; other authors have sufficiently described them. But I shall call to mind those of the Carnival, that fortnight of delirium, when the Muscovites prelude an excessive fast by the most intemperate orgies. I shall also recall to mind the two great annual reviews of the Imperial Guard, the most magnificent military spectacle that can possibly be conceived, and the most tumultuously frequented. And lastly, that *strange* ball of the first day of the year, when the saloons of the winter palace remain open to whoever may wish to enter, and where the Czar becomes host to the whole empire. In all these solemnities, there is certainly a very decided popular expression, and the stranger finds matter for more than one curious observation. For myself I confess they have always left on me a sad impression. That which gives the charm to religious fêtes is, the pious enthusiasm of souls, the fervour of a common adoration. Nothing of that kind exists in Russia; you see there a people mechanically twisting their bodies and arms to make genuflexions, prostrations, and signs of the cross; but there exists no principle in them which spiritualizes this gymnastic exterior. As to the profane amusements, the joy which they give is not more sincere. It appears, it is true, to emanate from themselves, but it is of that kind which the negro feels when his irons are broken for a moment; he trembles for a liberty which seems already to have escaped him. Besides, the Russian people never enjoy fully those occasional felicities till they have drowned in brandy the very last vestige of any human feeling which may animate them. By what name then can we qualify their exultation?

After those fêtes or ceremonies, to which the people are invited in mass, there follow other amusements of as general an interest, but exclusively reserved for a select public. Of this number are the sights already mentioned, and amongst them especially that of the great opera of St. Petersburg, where the government of the Emperor expends exorbitant sums. Our most splendid representations would appear very insignificant, compared with a gala-spectacle presided by the autocrat. We must add the winter masked balls to the pleasures of the theatre. These balls take place at St. Petersburg, in the opera room, and in that of the assembly of the noblesse. The Emperor shows himself there very assiduous, and is treated as a common mortal. But notwithstanding such a brilliant assembly, these meetings appear cold and forced; though veiling yourself under an incognito, etiquette does not the less bind up all hearts.

It is the same thing with regard to the state soireés which the great nobles give amongst themselves. We ought to read over again

* "Lord! Lord!"

the *Thousand and One Nights*, to form an idea of the luxury which they display. There is an incredible profusion of wax lights and flowers everywhere, flowers forced in hot-houses at an almost fabulous expense. Who could estimate also the cost of the buffets with their delicate refreshments, their savoury meats, their vessels of champagne, at 20 francs a bottle? But that which astonishes the stranger who is invited to those soirées the most, is the multitude of lackeys in livery. In some houses you may reckon three or four hundred. Such are in fact the habits of the Russian nobles. They cannot live without being surrounded by a number of servants unheard of in other countries.

This does not prevent them from being the worst served people in the world. It is true those domestics are no call upon their purses, for the most part they are serfs, and receive little or nothing. In solemn receptions, the Russian nobles have an extraordinary number of livery servants, which they are allowed to multiply as they choose. These men are recruited from amongst those of their serfs, who have been allowed to leave the land and establish themselves in the towns which they inhabit. Whatever trade or profession they exercise, they are not the less at the mercy of their master, and must hold themselves ready to obey his call; it is the steward or the *staroste* (elder) who is charged with the care. On the day fixed, all these occasional lackeys, take from their bag the gold and silver laced coat which they always keep in reserve, and hasten, vying with each other, to ornament by their presence the lordly soirée. The next morning, if you visit the magazines of the City, you are not a little surprised to see the stuffs which you saw the night before poured out your tea or presented you with sherbet. Thus it is with everything in Russia, ephemeral parade, deceptive dazzle; and this is why, although in the midst of wonders scattered around you, you feel ill at ease and sad; what worse joy can there be than that of a society, which does violence to, and vivanizes itself.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Russian employés—Their character—Their venality—The passion for theft amongst the Russians is attached to the national character—Also to the despotism of the Government—The Pope and the Russian soldier—Appropriations by the Emperor Nicholas—The corruption of justice—The police, the thieves, and the theft.

In the Russian cities you meet, everywhere, a certain class of men, who, when you undertake the smallest official proceeding rush upon you like a cloud of vultures. These men are the employés, *Tschinorniks*. Truly men of two faces: on one side holding with the people from whom they come, and on the other with the noblesse among whom they begin to enter: they represent these two orders in all that is most vicious and degrading. Gross and ignorant, they nevertheless affect a haughty pride—an insulting self-sufficiency. They consider themselves worthy of all respect

when once they are dressed in their green or blue uniform; and there are no words abusive enough for them to cast at you, if in the corridor or the antechamber of a ministerial department you happen to forget to salute their armorial buttons or their ticketed cap.

But of all the vices which characterize the Russian employé, the deepest, the most rooted, is venality. And here, it would perhaps be difficult to find an exception. From the highest to the lowest step of the administrative ladder, theft displays its audacity. That high functionary who has a salary of a hundred thousand roubles, makes two millions; another, who receives only the salary of a lackey, rolls in his carriage. The Emperor Alexander said: "If my employés could rob me of my teeth whilst I was asleep, without awaking me, they would not hesitate." Thus he renounced the idea of curing the evil. The Emperor Nicholas, on his part, pursues the ill-disposed with excessive rigour—he makes most terrible examples. But what good is this? The mass escape him; the effect which he desires to produce is nothing. When a general is degraded to a common soldier, an admiral to a sailor, they say, "What fools to allow themselves to be taken!"

"The administrative corruption in Russia," said a writer who resided there some time, and who appreciated its morals with remarkable sagacity, "is no secret to any one in Europe. The immorality of the Russian functionaries in their official capacity become everywhere proverbial." Nevertheless, it is impossible to conceive the depth of the evil, or to what extent it has perverted the national morals. The stranger who would undertake to reveal it would not be believed, if he spoke in his own name, and had not the authentic avowals of the authorities, and the frank confessions of the nation herself. But on this point there are abundant documents. The authorities, so habitually discreet, have betrayed themselves in these later years by bursts of extreme passion, which have placed before the public singular confessions. In one case, it is the supreme judgment, an autocratic sentence, which degrades and condemns to the icy colony of Siberia, generals declared guilty of having left expeditionary columns to perish for want, for whose maintenance a superabundant supply had been granted (*affaire General Trichatné*, 1849). In another, there is a condemnation by the Superior Tribunals, which smites a general, decorated with several orders, for having detained in his hands the funds destined for the opening of a road, of which a representation had scarcely yet been made (case of *Devines*). Yet higher, in the regions of the Court, very melancholy enlightenments burst forth at the end of a process commenced by strangers, obstinate in their desire for justice; and an exalted personage, and an old confidant of the monarch, is constrained to give up his functions under the most overwhelming weight of accusations.

Lately, again, the *Journal of St. Petersburg*, an official journal, let Europe into the secret of a knavish trick of the old school, the details of which are singularly characteristic (case of *Politorsky*, April, 1853). At St. Petersburg, during twelve or fourteen years, nothing had been thought of but brilliant fêtes

and grand dinners given by the Director-General of the Cash-office of the Invalids. This functionary had nothing but his office to make him illustrious; but a splendid hospitality in Russia is sufficient to obtain the right of being ranked amongst the aristocracy: our Director-General then saw the best society. As a responsible agent, he had to render in his accounts; but who would have dared to show himself exigent towards a man surrounded by the highest consideration, and whose resentment might be dangerous? Besides, he only met his Inspectors at table; and it was between the dinner and the desert that they proceeded to the auditing of the accounts. There was good reason for the Inspectors seeing double. Thus no defect was perceived. Things went on very smoothly. They continued thus for fourteen years; but one day the Director-General, pushed to the end of his expedients, died suddenly. It was necessary to examine his administration; and this time (the deceased was no longer there with his good dinners) they looked accurately into his figures. There was a tremendous deficiency. It must have been a most amusing comedy to have seen those excellent Inspectors discovering, whilst fasting, the vices of a book-keeping in which, after drinking, they had found always an exact balance.

Literature, though generally affected by a slavish imitation of foreigners upon this point, and oppressed by a rigid censorship, often gives utterance to truth in her pictures of national manners. When a defect is in some measure inherent, and so excessive as to amount to a deformity, what painter, however much of the courtier he may be, would dare completely to dissimulate? The Russians have certainly a vast deal of national self-love, and the most intrepid desire to flatter themselves; but the intensity of certain social vices is such amongst them, that they have not attempted to conceal:—some even, better inspired by their patriotism, have made themselves the denouncers of their country, in their own persons.

In the number of these generous spirits, and first in merit, is the satirist, Gogol, whom death ravished lately from the admiration and hope of his compatriots. This writer, of whom the French had known nothing till now, except through some newspaper notices, was a moralist of the Balzac School,—not so minute an artist as he in form, but as penetrating an observer, and a painter not less bold. No one has ever better understood his own country; has more clearly seen its vices, or described them with more sincerity and more energy. The most common, and in his eyes the most odious, of these vices, and the one he follows up with the greatest ardour and persistency, is the corrupt administration. In his romances as well as his dramas, there is no truce with the functionaries. He regards them all as rogues who ought to be exposed to the light.

"This opinion, however exaggerated it may appear, would be that of any one who had lived some time in Russia, and had been in contact with the agents of power. The Russians do not exercise any feelings of delicacy in public affairs, as is the case in other countries. Certainly, a respect for propriety is not unknown to

them as a moral feeling; but between robbing and taking advantage of a place, they make a distinction which our morals do not admit of. *To take* (it is the verb to appropriate, *vzimat*) is not more dishonourable in a Russian Cabinet, than to *pilfer* in one of our public schools. Men there, as children here, deceive their consciences with words. This iniquitous jurisprudence has acquired the strength of customary law, and has admitted all the acts of civil life to a reasoning as abominable as it is vexatious. Still, such is the power of an absolute and inveterate custom, that no one is indignant at it; and an employé loses nothing in the public esteem from having fattened himself at his post: a different conduct might even draw upon him contempt."

The administrator himself does not complain, if he be not clipped too closely; and he would not hesitate to call that man a fool, whose functions enabled him to appropriate to himself some mousy, and he abstained from some silly idea of honesty.

We may be permitted to cite here an anecdote which is almost personal.

"One of our friends, of French origin, and heir to our moral traditions, was connected with the direction of a museum. One morning he received a visit from a carpenter who had made two cases for the collections, and who, after having announced himself, presented thirty roubles.

"What is this?" said the assistant-director, in the surly tone which was natural to him,—as yet little accustomed to the practices of Russian administration.

"It is very little, your honour," replied the frightened artisan, but it is indeed all I can give you. Only see: I received two hundred roubles for the two cases. I gave fifty to the guardian, ten to the clerks of the office, and five to the porters. Add these thirty to it, and little more than one hundred remains to me; and it is true the cases cost me that."

"Go to the devil with your thirty roubles, and the rascals who divide them with you," replied our friend.

"The workman went out stupefied and almost scandalized; he could not understand how a sensible man, and one said to be learned, could refuse such money. When once he saw the motive of this refusal, he put the notes into his pocket with a smile of deriding satisfaction, and he was heard to murmur, in a half whisper, — '*Ghè Kè dourah!* (Ah! the fool)!"

How is such a monstrous perversity possible?

A Finish juriconsult, named Calonius, was smoking one day; leaning on his window-cill, his long pipe lost its balance and tumbled into the street. Suddenly a person, who was passing, took up the pipe, and went off with it. Calonius, without troubling himself, took a cigar and resumed his smoking.

Two or three weeks after this adventure, the governor of the town in which the juriconsult resided, gave a great *soirée*. Calonius was invited. In the middle of the *soirée*, taking it into his head to smoke, he went into the governor's private apartment, where several smokers were already at work. A servant offers him a pipe; but, instead of taking it, Calonius remains immovable.

with his eyes fixed on another pipe in the hand of one of his neighbours.

"What are you looking at so intently?" said the governor to him.

"Why, faith, general, I am looking at that pipe, and I will tell you frankly—if it were not *yours*, I should say it was mine."

"How is that?"

Calonius relates all that happened.

"But I bought it," replied the governor, "of one of my aides de-camp."

The aide-de-camp was called. He had bought it of an officer, —he of a serjeant; and in short going from hand to hand, they arrived at the first thief,—that is to say, *the thief*, who was a Russian soldier.

"Well," said the governor to Calonius, "the thief is discovered, —you are jurisconsult, pronounce the sentence."

"It is useless!"

"How! why useless?"

"He is not guilty."

"Not guilty!"

"No; he is a Russian,—it is the national character."

Thus, then, venality—the passion for thieving amongst the Russians—is a national characteristic.

Such, without doubt, will be the opinion of those who have studied Russia as profoundly and as closely as the Finnish jurisconsult did whom we have just cited. But there is another principle added to it which gives a new force, and which, as long as it exists, will form an invincible obstacle to its amendment. This second principle is despotism. When a nation, under an empire arbitrary without bounds, sees continually only the horrible sword of Damocles suspended above its head, and feels that it is neither sure of itself or of what it possesses, that spirit of preservation, which arises in free nations, is transformed into the most unbridled passions. Dreading hourly either deprecation or dupery, not only does the slave cling with despair to that which he has, but aspires, without ceasing, and by every possible means, to a new prey, in order thereby to find means for a compensation for that which might be ravished from him.

Such is the normal state which Russia presents. Who, then, in this country, even under the sceptre of the Emperor Nicholas, has not trembled for property which he has obtained by labour or purchase? Does not despotism corrupt the finest characters, and is it not able capriciously to reduce to practice the adage repeated by the Muscovites—*All is for God and the Sovereign!* Here is a fact:—

In 1845 or 1846, there was a large domain to be sold at St. Petersburg, belonging to a proscribed Princess. It was proposed to the Emperor, and in order to determine him to buy it, they observed to him, that this domain, being close to the Crown property, it would be easy to unite them. The Emperor refuses. The domain is then put up to auction, and falls to the share of one of the greatest families of the empire, which pays a part of the price, and fulfils all the other formalities which are necessary to finish the purchase.

The Emperor thinks better of the affair:—

"What is become," he asks, "of the domain of the Princess
* * *?"

"It is sold."

"What!—sold?"

"Yes, Sire."

"They have been in a great hurry. Who has bought it?"

"The Countess * * *."

"Very well. I wish to buy it. * * * Let the agreement
be broken!"

"But the agreements are signed—the domain is almost paid
for."

"Let them destroy the agreements and restore the money!"

What can resist the Autocrat? It was done as he had com-
manded. The Countess, being ousted, departed for Moscow, dis-
appointed.

This arbitrary power, with which the Emperor can smite all his
subjects generally, each chief can exert in the peculiar circle of his
functionaries, and this amongst his inferiors, and so on through all
degrees. There is a perpetual *qui vive* throughout the empire, or,
rather, it is outrageous war—a dark struggle, in which each indi-
vidual invested with the smallest degree of power attempts to
strike the hardest blows and carry off the most booty. The field
in which venality and corruption flourish, where the genius of theft
is practised with the most shameless audacity and with the
most scandalous profits, is that of justice. Oral pleading no
longer exists. All passes in darkness. The parties are deli-
vered fettered to the tribunals, who dispose of them according
to their caprice, and without control. For them a process is
not a question of right, it is an affair of interest and specula-
tion. This is the plan of acting:—There is a certain number
of individuals attached to each judicial court of the empire,
who are called scribes, or advocates, but who are considered
amongst the judges and the parties only as *middle men*. These
individuals begin by measuring the relative power of the parties
who present themselves. Amongst those, there is always one who
has such confidence in his own right, that he considers all sacrifice
superfluous in order to succeed. He is put aside and the other is
addressed. Naturally this one does not show himself very diffi-
cult; he accepts all the conditions which the agents, conjointly
with the judges, choose to impose on him. Thus the sentence of
the first court will generally do him justice. Then follows the
surprise of the adverse party, and the demand for a second judg-
ment. The middle men then change their plan of attack, turning
towards the defendant. But here what obstacles arise! it is a
question of annulling a judgment already given—the conditions
become harder. The defendant does not object; he gives all *they*
demand, and gains the second court. The first victim furiously
refuses, in his turn, to acquiesce in this second judgment. The
affair is brought before the Senate. But how few pleaders are
rich or courageous enough to carry them through this new career!

You must observe that I have here only described the Russian
procedure in its most elementary step. An affair pleaded through

all its stages, passes, as we have already said, by eleven courts, which it is necessary to name here—1st. The Tribunal of Districts; 2nd. The Chamber, or Tribunal of Government; 3rd. One of the Departments of the Senate; 4th. The Procureur-General of the Department of the Senate; 5th. The Commission of Requests to transfer the affair to the General Assembly of the Senate; 6th. The General Assembly of the Senate; 7th. The Minister of Justice and his Council of Consultation; 8th. The Commission of Requests for transferring the affair to the Council of the Empire; 9th. The Department of the Council of the Empire; 10th. The General Assembly of the Council of the Empire; 11th. The Emperor. Imagine what a fortune would be necessary, and he who had the courage to go through would leave his rags on the thorns of the long, ungrateful, and bristling road.

This disgraceful venality of the tribunals of the empire is one of the great vexations of Nicholas. From time to time he exiles judges in Siberia—he removes senators; but, I repeat it, the evil still follows its course. Very lately the Emperor, seized with the deepest indignation, owing to some fresh discoveries, caused one of his most intimate favourites to be called before him.

“What must be done,” said he, “to prevent these judges from thieving?”

“Sire, it is difficult to say.”

“But, after all!—”

“If their appointments were increased, it might be possible to arrive at some results.”

“I will try it.”

And immediately the Emperor commands that certain individuals whom he designates be removed, and that to those by whom they are succeeded should be given, in silver roubles, that which was given to their predecessors in roubles of paper money—that is, that they quadruple nearly their appointments.

What, think you, was the effect of this measure! Instead of paying their justices in paper roubles, the new titularies* made them pay them in silver roubles. Was not Peter the Great right when he said “that a single Russian was a match for three Jews?” From justice to the police there is but one step. Generally speaking, in the cities of Europe the police protects—in Russia they torment and take advantage of you. Tighten your purse strings, and keep your doors locked, you who visit Russia. There is no sort of help here against thieves! Have they taken any treasure from you? Grieve over it. If you attack their proceedings, they will annoy and impose on you without mercy, and you will get nothing. It is extremely rare for the Russian police to interfere with robbers. Do they understand one another? I dare not affirm it, but I have often heard it said.

I knew at St. Petersburg a foreign medical man, who had in his service the most insolent and idle valet possible. One morning, after a violent quarrel, his master left to pay his visit to the hospital in which he practised; what was his surprise, when on his re-

* A man of condition in Russia.

turn he found the valet and all his furniture gone! He went to the porter. He declares that he saw nothing and knows nothing of the affair. It was quite impossible to get any other information. The doctor came to me for hospitality.

"Well," said I, "what do you mean to do?"

"I?—nothing. Those miserable wretches understand each other. I should lose my time, my trouble, and my money."

At the end of a month I received an invitation to dinner from the same doctor. He received me in a newly-furnished apartment, but his servant was a Frenchman, and the house he inhabited had no porter.

CHAPTER IX.

THE AUTHOR'S VERDICT ON THE RUSSIAN CHARACTER.

AFTER the foregoing extracts, it is desirable that we should sum up and pronounce a general judgment on the leading features of the national character.

And first, it is evident to all versed in history, that the Slavonians in general and the Russians in particular, are no ordinary people. It would be idle to deny that in the cabinet and in the field they have exhibited great ability and undeniable bravery. Though their present position and past history present serious and gloomy defects, yet their vices, as their virtues, are of no common proportions. There is little of pettiness about this people. The excesses of their nobles and the peculation of their functionaries are on a colossal scale, and the intoxication of the serfs runs into the same extreme.

Such a people, however faulty, cannot be contemptible.

Again, their industry, dexterity, and subtlety are undeniable; and if we commence from the Czar, and descend to the moujik, we find Peter the Great distancing all competition in the energy of his will and the industry of his life, and the ingenuity of the moujik is superior to that of most races, whilst he assuredly has greater shrewdness than the Jew. It was the opinion of Napoleon that, after the French, the Russians are the best troops on the continent, and their bravery in battle and accidents is attested on the best authority.

Though the accounts of their physical development are very conflicting, it is evident that Russia produces a great number of fine men, and though the women are commonly plain, when beautiful their loveliness is represented as uncommon.

Many circumstances in their history appear to prove that they are a gloomy, sanguinary, and vindictive race; and it cannot be denied that when their passions are roused, their wrath is terrible. Yet the character of the people appears commonly to be remarkable for gentleness and courtesy, and even when overcome with excessive intoxication, they do not exhibit the ferocity of other nations, but a ridiculous tenderness and affection. Indeed, it is evident

that only a very docile, obedient, and orderly race would have submitted to the terrible despotism of many of its rulers. Among their other virtues, we must also reckon their great devotedness to their country, and loyalty to their emperor, whom they justly regard as the best though often mistaken friend of his country and people.

But though the Russians are distinguished for many advantages, a just criticism requires us to expose serious defects among them. Their ingenuity is apt to degenerate into deceitfulness, their obedience to servility, and in no country is the dignity of man so little appreciated as in Muscovy.

Their valour in the field is often developed into cruelty, and their skill in the cabinet into duplicity and intrigue.

Though clever and witty, their acquirements and their intelligence are commonly superficial; and though externally pious and profuse in the expression of religious feeling, they are too commonly deficient in all higher spirituality.

In short, a crass materialism still weighs heavily on this historical people, which has become the expression of brute force in opposition to the intellectual vigour of Western Europe.

Unfortunately, Russia still retains many of the worst features of barbarism; whilst it has borrowed only the lowest characteristics of civilization. Hence, it is at once a formidable foe and a dangerous friend.

With regard to its probable future, we have to remark that through the genius of the great Peter, it has taken some important steps in the way of progress; but that Nicholas having evidently perceived the defects attaching to his great ancestor, and appreciated his error in mutilating the national character, has been engaged in the difficult and laudable task of civilizing Russia out of its own elements, instead of thrusting upon it uncongenial decorations:

In no instance has the present Czar shown his superiority of mind more clearly than in this endeavour, but the task is gigantic. So unnatural is the present position of the Empire, and so deeply rooted is the corruption and venality of all grades, that it requires the labour of Hercules to clean this Augean stable.

Nor has Nicholas always shown invariable wisdom in his efforts to improve his country. The oppression of Poland has always been injurious to Russian advancement: and the severe censorship on literature, the persecution of authors, and the depression of the nobility, must exert an unfavourable influence on the progress of his empire. But the greatest fault that he appears to have committed is his cherishing so many and such ambitious projects of encroachment, with a territory already overgrown and uncultivated, and so much to do to reclaim and cultivate his present possessions. The future of Russia is in a great measure an unsolved and insoluble problem. Thus much, however, may be safely pronounced respecting it, that if the Muscovite government endeavour to extend its encroachments much more, it will lose its unity and fall to pieces like the Mogul Empires of Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, and that of the Cæsars. In possession of the Bosphorus, Russia would

expire in the Eastern Empire. In possession of the Sound, Scan dinavia or Germany would supersede Muscovy, and the Romanoff would dissolve in the Holstein-Gottorps. Some have strongly criticised the imprudence of Peter in founding his capital in Finland, and in removing it from Moscow, the heart and focus of Russian life and feeling.

We feel disposed to coincide in this judgment, and though we should far from approve of a return to the old Tartar barbarism of Peter's times, we feel convinced that if Russia as such is to become a great and a glorious country, she must awake to a sense of her own dignity, and not seek to veil its insignificance or her deformity under borrowed plumes. Instead of extending her frontier, she would do well, like Trajan, to withdraw not only behind the Danube, but also the Vistula and the Kouban, and to cultivate and people the magnificent territory that has been given to her by Providence.

With the finest water communication in the world, after China and North America, and an unlimited extent of steppe, affording an admissible field for agricultural campaigns, with excellent ports in the south and north of the empire, and noble capabilities for a wine-growing district in the Crimea and Georgia, she possesses enviable advantages in the finest regions of the earth. The Oural and the Altai supply her with abundant treasures; and, in short, Providence has been so bountiful to her, that she only requires to develop her resources peacefully and steadily, in order to obtain a moral and physical superiority over most regions of the earth.

Thus, instead of blighting her neighbours with the curse of war, and retarding her own improvement by draining herself of men and resources, she would become an honour to herself, a blessing to others, and an ornament to the world.

By encouraging science, and profiting by its victories and achievements to promote the commercial and agricultural prosperity of the empire, light would speedily enter and irradiate through this Northern region, and bring in its train the glories and the treasures of a solid civilization.

Such a consummation would be a triumph worthy of the Autocrat of all the Russias, and hand down the name of Nicholas to the gratitude of the latest posterity; whilst his imperial majesty would have the satisfaction of hearing himself hailed as a second Augustus.



SECTION III.—THE CHURCH—THE ARMY—COMMERCE,
AND THE LANGUAGE—GENERAL VIEW.

CHAPTER I.

THE RUSSO-GREEK CHURCH.

THE occasion of the present crisis in the East is nominally and superficially attributable to the Eastern church and Eastern Christians, though it is substantially and fundamentally connected with the selfish and secular policy of the cabinet of St. Petersburg, and the earliest political aspirations of the Grand Dukes of Muscovy. This being the case, it may be thought a work of some importance to analyze the origin and structure of the Eastern churches, and see if that claim of affiliation and protectorship over the sepulchre, the Greek church, and Byzantium, is of apostolic or rational foundation.

Ascending to early times, and analyzing the spiritual character of the Slavonian tribes in pre-Christian ages, we find that "amongst their numerous divinities, the most illustrious is Swaute-vil, the idol of the Russians; him they believe to be most efficacious in his oracles, and in comparison with him they consider all the others as inferior; so that to render him more particular honour they select annually, by lot, a Christian, and offer him up as a sacrifice; to the expense of which festival all the other Slavonian tribes and provinces jointly contribute. For this temple, these people have a singular respect, permitting no one to swear there; nor do they suffer its boundaries to be violated even in pursuit of an enemy. The Slavonians are, moreover, a people transcendent for cruelty, never enduring to live in peace, and constantly harassing their enemies by unprovoked hostilities, either by sea or land. Nay, it is difficult even to conceive all the various kinds of horrid deaths by which they immolate the Christians. Sometimes they attach one end of their entrails to a tree, and wind them off by forcing the poor wretches to walk round it in a circle; at other times they nail him to a cross, thereby making a mockery of the symbol of our salvation, for it is their belief that the most wicked only should be crucified. Those whom they destine to be ransomed, they afflict with torments and with heavy irons, in an unheard of manner."* Siberia and the knout, even before they were Christian.

Let us proceed to examine their conversion to the cross. "In 980, Vladimir conquered the throne by fratricide. This insatiable despot had six wives and eight hundred concubines. He did violence with impunity to his female subjects. . . . Rogneda, Princess of Pololsk, whose family he had massacred, he brutally compelled to marry him. Nevertheless, his great warlike exploits awakened the attention of the neighbouring religions; four of them hastened to

* *Helmoldi Chronica Slavorum*. Lubel, 4to, 1660.—(Dr. Neulce's Travels, p. 86.)

contend for his conversion; but Vladimir rejected Mahometanism because it *interdicted wine*, which he said was indispensable to Russians, and was *their delight*. Catholicism, offered to him by the Germans, he disliked, because of the pope, an earthly deity, which appeared to him an unexampled thing; and Judaism, because it had no unity, and because he thought it neither rational to seek advice from wanderers punished by heaven, nor tempting to participate in their punishment.

But, at the same time, his attention was fixed on the Greek religion, which had recently been preached to him by a philosopher of Byzantium. He summoned his council, took the opinion of his boyards, of the elders of the people, and deputed ten of them to examine those religions in distant lands, even in their temples.

The envoys of the grand prince went forth and returned; Mahometanism and Catholicism they had seen only in poor and barbarous provinces, while they witnessed the Greek religion in its magnificent metropolis, and adorned with all its pomp. They did not hesitate. *Instantly convinced*, Vladimir marched forth to conquer priests and relics at Kherson; having done this, he, by threats, extorted from the Greek empire a princess, whom he married, and became a Christian.

Playing the tyrant to Heaven as he did to earth, his pagan divinities, which he had formed entirely of gold, and fattened with Christian blood, he now stripped for the sake of Christ, like disgraced favourites; he went still further; he ordered them to be dragged to execution at the tails of horses; they were loaded with blows by his guards, and were thrown into the Dnioper.

The prince who thus treated the gods of Russia, was not more forbearing towards the men; he commanded them to become Christians on a certain day and hour; he commanded, and whole tribes were pushed on like flocks and collected on the banks of rivers to receive the Greek baptism. One crowd succeeded another, and to each of these, in mass, was given the name of a saint. Such was Russia's conversion to the Greek church. But she had not yet become Russo-Greek, she still preserved a likeness to her mother, and had an ecclesiastical patriarch at her head who, though corrupt, truckling, and time-serving, like all Greek metropolitans, preserved the semblance of priestly authority and dignity; she still might claim relationship with the Byzantine church. The Greek clergy appears to have equalled the Catholic in wealth, luxury, and extortion in the dark ages, and to have exceeded it in ignorance and degradation; but Christian priests were seldom examples to their flocks in those days, and the church in Russia remained a true daughter of Byzantium till 1688, and more especially till Peter the Great.

In 1688, two Greek bishops bargained for the pontificate of Byzantium, which was put up to the highest bidder by the vizier. (They used to do just the same before the Turkish supremacy.) Jeremiah, one of them, being overcome in this shameful contest, lusted to Russia, to procure the gold which was necessary to buy the patriarchate of Greece, and the deposition of his rival; for this base and obscure triumph, which he owed to the liberality of Feodor,

the last of the Ruriks, he paid by selling to him the independence of the Russian church, and the right of possessing a patriarch in Russia. This was the first step to separation, and thus was the independent patriarch of the Russian church obtained for gold, as the price of corruption.

Proceeding to analyze the heretical nature of the Russo-Greek church, we find that the next step was the stroke by which Peter the Great abolished the Patriarchal Dignity, or rather absorbed it in his own purpose, appointing the Holy Synod as a blind for his usurpation. It would be puerile to assert that the Holy Synod represents the religious authority that was overthrown. Peter the Great himself has satisfactorily cleared up this point, in describing the motives that led him to found the Holy Synod. A spiritual authority represented by a college will never excite in a country so much agitation and effervescence as a personal chief of the ecclesiastical order. The common people do not understand the difference that exists between the spiritual authority and that of a secular sovereign; on seeing the extraordinary honours conferred upon the high priest, they are dazzled by their admiration to such an extent that they regard the head of the church as a second sovereign, whose dignity is equal or even superior to that of the monarch; they think, moreover, that the ecclesiastical order forms a monarchy preferable to the secular. Now since it is indisputable that the common people reason thus, what might not happen if the unjust polemics of an ambitious clergy were joined to this superstitious reverence, and fanned its flame!

It is proper to remember that at the time when Peter the Great wrote these things, Russia had for twenty years been without a patriarch; and it must be admitted that it lies not in the reign of this monarch that we must seek examples of priests rivalling kings. In fact, throughout the ecclesiastical history of Russia, as of Constantinople, the patriarch and the clergy had been the pliant and unworthy tools of secular sovereigns. Hence, in abolishing the patriarchal dignity, Peter did not aim at destroying a dangerous antagonism; his object was to appropriate and add to the power of the secular crown, the spiritual supremacy and prestige that had previously been inherent in the patriarch's tiara. The history of the Czars since Peter is a commentary on this truth. Catherine could break her oath and dismember Poland, as spiritual head of the Russo-Greek church, and Nicholas, in virtue of the same high office, is entitled to the keys of heaven and hell, and of the Holy Sepulchre, to 12,000,000 of Christians in Turkey, to the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, and, in short, to his neighbour's goods. It was a pretext for ambition, and a plea for annexation.

Every traveller of any authority who has visited Russia within the last few years bears witness to the formalism and materialism of the Russian church. We read, it is true, of the heavenly and sonorous voices of the choristers, of the mystical vestments of their priests, and of the splendour of their temples, but in vain do we look for a trace of spirituality or elevation of soul in the people or in the clergy. The latter are proverbially ignorant and degraded, and the former are described as little higher than the beasts,

instead of little lower than angels. Indeed, by comparing the most authentic accounts, we are induced to the dreary conclusion that in no country, and at no period, has Christianity retained fewer traces of its pure and spiritual origin than in Russia in the present day. It is true that the charge applies in great measure to the Greek church throughout the East, but there the friend of Russia and the foe of Turkey found an easy excuse for this degeneracy in the oppressive rule of Mahomedan Turkey, forgetting that it was equally corrupt under the Lower Empire, before the Turks had appeared. In Russia, however, this excuse falls at once to the ground, and we find a Christian church not only tolerated and honoured but the ostensible mainspring of policy, yet a manifest disgrace to Christendom. This statement will not be thought overcharged if we listen to the deliberate opinion of eminent authorities, one of whom says: "The Russian people is represented as being very religious; possibly so, but what is a religion which it is forbidden to teach? The Gospel would reveal liberty to the Slavonians. . . . Making the sign of the cross does not prove devotion; accordingly, notwithstanding all their genuflexions and their external marks of piety, it appears to me that the Russians in their prayers think more of the emperor than of God Almighty. This people, so idolatrous of its masters, require, like the Japanese, a second sovereign; a spiritual emperor to lead them to heaven. The earthly sovereign ties them too much to earth. 'Wake me when we come to God Almighty,' said an ambassador, half asleep, in a Russian church, during the Imperial liturgy."

The Marquis de Custine maintains that the Christian religion has lost its virtue in Russia, and that it is now only a tool of despotism. Though the true relation of the Russian church to the state has never been clearly defined, the Emperor is virtually the arbiter of faith, and having usurped, he actually uses this prerogative without claiming it as a right, and affecting to defer to a synod which is his instrument and composed of his creatures. This synod is, in fact, the last homage paid by tyranny to the King of kings and to His altars, which have been overthrown.

The suppression of all independent authority in the Russian church is thus related by Levesque, in his "History of Russia."

1721. "After the death of Adrian, Peter had appeared always to defer the election of a new patriarch, and the veneration of the people for this head of the church had been daily cooling.

"The Emperor thought, at length, that the time was come for pronouncing this dignity abolished. He divided the authority which had previously been centred exclusively in the person of a grand pontiff, and attributed the direction and suspension of religious affairs to a new tribunal, which he called the Holy Synod.

"He did not declare himself, but he was virtually the head of the church, through the oath which the members of this ecclesiastical college were forced to tender to him, and which is to the following effect: 'I swear to be a faithful and obedient subject of my true and natural sovereign. . . . I acknowledge that he is the supreme judge of this spiritual college.'"

"The synod is composed of one president, of two vice-presidents, of four counsellors, and of four assessors. Those judges of eccle-

siastical affairs are very far from having, when united, the same authority as that possessed by the patriarch alone, and which had previously been enjoyed by the metropolitan. They are not summoned to attend councils; their names do not appear in acts of sovereignty; and even in matters referred to their notice their authority is subordinate to that of the sovereign. As no external sign distinguishes them from other prelates; as their authority ceases when they no longer sit in the tribunal; in short, as this tribunal itself has nothing very imposing in its nature, they do not inspire much veneration in the people.

"The Russian people in the present day is the most believing of Christian nations; yet its faith has but little fruit, because when a church abjures its liberty it loses its moral efficacy; a slave itself, it only engenders slaves."*

Custine, in another place, on considering the ecclesiastical history of Russia, unites with the Count de Segur in shuddering at the abuse that may be made of religious ideas. A servile priest is inevitably a liar, an apostate, and may become an executioner. The Greek priest, impoverished, mortified, degraded, married, deprived of his supreme head in spiritual matters, deprived of all prestige, and of all supernatural power, a man of flesh and blood, is dragged behind the triumphal car of his enemy, whom he still calls his master; he has become what that master wished, the humblest slave of autocracy; thanks to the perseverance of Peter I. and of Catherine II., Ivan IV. is satisfied. Henceforth, from one end of Russia to the other, the voice of God is certain not to be heard above that of the Emperor.

Although we cannot coincide in the condemnation passed by Custine on all national independent churches, and though we are far from approving of his arguments in favour of an unlimited authority in the priesthood, the testimony of the most respectable and trustworthy writers and observers forces us to reprobate the past and present servility, formalism, and ignorance of the Russian clergy.

"In this great work of autocracy," says Segur, speaking of the rise of Russian despotism, "has there not been the powerful and persevering hand of the priest? It is then in the spirit of the history of the Russian church that we must seek for a final cause of the elevation of the Grand Duke of Moscow. The crown has been established on the altar, which it ended by ruining.

At first, indeed, it is evident, that, like the Byzantine and all other Christian churches, the Russian church had much independent authority. An edict, issued by Vladimir, about A. D. 1000, is said to have granted immense privileges to the Russian clergy. . . It is certain that as far back as the year 1200, the Russian clergy were covered with the spoils of their flocks; that in numerous cases they sentenced to death, and without appeal; that the monks, like the nobles elsewhere, had a number of fortified dwellings, of which they were the formidable defenders; that their prince had a court, boyards, guards, and an Asiatic luxury; that there were public ceremonies at which the proudest sovereigns walked before

* Custine.

him, humbly holding the bridle of the ass on which the pontiff rode; and lastly, that in all state affairs, the primate was the first who was consulted—a very natural circumstance, as many of these heads of the clergy came from Greece, and were looked upon as lights amidst the surrounding darkness.*

In this picture we behold the advantages and the defects of the Catholic hierarchy in the middle ages. A beacon, a receptacle of learning, a bulwark against barbarism, but also spiritual pride, luxury and extortion. But a change soon came over the church, wrought partly by the Mogul invasion and sway.

The dread of Tartar intolerance had the effect of rallying the priests round the sole power that was able to protect them. Kief, the holy city, and the seat of the primate, became uninhabitable in 1290. The Pontiff then established himself at Vladimir, subsequently at Moscow. The head of the church formed a junction with the head of the State, and the religious power with the civil power. The throne soon became, moreover, the sole protection against the encroachments of the nobles upon the domains of the clergy.

In short, every year saw the authority of the priesthood transferred to the Crown, till at length the clergy, together with every class and order in the state, were trampled into slaves by Ivan IV. Nor can we wonder at the facility with which these ecclesiastics were reduced to slavery, when we recollect the elements of which they were composed. "Their priests, Greeks by religion, scarcely knew how to read, and wallowed in perpetual drunkenness; a typographical correction made in the clumsy edition of their Bible, was looked upon by them as a horrible sacrilege; they were a people truly idolatrous, by their excessive adoration of the saints, each individual having the image of his own which his fellow-countryman could not pray to without being persecuted and sentenced to damages, for having stolen favours from an image which another had ruined himself to enrich and adorn."

The priests, the only teachers of that age, were too coarse-minded to inspire morality. The people, therefore, had no education, not even that which example affords.

Respecting the schisms in the Russian church, the reader will be edified with some curious particulars in Custine.

The Raskolniks and Staroveritse appear to be a kind of Russian Wahabees, who wish to restore the Muscovite church to the primitive Byzantine type, by attributing greater power and influence to it, and restoring the spoiliations of Peter I. and the reforming Romanoffs. These men are reputed to be very disaffected to the present government, and to look to Constantinople, the source of their faith, for protection against the persecutions to which they are exposed. But the most remarkable facts divulged, relate to the tendency to Calvinistic and other schisms, frequently observed amongst the sect, and punished by banishment to Siberia, which, as it impoverishes the boyards, by depriving them of hands, makes

* Its wealth, in 1570, was so enormous that it possessed two-thirds of the estates of the empire.

them very rigid in their suppression of all signs of heresy in the popes and peasants. Nevertheless, Custine speaks of sects that advocate polygamy and community of women and men, and cites an instance of a Moscow merchant who had three legitimate wives. This form of dissent, which would be rather unprecedented in England, has found a parallel in the aberrations of the Great Salt Lick.

Thus far we have given ear to foreigners and foes of Russia, whose opinions are not likely to be unbiased or well-grounded.

DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH.

Considering the important influence of religion on the development of national character, and the apparent connexion between the existing encroachments of Russia and the alleged protectorate of the Greek church, it has appeared to us one of the most important matters to arrive at a clear and a fair estimate of the state of religion in Muscovy.

To this end, as in most cases, we have consulted favourable and impartial authorities; and we also have resorted especially to natives for information. Prince Ivan Golovin, a refugee, but a true lover of his country, has presented us with some important particulars on this score, which we shall proceed to lay before the reader.

We shall divide this matter into three sections; attending 1st, to the Doctrines and Hierarchy; 2ndly, to the Practice of the Clergy and Laity; and 3rdly, to the Heretics and Persecutions in Russia and its dependencies.

The first head falls naturally into two sub-divisions, viz., the Origin, Development, and Present Condition of the Doctrine and the Hierarchy of the Greek Church.

The Eastern church owes its origin to a schism between the East and the West, shortly after the usurpation of Phocas, who was received by the Latin Pope, Gregory I., but rejected by Cyriacus, Patriarch of Constantinople. Boniface, who had been the nuncio of Gregory at the court of Phocas, was appointed by the latter supreme head of the church at Constantinople; a post gratefully accepted by the latter, who overlooked the fact that he was thus submitting to the Imperial throne.

Discord was gradually springing up between the rival churches, not only on the subject of images, but also through temporal causes; the Popes, in some cases, especially Gregory II., encouraging the retention of the Calabrian possessions of the Greek empire. Frequent and enduring recriminations and injuries between the rival authorities of Rome and Byzantium, resulted from this state of things.

The Empress Irene, after a dispute of fifty years, restored church images to honour, which won the favour of the Pope. But this good understanding did not last long. The Patriarch Nicophorus and the Pope Adrian accused each other mutually of simony.

Photius is commonly considered the author of the schism, but his causes existed previously. Photius is condemned and exalted by

the respective members of the rival churches. Golovin describes him as a man of erudition and devotional character. His inveterate foe was the Pope Nicholas I.; and subsequent popes were equally hostile. The rise of Photius was rapid. Ignatius was deposed, and he was made Patriarch in councils which are pronounced illegal by the Catholics, who, in a new council held at Rome, 863, deposed Photius.

The latter and Nicholas proceeded to excommunicate each other. Appeals to puerilities, miracles, and earthquakes, are made on both sides to justify their claims. Ignatius and Photius were mutually ejected and reinstated during the troubles and sanguinary episodes of the Lower Empire, which were a scandal to history and humanity.

The final fate of Photius was banishment, under Basil I., through the influence of catholic and priestly intrigue.

Some writers trace the schisms of the churches to the title of œcumenical bishops, adopted by the Patriarchs of Constantinople. But the title had not been objected to in previous councils or by previous Popes.

The final separation of the two churches was proclaimed in 1053.

The three chief causes of the separation of the Greek and Roman churches are—1st. Rejection of the authority of the Pope. 2nd. The Greeks communicate in both kinds, whereas the Catholic laity only use bread. 3rd. The Greek church maintain that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father only; the Romish says that it proceeds from the Father and the Son.

The arguments adduced by the Greek church to justify their rejection of papal supremacy are—1st. The original equality of the apostolic churches and of the bishops. 2nd. The equality of the apostles, Paul, John, and James, being as important as Peter; the expression of the Rock on which the church was built not applying to church government, but to priority of conversion. 3rd. Jerusalem, if any church, deserves the primacy. Both Peter and Paul were at Rome, but Peter was longer at Jerusalem. 4th. Peter was an apostle, not a bishop; and his successors must be also apostles, not bishops.

The real cause of the separation of the two churches is to be traced to the rivalry of the two capital and metropolitan sees of Rome and Constantinople, both contending for supremacy. The difference of communion is not very fundamental. The Russian prelates and regular clergy, like all Catholic priests, must not marry; and wine alone is given to children in communion in the Greek church.

Other minor causes may have helped to widen the breach, such as fasting on the Saturday, &c.

Our space forbids us to enter into the weary Filioque controversy, and we shall merely observe that the implied subordination of the Son to the Father, in the Greek church, is a probable legacy of apostolic and primitive Christianity, before an infusion of Greek sophistry had corrupted the simplicity of the Bible.

The Greek church only admits seven œcumenical councils, and

asserts that the Romish church has separated from it the representation of the primitive faith.

The charges brought against the administration of the sacrament in Greek churches, on the score of rarity, irreverence, and irregularity, are contradicted by Ivan Golovin.

Having analyzed the special distinctions of the Greek from the Romish church, let us proceed to examine the general characteristics of the hierarchy.

The Emperor is the head of the Russian church. This is condemned by Catholics and excused by Protestants. It is certain that the evil lies chiefly in his being absolute head of the church as of the state. The papal authority is, however, equally fatal to liberty of conscience. The influence of the Patriarchs of Constantinople has always been slight in Russia; yet the transversion of the Scriptures, facilitating their translation into Slavonic, originated with the metropolitan of Constantinople, who invested the Russian bishops with their dignities.

After the fall of Constantinople, the Patriarchs of that city fell under Turkish and Mahometan influence, which was, however, scarcely more prejudicial than that of the Greek emperors. But Boris Godounoff thought himself justified in naming a Russian patriarch, a step vindicated by Golovin. This writer maintains that the ecclesiastical authority was not diminished by this act; but Segur informs us of the servility of the Russian clergy from the first, and Golovin admits that under tyrants like Ivan IV., the authority of the Russian Patriarchs was powerless.

Golovin says, "I know the Russian clergy, and I maintain that its authority is not at all preferable to that of the Czar." Nor does he object to the substitution of the Holy Synod to the Patriarchs, by Peter I. Theoretically, this Synod is a laudable institution; but to effect any good, it must not, as at present, be the blind tool of the Sovereign. Speaking of the present Czar, our author adds, that he carries his piety to the borders of fanaticism, but he is too much of a drill-serjeant to be an enlightened theologian.

One fact alone speaks volumes as to the degraded condition of the clergy. The priests are ordered to inform the government of all plots confided to them in confession.

The Holy Synod judges of the innovations and changes suitable to be introduced in the administration of the clergy, and also of crimes of high importance; but its real power is limited to signing the orders that emanate from General aide-de-camp Protasoff the Attorney-General, and his chancellery directs all affairs of importance, only referring to the Emperor.

The financial matters of convents are the only questions on which the Synod can deliberate freely. It is besieged with complaints on this score.

There are three degrees of jurisdiction in the Russian church. 1st. The Synod. 2nd. The Consistory. 3rd. The Praetorio, or gubernium.

The priesthood is divided into two sections—the regular and the secular.

The Consistory is an administrative and judiciary court, but the

head of the bishopric exercises an absolute control over it. Indulgence, justice, moderation, and kindness, are not known in this court; and the Russian priests would prefer to depend on the civil tribunals, with all their defects, rather than on the ecclesiastical.

The Prastenie is found in most district towns. The superior of the most important convent is commonly at its head. Arch-priests and some common priests are appointed to sit in these assemblies. Infractions of discipline are judged and punished in them. It is only in cases of serious delinquencies, such as thefts committed by a superior member of the clergy (and such cases are by no means rare), that the bishop refers the matter to the Synod. Ecclesiastical delinquencies are judged by ecclesiastical courts, and civil delinquencies by civil courts. A deputy, representing the church, lives in every town, to defend ecclesiastics called before civil courts. This officer attends the trials, and gives the necessary explanations, but has no deliberative voice. But even in cases of ecclesiastical delinquency, bishops or archbishops can hand over the criminal to the ordinary tribunals. In such cases, healthy men are commonly made soldiers, the others are sent to the colonies or manufactures. The clergy is freed from recruitment, but not always from corporal punishment.

Passing to the clergy, we find that the monks hate the world, and the secular priests, whom they despise, and over whom they exercise a tyrannical authority. Despotism is the basis of ecclesiastical and of civil authority in Russia. Each bishop is a despot in his diocese—each priest in his church.

Archbishops, metropolitans, or bishops, are elected by the Emperor from three candidates presented by the Synod. The bishop, in his turn, names the members of the consistory, the superiors of the convents, the high and low clergy, with the confirmation of the Synod.

All the higher ecclesiastical orders are filled by the regular clergy who must not marry. The regular clergy may only marry once; hence these Benedictines are interested in keeping their better half alive; and we have Russian proverbs that say, "Happy as a priest's wife," &c.

Having given a brief outline of the hierarchy, we have next to attend to the discipline and practice of the church, where we shall find more to blame than to commend; and as the people and the clergy are about on a par in ignorance and bigotry, save in a few cases, we shall embrace clergy and laity in one view in our remarks. Though the Eastern and Russian churches have refused to admit images in their churches, they attach exaggerated and ridiculous virtues to relics, and pay idolatrous honours to paintings. The nobles and burghers, as well as the serfs, prostrate themselves before wretched daubs, and pray to them as reasonable beings. On their journeys they carry their *penates* with them, and their rooms are crowded with pictures of saints, &c., framed with precious stones. Some convents are noted as manufactories of special images. Some peasants excel in daubing saints; and some daubs work miracles, to the advantage of the popes, and the edification of the parishioners. The virgins of Kasan, Smolensk, Sakhwen, &c.

are famous in this line. The frauds employed on these occasions are gross and disgusting. Amongst other devices, if the colour on the saint's cheeks gets rubbed off, it is a miracle; the saint is ill, or pale with rage. Once upon a time a pope hit upon the plan of planing away a wooden picture till it was transparent, and putting a taper behind made a miracle.

The abuse of relics is still worse. A sepulchral stone was found at Stanitza.* It was found that 100 years before a pious man had been buried there. A crowd collected; the blind flocked to the place and threw dust over their eyes; women that were possessed, rolled like asses in the earth of the sepulchre, braided napkins, (piatates) pence inundated the spot, and were a harvest to the curate. The government silenced the scandal because it reaped no benefit from it.

Many other cases are recorded which we have not space to notice. The myrrh that is distributed to the bishoprics throughout Russia, is made at Kief, not because of the sanctity of that place, but because the plants necessary to make it only grow in the south. As the monks, however, wished to make more by the business they dug up a head that had the gift of causing the myrrh to flow. This wonderful head was surrounded by every mystery, and the people congregating in crowds were robbed in every way. The whole of Russia was moved; but the miracle failed and the head disappeared. The government has commonly and wisely put down these scandals, which are merely the excess of an eternal principle, exaggerating the supernatural tendencies and anomalous intuitions of human nature, and laying them open to the imposition of wicked and designing men. Golovin says, however, that the present government unwisely encourages these extravagances.

No trade of relics is carried on openly, however, though a slip of a saint's garment, or his great toe, will elicit a handsome return.

The Greco-Russian churches are imitations of Jewish temples. They are similarly divided into three parts: the sanctuary, the parvise or space in front of the sanctuary, and the nave. The sanctuary contains the tabernacle, over the altar, which is always square and turned towards the east. In commemoration of the star that was to announce the Advent of the Saviour, and to appear in the East, are placed the gospel, the cross, and the chalices; the missal, which is not a consecrated book, is placed on a stand to the left of the officiating priest.

The sanctuary is separated from the nave by the royal gate and a partition of images, called *ikonostase*, with two lateral doors. The royal gate has, moreover, a curtain, which is drawn before proceeding to the sacrament, after having required the cataphumens to depart. In the primitive age of Christianity, when many converts were made, this custom had a meaning. Now it is idle. All believers, save women, are admitted into the sanctuary. The deacon can only pass the royal door, Gospel in hand.

A platform raised a little above the body of the church, and called *ambon*, answers the purpose of a pulpit for the reading of the

* Government of Tver, 1828.

deacon. The communion is administered from it, but it appears a legacy of Paganism. The sacrificator thus stood slightly raised above the people.

The profusion of tapers in Russian churches is unusual. It is a source of profit to the clergy, but its origin was in times when persecution forced the early Christians to worship in caverns. The Mass is much as in Catholic churches, but the "Domine salvum fac Regem" occupies almost a quarter of the service.

The primitive Greek chanting the Gregorian was not very melodious, but the Russians have improved it by the addition of Italian art. They are especially indebted to the State Counsellor, Bartianski, formerly Court Chapel Master.

Some choirs are fine, but the service is generally recited in a very slovenly manner. The mumbling is unintelligible, and *Gospodi pomitui* (*Miserere nobis*) is eternally repeated. In one place it has to be repeated forty times, though this is often neglected. One newly elected priest is said to have read out quite unreservedly, "O Lord! save us forty times."

Golovin justly objects to Divine service and prayer in a dead language. The Russian service is in old Slavonic. There has sometimes been a talk of translating it into modern Russian, but it has never been done. Obscurity and mystery are the safest foundations of their feeble faith. The Scriptures, if understood, would destroy the church and state. The rites and ceremonies of the Russian church present the following peculiarities.

There are five communion loaves of bread (*prosvira*), in shape like two balls, one over the other. One is the loaf of Jesus Christ, two of the Virgin, three of the saints, four of the living, five of the dead. These unfortunate loaves are tortured and mutilated in every way, and have their interiors extracted in honour of God and of the Imperial family. The pieces pulled off from the loaf of Jesus Christ are thrown into a vessel with wine, and distributed in little bits to the communicants. The other loaves are given whole to privileged persons, nobles, &c.

Baptism is the most curious of the sacraments. Immersion of infants in cold water is abrogated. The water is warmed, and the devil expelled by blowing over it three times, and making each time the sign of the cross. The hair of the child is cut, waxed up, and thrown into the water. The meaning of this custom is unknown.

At burials, the dead are made to hold a piece of paper, to accompany them into the other world. It is a prayer for the remission of voluntary and involuntary sins. The cursing of heretics is the most curious of all the ceremonies.

Having briefly examined the discipline and worship of the Greek church, we shall proceed to a survey of the moral condition of the clergy, taken in connexion with their parishioners.

Kohl, Custine, and Leouzon le Duc, give a deplorable account of the ignorance and degraded state of the Russian clergy, charges which are attempted to be demolished, or, at all events, to be palliated by the Baron de Huxthausen, but which, in most respects,

are corroborated by Segur in his "History of Russia," and by Ivan Golovin.

Two-thirds of the clergy, according to this author, are in actual destitution. Some parishes do not bring in more than 100 assignat rubles per annum, and the priest only wears boots the days of doing duty. He has to till the ground and work hard to live. The excessive number and the unwise distribution of cures is one cause of this evil.

The millions paid by the churches into the treasury cannot be calculated. The number of churches multiplied by the superstitious piety of the Russians, amounts to the fabulous. It is only lately the iniquity has been committed, of appropriating the church funds to the state; and this has been effected in most prosperous times when the treasury and finances were continually improving through the profits of the Oural mines. And to what end have the church funds been used? Golovin insinuates that it may have been to support the secret police and increase the oppression of his country. He has no objection to the money passing to the state if an account is given of the use to which it is turned. And, above all, he insists on the duty of paying the priests better salaries.

To this cause are to be attributed their vices, their ignorance and bigotry, which are thus palliated. With regard to the morals of the clergy, Golovin admits that they are justly charged with drunkenness. But this vice proceeds from their poverty. The denial of all better prospects, and present distress, drive them to this habit as a relief.

It is proper to distinguish the learned from the unlearned clergy. The first consists of men educated in seminaries; the second, of clerks promoted to be priests. The best places are reserved for the former. The learned priests alone are also made *proto-jc-rei* (arch-priests). Exceptions are frequent, however, and bribes not uncommon.

The parish priests are intrusted with the state registers (*metrical books*), which are in a frightful state of disorder.

As regards confession, the priests have to give an annual account of those who confess. Now, though unbelief is on the increase in Russia, the priests continue to give in certificates, even when inapplicable, to screen themselves and their parishioners from censure or punishment.

Absolution is not given without requiring penitence, but money will buy indulgences. Russia would greatly gain in morality if the priests were better paid. Their poverty is a cause of many scandals.

No priest in Russia can become, as in France, a peer, deputy, ambassador, minister, professor, schoolmaster, or merchant. Golovin adds, that the admission of the clergy into the civil courts would make them more intelligent and merciful. He also adds that they can be decorated with orders, and that this mania has led to abuses and evils analogous to those afflicting the civil functionaries. There are special orders for the clergy. A decorated priest or

monk becomes a noble or *tchinovnik*. Golovin objects to this, maintaining that the nobility and clergy are two distinct bodies in a state.

We have already given instances of the pious frauds of the clergy and the blind credulity of the people; and Golovin adds that the credulity of the Russian people is a great encouragement to the deceptions of the priests.

Even Colonel Cameron admits that the lower classes of the Russian clergy—in ignorance, vulgarity, we may say, degradation—are perfectly without a parallel in any religion throughout the world, not even excepting Greece, the natives of which country admit the minor orders of the clergy there to be the most abandoned miscreants in the world.

The military profession alone being valued in Russia (save diplomatists), the church does not meet with much consideration. Village priests are scarcely superior to their flocks, and their moral character is very debased. It is not uncommon to find five or six reverend culprits immured at the same time.

THE HERETICS.

Passing to the heresies and sects of the church, much curious information is presented on this score by Golovin, Custine, and Kohl.

Let us first quote the former.

The great cause of schism in the Russian church has been the revision and correction of the Scriptures in 1518 and continued till 1652, when Nian was appointed patriarch. In 1667, the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch sat with the Russian prelates, and the books were expurgated. Hence arose numerous schisms.

The old believers only received the old version, and called the orthodox Nianians or heretics, prohibiting all dealings with them, and declaring that it was lawful to deceive them like the Germans. Their principal dogmas are, moreover, these:—They do not believe in the indivisibility of the Trinity, and are really Tritheists. They are particular about pure and impure food, they are very strict in fasts and prostrations, and they practise peculiar and total immersion in baptism with adults. Many die from the cold in this ordeal, but they are regarded as saints.

As long as they could obtain popes of the old school, all went on well. When this was impossible, they split into two sects, one of which, the *Bezpopovshcheena*, did without popes; and the other, *Popovshcheena*, admitted new ones. Ridiculous extravagances and disgusting frauds crept in with ignorance among the former.

Many heretics, including the *Pomorances*, think that the day of judgment has come. These people dwell on the coasts of the Northern ocean, lie down in coffins and a shroud, and are astonished to find that the end of the world is not come.

The heretics are still in many points rebels to the government. The *Pomorances* will not call the Czars emperors, as it is not a Russian name. Suicide for the faith is venerated among the Northern heretics, who look upon it as martyrdom. The *Philipons*,

in particular, are addicted to it; the orthodox method being to shut up the voluntary victims in a hut, where they die of hunger. If they recant, their entreaties are not listened to, and they die in torments. The Pomorians exceed the others in insubordination. They will not swear fidelity to the emperor, being quakers on the score of oaths. They refuse money and all stamped coin. They avoid paved roads, because they are made by the enemy of Christ. The Tchernoboltz refuse recruits to the army.

The Pomorians were founded by Simeon Wikouline who founded a convent fifty versts from Onega. He is revered as a saint. Eleven or twelve years later, the Theodosians were founded by Theodosius Wassilieff.

The congregation of the Sairui reject all priests and sacraments, relying on the merits of the Redeemer alone.

The heretics commonly observe certain practices with regard to dress during divine service.

They abstain from wine and tobacco, but their lives are frightfully debauched. They generally admit a community of women, and few children know their parents. In one part of Russia, husbands separate from their wives as soon as the latter present them with sons, because they do not wish to supply recruits to the army.

Numerous and severe measures have been adopted against them, especially under Peter the Great and Catherine II.; and they have often been banished by thousands to Siberia, but they still continue to flourish.

All the foregoing are called Raskolniks or conservatives.

The Doochobortzee are heterodox Christians, worshipping a Holy Spirit in temples without images. This pure theism, which seems an advance on the Greek church and its sects, is much spread in the south of Russia.

The judicious measures of the government to diminish the numbers and excesses of the Raskolniks, are often defeated by the latter bribing the *employés*.

The extravagances and vices of these heretics are attributed by Golovin to the ignorance of the moujik, and his only hope for their removal is in the introduction of civilization among the serfs.

The fanaticism of these people is extreme. One Raskolnik once struck an archbishop at church, calling him Antichrist. Yet though so objectionable, they are free from three Russian curses—drunkenness, idleness, and indifference. They are also generally industrious and rich. One whole faubourg of Riga is inhabited by 10,000 of them.

We must now examine the Roman Catholic church and its branch, "The United Greek," in Poland and Russia, and give a sketch of its persecutions.

And here truth compels us to admit, that though the Russian church has been generally more tolerant than most Christian churches, the persecutions under Catherine and the present Czar, of Polish Catholics, present similar features to the most odious intolerance of Romanists and Protestants in the past. The history of the violence and oppression practised on the Christian Greek of Poland,

by Catherine, will be found amply illustrated in an important work just translated by the author of these pages. From Golovin we extract the following particulars :—

The metropolitans of Kief, after the Council of Florence (1429), remained united to the Romish church till 1514, when it returned to the Greek. In 1593, Michael Rahizi, metropolitan, resolving to acknowledge the new pope, sent two envoys to the pope to tender his allegiance. Different motives have been suggested for this cause. Some say it was the anarchy of the Russian church; others, the dissolute life of some of the clergy that wished to join Rome, which had occasioned a reprimand from the patriarch of Constantinople. History must decide this. Clement VII. joyfully accepted the allegiance, and a Catholic bishopric was appointed in Russia. The Russians endeavoured to oppose this union; but Golovin says that their intolerance never equalled that of the Poles to their subjects of the Greek faith, which alienated the gallant race of the Cossacks, and cast them into the arms of the Muscovites.

He admits, however, that Catherine II. little deserved the praise of tolerance, lavished on her by servile philosophers; and that, under pretence of protecting the dissidents in Poland, on the 19th Nov. 1767, she struck a mortal blow at the United Greeks, who were stripped of their temples and convents, and placed under mixed tribunals, always unfavourable to them. After the partition of Poland, the empress threw off the mask; 1200 churches were torn from them; their priests were stricken with sticks, a punishment then styled unction; and they were forced to sign an engagement to enter the orthodox church. These persecutions called down the remonstrances of Maria Theresa of Austria and of Poland. Catherine was forced to yield a little. The dissidents of the Greek church were allowed to be deprived of a few unimportant prerogatives in Poland.

The Poles were imprudent in their mode of carrying on proselytism; the United Greek church fell into contempt, and in the bishopric of Polotsk alone 800 churches passed under the Russian synod. The church property of the United Greeks was confiscated in favour of Catherine's most active generals; their churches diminished rapidly in number; and, in short, under Catherine, nearly 8,000,000 of United Greeks had been converted to the Greek church.

Paul I. from opposition to his mother or from tolerance, put a stop to these persecutions.

Alexander placed the United Greeks under the Catholic college that he created; but their inveterate foe, the metropolitan Siestozimwicz, tried to paralyze the generous views of the emperor. Nicholas, however, has followed the steps of his grandmother. He was resolved to make the United Greeks join the Greco-Russian church. Their convents were reduced to twenty-five; their seminaries were abolished in 1832. A Russian bishopric was established at Warsaw in 1838, and another at Polotsk. The Catholic college was annexed to the Synod.

Of the vast population of the Russian empire, numbering near

70,000,000, only about 45,000,000 are members of the regular or established church; 350,000 are Dissenters or heretics to that church itself; 3,600,000 are Roman Catholics; the Protestants number about 2,500,000; there are 10,000 Moravians; and not less than 2,600,000 are Alahometans. The Jews are computed to be more than 600,000; and the worshippers of the Grand Lama of Thibet somewhere about 300,000. But among the varied religions that are spread over this enormous territory, we find that near 200,000 are open idolaters, and that no less than 600,000 are addicted to the disgusting practice of Fetichism, worshipping bats and every uncouth specimen of brute creation as representative of the Divinity.

The United Greek church, at the time of its suppression, had many features in common with the Romish. The priests wore a Catholic dress and shaved. The altar stood against the wall, with the missal on it. Sermons were preached in Slavonic or Polish, but some other encroachments of Catholic usages on the Greek had broken the original conditions of the union.

A reaction against this innovation resulted in throwing the United Greeks completely into the arms of the Russian church. Golovin admits that the Synod was to blame on this occasion, but he seems to think the result unavoidable. The means employed by Nicholas to effect his end were fraud and violence. One hundred and sixty priests were exiled to Siberia. Their churches were seized and appropriated. Secret services and sanguinary strife, as with the Puritans of Scotland, marked the progress of this persecution. Blood flowed at Rademl, Uzmorung, &c. But it was found that violence was unsuccessful, and they resorted to cunning. And this succeeded, as the masterly intrigues of Russia always do.

CHAPTER II.

THE ARMY AND NAVY.

THE military and naval force of Russia being a most important consideration, we shall begin with a tabular view of the former, as drawn up by Marshal Marmont. Russian infantry regiments have seven battalions, whereof six are in an effective state; four belong to the active army and two to the army of reserve. The seventh battalion is incomplete and consists of recruits.

The active army has 288 battalions of 1000 men each. The four active battalions of four regiments make a division, three divisions make a corps d'armée, consisting of forty-eight battalions. Thus, there are six corps d'armée in the active army. The fifth and sixth battalions of the regiments which comprise a corps d'armée are formed into divisions of reserve. This division has twenty-four battalions, and three of these divisions or seventy-two battalions form a corps d'armée of reserve, of which there are two; one then under Count de Wittgenstein, for many years; the other

at that time, under the Grand Duke Michael. The army of reserve on the peace establishment is 72,000 strong.

The Imperial Guard has twelve regiments of infantry, twelve of cavalry, battalions of sappers, chasseurs, &c., and twelve batteries of foot artillery. Each infantry regiment in the Guards has three battalions, and each cavalry regiment has seven squadrons. The grenadiers form three divisions of infantry and one division of light horse, consisting of four regiments. The three infantry divisions comprise twelve regiments, and the grenadier corps has two batteries of horse and fifteen of foot artillery. The light cavalry regiment has eight squadrons; the infantry, four battalions, three active and one reserve. One division of light cavalry belongs to each of the corps d'armée, each division consisting of four regiments. There are also two batteries of horse and fifteen of foot artillery to every corps d'armée. There are, moreover, three corps of cavalry of reserve, having twenty-four regiments, and twelve batteries of horse artillery.

The Cossacks form 146 regiments, numbering 116,800 men; and the active Russian army is thus about 500,000 strong on the peace establishment, and without the colonies. The recent levy of 300,000 in the colonies must give it an effective of about a million of men!

Even if we reduce the effective force of the Russian army to the lowest figure assigned by competent authorities, it will be admitted that it has an imposing character. Nevertheless, the essential and inherent energy of an army or navy depends less on the number of men and of troops, or even on funds, than on certain moral and physical conditions that distinguish civilized from barbarous states, before the former have begun to decay through corruption. For instance, the hosts of Darius and the fleets of Xerxes were defeated by a handful of Greeks, when Greece was civilized and sound.

The moral and physical conditions that distinguish civilized armies are, science and courage in the officers, strength of body and military spirit in the men, wisdom and honesty in its administration. Let us examine the Russian army under these three heads. No one who has been familiar with Russian officers has become an enthusiastic admirer of their military science. In fact, most of them have no science at all. They leave their cadet school, or drop their preceptor, at so early an age that they have only time to acquire some superficial knowledge which is soon forgotten. Besides, why should they torment their brain? In Russia, the military profession is not followed from preference, but as a stepping-stone to a lucrative office; and some plain-spoken authorities do not scruple to assert that in the Russian army, as in the Russian literature, and civil service, bribery and corruption are a surer means of advancement than personal merit.

As regards courage, some authors do not scruple to deny its existence among Russian officers. Golovin, however, though no friend to his country in its present condition, informs us that in the Caucasus, the officers, from their dress, are an admirable target for Circassian rifles, but that they refuse to disguise their uniform.

It should be added, however, that many of the officers in the Caucasus are Poles, Russian conspirators, or Cossacks (a different race from the Muscovites). Though facts demonstrate the physical courage of Russian officers, yet the highest order of moral courage implies the existence of a certain freedom of action and will, and a lively sense of honour. But how can men born and living under the most crushing system of despotism that ever existed, how can they be capable of any freedom of action or will? As for honour, it is completely unknown to the Russians, who call it a French chimera. *Sehto takoi honneur; Etot frautsouski chimere.*

So far the officers. A civilized army requires bodily energy and military spirit in the privates. The latter quality is entirely wanting in the Russian troops. Without elasticity or enthusiasm, he is nothing but a machine or a wall. Even Cameron, the tender apologist of Russia's weaknesses, whilst maintaining the admirable endurance, patience and courage of the Russian soldier, admits that they are unwieldy, and only work well in a body. The author of "Frontier Lands" says that they are the clumsiest light troops he ever saw. The author of "Eastern Europe" denies their personal courage. Mr. Oliphant thinks it equivocal, and asserts that the Cossacks and Malo-Russians are much superior in this respect. Disciplined by stripes and blows, the Muscovite soldier seems always to feel the fatal stick on his back, and if he shows firmness in the field of battle, impartial pens inform us that it is because he fears a good thrashing. We are told on good authority that the ancient fanaticism of the hosts of Suwaroff and Kutusoff has died out, and that no weight need be attached to the religious manifestoes of the orthodox emperor. Let him utter the word, Forward! and it will have more influence than all turned phrases about religion and country, which are lost on these enviable troops.

We have good reason to believe that the Russian soldier is not only enervated in mind, but very weak bodily, though Segur asserts that the Muscovite climate steels them against hardship and pain, which is devoutly to be hoped, as they endure greater miseries than all other armies. Oliphant informs us that their plight in the provinces is ragged and wretched; and the author of "Frontier Lands" found their hospitals in Wallachia dens of filth. Ill fed and ill clothed, they are incapable of great fatigues. They only march, on the average, six leagues per day, and they rest every other day. If they exceed this practice, the line of march is strewn with corpses.

The following is the opinion of the author of "Revelations of Russia," on the essential qualities of the celebrated Imperial Guard.

As long as they are under arms, the soldiers of the guard present the most imposing appearance. With their lofty stature, martial though somewhat stiff bearing, artistically dressed in a uniform adjusted to each individual, they are worthy of having emanated from the directing hand of the late King of Prussia, of whom the Emperor Alexander said that in giving him a crown nature had spoiled an admirable master tailor. There is, however, something absurd in the result of the endeavours that have been

made to improve the appearance of the officers and privates: their trowsers are so tight at the waist that their stomach is forced upwards, and protrudes in the most ungraceful manner, especially in the common soldiers, with whom this organ digests and assimilates an enormous quantity of black bread.

After the review, when divested of his arms, you are astonished at the miserable object presented by this machine; how thin he is, how narrow-chested and ill made; how muscular strength, nerve, and elasticity are wanting in this great body, which reminds you of the premature growth of a school-boy; in short, how far the guards of the autocrat are from exhibiting the healthy air, the athletic form, and martial carriage of the British guards. In all these regiments, which constitute the pride of the Russian army, there is scarcely a man who does not present glaring defects. This observation does not apply to the regiments of the line, consisting of men of much lower stature; and it may be inferred that these colossal men are rather deformities than the flower of the 60,000,000 individuals from whom they are selected.

But a matter quite as closely connected with the efficiency of an army as its moral and physical energy, is the discretion and probity of its administration. Now, in this respect, the Russian army presents still less satisfactory results. Mr. Urquhart informs us that a war with Turkey was impossible, if the Russian troops had not been suffered by British diplomacy to occupy and support themselves in the Danubian provinces. They would have starved in the steppes, so inefficient and thievish is their commissariat. It appears, moreover, that in all recent occupations of the Danubian provinces, the Russians are looked upon as foes, and the Turks as protectors, by the Christian inhabitants, owing to the peculation of the Russian administration. We read that on the march numbers of men die from fatigue and want, occasioned by the robberies of their colonels, who keep the men's names on the books after they are dead, and receive the pay themselves. Mr. Oliphant relates that the ships at Sebastopol are speedily rotting and unseaworthy, being built of green and improper timber, owing to the cheating of contractors, commanders, and subordinate officials. But these authorities being English, and uninfluenced by bribes, we must of course regard their testimony as doubtful. Not so that of the virtuous Baron Haxthausen, whose ponderous and innocent tomes record the following facts: "It is still related in England," says this author, "that the Russian officers (of the fleet of Siniavin, 1807,) sold the rigging of all the ships that had been kept in the custody of that power. It is well known, in Germany, in what way certain Russian generals obtained the supplies destined for the army; and it is asserted in Russia even, that one day the cannon of a frigate were found in the arsenal of St. Petersburg after an official report of the loss of the vessel. It is a matter of certainty, that the highest dignitaries of the empire, sometimes very distinguished men, have not scrupled to cheat their sovereign in order to enrich themselves. All the emperors and empresses have been aware of this evil. Some amongst them have combated it; others, like Catherine II. have even suffered it. We have seen that Alexander

looked upon it as incurable, affirming that they would steal his teeth while he slept, if they could. Nicholas deserves the credit of having opposed this evil with greater energy than any of his predecessors. All impartial inquirers into the case, cannot deny that he has invariably endeavoured to extirpate it with inflexible firmness and perseverance, with indefatigable activity, and with superior intelligence."*

We would here just suggest that example is better than precept, and that whilst the Romanoffs in general and Nicholas in particular have been entirely unscrupulous about appropriating their neighbour's goods, we cannot be surprised at peculation continuing to flourish luxuriously in Russia. Like master, like man.

The same orthodox writer and amiable German gives us the following instances of peculation, which Leouzon le Duc corroborates by personal experience. "One officer, instead of instructing his soldiers, makes them devote all the time they ought to pass in learning their exercise, in labours profitable to himself. Another receives pay for men who have never existed save on paper. A third sends his horses to grass and pockets the money intended for forage; a fourth defrauds the troops of food and clothing, without troubling himself about the number of deaths and diseases that result from this scandalous abuse. The majority put into their pocket the money destined to repair and complete the *materiel*, which accounts for the frequent and sudden decay remarked in Russian armies. When Diebitsch reached Adrianople, in 1829, there were only 2000 men fit for duty. Everywhere, you find robbery, organized robbery, hierarchical robbery; for in Russia every officer robs according to his rank; so that a dignity is less valued on its own account and for its honour, than for the plunder that it may bring in. This is what is called in Muscovite language: 'the art of hollow hands.'"

Thus the Russian army is not entitled to the respect of Europe, either on the score of the science and courage of its officers, of the mental and bodily energy of its soldiers, of the wisdom and honesty of its administration. Need we fear it, then? it will be asked. Certainly not the navy, notwithstanding the gallant stroke of Sinope! British seamen and hearts of oak must have sadly fallen off if they dread an encounter with the Baltic and Black sea tubs, or with their heroic reefers. As regards the army, it has seldom fought single-handed in Europe. Its beloved allies, the Austrians, have generally stood bottle-holders to it, and its way has not unfrequently been smoothed by gold. In Turkey and Persia it has had more success, but chiefly, also, through bribery and corruption. England's folly at Navarino paved the way for the occupation of the Principalities. As for Circassia, a few undisciplined tribes have defied her for one hundred years, and cost her, and are continuing to this day to cost her, many armies.

Yet, let not Europe slumber in security. It is always right to be prepared to meet a problematical force, and it is right to remember the spirituality and enlightenment of the Russian people. All the

* "This evil," says the saintly Haxthausen "is the worm that dieth not in the Russian empire."

European governments ought to keep her within her frontiers, and oppose her encroachments; modern civilization and the progress of humanity are at stake in this. But above all, let the West remember that Russian diplomacy is our danger, and that the liberty of nations and of the world is lost in London drawing-rooms and at the Russian Embassy.

A minute account of the Russian army will be found in the *Travels of Marmont Duke of Ragusa*, who dwells at some length on the formidable nature of their cavalry, which he represents as uniting the agility of light-horse with the weight of the heavy dragoon. He alludes especially to the cuirassier regiments armed with lances. Experience will be the best test of the efficiency of this force; at the same time, it will be well to prepare to meet it, especially when we remember the high estimation in which Napoleon I. held cavalry.

The Duke of Ragusa gives details, also, respecting the military colonies, especially those in Malo-Russia, which the Imperial government had intended as a nursery for converting the whole empire into soldiers. These colonies have not, however, succeeded so well as was anticipated, though they still supply a formidable addition to the forces of the Russian army in the field, and especially on paper. With regard to the system of recruiting the Muscovite army, the author of "*Letters from the Baltic*," though generally far from disposed to exaggerate the evils of Russia, makes out a very strong case of cruelty and tyranny.

The recruiting system, we are told, falls especially hard upon those provinces tributary to Russia, but not otherwise Russianized. This statement is fully borne out by the testimony of the author of "*Eastern Europe*," in connexion with Poland. No matter, it is added, how foreign and heterogeneous—all atoms that enter that vast laboratory, the Russian army, are fused down to the same form.

The Esthonian, therefore, fares so much worse than the native Russian, in that he leaves not only kindred and home, but language, country, and religion, and moreover, an inherent taste for a pastoral life, which the genuine Muscovite does not share. From the moment that the peasant of the Baltic provinces draws the fatal lot No. 1, he knows that he is a Russian, and, worse than that, a Russian soldier, and not only himself, but every son from that hour born to him; for, like the executioner's office in Germany, a soldier's life in Russia is hereditary. He receives no bounty-money; on the contrary, his parish is charged with the expense of his outfit to the amount of between thirty and forty roubles—his hair, which an Esthonian regards as sacred, is shaven almost close to his head! and amidst scenes of distress which have touched the sternest hearts, the Esthonian shepherd leaves the home of his fathers. If wars and exposure, and sickness and ill-usage, spare him, he returns after twenty-four years of service—his language scarce remembered, his religion changed, and without a rouble in his pocket—to seek his daily bread by his own exertions for the remainder of his life, or to be chargeable to his parish, which, by this time, has forgotten that he ever existed, and certainly wishes he

had never returned. Perhaps an order or two decorates him, or reaches him after his discharge; but the worn-out Russian soldier has little pride in the symbols of that valour which has consumed his health, strength, and youth, and procured him no maintenance when those are gone.

The age of liability is from twenty to thirty-five; the number annually drawn is five in a thousand; but in time of war the number is increased. Each estate of five haken, a measurement relating to the amount of corn sown, and not to actual extent,—can screen four *Recrutenfähige*, or liable subjects; no estate can screen more than twelve. This power of protection is engrossed principally by the house and stable servants—for your own valet, or coachman, unless you purchase his exemption, is just as liable as the rest. The price of exemption is 1000 roubles, or 100 roubles a-year for fifteen years. If one year be omitted or delayed, the previous payments are annulled. Nor will the crown accept a man the less, and another suffers for his neighbour's better means. Besides purchase money, the only grounds for exemption consist in a personal defect, or a family of three children. The father of two is taken. Examples of voluntary maiming are not rare. A stone-mason blind from cataract in one eye, being strenuously urged to apply for medical aid, replied smiling, "I would not have two eyes for the world—now I can't be taken for a recruit."

Thus the Russian government equally encourages mental and physical blindness in its children.

On those estates where the population is not able to make up the necessary number of recruits, a child is delivered over and assigned to the military school at Revel. The crown must have its "pound of flesh."

If unmarried, if under humane and honest officers, if industrious and careful, by the sale of *schnapps* and extra rations he may lay up three or four hundred roubles to retire with. He has learnt a trade, acquired habits of obedience, and is a free man. If the higher classes in Russia could be depended on for honesty, the soldier's life would be no longer so pitiable. Yet his pay is only eight roubles a-year. He is exposed to the plitt and knout, and all classes in Russia plunder their inferiors. In short, competent authorities state that, miserable as is the condition of Russian serfs, they shudder at the thought of being drawn for soldiers.

We shall now examine the strength of the Russian army somewhat more in detail, especially in relation with some of its special corps.

THE ARMY.

Colonel Cameron, Lord Londonderry, Marshal Marmont, and Leonouz le Duc, present us with copious data on which to found our estimate of the strength and efficiency of the Russian army.

Beginning with the Imperial Guard on the peace-establishment in 1845, it presented the following results:—

I.—CAVALRY.

| REGIMENTS. | UNIFORMS. | SABRES, LANCES, &c. |
|--|--------------------------|------------------------|
| Four Regiments Cuirassiers, 800 each | White | 3200 |
| Two Regiments Hussars, 800 each | Red | 1600 |
| Two Regiments Lancers, 800 each | Blue | 1600 |
| One Regiment Dragoons | Green | 800 |
| Two Pulks of Regular Cossacks, embodied } chiefly from minor tribes, 600 each ... } | Red | 1200 |
| CONTINGENTS FROM GREAT TRIBES. | | |
| One Pulk Donski Cossack..... | Sky Blue | 600 |
| One Pulk Black Sea | Dark Blue | 600 |
| One Pulk Orenbourg | Dark Blue | 600 |
| One Pulk Line | Circassian Costume | 600 |
| Circassian, Kirghui, and other Asiatic con- } tingents | National Costume | 600 |
| Total of Cavalry | | 11,400 |

II.—INFANTRY.

| REGIMENTS. | UNIFORMS. | LANCES SABRES O BAYONET |
|---|-------------|-------------------------------|
| Seven Regiments of Grenadiers, each hav- } ing three battalions, each battalion 1000 } strong | Green | 21,000 |
| One Regiment of Marines, equipage de la } Garde | Green | 1000 |
| One Regiment Finland Rifles | Green | 1000 |
| One Regiment Veterans | Green | 1000 |
| Total of Infantry | | 24,000 |

III.—ORDNANCE.

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|--------|
| One Battalion of Sappers | Green | 1000 |
| Four Troops Horse Artillery | Green | 800 |
| Twelve Companies Foot Artillery | Green | 1800 |
| Total of Ordnance | | 3600 |
| Ordnance | 3600 | |
| Cavalry | 11,400 | |
| Infantry | 24,000 | |
| Grand Total | | 39,000 |

After all we find it impossible to arrive at an accurate estimate of the whole army, but we endeavour to give a proximate estimate producing the following results:—

The Russian forces are divided into seven corps d'armée (including one of reserve), composed of four regiments of cavalry (light or heavy), and twelve of infantry (each of four battalions, 1000 strong), with an average proportion of two troops, or sixteen gun

of horse artillery to the former, and from twelve to fifteen companies of foot to the latter. These in numerical strength would represent about 4000 cavalry, 48,000 infantry, and 2000 artillery, thus rendering the full amount of the various corps, 374,000 men.

This does not include the armies of Orenburg and of the Caucasus, the latter in 1845 amounting to 85,000 men, now so much more, but having only one regiment of regular cavalry, the Nijni Novgorod regiments. To these must be added 140 regiments of Cossacks, varying in number, but generally rated at 70,000 or 80,000 men, and about fifty garrison battalions of invalids.

The grand total therefore of the Russian army, even on the peace establishment, is supposed to be between 600,000 and 620,000 men, without reckoning the military colonies or the Cossacks of the Line and of the Black sea, both of whom being engaged in perpetual warfare with the Circassians, are organized as a levy *en masse*.

In analyzing the special corps of the Russian army, very conflicting opinions are presented by Lord Londonderry, Colonel Cameron, and the author of the "Revelations of Russia." Lord Londonderry says that the Russian cavalry of the guard cannot be surpassed; he pronounces the Grenadiers a chivalrous corps, and the Mousquetaires of the guard as the most perfect. Another beautiful corps is the Hussars of the guard, all mounted on grey horses; the Lanciers have chestnuts. The Circassian and Chevalier Guards have the heaviness and want of action that many of our Life-guard regiments exhibit. The officers did not appear as good riders, or so well drilled as the privates.

At a review witnessed by Cameron, he speaks of the magnificent soldiery, appearing to consist of picked men of Asia and Europe. Powerfully built cuirassiers, stalwart and sinewy Mousquetaires, light and active hussars, gigantic grenadiers, agile and vigilant riflemen, each in handsome and admirably fitted uniforms, presenting a contrast to the mail-clad Circassian and semi-barbarous Cossacks.

With regard to the Cuirassiers of the guard being provided with bayonets, he says that no infantry could stand them. He thinks that this system if followed up, would produce a corresponding change throughout military tactics. But it is evident that the minié and needle rifles have rendered the Cuirassier Lancer almost powerless. Colonel Cameron does not, however, estimate the Chevalier Guard as high as Lord Londonderry: "I do not think they will stand comparison with those of our household cavalry."

The gallant general saw them on parade, but had he, similarly to the author, observed them without their clothing or appointments, I am convinced his opinion would have been different. In one respect they have the advantage; while our three regiments of Household Cavalry muster 1000 men and horse, the four corps of Russian Cuirassiers fall little short of four times that number.

Of the military colonies of Russia, whose victims consist of militia, ploughmen, and shepherds in helmet sabre and uniform, it suffices to say that Colonel Cameron and Marshal Marmont describe them as eminently successful, while other accounts say that they are failures. The cavalry colonies were founded in 1818

Haxthausen pronounces them perfectly successful. The governments of Novgorod, Kharkof, Kherson, Kief, and Podolia have now a force of 82,210 military colonists; 29,950 infantry; nine regiments of three battalions; four regiments of cuirassiers, each 4000 strong; six light horse regiments for the Guards, 10 regiments of Lancers equal to 13,816 men; six of Hussars, equal to 9216; ten batteries of horse artillery and other corps. Haxthausen makes the Cossacks amount to 875,000 in all, whereof 129,000 are engaged in military service.

With regard to the fleet, though the Russians have undoubtedly used every effort to make theirs efficacious, and have manned chiefly with Fins or Greeks, either from inefficient officers, or some other cause, competent naval authorities pronounce it a failure. Even Colonel Cameron, though a soldier and partial to Russia, admits the glaring defects of Russian seamanship, and we have an eminent authority to warrant us in pronouncing Sinope a disgrace to the Russians, and a glory to the Turks. He admits that the citadel of Cronstadt is of immense strength, as also the line work known as Rizenbank batteries, and that both sink into insignificance beside the castle of Cronschlott and the Mole; but when he examines the sailors, he pronounces it inefficient. Never has the sea service been popular with the Muscovite, and the Emperor Nicholas has done everything in his power to improve his marine, but it is a failure. It is true that it musters fifty-five ships of the line and thirty heavy frigates manned by 50,000 seamen. But Olinde and others inform us that their ships rot in a few years through the venality of the employés, who make the contract for bad green timber, or by the influence of the worm of the Black Sea and the water of the Neva. The Russian sailors, moreover, by the admission of Cameron, Kohl, and others, are mere landlubbers in stiff military costume, totally inefficient as able seamen. Their clumsiness is continually proved by their running aground, even in a breeze. Perhaps it may be thought that the use of steam screws alters the matter, but most engineers on the Continent, and above all in Russia, have been Englishmen.

The Russian ships are clean and in good order, though their build is heavy and clumsy. After these brief remarks, we shall pass to a table of the Russian naval force, and then consider the political establishment.

1. Baltic Fleet:—One ship of 120 guns; three of 110; fifteen of 84; twelve of 74; thirty of from 60 to 74; some corvettes and brigs, and about twenty steamboats. 2. Black Sea Fleet:—Three ships of the line of 120 guns; three of 110; seven of 74; eight frigates of 60; and ten of 44; some corvettes and brigs, and twenty-five steamboats; the latter of these two forces would be the only one that would generally be able to meet the Turks in winter, as the Black Sea fleet at that season is blocked up by ice. The *personnel* of the Russian navy consists of 63 admirals; 72 captains of the first rank; 8 of the second, and 211 lieutenants; the number of seamen is about 50,000, the only good sailors being Greeks and Fins; but the officers are wanting in instruction and theory, and the men in practice.

Sebastopol, the great naval fort of the Russians in the Black sea, contains 30,000 inhabitants. Mr. Oliphant states that though the batteries commanding the port are very numerous and powerful in appearance, they are reported to be so imperfectly built that half of them would crumble down at the first discharge. He adds, that they would all be rendered useless by landing a strong force, and cutting off the town. Balaklava, another creek and port in the Crimea, near Sebastopol, and opening to the south east, is derived from Bella Chiave; it used to be called *Καλος λιμην*. The entrance to Sebastopol is thirty yards across; it widens after to 1400, with a depth of 300 fathoms. The port is defended by 11 batteries, mounting 1500 cannon.

Sebastopol is a city which no stranger may approach without a special permit, in which no stranger may reside without a special order, which order must be renewed every twenty-four hours—a city in which the name and occupation of every resident (and, including military and marine, the residents are forty thousand) must be registered, and all whose houses, from the governor's, downwards, are subject to police inspection.

Accustomed as Englishmen are to consider dockyards and arsenals as public institutions, and, under certain proper regulations, open to every one, the extreme jealousy of Russia to allow their establishments of a like kind being inspected by foreigners, would necessarily create curiosity; and we learn that in the autumn of 1852, two Englishmen, with no object in view whatever, as they themselves admit, beyond the pleasure of outwitting a jealous government and doing that which was forbidden, contrived to invade the sacred territories, and, unknown even to Russian police, unprotected by passports, permits, and padaroshnas, managed to reside for some time undetected in the very penetralia of Russian mysteries.

The information they give us is valuable, no doubt, for they seem by no means deficient in eyes and ears and understanding; but the whole scheme appears to have been a frolic such as none but Englishmen would have thought of, and none but Englishmen could understand, and we cannot do better than give their own account of their motives.

“It always affords an Englishman unspeakable gratification, to be engaged in some adventure which is likely to result in what he terms a scrape. Perhaps it was the absence of any such excitement for some weeks, passed in a country offering abundant facility for its enjoyment, that induced us to visit Sebastopol in the way we did. We had determined to explore the most celebrated naval station in Russia from the moment that we heard that foreigners were not permitted to enter those mysterious precincts, except upon rare occasions; and when we further learned that this permission was granted by the governor alone, and that it would be necessary to renew it every twenty-four hours during our stay, it naturally occurred to us as Englishmen, that to act consistently we ought to pay a visit to so interesting a spot without any such permission at all.”

Under the influence of a motive so very natural and national,

they hired at Yalta, a common peasant's cart, with a pair of stout horses, and, dressed in their worn and travel-soiled shooting jackets of foreign manufacture, disguised by the bronzing suns of many a hard day's travel, and probably also by that growth of hair, whiskers, beard, and moustaches, in which our English travellers rejoice, set forth on their hair-brained expedition, which might very easily have ended in the mines of Siberia, and probably would, had not the whole energies of the authorities been occupied at that time in preparing for the reception of the Emperor, and a grand naval review that was to follow his arrival. A German friend residing in the town, engaged to find them quiet accommodation in the city of dockyards; and this man also, strange to say, seems to have escaped without loss or injury from the results of his imprudent hospitality.

Their unpretending guise, their humble conveyance, and, as they insinuate themselves, the dirt in which they were shrouded, that assimilated them so much to the natives as to deceive the watchfulness of Russian police, obtained for them an access which nothing short of the very highest interest could have procured. The gates expanded before them, and they contemplated at their leisure the grandeur of Russian naval war.

"The suspicious eye of each officer I passed," says our adventurous countryman, "chilled the blood in my veins. I had not taken ten paces down the main street, when my guilty conscience was startled, and the last particle of romance frightened out of me, by a sentry at my side suddenly presenting arms to the governor who was accidentally passing. I was ever oppressed with the painful consciousness of looking like an Englishman, and suspected the groups of soldiers standing at the corners of the streets of plotting our apprehension—we were walking on a magazine which might explode at any time both literally and figuratively."

These uncomfortable sensations do not appear to have rendered him incapable of using his faculties; he seems to have contrived to see the lions of the place, and to have kept himself while he did so beyond beyond the reach of their claws and teeth.

"The population of Sebastopol, including military and marine, amounts to forty thousand. The town is in fact an immense garrison, and looks imposing because so many of the buildings are barracks or government offices. Still I was much struck with the substantial appearance of many of the private houses; and indeed the main street was handsomer than any I had seen since leaving Moscow, while it owed its extreme cleanliness to large gangs of military prisoners who were employed in perpetually sweeping. New houses were springing up in every direction, government works were still going forward vigorously, and Sebastopol bids fair to rank high among Russian cities. The magnificent arm of the sea upon which it is situate is an object worthy the millions which have been lavished in rendering it a fitting receptacle for the Russian navy.

"As I stood upon the handsome stairs that lead down to the water's edge, I counted thirteen sail of the line anchored in the principal harbour. The newest of these, a noble three-decker, was

DIPLOMACY.

lying within pistol-shot of the quay. The average breadth of the inlet is one thousand yards; two creeks branch off from it, intersecting the town in a southerly direction, and containing steamers and smaller craft, besides a long row of hulks which have been converted into magazines or prison-ships."

By the same authority, we are assured that at one point at the entrance of the harbour, on which no less than twelve hundred guns can be brought to bear, and there are from thirty-six to sixty-four pounders; but the batteries are in so dilapidated a state as to render the discharge equally dangerous to the besieged and besieger; and even were they sufficient to annihilate an enemy in front, they are left completely open and unprotected in the rear; and were the allied force to land troops, for which the numerous undefended bays and creeks give every facility, and thus to attack the defences in the rear while the fleet menaced the harbour in front, any force sufficient to overpower the garrison in the open field would be sufficient also to turn the position, take the town, silence the twelve hundred guns, and admit the fleet to quiet possession of the harbour and dockyard.

CHAPTER III.

DIPLOMACY AND THE SECRET POLICE. THE KNOT, AND RUNNING THE GAUNTLET.

DIPLOMACY may be considered the cause, and the secret police as the instrument, of the aggression and oppression of Russia.

We need not dwell here on the masterly and the Machiavellian policy of the Russian cabinet, by which it has achieved most of its conquests, and obtained a famous—or infamous—name among the nations.

On the subject of her diplomacy, it may be interesting, however, to introduce a passage from one of her partisans and champions.

"In speaking of these various subjects," says Cameron, "I must not omit to allude to where the chief strength and power of Russia truly lies. It is where it was long unsuspected, even when, subsequently, first known, disregarded, but is now universally acknowledged and feared; *it is her diplomacy*, and in the subtlety, acuteness, dissimulation, and sagacity of its members."

"To this carefully selected body no person, as I have previously mentioned, whatever his birth, rank, or fortune, is ever admitted, unless possessed of talents calculated to insure success in his career. Under a regular system of education for this all important service, commenced at an early age, all having charge of her interests, from the youngest attaché to the highest dignitary, are ever watchful and vigilantly on the alert to turn even the most trifling occurrences to the advantage of their sovereign and country; and, it may be said, without the slightest hesitation that for one triumph Russia

as gained by the sword (and the present generation are aware they are not few), to her diplomacy she owes fifty."

He proceeds, very justly, to lament the notorious ignorance and inability of English diplomatists, and cites a good case in point, in the case of Mr. Devalny, British Consul-General at Adrianople, in 1829, when General Diebitch led the Russian army there over the Balkan. This gentleman, in connexion with a despatch he was required to write on the power and efficiency of the Russian soldiery, remarks, "I have never even seen a regiment of soldiers in my life before." The consequence was the miserable treaty of Adrianople, which saddled Russia on the back of Turkey, and gave up Circassia to the charities of Muscovy; whilst it closed the Danube by allowing a Russian quarantine at its mouth.

What a striking contrast does this anecdote afford to the system practised by the Muscovite government at the principal embassies, of which London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Constantinople, and Teheran, one or more officers (the ablest perhaps of the staff-corps), are attached to afford aid to the ambassadors in all professional matters.

Truly, Colonel Cameron is correct in assigning most of Russia's triumphs to diplomacy; but it is a question if their cleverness has not been the result of our folly. They are knaves because we are fools; and so long as England persists in shutting its eyes to facts, in trusting inefficient and inappropriate instruments, and in confiding her dearest interests to a council of three and a secret tribunal—for the blue books are only a blind and dust in our eyes—so long as this system prevails, our diplomacy will be a national disgrace to us, and a universal misfortune to others.

That we have not overrated the influence of Russia's diplomacy will appear from the statements of two French writers.

With regard to Russian diplomacy in foreign parts, we have it, on the authority of Custine, that Russia, since the reign of Catherine, has produced many stateswomen, endowed with political genius and addicted to intrigue. Scarcely a capital in Europe is without one of these Northern Aspasia's, and hence without two or three Russian ambassadors. Of these, one is the public and accredited envoy; the others are secret and not responsible, acting in petticoats and bonnets as independent ministers, and as spies on the official envoy. . . . Russia has an organized female diplomacy; and Europe is possibly not sufficiently alive to this unusual influence. The Court of Russia has the ear of Dionysius, by means of its army of political Amazons gifted with masculine intellect and with feminine language and tact; and this fact would explain many mysteries, and give the key to many contradictions. Custine proceeds, "The reason why Russia has better diplomatists than other nations more advanced in civilization, is because she has notice, through our newspapers, of all that takes place or is projected by us; and that instead of disguising our weaknesses, we reveal them daily with imprudence; whilst, on the contrary, Byzantine policy works in the shade, and hides carefully both its thoughts, its actions, and its fears. We walk openly in the light of day—Russia under the shelter of secrecy. The game is not an equal

one. The ignorance in which we are left blinds us; whilst our sincerity enlightens her. We have the weakness of loquacity—Russia knows the strength of secrecy—and herein lies the cause of her diplomatic ability.”

THE POLICE.

If the Russian army aims at preserving the influence of the empire without, the police is charged with preserving order and security within its frontier. This police is organized upon a vast scale. No other government in Europe can surpass Russia in this respect.

The Russian Police is divided into two separate sections: the political or high police, and the civil or municipal police.

Directed by a great master, who resides at St. Petersburg, the high police forms a real ministry of itself. Its agents are numerous, and it might be said that it embraces the whole world in its circle of action. It would be useless for the subjects of the Autocrat to attempt to extricate themselves from its embrace. It follows them into the interior of their own domains, as well as in their most distant travels. There is no region, however remote, where it does not penetrate, its ear always attentive, its eye open to discover even the most secret manifestations of the thought, and its pen ready to write down reports. Every courier who arrives at St. Petersburg enriches the papers of his chief with some new revelation. The Russian traveller is very much astonished, when he returns to his own country, to see the whole history of his absence faithfully delineated. Woe be to him, if, carried away by some foreign influence, he may have committed actions or uttered words which might give umbrage, in any way, to the Autocrat! The high police are dressed in all kinds of ways. You meet them in the saloons in yellow gloves and black coats; in the warehouses, in the clerk's dress; at the theatre, disguised as a ballet-dancer or actor; in the streets and even in the midst of popular emeutes, counterfeiting the revolutionist and the patriot. "I have seen with my own eyes," says a French author, "after February, 1848, "one of their well-known agents going all over Paris with an enormous trace of red wool at his button hole, in an attire which the most disorderly conspirator would not have despised."

Have we not heard of Russians who have met this police even in the most seductive rendezvous! the woman by whom they believed themselves adored, and whom they load with their diamonds and gold, is precisely the demon who has betrayed them.

If the high police had no other object but to protect the government of the Czar from the invasion of seditious principles, no one would then think of blaming them. It would only lead to the legitimate use of their functions for the preservation of those conservative principles which have become a necessary law for all states. But this police is not only conservative, but malignant. By the absurdity or exaggeration of its statements, it keeps up that deep hatred of foreigners which causes every one who arrives there to be suspected; and which, in order to guarantee the Auto-

crat's territory from some venomous germs, isolates it more and more from the healthy influences of civilization and progress. It is this police which, interpreting as evil all which does not bear the impress of what is most despotic and servile, dries up in its source all faithful and generous initiation. But, as if it were not sufficient that the Russians should be demoralized, they extend their injurious actions even to foreigners. Are they not seen prowling about wherever there is a conscience to corrupt, a pen to be bought? If Russia reckons amongst those who serve her interests so many felonious hearts and venal souls, she owes it to the high police. With hands full of gold, and with seductive promises, it marches audaciously to its end; and I am sorry to say, it is rarely disappointed. The Machiavellian exploit is, doubtless, still remembered, which put the Emperor Alexander's aide-de-camp, Tschernicheff, in possession of the military secrets of France!* Even at the present time, the high police gets possession of the secrets, not only of our employes and official agents, but of our industrials and artisans. The high police in Russia is the auxiliary to the diplomacy and the army. The high police is carried on in the interior of the empire by a body of gens d'armes, who are very efficient in keeping the empire quiet.

From the best authorities, we learn that the Russian police is the body which is least calculated to carry out the order and inspection which is confided to it. Although the annual report of its superintendent, tendered to the Emperor, presents always the most flattering picture of the morality and virtue of the inhabitants of the capital, it is probable that there are more thefts and assassinations committed at St. Petersburg than in all London and Paris, more even than in all the capitals of Europe united. All mention

* A work full of truth, although sometimes a little exaggerated, "The Mysteries of Russia," by Frederick Lacroix, contains a note which I think deserving of insertion. "Michel, an employé at the office for clothing the troops, had been for several years connected with the Russian agents. He had been hired by M. d'Oubril, secretary of the Russian legation at Paris. The notes which he communicated to this diplomatist respecting the state of the military divisions of France, the number of our troops and our national resources, were precious indications to Russia to undertake the war of 1805, which ended so gloriously for us by the battle of Friedland.

"Somewhat later, Michel renounced his relations, and made new communications to Count Tolstoi, the Muscovite ambassador, whose secretary was Count Nesselrode. It was this last who received from Michel the information he had to give him. The miserable wretch wrote these notes himself, or got them from his two colleagues of war, Messrs. Saget and Salmon, whom he had gained over, as well as one named Moses, a boy at the office. The latter communicated to Michel a note-book, giving twice a month the situation of our military forces, and intended to be seen by the Emperor alone. All that regarded the German army, the list of officers, the state of the troops, the effective force of the army, &c., was revealed by Michel to the Russian agents, who paid him largely for his services.

"M. de Nesselrode being recalled to Russia, bequeathed Michel to M. Knapp, the new secretary to the embassy. It was in 1811 that Michel gave documents to the Russian spy, one of which was worth 6000 francs to him. Count Tschernicheff arrived at Paris soon after. Furnished with instructions from

of crimes or wrongs is prohibited in the journals. A crime is rarely heard of beyond the quarter in which it is committed; but in his own locality, the inhabitant of St. Petersburg, with only accident for his guide, may hear of more thefts than the official reports enumerate in the year for the whole city or even the empire. And this they would call an authentic report of all that happened during the year.

Crimes multiply especially during the long winters, whilst the nights are dark and the Neva is frozen. It is easy to ascertain the frequency of the assassinations, by the number of dead bodies which float towards the gulf of Finland when the ice breaks up. They are usually drunkards whom the conductors of sledges have killed with their knives or hatchets; and these crimes are rarely prosecuted: the police preferring the more easy way of concealing them, that is, if some of their members have not participated in them.

In those distant quarters in which they are committed, the *boutechnicks*, probably, play the principal part; and there is no doubt that the majors of the police have an understanding with these professional thieves. It is not a rare thing to see an audacious malefactor arrested several times for thieving by the same person, and released by the police, who find it more profitable to have him free; hence he will not be punished if he pays more than the person robbed. Nothing is less common than the arrest of an unknown thief. A thing stolen is never restored to its first possessor; for, even if a man recognise his own property, he soon finds out that it has passed from the hands of the professional to the privileged thief. At any rate, a thing is never recovered without paying the whole value; and in return, he may meet in a neighbouring street, his thief perfectly free, who, in passing, will quietly give him his blessing.

M. d'Onbril, he connected himself with Michel unknown to Knast, or at least apparently so, and obtained, amongst other documents, the general state of the corps of all arms composing the Imperial Guard. The noble count had also charged Michel to corrupt some of the clerks of the office of the staff of the German army, in order to get at the secret of our operations. He had even offered 400,000 francs to M. Salmon, to obtain information respecting an important transaction which this superior employé was making regarding the movement of the troops, in the bureaux of the Prince of Neuchâtel, major-general of the French armies.

"Whenever the traitor appeared to show any remorse, M. de Tschernicheff threatened to denounce him unless he continued to serve him. His importunities left Michel no rest; he exercised an irresistible power over him, and obtained everything he wanted of him, partly through seduction and money, and partly by intimidation. Thus intelligence was exacted by this personage, and by the criminal complaisance of his accomplice, which allowed the Muscovite government to calculate the chances of the success or abortion of the expedition projected against Russia; and also allowed it to proportion its resources to the forces which were about to march against Moscow.

"All these treasons were at last discovered. A criminal process took place in 1812. Michel was condemned to die, Saget to the pillory, and to be flogged; Salmon and Moses were acquitted. Saget was defended by the elder M. Dupin.

"Michel was executed in the month of May in the same year."

All these details are very sad. Unhappily, we are compelled, from all that travellers have witnessed and experienced in St. Petersburg, to confirm their truth. They will not, however, surprise us, if we consider the intimate and personal situation of the agents who are guilty of them. The Russian police, as well as all the other functionaries of the empire, is very badly remunerated. Nevertheless, these are (according to the author just cited), the strange acts by which they are signalized.

Not only do the agents of the Russian police make a fortune, but also, on the first day of the year, the superintendent is accustomed to receive from them a present worth ten times more than their fees. It is true they are not obliged by law to make those presents; there may be a ukase which prohibits the superior from accepting them; but if the usual offering fails, the inferior will be changed, disgraced, and persecuted, with no other pretext, with the same severity that a master would use towards a servant who had betrayed his confidence. If his present happens to be less than the accustomed one, he is sent to a less lucrative post. Does his ambition, on the contrary, lead him to increase the tribute, whether by sacrificing the best part of his illicit gains, or redoubling his activity, he is sure to gain a more advantageous post. Thus, a criminal emulation is established between those who are appointed to seek out and punish crime. We can form an idea of the burthen which these vampires lay upon commerce by this fact, that, at St. Petersburg the publicans estimate that every year, on the average, from forty or sixty to one hundred of their profits is directly or indirectly extorted from them by the municipal or civic police. The men of this police divide the inhabitants of the city amongst themselves as their victims, and they do not fail to observe scrupulously their mutual rights to this effect, if you may use the word *rights* for the impure source of profits arising from the tears and despair of their fellow-citizens. *

I have spoken of the knout and the plitt; and it will not be uninteresting to explain these two kinds of punishment. I found an exact description of them in a recent work of M. de Lagny, entitled, "The Knout and the Russians." †

"Imagine a robust man, full of life and health. That man is condemned to receive from fifty to a hundred strokes of the knout. He is led, half naked, to the place appointed for this kind of execution; a simple pair of linen drawers covers the lower part of his body. His hands are fastened one on the top of the other, and the cords tear his wrists. It matters not! He is laid flat on his stomach upon a rack diagonally inclined, and at the extremities of which are attached iron rings. The hands are fixed at one end and the feet at the other. The patient is then stretched, so that he can make no movement, just as they stretch an eel's skin to dry it. This tension cracks the bones and disjoins them: no matter! Shortly after, the bones are cracked and disjoined in

* "Revelations of Russia."

† Leouzon le Duc, from M. de Lagny's "Le Knout et les Russes."

another way. At a distance of five-and-twenty paces is another man: it is the executioner. He is dressed in black velvet pantaloons, turned into his boots, and in a shirt of coloured cotton, buttoned at the side. His sleeves are tucked up, so that nothing may embarrass his movements. He holds in both hands the instrument of punishment—a knout. The knout is a thong of thick leather, cut triangularly, and from three to four metres long, (nine to twelve feet long), an inch in breadth, tapering to the point and thick at the other end; the small end is fixed to a little wooden handle of about two feet in length.

“The signal is given: they never take the trouble to read the sentence. The executioner makes some steps forwards, his body bent, and dragging this long thong between his legs. When he has arrived within three or four paces of his victim, he raises the knout vigorously above his head, and instantly bringing it down with rapidity towards his knees, the thong flies into the air, whistles, descends, and clasps the body of the sufferer as with a circle of iron. Notwithstanding his state of tension, the sufferer bounds as if under the powerful shocks of galvanism. The executioner retraces his steps, and begins the same manœuvre as many times as the criminal is condemned to suffer blows. When the thong envelopes the body with its folds, the flesh and the muscles are literally cut into segments, as with a razor; but if it falls upon the plane of two angles, the bones crack. The flesh is not mashed, but pounded, crushed; the blood gushes from all parts. The sufferer becomes green and blue, like a rotten corpse. He is carried to the hospital, where all care is taken of him; he is then sent to Siberia, where he disappears for ever in the bowels of the earth.”

The knout is fatal, according to the intention of *justice*, of the Czar, and of the executioner. If the autocrat wishes to give his people a spectacle worthy of their eyes and intelligence—if some powerful noble, some great lady, wish to enjoy a sight of this bloody spectacle—if they desire to see the victim with foam on his mouth, covered with blood, writhe and expire in fearful agonies—then the mortal blow will be given the last. The executioner sells his victim and his pity by weight of gold. If the family of the wretched man wish to purchase the mortal blow, he will then give the stroke at first, with as much certainty as if he held a hatchet in his hand.

“After the knout come the *battognes*, or rods, another kind of punishment still more barbarous, since it is always followed by death, at least, ninety-nine times out of a hundred. It is, in this case, the army which executes the solemn decisions of the justice of the country, and the sentences of the Autocrat. The army is the executioner.

“As many soldiers are required as there are to be strokes of the rod. Six thousand strokes are not the highest number allowed by law to be applied to criminals, but it is the most usual number; and in this case, also, the legislature shows itself ingenious. Less than a thousand strokes are sufficient to kill the man; with six thousand, death is six times more certain.

"I assisted once at this sort of execution, and the following are the details of what I witnessed:—

"It was in the year 1841. The condemned wretch was a forest-guard of Swedish origin, in the prime of life. He was born in the environs of Wiborg, and, consequently, was a free man, by the same right as the Swedes, his compatriots. For many years he had been in the service of a prince, who dismissed him without paying him his wages—this is a common habit with the Russian boyards. He had a wife and children, and had for some months claimed the right of payment. Winter was just setting in, and they wanted both wood and bread. The guard had several times gone on foot to St. Petersburg, to solicit as a favour that which in other countries he might have exacted with less form from his debtor; and each time he had represented to his old master all the miseries and sufferings experienced by himself and family; he supplicated in a very humble manner. But a great noble, who possesses 15 or 20,000 slaves, does not comprehend those miseries; he has never feared or suffered hunger and cold. The Swede is driven out with a good earning as an uncouth clown, who dares to annoy a 'lord' who would trouble the siesta, or the digestion of this luxurious being! All resources exhausted, exasperated by the unworthy treatment which he had just suffered, and rendered desperate, he brings himself with a pistol, and returns to the prince, who orders him to be thrashed and thrown out at the door. His head is in a whirl—he awaits the prince going out, and kills him on the spot. The formalities of an ordinary trial would have been too long. A peasant to have killed a noble! a boyard! a prince! It was a thing unheard of—it might be a bad example for the people. Besides, this would have been considered an assassination in all countries. We do not seek to excuse it.

"Some hours after the commission of his crime, which he did not deny, he was brought before a council of war, which confined itself to establishing his identity. He was condemned to six thousand strokes of rods; and, twenty-four hours after, six thousand men, ranged in two parallel lines, in a plain without the city, awaited, armed with small sticks of green wood, about the size of the little finger, for the hour of execution. The condemned was conducted in a cart, escorted by some men. No priest had attended him. He was bound, and dressed in a pair of drawers wound round and below his hips, and fastened by a string. The rest of his body was naked, and only covered by a soldier's cloak, which they had thrown over his shoulders. They made him get out, and fastened his two hands tightly to the mouths of two muskets, crossed to the heights of the bayonets with which they were armed. In this situation, the hands resting on the barrel, and the points of the bayonets upon the breast of the criminal. A rolling of drums was heard; immediately all the officers entered their ranks, and two sub-officers came to take the muskets, which they constantly hold in the same manner as a soldier who goes backwards holding the bayonet before him. Here again, admire the barbarity—the refined intelligence of this people! The man, at a given signal, must advance with slow steps between the two ranks of soldiers,

who, each one in his turn, must ~~saw~~ and vigorously on the loins. Pain might suggest to us the idea of passing as quickly as possible through the midst of this hedge of executioners, to avoid the number and violence of the blows, which cut the flesh from him. But he has reckoned without considering Russian justice; the two sub-officers step back, step by step, slowly, to give each one time to accomplish his mission; they retain or repulse the wretched being by thrusting the point of the bayonet into his breast. Each stroke must cut open the flesh, and make the blood gush. There is no pity. Each person must do his duty. The Muscovite soldier is a machine, who must have no feeling; and woe be to his own shoulders if he shows any hesitation; forthwith he will receive from twenty-five to one hundred blows at the will of the general who has the honour of commanding these six thousand executioners. The Russian government is scrupulous in the smallest details; it lays stress on everything being carried into effect. But with such men you run no risk. Thus they act with regard to a man who is being executed as they would at a review. A bundle of straw or hay, placed in the cart, passes some hours before in the midst of the ranks.

"The sufferer advances to the nine hundredth stroke of the rods. He has not uttered a cry or a single complaint—a convulsive trembling alone, from time to time, announces his agony. The foam now begins to flow from his mouth, and the blood from his nose. After fourteen hundred strokes, the face, which for a long time had turned blue, becomes at once green. The eyes are haggard, they almost start from their sockets, from which flow large bloody tears, which wrinkle his face. He was panting—he sank down. The officer who had accompanied me opened the ranks for me, and I approached the body. The skin was literally ripped up; it had, properly speaking, disappeared. The flesh was chopped—almost reduced to a hash. Strips hung down over the flanks like so many thongs; other strips of flesh remained attached and glued to the bayonets of the executioners. The muscles were torn. No human tongue could describe this spectacle. The commander ordered the cart to approach which had brought the condemned. They placed him in it, lying on his stomach; and, although he had quite lost consciousness, they continued the punishment on the mangled body, till the surgeon commissioned by the government, and who had also followed step by step the execution, gave orders to suspend it, which did not happen till the sufferer was ready to expire. At this moment, two thousand six hundred and nineteen strokes had reduced the body to a hash!

"To strike a dead body in Russia is not cruel enough; it would not inspire the slaves with sufficient terror. The man must live to submit to his sentence.

"They carried the miserable man to the hospital, where, according to custom, he was put into a bath saturated with salt, then treated with the greatest solicitude till he is quite cured, in order that he may suffer the entire sentence. The penal laws of Russia always and everywhere present the most atrocious barbarity. It was seven months before this wretched man was cured and his

...established; at the end of that time, he was solemnly
 ...to the same place of execution, and suffered the appointed
 ...strokes. He died at the commencement of this second
 execution."

CHAPTER IV.

COMMERCE, MINES, AND MANUFACTURES.

AMONGST the most important questions affecting the present position and the future prospects of Russia, her commerce and mines are entitled to our primary consideration.

On these topics, we have very sufficient and copious data from a variety of authors who have examined into the subject, including Lord Londonderry, Charles Herbert Cottrell, Mr. Oliphant, Baron Haxthausen, and Leouzon le Duc; and as these writers view the subject from opposite points of view, by comparing their statements, we may hope to arrive at an impartial estimate of the material prosperity of this empire.

The actual valuation of Lord Londonderry's work is chiefly devoted to a consideration of the resources of Russia about the period of his visit, 1805. The number of manufacturing concerns in the empire at that date was 2945, of which 381 were new. The number of workmen employed was 279,673, without reckoning those employed in mines, furnaces, forges, &c.

The total value of imported goods was 180,913,929 roubles 87 copecks. The principal imports were spun cottons, to the amount of 48,418,476 roubles; sugar unrefined, 37,343,543 roubles; coffee, 4,316,095 roubles; wines, 8,879,763 roubles; silk, 5,000,000; woollen goods, 6,000,000, &c. The total value of exported goods was 129,601,362 roubles 88 copecks. The principal articles were tallow, to the amount of 40,732,358 roubles; hemp, 19,221,328 roubles; flax, 6,291,808 roubles; copper, 9,364,065 roubles; iron, 6,000,000; bristles, 5,000,000; cloths, 7,000,000, &c.

Whilst the navigation was open, there arrived 1105 vessels, gauging 108,613 casks; and there departed 1182, gauging 116,327 casks. Of the former, 823 were with cargoes, of which 123 were coal. The receipts of the custom-house in 1836 were 48,968,790 roubles.†

Colonel Cameron, who visited Russia shortly after Lord Londonderry, and published his adventures in 1845, observes:—"That there is perhaps no nation in the world, nor even England herself, so com-

* To sum up the measure of the blessings attaching to the Russian police, it will suffice to mention, that the fire police, which is celebrated for its efficiency, is so feared for its dishonesty, that if a house is on fire people would prefer to dispense with its ruinous assistance.—See "La Russie Contemporaine."

† One silver rouble equal four francs three and a half cents, or about 37.00.

One hundred copecks equal one rouble.

One assignat rouble equal two-sevenths of a silver rouble.

pletely dependent on her commerce as Russia; not merely as regards the prosperity of her revenue, but the individual fortunes of every class of her subjects, from the noble to the serf; and it is a notorious fact that, while no ship quits a Muscovite port without a full cargo of hides, pitch, tallow, iron, hemp, rape, and other productions of the country, the circumstance of a foreign vessel arriving otherwise than in ballast is almost wholly unknown."

The importance of this fact, in connexion with the present war, will be obvious to every reader.

Nearly the whole of the foreign trade is confined to Odessa, Riga, Arkhangel, and St. Petersburg. Cameron coincides with Lord Londonderry in praising the number and value of the new manufactories of broadcloths, china, glass, amber, &c., starting up on all sides. But Mr. Oliphant represents their productions in that country as dearer than the imports from England, &c., and inferior in quality besides. Cameron says that the great drawback is the want of water-carriage, while others say that Russia is unrivalled in this respect. All, however, admit that the Volga is a splendid interpal artery; and the country will soon be furrowed with railways, though many authorities doubt their success commercially, and maintain that their only advantage will be to move large bodies of troops rapidly to the scene of action.

There is reason to believe that the practice of fairs, especially the giant fair of Nijni-Novgorod, will shortly decline and vanish before the commercial habits of Western Europe.

The principal railway in Russia at present is that from St. Petersburg to Moscow, a distance of nearly five hundred English miles. Oliphant describes the accommodation for travellers as very bad, and charges the managers with great want of punctuality. A short line runs to Czarskoselea palace and lounge near Petersburg. This rail has been opened more than twelve years, and is favourably spoken of by Lady Eastlake, who says that Russia is just the country for railroads. And it must be confessed, from the statements of De Custine and others, that the tame scenery and filthy posthouses hold out no inducement for moving over the ground slowly, and that extreme speed must be a greater blessing in Muscovy than in any other region. A railroad is in contemplation to bind Moscow to Odessa, and another line is in progress from Petersburg to Warsaw.

With regard to the state of agriculture, and of the rural population, our space will not admit of our dwelling long on this important subject, which has been amply illustrated by rival pens. From the statements of these antagonists, it is evident that a great difference exists between the population of different governments; and we have shown in Part I. the very heterogenous elements of which the population of the empire is composed. One writer describes the condition of the governments of Smolensk, Vitepsk, and Mohilef, situated in Lithuania, as wretched in the extreme. This region, which was in a prosperous condition in 1815, has been reduced to its present misery by the incompetence and imbecility of its governors. In other districts, nearer the heart of the empire, where the authority of the governor-generals is almost null, the

state of the country and serfs is greatly improved. This applies pre-eminently to Little Russia, according to Heller. Baron Haxthausen enters fully into an analysis of Russian agriculture and serfs, and admits that rural proceedings are conducted almost with military precision and uniformity. He maintains that the individual is almost lost in the community, that St. Simon socialism is almost realized in Russia, and that private property nearly merges into government or crown land. The mass of the people can inherit nothing.

Haxthausen admits the extravagant waste of wood in the empire. The forest lands of European Russia amounts to 20,600 square German miles, and European Russia embracing 87,000! this gives almost one-fourth of the whole. But a great part of this wood land only is nominally forest, growing in the reports of the ministers at Petersburg. We are not able to enter into an analysis of the very interesting data furnished by this author relating to the proportion of population and cultivation in the different parts of the empire. But since a large portion of this colossal monarchy is situated in the cold if not icy and polar regions, it will be well to hear his opinion of the Northern parts of Russia. Beginning with Siberia, we are informed that it contains forty-five towns, peopled by 143,740 souls. In East Siberia, this gives 6160 square German miles to every town, or more accurately, 800 square miles, because North Siberia has no towns, and the peopled region only contains 40,000 square German miles. The whole population of Siberia is 2,008,500 persons. Of these, 83,699 are political exiles or convicts. Siberia contains more than 250,000 German miles (5,000,000 English). The north coast, 1000 miles long, and 100 broad, is one morass. The inhabitable and productive part is a zone of 50,000 square miles. Haxthausen describes the natives and exiles as very industrious; but their industry seems chiefly devoted to mining and manufactures. Hence, if we except the pastoral tribes of Tartar origin, few in number, filthy and wretched, and the paltry agriculture that is carried on, this vast tract is a forest or a waste. As there are 5976 villages, this gives one village to six or seven square German miles; but in some places where they are grouped thickly together, you have one village to two square German miles, (forty English square miles); 200,059 German miles in West Siberia are perfectly desert. Only 2343 such miles of all West Siberia are peopled, and turned to account; this is only one-fiftieth of the whole.* It must be owned, however, that in the southern and fertile parts of Siberia, you obtain from ten to sixty-fold return in the harvest. The land produces everything in superfluity, as in the Ukraïn and Little Russia, and offers fine pasturage.

Schultzert† informs us that, of the 350,000 German square geographical miles forming Russia, all above the sixtieth degree north latitude is unfit for agriculture, and 60,000 consist of mountains. Hence only 150,000 remain susceptible of cultivation. From 80,000

* Haxthausen, vol. ii.

† "Statistique."

to 90,000 square miles are ploughed land. The value of the rye and oats harvested every year is about 585,000,000 fr.; and that of the crops of hemp, flax, millet barley, wheat, tobacco, &c., is only 200,000,000, for a weight of 1,800,000 puds. Hemp and flax are the most productive and successful crops of Central Russia. Of tobacco, 300,000 puds are annually raised. Vines succeed in the Crimea, where an excellent wine is made, resembling champagne. Vegetables are scarce, but fruit not so uncommon, especially melons, which are very fine near Odessa.

Finally, Georgia yields all the most precious, fragrant, and delicious fruits, and other productions that decorate the orchards and gardens, and gratify the taste of the most favoured regions on this globe.

We are unable to analyze the system of political economy pursued in Russia. But Custine informs us that, like all ignorant races, the serfs are greatly opposed to innovations; and he states, what must be especially interesting to Englishmen, that their mutton is universally bad, though the beef is occasionally good. Russian horses, though spirited and active, have not much stamina or endurance, according to the same author.

Before passing to the mines, it may be convenient to give a catalogue of the present state of exports and imports, and a view of the productions of the Russian soil arranged into zones according to climate.

With respect to the variety of climates as well as the produce of the earth, Russia naturally may be divided into three regions or divisions, viz., into the northern, middle, and southern divisions.

The northern division, beginning from the fifty-seventh degree of latitude, extends to the end of the Russian dominions on the north, and includes the governments of St. Petersburg, Riga, Revel, Vyborg, Tyer, Olonetz, Arkhangel, Vologola, Yaroslavl, Kostroma, Viatka Perm, and Tobolsk.

The middle division is reckoned from the fifty-seventh to the fiftieth degree of latitude, and includes the governments of Moscow, Smolensk, Polotsk, Moghilev, Tchernigow, Novgorod-Sieverskoy, Kharkof, Voronez, Kursk, Orel, Kalouga, Toola, Riazane, Vladimir, Nijni-Novgorod, Tambov, Saratov, Penza, Sinbirsk, Kazan, Oufa, Kolhivan, and Irkutsk.

The southern division begins at the fiftieth degree of latitude, and extends to the end of Russia on the south, including the governments of Kiev, Ekatherinoslav, Caucasus, and the province of Taurida. To this may be added, the habitations of the Cossacks of the Don.

The northern division, though deficient in grain, fruit, and garden vegetables, has the preference before the other two in the abundance of animals, rare and valuable for their skins; in fishes of particular sorts, very useful for different purposes of life; in cattle, and metals of inferior kinds, &c.

The middle division of Russia abounds in different kinds of grain, hemp, flax, cattle, fish, bees, timber proper for every use, different kinds of wild beasts, metals both of superior as well as of inferior kind, different precious stones, &c. This division is like-

wise most convenient for the habitation of mankind, on account of the temperature and pleasantness of the air.

The south division, excepting the Ukraine, has not that abundance of grain, but has the preference in different delicate kinds of fruit, quantity of fish, cattle, and wild animals, amongst which there are several species different from those which are found in the middle division. It exceeds greatly both the other divisions in plants and roots fit for dyeing and for medical purposes, as well as for the table; neither is it deprived of precious stones, as well as different metals.

The products of these three divisions constitute the permanent and inexhaustible riches of Russia; for besides what is necessary for home consumption, there is a great quantity of those products exported yearly into foreign countries, to the amount of several millions of roubles.* These productions are brought from different places to fairs established in different parts of Russia, where the merchants buy them up, and forward them to different ports, and other trading towns, for exportation into foreign kingdoms. These fairs likewise are the places where a considerable quantity of goods, imported from foreign kingdoms, is disposed of. The principal yarmankas, that is fairs, are the yarmanka Makarienskaya, Korennaya, and Irbitskaya, but above all, Nijni-Novgorod.

The external commerce of Russia may be divided into two different branches—1st, the commerce with the European nations, which is carried on by buying and selling goods either for ready money or upon credit; for which purpose there are bills of exchange established between Russia and other kingdoms, the course of which is either higher or lower, according to different accidental circumstances; 2nd, the commerce with the Asiatic nations, which is conducted by barter or exchange of goods, without any credit, the faith of the Asiatic merchants being not well established.

The principal harbours belonging to the first part of Russia, are, on the Baltic sea, St. Petersburg, Riga, Vyborg, Revel, Narva, Fredericksham, Arkhangel on the White sea, and Kola on the Northern Ocean, Taganrog, on the sea of Azoff, Kherson, Sébastopol, Balaklava, Sondak, Théodosia, Kertch, Phanagoria and Odessa, on the Black sea; besides others of smaller note. In these ports commerce is carried on, as well as in several trading towns situated on the frontiers of Germany, Sweden, and Turkey.

The products of Russia, exported into the different European kingdoms, consist chiefly in hemp, flax, different kinds of grain, tallow, hides, sail-cloth, iron, timber, linseed, butter, hemp-oil, train-oil, wax, pot-ashes, tar, tobacco, bristles, linens, peltry, and other goods, the greatest part of which is exported chiefly by way of St. Petersburg, Riga, and Arkhangel; and in return, from the European kingdoms, she receives woollen cloths, different kinds of goods made

* A rouble is the current money of Russia, the intrinsic value of which, as paid in the Mint of London, is about 3s. 2d., with very little variation; but in commerce, the exchange of it with foreign countries, owing to different accidental circumstances, varies very much, and from so low as 2s. 4½d. it varies to 4s. and upwards.

of worsted, silk, cotton, and thread; wines and beer, white and moist sugars, silks, cotton unwrought, and yarn; French brandy, liquors, arrack, shrub; different iron tools, and toys; gold and silver in bars, in foreign money, and in other things; brilliants, pearls, and ornamental goods; coffee; colours; peltry, viz., beaver and otter skins; herrings, stock-fish, salt, tobacco; different trees, oil, horses, china, and earthenware, &c. The greatest part of these goods is imported through the port of St. Petersburg and Riga, but a considerable quantity is likewise admitted by land, through different frontier custom-houses.

The Asiatic commerce is carried on chiefly at Astrakhan, the ports on the Caspian sea, and the custom-houses of Kiakhtha, Orenburg, and Troitsk, and in several ports established in the frontiers of China, Kirghis Cossacks, and other nations. The principal goods exported into Asia, are partly imported from other European kingdoms, and consist of peltry and hides. The other goods are woollen cloths, bays, borax, bottles, printed linens, iron, and different kinds of iron ware, calamanecas, kerseys, glue, isinglass, cochineal, indigo, lura, tinsel, gold and silver lace, soap; all kinds of arms, as pistols, guns, sabres; different kinds of linens, printed and striped linen, ticking, pullock, crash, &c. From the Asiatic kingdoms we import different silk goods, raw silk, cotton, silk-wove stuffs, gold and silver in bars and in coin, cattle, horses, &c.

The principal ports of Russia, on the Baltic, are, as we know, Riga, Revel, and Cronstadt. The two former cities, formerly Swedish, were at one time members of the Hanseatic League; Riga, one of the most important cities of that vast association, still preserves a great commercial activity, as a legacy from those prosperous times. In 1852, from the 1st of January to the 15th of September only, its exports amounted to 39,700,000 francs. This sum is divided amongst the following destinations, as follows:—

| | |
|----------------|----------------|
| England | 19,200,000 fr. |
| France | 6,100,000 |
| Holland..... | 4,800,000 |
| Sweden | 3,100,000 |
| Belgium | 1,800,000 |
| Portugal | 1,300,000 |
| Spain..... | 800,000 |
| Prussia | 800,000 |
| Lubeck | 450,000 |
| Bremen | 400,000 |
| Hamburgh | 733,000 |

Goods amounting to this value have been transported in a thousand and seventy-eight vessels, amongst which there were thirty-nine French ships.

The corn trade forms the greatest part of the operations in the ports of the sea of Azoff, Taganrog, Kertch, Rostoff, Mariopol, Bachinsk, and in those of the Crimea, Eupatoria, Balaklava, Théodosia, Sebastopol, &c.

In 1851, the exchanges of these ports with foreigners, presented the following results:—

| | Importations. | Exportations. |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| Ports upon the sea of Azoff | 6,902,000 frs. | 27,182,000 frs. |
| Ports of the Crimea | 1,092,500 | 654,500 |
| | 7,994,500 | 27,836,500 |

This brings the commercial movement, in the basin of the Black sea, to the sum of 35,831,000 francs (£143,520).

Russia, that vast reservoir of corn, which, under more favourable conditions of intercourse, would be able to furnish all Europe with wheat, sends down her grain by two great channels: Odessa in the Black sea, and by Riga, in the Baltic. From 1847 to 1850, the two following values have been exported from these two ports:—

| | Odessa. | Riga. | Together. |
|------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| 1847 | 6,871,000 frs. | 3,175,000 frs. | 10,046,000 frs. |
| 1848 | 217,000 | 207,000 | 424,000 |
| 1849 | 3,452,000 | 663,000 | 4,115,000 |
| 1850 | 2,973,000 | 690,000 | 3,663,000 |

These exports have been made at the following prices:—

| | Odessa. | Riga. |
|------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | fr. cts. | fr. cts. |
| 1847 | 18 30 the hect. (22·0 galls) | 14 50 the hect. (22·0 gallons) |
| 1848 | 14 00 „ | 15 00 „ |
| 1849 | 16 50 „ | 9 00 „ |
| 1850 | 15 00 „ | 9 50 „ |

We may conclude by this information at once, that in the basin of the Black sea, the demand has suffered alternations much less abrupt than in the Baltic, since, after the large exportation of 1847, caused by a scarcity which extended nearly over all Western Europe, Odessa was still able to supply 3,452,000 hectolitres (75,944,000 gallons) in 1849, and nearly 3,000,000 in 1850; whilst Riga could not send out the sixth part as much in 1850 as it did in 1847. It results, therefore, that the prices were maintained without much variation, in this same port of Odessa, during the four specified years, whilst at Riga they fell from 50 to 100 during the two last.

MINES.

On the important subject of the mines of the Oural and Altai mountains, Mr Charles Herbert Cottrell supplies us with the following particulars.

Beginning with Siberia and the Altai chain, we are informed by Mr. Cottrell that all the gold from the Altai and East Siberia, is brought to Barnaul (on the Obe), to one focus, to be melted into ingots, preparatory to its being sent to the mint at Petersburg. The principal mines are, first, at Zwenogorsk, consisting chiefly of silver, which is extracted from granite and porphyry. These mines have been worked for above a century, and are almost exhausted; they only produce one zolotnik and a half of silver in every hundred pound of stone. A zolotnik is the 96th part of a pound. The gain to the crown is very trifling, and the profit insufficient for private speculators.

These mines have produced, since they have been crown property, rather more than a century, 55,000 puds of silver, and 1700 of gold, besides lead, &c. The establishment is on an immense scale. At Kolyvan, near Zwenogorsk, there is a fabrique of ornamental vases, columns, &c., of jasper, porphyry, agate, &c.

Near Barnaoul are also numerous silver mines. The annual produce is 250 puds of silver, and a million of other metal, *i. e.*, copper, lead, &c. The proportion of gold extracted from the silver in the mint at Petersburg, is 25 pounds to 1000 puds of silver; 260,000 measures of coal, each of 20 puds, and 400,000 more as dissolvents, are annually consumed at the furnaces. The silver ore is considerably richer at Barnaoul than at Zwenogorsk.

Some of the principal gold digging and gold finding establishments are 300 versts from Tomsk, out of any main road, where provisions are dear and scarce as in Australia. Messrs. Astachof, the chiefest and most successful speculators, employ 1000 labourers annually, at three assignat roubles *i. e.*, three shillings a day.

Before 1829, no gold was found in Siberia, and very little east of the Oural. Gold was accidentally found in the sand by Popof, a merchant of Tobolsk, and since then the discovery has progressed. The best veins are generally found in small rivulets, which run into larger rivers. The most profitable gold-mining establishment in this part of Siberia is that of Messrs. Astachef and Co., situated near the river Khorma, which falls into the Birusa, the frontier of the two governments of Irkutsh and Enisseik. In 1840, it produced 69 puds of gold, at the rate of three zolotniks to the 100 puds of stone and sand. The net profit of 25,000 roubles the pud, if not exaggerated, would give the company, in one year, 2,000,000 roubles, mostly accruing to one man.

The process of washing is very simple, though improvements in machinery would diminish the expenses materially.

Large blocks of pure gold are often found, unalloyed with baser matter. In the museum at Petersburg, is a block found by the Emperor Alexander, weighing 24 pounds, value 26,286*l.* sterling. It is possible it had been found before, and was replaced to be dug out by the Emperor. It was found in the Alexandrofski mine (Oural).

The mines of the Oural are more productive than the Altai, and we shall attend to them presently. The expenses of the establishment are considerable. Government receives 15 per cent. for carrying it to Petersburg, assaying, and coining, and then the proprietor receives from 35,000 to 40,000 roubles the pud, according to the carat. All deductions made, the net profit is not less than 25,000 roubles the pud. The gold is coined into ducats at Petersburg.

Gold has also been found farther east, on the Angara, and in the mountains about Nertchynsk; and no doubt vast treasures will be found there eventually. The gross amount of the gold now found in the Russian dominions far exceeds that in the Brazils; and every year the amount increases.

In the year 1840, the total sum was 800,000 puds. The increase in the governments of Tomsk and Yenisseik has been, since 1829, from 1 pud and 10 pounds to 211 puds 39 pounds. Thus the

crease in the governments of Tomsk and Yenisseik has been, since 1829, from 1 pud and 10 pounds to 211 puds 39 pounds. Thus the government has at its disposition in metallic currency, 2,000,000 sterling annually, calculating 800,000 puds at 47,000 roubles each.

It matters not if the paper goes to government or individuals, the public in general is benefitted by it. There does not, however, appear to be as much gold in circulation as would be expected from the quantity issued by the mint. The drain on the metallic currency by the payment of interest *à l'étranger*, is one cause of this. Many serfs prefer gold to paper money, and bury their treasures for security.

The governor of Tomsk is, ex-officio, the chief of the mining department, and is usually a general of engineers.

THE OURAL MINES.

Charles Cottrell informs us that Ekaterinburg was founded in 1723, by the Empress Catherine, wife of Peter the Great. It is built on the slope of the Oural, and reckons 20,000 inhabitants. It is to Russia Proper, what Barnaoul is to Siberia, the depôt for all the gold and silver extracted from the bosom of the mountain and the adjoining country. The quantity of gold collected increases, and that of silver diminishes, every year. The oldest gold mine is fifteen versts from Ekaterinburg. The sands, which are constantly being discovered abounding in gold, are far more productive, as compared to the sand washed, than in the Altai. As much as eight zobtniks to the hundred puds are commonly realized. Baron Humboldt, twenty-three years ago, calculated that the environs of the Oural produced annually half the quantity of gold supplied by the Brazils in their best days. Those of the Oural are now immeasurably more productive. They probably furnish now as much as the Brazils ever did, and far more than any country did in 1842. But the platinum, gold, and silver, do not constitute all the riches of this district. The iron and copper are perhaps more lucrative ore for private speculators.

Of malachites a great deal is obtained, especially from the copper mines of Mr. Demidoff. On the spot, the rough blocks are sold for 800 roubles the pud, or a guinea a pound; but there is no proportion between the intrinsic value of the raw material and of the manufactured article. The first of the vases, sent as a present from Nicholas to our Queen, was from Demidoff's mines.

Amethysts, topazes, emeralds, and diamonds, are occasionally found here; jasper, agate, porphyry, several inferior sorts of marble, and many other minerals.

The whole amount of the copper and iron obtained from the Oural district annually amounts to 10,000,000 puds, of which a considerable portion comes from the mines of Princess Butera.

Mr. Demidoff had 100 puds of platinum as his share, in 1841, after deducting 10 per cent. received by government on this metal, as well as on gold and silver.

CHAPTER V.

THE SLAVONIC LANGUAGES.

THE Slavonic family, which occupies the East of Europe, is divided into only three branches, which we call the Serb, the Czech, and the Lettish. The first comprises the oriental Slavonians, whose language was the old Slavonic, which was employed in the writings of Cyril in the ninth century, he also invented its alphabet. Many living dialects in Illyria and Servia derive their origin from the Slavonic; on the other hand, it has become a dead and ecclesiastical language in Russia: it has been supplanted there by the use of Russian, which differs very little from it. The Russian language which is so little known in the West of Europe, follows immediately after the Greek and German in the copiousness of its roots, the regularity of its derivations, and the happy combination of its words. It surpasses the latter in softness and euphony, and only requires modern writers like Karamsin to improve it and to develop still more its resources. A remarkable connexion exists between this language and the Serb, the Croatian and the Wendic spoken by the Slavonians of the Turkish and Austrian provinces. The second branch, that of the Western Slavonians, comprehends the Bohemian, formerly a very perfect language, of which the Slovac of Hungary is a rude dialect. The Polish, like the noble-hearted and unhappy people who speak it, is a lively and expressive language; and the Wendic and Sorbish are still undeveloped dialects spoken in the Saxon provinces. The third differs considerably from both the others, and is apparently an older branch: it is that of the middle Slavonians, whose original language, the old Pruczish has become extinct; but the Lithuanian and Lettish, spoken in Lithuania and Courland, offer the philologist highly interesting material for comparison with the other slavonic dialects, whose formation they reveal; also with the Indian language, from which they appear to have immediately sprung.

The most common appellation given to the Slavonians in ancient times, was probably *Σαρμαται*; a principal branch of which, the Venedæ (Wends), supposed to be a remnant of the Vandals, lived in the first century after Christ, on the shores of the Baltic, now comprehended in Prussia. A portion of the Samaritans occupied the Sarmatia Europæa—that is, the tract of land between the Baltic, the gulf of Riga, the Vistula, the Carpathian mountains, the shores of the Black Sea, the sea of Azoff, and the Don. They were often called Scythians, as these also were called Sarmatians, possibly because these nations were often associated in their progress westward. The conquering Tartars, like mighty avalanches, swept everything along with them in their onward movement, and amongst them is to be found in Europe, as well as in Asia, Gothic, Celtic, and Turkish race.

In Sarmatia Europæa he mentions Wends, Goths, and Alani; consequently Slavonic, Germanic, and Finnish tribes. In Sarmatia Asiatica, *Τουσκοι*, Turcæ, Turks; in Scythiæ, on the Altai, Alani (or Finnish) and Suavi, Goths; consequently again Germ. ns

The present Slavonic race, to which belong the Russians, Lithuanians, Poles, and Wends, is a very numerous stock, which occupies the half of Europe and a third of Asia, and has spread itself from the Elbe to Kamtschatka and Japan—and from Ragusa, on the Adriatic, to the Frozen Ocean.

SLAVONIC DIALECTS.

Dobrowsky divides the Slavonic dialects into two classes:—

A. The south-eastern.

1. The Russian ecclesiastical language, or the old Slavonic; 2. The Russian; 3. The Serbish (Illyrian); 4. The Croatish; 5. The Wendish, spoken in Carniola, Styria, and Carinthia.

B. The north-western.

1. The Slovak; 2. The Bohemian; 3. The Wendish, in Upper Lusatia; 4. The Wendish, in Lower Lusatia; 5. The Polish, with the Silesian dialect.

EXAMPLES OF THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE.

| Personal pronouns. | Possessive pronouns. | Roots of the possessive pronouns which serve for the formation of the persons of the verbs. |
|---|--------------------------------|---|
| Singular. | Singular. | Singular. |
| ja. J. Gen. mjnja of me | moi—mine | m—from moi |
| ty. Thou Gen. tjbja of thee | twoi—thy | s—from the Greek $\sigma\acute{o}\varsigma$, thy |
| on. He Gen. jgho of him | jgho—his, and swoi—his, its | t= σ , from the Greek, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, his, and i, from the Greek ι —he |
| Plural. | Plural. | Plural. |
| My. We, Gen. nasz of us | nasch—our | my—from my—we |
| wy—you—Gen | wasch—your | s—from $\sigma\acute{o}\varsigma$, Thy and plu. termination |
| wasz—of you | | t=s—from $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, his and i from Greek ι |
| oni—They, Gen | | he—also plu. termina- tion |
| ich—of them | | |
| Roots of the possessive pronouns, which serve for the formation of the persons of the verbs. | Root of the verb | Root of the verb |
| Singular. | Singular. | Singular. |
| M—from moi, my | jesz mI—I am | tscherpaju—I create |
| Iz=sch=s, from the Greek $\sigma\acute{o}\varsigma$, Thy | jeszi—thou art | tscherpajeschi—thou createst |
| t= σ , from the Greek $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, his, and i, from the Greek ι , he | jeszti—he is | tscherpajet—he cre- ates |

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| Plural. | Plural. | Plural. |
| My = m—from my, me σ = t—from the Greek σός = redg—thy ti = t—from ōc, his, and i—from the Greek i he, also plu. termina- tion | jeszmy—we are jeste—you are szutā—they are | tscherpajem—we cre- ate tscherpajete—you are all tscherpajut—they cre- ate |

EXAMPLES OF THE POLISH LANGUAGE.

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| Personal pronouns. | Possessive pronouns. | Roots of the possessive pro- nouns which are re- quired for the formation of the persons of verbs. |
| ia, t—Gen mine, of me ty, thou, Gen ciebie— of thee on, he—Gen siebie— of him | moy—mine twój—thy swój—his | m—from moy, mine s = sz—from σός, thy t = σ, from ōc, his |
| Plural. | Plural. | Plural. |
| My—we (G) nas, of us Wy—you G was, of you oni—they (G) Siebie, of them | nasz—our wasz—your | my—from my, we c = s—from σός, thy The sign of the third person of the old Sla- vonic has already, like the dual num- ber, disappeared. |
| Roots of the possessive pronouns. | Root of the verb jest. Singular. | Root of the verb czyta. Singular. |
| M—from móy, mine s = sz, from σός, thy t = σ—from ōc, his | jestem—I am jeste—thou art jest—he is | czytam—I read czytasz—thou readest czyta—he reads |
| Plural. | Plural. | Plural. |
| My—from my (we) c = s—from σός, thy The sign of the third person, t, like the dual number of the old Slavonic, has ready disappeared. | jestesmy—we are jescie—you are sa—(pronounced son) they are | czytamy—we read czytani—you read czytaia— (pronounced) czytaion —they read |

The Russian language bears upon itself the most direct evidence of the tardiness of the nation in the race of European civilization. Its scientific terms are French, its mechanical terms are German, its naval terms are English. A popular writer proceeds to bestow the highest eulogium on this language impossible, as a Frenchman once styled it. "At once fluid and concise, pliable and vigorous, tender and stern; redundant in imagery, laconic in axiom, graceful in

courtesy, strong in argument, soothing in feeling, and tremendous in denunciation, the latent energies of the language are a prophetic guarantee of the destinies of the nation." What, then, may we not expect for Poland, with a finished Slavonic literature and a Roman alphabet? and what shall we say of Serbian, which is described as the most copious and sonorous idiom of the Slavonians? "With regard to the literature of Russia," continues this writer, "it is neither sufficient in volume nor nationality to warrant an opinion. Lomonosoff is the etymologist of the empire; Karamsin the historian; Pouschkin and Derjavin the poets; Gretsck and Bestucheff its prose writers and novelists." As an example of the patronage of literary merit under Nicholas I., it is well to remark, that Lomonosoff and Pouschkin were sent to fight, as privates, in Circassia for having written too freely on politics; and that Bestucheff was hanged for having shared in the conspiracy of 1825, in favour of a constitution.

Four great names figure in the Russian literary Olympus—the names of Lomonosoff, Karamsin, Schukowskij, and Pouschkin. For what are they entitled to renown? Lomonosoff is a man of the same description as those who revived learning about the sixteenth century, and presents himself encased in Greek and Latin—he is the translator of Homer, of Plato, of Horace, and of Ovid. Karamsin is an imitator of the French, and Schukowskij of the German style of literature; Pouschkin has been wrongly called another Lord Byron. It cannot be denied that the writings of these authors bear the impress at times of a sentiment of pure nationality, but such is not the general dominant and characteristic tone, which is all-important when the literary genius of a country has to be depicted.

There appears, however, within the last few years, to be a sort of reaction against this prevailing tendency. At first this reaction went into extremes; works appeared inspired much more by hatred to foreigners than by any true love of nationality. Yet this crisis of delirium once over, this reaction has been productive of somewhat praiseworthy results. Kryloff owes nothing in his fables to either Phædrus or LaFontaine. Kamakoff has written tragedies and detached lyrical compositions free from anything like imitation. Gogol must not be omitted, the unfortunate Gogol, who died in denying himself. His now original writings and biting satires have been introduced to us by Messieurs Merimée, Louis Viardot, and Philip Douhaire. Nor must we overlook Wenevitinoff and Wiasemski, whose poetry is tinged with melancholy; Madame Pauloff and the Countess Rostopchin, both graceful poetesses as well as charming women. To these may be added the eccentric and profound Lermontoff—killed miserably in a duel in Circassia. The novelists, Mouraniéff, Batuschkoff, and Sagoschkin. The philosophical journalist, Odojewsky, and the Count Sollagoub, who treats the most varied subjects with the animation of a man of letters, and the frankness of a man of birth. Messieurs Bulgarin and Nicholas Gretsck, are by some classed among the national *literati* of Russia. The first is certainly distinguished by his talent as a journalist, and by his novels, which are full of interest; the other has rendered brilliant services in the cause of

the national language, by the numerous editions of his excellent and scholar-like grammar.

With regard to education, we regret to say, that though Alexander—and Nicholas in the beginning of his reign—did much to advance it, the present Emperor has of late years shown a disposition to discourage it. The censorship on the press is a severe blow to literature; and the ignorance of the lower orders of priests, the natural teachers of the people, excessive. In the higher clergy there are a few exceptions; but a man of learning is a *rara avis*. In short, though the machinery for education is very complicated, according to Leouzon le Duc, it is chiefly on paper, and has very little fruit. The diplomatic schools are here, again, an exception, being models for Europe. Russian topographical surveys are the exactest in the world.

From the contents of this work, the reader will perceive that it is not from the size of its territory, or the mass of its resources, that Russia is calculated to be formidable to the world, but rather from the ignorance and barbarism of the Slavonic serfs that form the great nucleus of the population, and from the remarkable diplomatic ability of the Cabinet. At the same time we must remember, that what constitutes its strength is also the source of its weakness. A spark of intelligence and instruction scattered amongst its benighted and discordant populace, would probably lead to a direful explosion. The forced and unnatural civilization that has been thrust upon it by the Romanoffs is also foreign to the genius of the Slavonians, which is essentially Asiatic, and is almost sure, eventually, to lead to a violent revolution and reaction on the part of the conservatives, who are the majority, or to a complete dissolution of the colossal organization. The revolt of the Little Russians and Cossacks, under Pugatcheff, showed the feeble tenure of the Czars over their immense domain; and though Nicholas has shown his wisdom in gaining the serfs by assimilating to the Muscovite spirit, yet many existing institutions and reforms are necessarily odious to some and often to both parties, and the empire is in such an anomalous and difficult position, that it can only be rescued from a catastrophe by little short of a miracle.

SECTION IV.—ANECDOTES AND REFLECTIONS.

CHAPTER I.

ANECDOTES.

Nicholas—His magnetic eye—His liberality—Anecdotes—The Grand Duke Michael—An eccentric character—Catherine—Potemkin—Suwarrow—Specimen of Russian poetry.

ALL writers are agreed in celebrating the magnetic influence of the eye of Nicholas. A Russian nobleman relates the case of a young lover, who wandered in a state of abstraction into one of the imperial parks, and suddenly found himself face to face with the

Imperial phoenix, whose terrible eye was fixed coldly and sternly on the culprit. A violent fever was the result, during which the unfaithful mistress thought better of her engagement, and was united to another man who had not been the victim of that eye.

Another authority informs us that on one occasion, when Nicholas landed suddenly at Stockholm without having been announced, a Swedish admiral, who did not recognise him, happening to be mixed up with the throng of the Emperor's attendants, the Czar turned round and fixed his glance on the unhappy seaman. The latter, who was quite disconcerted, immediately uncovered his head, saying to Count A——, "What a devil of a man! and what eyes! On my faith, as a sailor, I never saw his equal!"

The admiral appears, in fact, to have been so fascinated by those eyes that he subsequently entered the Russian service! To see Nicholas in all his majesty, however, he must be viewed on a review day, when he becomes the ideal of an Autocrat, and a ruler of near 70,000,000 of men. Dressed in the splendid scarlet uniform of the Cossacks of the Guard, he looks every inch a king; and his sonorous voice in giving the word of command rings clear along the serried and mighty host of his glittering warriors. Nicholas always retains the military costume; he eats little, and his fare is plain; he drinks very moderately, and sleeps, like all Russians, on a horse-hair mattress. He is indefatigably industrious, and whisks about at all seasons to all parts of his empire in an open droschky, dressed in his grey military cloak, casque and plumes. It is the practice of Nicholas to take a daily walk through the city when he is at St. Petersburg. He walks straight along, noticing all that occurs around him; the passers by salute him and he bows in return, but he often prefers not to be noticed. No one has the right to address him in the street and present a petition. Whosoever ventures to do so is arrested. But it is asserted that he readily winks at a violation of this regulation. Sometimes he makes advances himself to others. One day, having met a French actor, whom he highly esteemed, he stopped him and began to talk to him. When the conversation was over the Emperor proceeded, and the actor was arrested. It so happened that he had to perform in a piece the same evening. The time for the representation arrived, the boxes filled, and the Emperor entered the theatre. Ten minutes, a quarter of an hour elapsed, the curtain did not move; the audience began to whisper, and to show signs of impatience. At length the curtain rose, and the director appeared and said that the promised piece could not be represented, as the actor B—— had disappeared and no one could find him.

This intelligence excited a great commotion in the theatre. The Emperor ordered the grand master of the public police to come to him—whispered a few words in his ear, and in a short time the prisoner appeared and acted his part to perfection. During an interlude, the Emperor had him called into his box: "B——," he said, "I know what has occurred, what compensation shall I make to you for your detention?" "O, sire, I would only ask one favour of your Majesty; which is, that if you should happen to meet me in public again you would do me the favour not to address me!"

Nicholas often goes about incognito, like Haroun al Rashid, and is fond of encountering adventures on such occasions. One day happening to pass by a restaurant in the Morskoi-street, he saw a young man issue from it, dressed most elegantly, and smoking a cigar as unconcernedly as if he had been in the Palais Royal. The Emperor accosted him thus: "It appears, sir, that you are only recently arrived at Petersburg?" "Yes, sir; how came you to guess that?" "Because you are doing what is contrary to the public regulations, and do not appear to be aware of it?" "To what do you refer?" "You are smoking!" "The devil! Is it then forbidden to smoke here? If that is the case I thank you a thousand times; the law above everything, say I?" and the stranger was about to extinguish his cigar. "Do not put it out," said Nicholas; "so long as you are with me you are safe." "You are then one of the great boyards of the Empire, I suppose?" "I possess some influence here, and if I can be of any service to you * * * " "I should be very grateful sir, for they tell me that patronage does everything in this country." "Nay, you exaggerate, patronage cannot do everything, but we like to know the persons with whom we are concerned, and this is only possible through introduction." * * * "Well, sir, I will take advantage of your politeness with regard to me, for as I have come to Russia on business I shall be very glad of a little support?" The conversation was kept up in this manner for a quarter of an hour, the stranger smoking his cigar and the Emperor continuing to walk familiarly by his side. The street they were following is full of handsome shops, a great many of which belong to print and picture sellers. Numerous portraits of the Emperor are exhibited in them all, presenting a striking likeness of the original. The foreigner could not avoid comparing them with the face of his companion; but the idea never entered his mind that they represented the same person.

Nevertheless, he could not avoid being struck with the movement of the crowd, and the marked respect testified by the passers-by to his new acquaintance. At length he arrived at the last shop in the Great Morskoi, where a magnificent portrait of the Czar Nicholas was exhibited. It was no longer possible to doubt the awful truth; tottering and stuttering, the stranger stammered out: "Pardon! Pardon! Is it not his Majesty, the Emperor Nicholas, to whom I have the honour of speaking?" "You are right," replied the Emperor, "but recover yourself, only I enjoin you to be careful about smoking in future, as you will not always have the Emperor Nicholas to protect you."

Various opinions have been expressed by many writers relating to the personal courage of Nicholas. On some occasions he has shown considerable presence of mind and bravery. Thus, when the cholera first visited Russia, the people of St. Petersburg thought that the doctors, foreigners, or Poles had brought it upon them, and that they had poisoned the springs. A riot occurred, and horrible murders took place daily. At length a vast crowd assembled, and death was vowed against the supposed causes of the plague. The Emperor did not hesitate a moment; ordering a *droschky*, he

dashed into the midst of the stupified crowd. "Gossoudar! Gossoudar!—the Emperor! the Emperor!" was murmured on all sides. Nicholas, standing up in the droschky, was commanding the crowd with his gestures and his eye. "Where are you going, wretches?" he exclaimed, with his ringing voice. "You are about to murder innocent men. Strike your own breasts rather, and ask pardon of God for your sins, which have drawn down this scourge on your heads! On your knees!" Instantaneously the whole assembly was on their knees.

Nicholas is very sensitive of opinions entertained of him abroad; and he is said to be especially alive to what is said of him in France; not because he is enamoured of any thing French, quite the contrary, but because he appreciates the superior intelligence of the French nation.

Thus the Russian emperor, happening to be, in 1845, at Rome, went every day to visit a certain gallery of pictures. Now it so happened that Fanny Ellsler was at Rome at the same period. Having shortly before received the most flattering reception from the Emperor, she fancied that he would be equally gracious to her in the Papal city, and stimulated by self-love, she sought an opportunity of being in his way. An aide-de-camp of the Emperor, to whom she imparted her desire, directed her to place herself in one of the saloons belonging to the gallery, on one of the days that it was visited by the Emperor, promising that she should be noticed by him. Accordingly on the first day that Nicholas went there, Fanny Ellsler, splendidly got up, was waiting for him to pass. Directly he perceived her, the Emperor asked, "Who is that lady?" His aide-de-camp replied, "It is Fanny Ellsler, who solicits the honour of being presented to your Majesty." "Fanny Ellsler! and what would France say, if it learnt that the Emperor of Russia came to Rome to have ballet-dancers presented to him?" And Nicholas passed by Fanny Ellsler without even lifting his eyes upon her.

It is scarcely necessary to observe that the respect with which Nicholas is regarded by his subjects, almost amounts to worship. In the sight of a Russian people, the Czar is a father, a God.

One day a French traveller visited a Russian peasant's cottage, on the banks of the Neva. The walls were covered with portraits of the Imperial family, and that of the Emperor occupied the place of honour. "How does Russia thrive?" was the first question of the visitor to his host. "It cannot but thrive," answered this worthy man, "since the Emperor is well."

Some anecdotes in vogue respecting the Emperor, present his character in a very favourable light. Of these we shall especially select the following, as highly creditable to the Sovereign, if it can be relied upon:

One winter's evening, as he passed by one of the guard-houses of the capital, he had the curiosity to see what was going on in the interior. The officer on duty was seated near a table, tranquilly sleeping, but with helmet on, sword at his side, and accoutrements irreproachable. The Emperor made a sign to the sentinel to let him enter. He perceived on the table near which the officer

was sleeping, a paper, on which the following memorandum was written:—

State of my expenses and of my receipts—

DEBT.

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|------|---------|
| Lodging, maintenance, fuel, &c. | 2000 | roubles |
| Dress and pocket-money | 2500 | " |
| Debts | 3000 | " |
| Alimentary pension to my mother | 500 | " |

Total..... 8000

CREDIT.

| | |
|------------------------------|------|
| Pay and other receipts | 4000 |
|------------------------------|------|

Deficit ... 4000

Who will pay this sum? This was the question which terminated the account, and the officer, unable to find any answer, had fallen asleep with the pen in his hand. The Emperor approached him, and having recognised one of the best conducted amongst his guards, took the pen gently from his hand and wrote beneath the *posing question*, the significant name of "NICHOLAS." He then quietly withdrew without awakening the officer, or having been seen by any other of the soldiers on guard. The surprise of the officer may be imagined, who, on awaking, found the Emperor's signature on the paper before him, and when he learnt from the sentinel the mysterious visit that he had been honoured with. The next morning an orderly from the palace brought him 4000 roubles, with a letter from Nicholas, in which he was told to choose better for the future, both time and place for sleep, but to continue, as in the past, to serve his Emperor and to take care of his mother.

The next is a charming incident related by a French traveller at St. Petersburg, and offers a complete contrast to all pre-conceived ideas in Europe, of a Muscovite Autocrat. It was the carnival, and the Isaac's place was covered according to traditional custom with *montagnes russes*, itinerant theatres, wild beast shows, and booths of every kind; something like the scene in the Champs-Élysées on fête days. In Russia this is called *Katchelis*. Sledges with rich trappings sped like lightning along the polished snow, beautiful furs looked bright and glittering in the sun, bearded merchants wore their smartest caftans. The *mougiks* sported their newest sheep-skins. The whole town and the court were expecting the Emperor, who annually paid a visit to the *Katchelis*. Shortly after, the Imperial sledge drove out of the winter palace, and upon nearing the booths went at a foot-pace, followed by a long line of private sledges assembled from all parts of the town; this procession lasted at least two hours. The Emperor had scarcely got through half this drive, when a little girl of from ten to twelve years of age, disengaging herself from the crowd, ran towards him, and clung on to his sledge; she said to him, "Uncle, will you show me the *Katchelis*?" The Emperor, amused by her naïveté, smiled graciously, and had her placed by his side in

the sledge. They were seen to enter into familiar conversation. The child was lively and intelligent, she kept the Emperor fully employed in listening to her questions, which he answered very cheerfully as well as he could. Every one seemed moved, and mothers even to tears; they would have applauded, if respect, even more than the cold, had not compelled them to keep their hands within the warm shelter of their muffs. The imperial tour over, the Emperor said to the little girl, "As you have already made the acquaintance of your uncle, I must now introduce you to your aunt." He then led her into the palace. The Empress was enchanted with the adventure, and finding the child intelligent, she adopted her, and placed her in one of the imperial institutions to be educated. This fortunate child was the eldest girl of some poor clerk.

The principal occupation of the life of the Grand Duke Michael related to military things, and more particularly to details, such as seem to be beneath the attention of a prince. Woe to the officer of the Guard whose dress was minus a button or a hook, or whose hair or moustache was a little thicker or thinner, longer or shorter, than prescribed by military ordinance! The Grand Duke treated such as criminals, and if his brutal extravagancies have not caused a greater number to throw up their commissions, it is owing to the servility of the Russians, which is as natural to the generals and other officers of the army, as to the ambitious bureaucracy and to the place-seeking courtiers, who dance attendance in the ante-room.

There was one redeeming circumstance however which rendered these fits of passion of the Grand Duke less odious, which was, that immediately he became calm, he omitted nothing towards the objects of his indignation likely to make them forget it. Of a rugged and savage nature, he went into extremes, and would pass from the fierceness of a tiger to the gentleness of a lamb. At times he even admitted his subalterns to a pleasing familiarity, and several traits of indulgence are reported of him which we should naturally suppose could only spring from a good heart.

Amongst those who the oftenest and the most successfully put this indulgence to the test, is Captain B——. This eccentric original was the torment as well as the amusement of the Grand Duke; not a day passed without his infringing the regulations. Sometimes he was met with his coat unbuttoned and his chest open to the wind, sometimes he wore plain clothes; and as B—— affected English modes, which he carried to an exaggerated length, it may be imagined the strange impression he would make upon a prince so attached to forms. It may be mentioned as an extenuating circumstance, that B—— was then on duty at the Grand Duke's villa of Paulowsk, and that the magnificent trees and green meadows might have given full scope to his wonderful *laissezaller*.

It was a summer's day, and he was the officer in command at the château; the Grand Duke driving past a field in the neighbourhood, saw him lying on the grass in the lightest possible of costumes. The Grand Duke made a sign to his coachman to drive back to the castle as fast as possible. He had scarcely arrived

when B—— also appeared, the guard under arms and the captain at his place in irreproachable toilette.

"How—you here?" said the Grand Duke to B——, in surprise.

"Yes, your Highness."

"But were you not just now extended on the grass in the field?"

"It is possible, your Highness."

"In that case how came you to be here?"

"There are persons, your Highness, who have the faculty of being at different places at the same time."

"Nonsense, B——. I pardon you, only explain to me how you managed this."

"It was your Highness to whom I was indebted for my speedy return."

The fact was, this active officer had made but one spring from his grassy couch to the carriage of the Grand Duke, behind which he mounted, and thus arrived in time to meet him on his arrival.

Some days after the Grand Duke again met B—— in the same field in a still more neglectful undress. Wishing this time to make an example of him, he took him into the droschky and drove back to the castle, where he shut him into his own apartment.

The prince then sent for the commandant of the garrison.

"Commandant," he said, "what think you of the dress of your officers?"

"I have no complaint to make at present, your Highness."

"Ah! you have no cause of complaint!"

"Has your Highness any reason?"

"Reason!"

The Grand Duke then violently threw open the door of his room, when, to his infinite surprise, B—— was there, standing erect, the left hand on the left thigh, the right hand touching his forehead in military salute, and dressed in the full uniform of a commander.

B—— had employed the time of his seclusion in decking himself out in the uniform of the Grand Duke himself.

What could be done with such an original? The Grand Duke burst into laughter, which ended his threatened chastisement.

These jokes, though very facetious, were but slightly productive. The funds of B—— were literally at their lowest ebb: over head and ears in debt, and having no credit, B—— became melancholy. The season of masked balls had begun, these he faithfully attended, but in vain,—every one cut him. One evening the whole court was there, and he threw himself in the way of the Grand Duke Michael.

"Ah! how are you B——?" said the prince, on addressing him.

"Does the world still smile upon you?"

"Far from that, your Highness, but if I might ask a favour of your Highness—"

"Ask it, my boy! certainly."

"Would your Highness permit me to take your arm to make the circuit of the ball."

"With what aim?—but as you please. I dare say you meditate some ridiculous farce."

"Not exactly, your Highness. I am the most unfortunate of men. I am actually penniless, and everyone's purse is shut against me. But if your Highness honors me with your notice, they will all open to me again, as if by enchantment."

The Grand Duke allowed him his way; B— therefore walked proudly on the arm of his Imperial Highness, bowing with an air of protection to the numerous crowd, measuring the graciousness of his salutations by the importance of the sum which he proposed to borrow of his former banker, who was among the number, the next day.

When they had made the tour of the ball, the Grand Duke gave his former officer a warm shake of the hands, and at the last moment said to him—"Such a poor devil as you are must be hungry. Go and sup to-night at Saint-George's,* and I will pay the bill."

B— invited twenty of his friends, and made with them a supper which lasted until the afternoon of the next day.

The bill, which the Grand Duke received in due time, was a very high one.

"What a furious appetite! I guessed the fellow would play me a trick, but it shall be the last," said the Grand Duke, when giving the amount of the bill to his intendant.

B— was not the only one who had the gift of amusing the Emperor's brother. A French artist named Ladurnère, since military painter to Nicholas, could dispute the palm with him. Ladurnère was on a footing of inconceivable familiarity with the Grand Duke. When he visited him in his studio, which was of frequent occurrence, the Grand Duke treated him completely as his equal. Ladurnère would say to him, tapping him at the same time familiarly, "Your Highness appears to be flourishing."

The Emperor however allowed Ladurnère's familiarities almost as much licence as his brother. At times he addressed to him words scarcely made for the ears of an Autocrat, yet Nicholas appeared charmed with them. The following is an example taken from a thousand others.

Nicholas having formed the project some years ago to substitute a helmet for the heavy shako worn by the soldiers of his Guard, sent for Ladurnère to his cabinet.

"What do you think of this project?" the Emperor said to him.

"I approve of it entirely, and if your Majesty permits, I will draw the model."

"Draw it, and get one made for me to see."

Some days after Ladurnère returned with a magnificent helmet.

"Will your Majesty try this?"

"Certainly."

The Emperor put it on; it was perfect in every respect.

"It fits admirably! Thanks, Ladurnère; but what is it cost?"

† The Vêry of St. Petersburg.

Ladurnère named a very high price.
 "That is much too dear," said the Emperor. "Who do you suppose is to pay such a sum?"
 "I thought your Majesty a man of fortune!"
 This speech so much delighted the Emperor that he did not tire of repeating it for more than three months.

CHAPTER II.

WHAT IS RUSSIA?

The causes of the influence and permanence of great empires—Their application to Russia.

HAVING given an outline, however brief, of this memorable empire, we shall be in a better situation to answer this difficult question.

The history of man has shown the rise and fall of many mighty monarchies in the East and in the West, in the North and in the South, some of which have left traces unto this day, whilst the last relics of others have crumbled into dust. At intervals some vast sepulchral mounds, colossal temples, strange uncouth sculptures and labyrinthine catacombs, reveal the majesty of the departed great among the shades of ancient forests, or in the solitude of the desert. The hands that raised these fanes, and wrought these works, are long since gathered to their fathers, and the hieroglyphic inscription is illegible to their curious posterity. Druidical circles and Hindoo temples challenge the wonder of ages, and stand forth unsolved problems to generations of antiquaries. The ruins of empires, and the wreck of worlds, lie strewed around us, and vindicate the thunders launched by Isaiah against the mighty men of old, in the name of Jehovah. Tyre hath become a desolation, Nineveh a habitation of unsightly beasts, and the cockatrice makes her nest in the ruins of Babylon; Palmyra is a den of robbers, and the Temple of the Sun is shorn of its glories. The despot and the beggar, the soldier and the priest, the noble and the merchant, flit across the stage of life, and vanish into shades; and the piles and shrines they raised, mighty though they be, eventually share the fate of mortal work, and crumble into dust. Man is as grass, and his handywork as an ant's nest: the wind and the flood pass over it, and they are no more. The earth waxeth old as a garment, and the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll, but the throne of the Eternal is raised above the vicissitudes of time, and rests on the pillars of eternity.

The plough passed over the walls of Jerusalem, the tomb of Archimedes was lost in weeds, and the day may come when the tide of the Neva shall rage unchecked over the site of Petersburg, and the wanderer, pausing by some shapeless block of granite, shall exclaim—"Here stood the city of the Czar!"

The tribes of Israel are scattered over the earth; the fabric of Assyrian greatness is an empty name; Greece *was*, and Carthage is no more; and the day may come when the north wind may howl

once more freely over the emancipated steppes of Muscovy, and a happy race of free men reap the fruits of their own harvest on its fertile plains.

Casting a glance on the phases of history and the vicissitudes of nations, we may detect some laws that govern the ebb and flow of races—some principles that account for the growth and the waning of empires.

Babylon and the Lower Empire have lost their sceptres and their name, but Jerusalem and Rome are still the head and heart of humanity. Palmyra and Tyre have been stripped of their decorations, and are become a byword among nations; but the ancient monarchy of China stands erect, though shaken, a monument of traditional antiquity.

Thus history presents us with a series of empires of different degrees of duration, all perishable, no doubt, but many much more lasting than their neighbours, and some apparently destined to live for ever in the institutions, the affections, and the understanding of posterity; and now the question arises, what constitutes this difference between the duration and extent of their influence?

First, it is not dimension or populousness. The Mogul Khans once held sway from the wall of China to the Vistula and Carpathians, and smote the most lordly cities and the mightiest hosts on earth, while smoking cities and fields of carnage marked their onward track. Again, the sun never set on the broad lands and seas that once flourished, or languished, under the sceptre of Spanish monarchs; and, though it may be objected that China is the most populous, and one of the most enduring of empires, and that Rome has always been a universal monarchy, we have only to remind the reader of the limited territory, the meagre population, but the matchless influence of Judea and Greece, to prove that it must be something more than extent and multitude that constitute the lasting greatness of a nation.

Secondly, it is not military glory. The conquests of Somiram and Scsostris, the victories of Cyrus and Alexander, and the tremendous successes of the Hun and Tartar Emperors only raised an ephemeral fabric, that tottered and fell amidst the divisions and seditions of their successors. Nor can even Roman greatness be said to have been built on military glory, or to have been the child of victory. Something more was required to give it consistency and endurance.

Thirdly, it was not sacerdotal rule or intolerance. The sceptre of Egyptian, Byzantine, and Roman Pontiffs, is broken. The chair of the successors of Peter is unsteady; his keys escape his weakly grasp. No more could an Emperor be found to wait three days bareheaded in his halls. The temporal supremacy of Papal Rome is not to be traced to her pontifical and sacerdotal, but to her spiritual superiority. As soon as that departed, she lost her sceptre. In an age of darkness her twilight of wisdom was a beacon for the foolishness of man. She remained, moreover, the repository of learning and the representative of law till the revival of letters.

But thirdly, it was certainly not despotism. Greece, in her brightest days, was a Republic; fortune soon ceased to smile on

Rome after she lost her liberty. The Jews were rescued from sore bondage by their hero prophets, and they breathed an atmosphere of freedom on their native hills, even when their kings and governors were tributary to Macedon and Rome. The struggle of the Maccabees for national liberty may stand beside the struggles of Poland and Hungary. Again, the most oppressive despotisms have always been the least enduring. The Tartar empires perished almost in their infancy. Spanish despotism wrought the present ruin of Spain. It may be objected that China is a despotism. We reply, that it has only been oppressive since the Tartar conquest, and that it has always been tempered and mitigated by the admirable laws and institutions introduced by early sages. The country has always been virtually governed by mandarins, and their buttons cannot be bought like Russian decorations, but are always the reward of literary merit.

Fourthly, it was not ignorance. Never was a people so generally intelligent, perhaps even intellectual, certainly witty and clever, as the Athenians of old. The spirit and literary conquests of Greece are immortal as the soul of man. The people and mandarins of the Chinese empire—one of the most ancient and enduring upon earth—are remarkable for the general diffusion of knowledge and education amongst them.

What is it, then, that gives the palm of universal and permanent empire to a people? We think it is the great moral and intellectual principles by which they are directed, and the valuable institutions which they develop. The sublime spiritual and moral life and thought incarnate in the seers of Judah were the cause of its universal and boundless influence. Hebrew poetry and Greek philosophy, allied to Roman law, have made modern history. Savigny, an eminent German jurist, has shown that the Roman municipal privileges which survived the tyranny of the Emperors, and preserved Republican freedom in the middle ages, were the nucleus of modern constitutions and liberal government. The revival of letters was the resurrection of Greek thought, and fathered the Reformation; and the French Revolution was the child of the classics. Plutarch's men arose from their ashes, and broke the chains of feudalism, and the ancients lived once more in modern Athens. Thus the spirit of Judah, the philosophy of Greece, and the laws of Rome have never ceased to be; but surviving the ruins of empires, they are as immortal as the men who uttered or framed them. Examining this matter a little closer, we shall find that it is moral and mental worth and superiority that give permanent and universal empire. China has been preserved by the laws of Confucius; Rome has been preserved by the spirit of liberty; Greece has been preserved by her imperishable literature. In the dark ages, a Guizot has shown that the Church was the guardian of liberty, a true democratic institution in the midst of feudalism, where every man could become a monk, and every monk the Pope—the supreme lord of Christendom.

Thus, wherever we look, the great lesson we learn from the revolutions of history, is the ultimate triumph of liberty and science over despotism and darkness. It is not the mightiest

hosts—it is not the pomp of pontiffs—it is not the wealth of mines, the breadth of land, the number of slaves, the mass of ignorance, depravity, corruption, and bigotry—that constitute the greatness and the permanence of empires;—it is the spirit of liberty; it is the diffusion of intelligence; it is the supremacy of moral and spiritual influence over material life; it is the number of high-principled, high-minded, and able men, contained in, and produced by, such empires.

Now, let us apply these conclusions to the Russian empire, and endeavour to determine its value and permanence in the world's history. Begotten of a Tartar sire and a Byzantine mother, this monarchy is the offspring of an ill-fated alliance. On both hands its genealogy leads us to a race of military despots, or of effeminate voluptuaries. In vain do we toil through the ponderous pages of Byzantine history in search of a great man. Disgusting puerilities, or atrocious crimes are the only reward of our research; and if we turn to Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, we are met by butcheries that have never been matched—converting smiling plains into a howling wilderness, scattered with the bleaching bones of millions; cruelties ruining the countries blasted and contaminated by their touch. In nations, in dynasties, and in individuals, there are such things as hereditary qualities that can never be obliterated, and Russian Czars are proud of considering themselves the descendants of Byzantine Cæsars, and the legitimate heirs to the throne of Constantinople.

Submitting this colossal empire to the tests which we have ascertained farther back, we shall be able to arrive at a proximate estimate of its legitimate influence and probable duration. It will be readily admitted by all who have had the patience to read through the pages of this little book, that dimension and surface are the chief characteristics of Russia. It embraces one-eighth of the habitable globe; it is probably the largest empire on record; and though thinly peopled at present, competent authorities inform us that with its present rate of increase it will ere very long contain 300,000,000 of men, unless some accident should intervene and dismember the monster.

The Great Russian race is said to be remarkable for its generative power; and Muscovy is a kind of volcano pouring forth a perpetual stream of living lava to replenish the surrounding countries. Thus the present surface of this empire is of prodigious extent, and its population is likely to be eventually, and even shortly, commensurate with its dimensions. But we have shown that magnitude and multitude do not constitute a people's greatness; that the empires of Spain and Tamerlane were almost equally extensive, but that they speedily crumbled to pieces for the want of some enduring principles. Hence Russia can neither derive present strength nor future duration from this source.

Secondly, military glory has been shown to be an insufficient cause to secure these advantages. But if Russia has any cause to boast it is surely in her military triumphs, which have been far from inconsiderable. And though her diplomatic victories have added much more territory to her crown, it is questionable if they

have not been generally achieved at the expense of her honour. In the field of battle, however, she has commonly acted a more manly part, though the waters of the Black sea have recently been witness to a cowardly massacre inflicted by her on a far inferior force. All impartial authorities will admit that the military history of Russia has been glorious to her arms. The Kremlin at Moscow is crowded with trophies of all nations, save England; and though Muscovy suffered many sanguinary defeats at the hands of Napoleon—on the fields of Austerlitz, Friedland, and Borodino, yet she invariably disputed the ground manfully with her mighty foe, whom she at length vanquished and dethroned, rescuing Germany from his grasp and retaining it in her own. Alison has well remarked, that the leaders of revolutionary France met men of very different mettle to those they were wont to encounter when they engaged in mortal conflict with the stern and stubborn soldiers of Suwarof. In short, Napoleon himself admitted that they were the best soldiers on the continent, after the French. The plains of Italy have been watered with Russian blood, and borne witness to their prowess; the Russian eagle has waved proudly over vanquished Paris; the gallantry of Sweden and her chivalrous king was laid low at Pultawa; Russian bayonets have gleamed on the walls of Adrianople, in the valleys of Persia, and on the snows of the Caucasus; and the heroes of Poland can attest the determined courage of Muscovite battalions marching to enslave their country. In fact, since Peter the Great, Russia has become a great military power, and achieved many glorious triumphs; so much the more dangerous to her neighbours, inasmuch as they are the expression of a system that outlives monarchs and dynasties, and has become the hereditary purpose of the nation.

¶ Yet we have seen that of all the mightiest and most extensive empires that have appeared in history, those that were based on military glory have been the most short lived. An example of this might be found, perhaps, in the hereditary foe of Muscovy, un happy Turkey, which though inspired by religious enthusiasm, and organized on a most ingenious system, yet being founded chiefly on a military spirit and warlike principles, was fast declining, till arrested by the iron grasp of Mahmoud, who by almost unparalleled efforts swept away the Janissaries and other barbarous institutions, and by converting the Ottoman Empire from a military to a civilly organized state, prepared the way for the resuscitation of his people. And this we believe to be the only way by which Russia can be rescued from perdition. But military glory will never be found to be her safety or anchor.

¶ Thirdly, we have seen that despotism, so far from preserving and developing a state, is the certain cause of its eventual ruin. The oligarchy of Venice may have been oppressive, but a body of powerful patricians has been always found to be one of the best guarantees of a nation's power and endurance. Accordingly, Venice lasted more than a thousand years, exceeding even the Roman Republic and Empire in the duration of its temporal existence. Spanish autocracy wrought the downfall of Spain; and Richelieu and Louis XIV., by cutting off or crushing the noblest patricians

of France, paved the way for the Revolution. Again, Turkey was dragged close to a precipice by the absolutism of its government, and has been only saved by the reforms of Mahmoud and the Gulhané Edict, or Constitution, of Abdul-Medjid. Now, of all despotisms that ever appeared on earth, none has perhaps ever exceeded, or even equalled, that of Russia, unless it be the authority of the tyrant of Dahomey. The Czar is actually God upon earth. His will is law. In fact, history shows no parallel to the crouching degradation of the subjects of Ivan IV. and Peter the Great, and the same spirit still hovers over the Kremlin. Such a government carries a deadly canker in its bosom, and is seen before long to fall a prey to its own diseased nature, unless rescued by some violent convulsion.

Fourthly, Russians are apt to boast of the patriarchal ignorance and innocence of the Russian serfs, uninfected with revolutionary, democratic, and Utopian theories; contented hewers of wood and drawers of water, who live in a state of Arcadian simplicity. But we have seen that all nations whose influence has been extensive and enduring, have been distinguished for moral worth or intelligence. Yet impartial pens attest the utter want of principle found throughout the Russian empire, the mere formalism in religion, the universal dishonesty, duplicity, and want of veracity; and statistics show that the mass of ignorance amongst the peasants, and even priests, is something appalling. It is true that their knavery and cunning imply a certain amount of wit, but, as in the Byzantine empire, these qualities work ruin and destruction unless they are guided by education and tempered by spirituality. An empire never became widely influential and permanently vital unless imbued with instruction and inspired with good principles. Unfortunately, Russia has neither one nor the other, despotism crushing all expansion of mind, and the church extinguishing all spirituality and morality.

We have now applied the tests of extensive and enduring greatness to the Russian empire, and found it wanting in all those qualities which secure these advantages to a nation. Summing up what has been said, we can now give a decided answer to the question propounded at the head of this chapter—What is Russia?

Russia is the impersonation of brute force; it is the incarnation of materialism; it is the ideal of Atheism; it is the empire of darkness—some fanatics even say it is Anti-Christ—it is the great Babylon of Apocalyptic vision; like the scourge of God, Attila, sent to chastise civilization for its sins—the dragon permitted by heaven to fight against the principles of light, against free thought, free will, truth, and justice, till it is at length vanquished, chained, and cast back into the abyss of barbarism.

These visionaries add—Little shall avail its mighty hosts, its glorious trophies, its colossal resources, its gigantic territory, piles of ore and millions of men, the inconceivable hypocrisy of its pontiffs, the strength and valour of its sons, and the wit of its Cabinet—its days are numbered, its doom is sealed, it is built upon quicksands, a gulf lies beneath it—it will, it must, perish!

With ignorance and depravity in the priesthood and among

the serfs, and universal corruption among all the functionaries of government, this Colossus is rotten within. Without the ornaments or the honours of high culture or refinement, its name will be wiped from the page of the living without a regret or a tear; nay, benedictions will be heaped on the heads of those who raise a healthier structure in its place. Few generous men have arisen, and breathed their words of fire in its poisonous atmosphere; no army of saints or philosophers have consecrated that soil of slavery with their remains and their memory; no Alfred has arisen there, the father of his people; no Russell to decorate its nobility; no Hampden to illustrate its people.

Sterile as the soil of Northern Siberia, leaden as the sky of Nova Zembla, its moral and intellectual atmosphere hath begotten dwarfs or abortions. Few names of great captains or statesmen are inscribed upon its scroll of fame; the Legislature has feared to whisper the words justice and truth in that land of sorrow; no glowing orator has arisen, or could arise, there, to denounce oppression, and proclaim the glad tidings of liberty and charity to a benighted race of slaves; no burning odes, or shining rhapsodies, have winged their path of light across the literary firmament, stirring the souls of bondsmen to shake off their fetters, and stand forth in the dignity of a divine nature. The feeble murmurings of discontent have not expired on the lips of the sufferer ere they resound in hollow echoes through the mines of Siberia, or are drowned by the lash of the knout and the crashing of bones.

So long as moral rectitude and spiritual aspirations are the brightest gems in the diadem of humanity—so long as intellectual cultivation is the fairest garland that decorates its brow—so long as mental improvement is the greatest ornament of the individual and security of the state—Russia stands convicted of being deficient in all that constitutes the glory of the monarch and the honour of his people; in all that entitles their name and their memory to the gratitude of posterity; in all that confers distinction and lustre on great empires in the eyes of their contemporaries, in the pages of the historian, and in the judgment of eternity.

Nor can it be difficult to pronounce the nature of its future destiny, guided by the principles we have laid down in this chapter. Unless a man should come to the throne of Muscovy, uniting the character of Washington and the wisdom of Solomon to the will of Peter, or a band of enlightened nobles should appear, and in an hour of inspiration should sweep away the present cumbrous and injurious machinery of the Russian government, it must rust and perish as so many others of its kind have done before it. In short, Russia is a huge machine, destructive to others and ruinous to itself, directed by the blind impulse of materialism fatally and speedily to a direful precipice, over which it is certain to dash headlong, unless the master mind of some engineer should come to the rescue, stay it in its desperate course, and by remodelling its constitution, prepare it for a happier future and a more glorious mission.

SECTION V.—POLAND AND CIRCASSIA.

CHAPTER I.

POLAND.

The partition—Kosciusko—Insurrection of 1831—Warsaw—Cracow—Gallicia
—Posen.

THE greatness of nations, as we have seen, depends more on quality than quantity; and Russia has embraced under her liberal sway two districts which, though inferior in size, are infinitely superior to Muscovy in interest. These districts are Poland and Circassia, countries allied in gallantry and misfortune. Greece and Judea were less conspicuous for magnitude and multitude than for intelligence and moral greatness. The former was the abode and cradle of Demigods, the latter of a God. Poland has produced a Kosciusko and a Sobieski, and Circassia is a land of heroes; the spirit of freedom once sanctified the plains of the former and the hills of the latter. The connexion between these regions is evident in other ways. The noblest and bravest sons of Poland are sent as privates to enslave the hero chiefs and tribes of the Caucasus. They have had no choice but desertion. In front they are targets for Circassian bullets, whilst their backs are exposed to the laceration of the knout. There is, moreover, an especial interest and importance attaching to these regions at present, as they constitute the weak points of Russia. Encouragement on the Vistula would set Poland on fire; a fleet blockading the forts of the Caucasus would liberate Georgia and Circassia, and send 200,000 dashing and chivalrous horsemen to take the Russians in the rear and cut off the Crimea.

Such is the policy of England, and such would be her plans, if connivance, imbecility, and pusillanimity did not hold the rudder of the State in Downing Street.

We have said that magnitude and multitude do not constitute the greatness of these districts. Yet there was a time when Poland was larger than Russia, and the Poles outnumbered the Russians. With her possessions in Lithuania and the Ukraine, she contained more than 20,000,000 of subjects at a time when Prussia was a duchy, tributary to her.

To refresh the memory of the reader respecting the most nefarious transaction in all history, compassed by the connivance of a British ministry, we shall briefly repeat the tragic story of the partition of Poland, and then give a sketch of its dismembered and mutilated remains groaning under the tyranny of Russia, and its agents, Prussia and Austria, after which we shall pass to Circassia.

Let us set out from the first dismemberment of Poland, in 1772:—

Was this conquest, so glorious for Russia, the result of its own political plans, or of any victory over its enemies? No! Poland was dismantled by the efforts of three great powers, united to

commit the most brutal and atrocious act of spoliation; and, strange to say, in the midst of a complete European peace.

To whom was the first idea of this due? to the Austrian Cabinet, and particularly to the Prince Kaunitz. Austria was fearful of seeing Russia, profiting by the rapid decay of Turkey, seize the Crimea and the Wallachian provinces, and menace to engross exclusively the navigation of the Lower Danube. To declare war was a difficult task for Austria, who had, at that period, to repair losses which were too great to allow of her raising fresh armies. She could not have looked for any aid from Prussia, bound by the treaty of 1764 to the Czarina Catherine, and, consequently, obliged to furnish Russia with aid and assistance in case of an attack. Besides this, Frederick had put Prussia on such a footing, that, as a military power, she already frightened her neighbours.

The Cabinet of Vienna was in this state of perplexity, when the splendid project of the dismemberment of Poland emanated from Prince Kaunitz.

The fearful anarchy into which Poland had fallen since the accession of a favourite of Catherine II. to the throne of the Jagellons, served as a pretext. Joseph II. broached the matter to Frederick, who joyfully approved of the proposition. The Russian Cabinet was sounded, and, being urged by the King of Prussia, the Czarina agreed to re-assure Austria, by renouncing (momentarily) the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia.

A first treaty, of the 17th of January, 1772, regulated the pretensions of each of the parties concerned; and, on the 5th of August following, another treaty pronounced the dismemberment of Poland.

In 1794 and 1795, precisely at the epoch when the French Convention was proclaiming those democratic principles *which astonished nations and terrified kings*, in spite of the efforts of the great Kosciusko and the day of Dubienka, which afforded the Russians one more proof that it is difficult for them to vanquish a civilized people, the last remains of Poland, which, under a false pretence of modesty, the three powers had, until then, respected, were definitively shared between them, in order to smother, said the coalition, *the Jacobinical ideas that had come from France*, and which infested Warsaw, and threatened their dominions.

On the part of Prussia, this was not only a piece of perfidy, but an erroneous and impolitic act as well, for she was overthrowing the barriers which guaranteed her from the ambition of Russia, who became her neighbour, to meddle afterwards in the affairs of Germany, and constitute herself the Champion of Absolutism there.

The public is already well acquainted with the principal historic facts relative to this noble struggle for independence. A traveller at the beginning of this century says, "I have often been on the field of battle which decided the fate of Poland, and near the spot where Kosciusko was struck down with a sabre, exclaiming—*Finis Polonia.*" The surface is broken, and almost surrounded by forest-lands; and among the trees, and even in the open places, are frequently seen the skulls and bones of men, now blanched by

the elements, and whose flesh had been the prey of wolves. The Poles were outnumbered more than one-half by the Russians under General Persen; yet their enthusiastic valour would have rendered them victorious, had it not been for the treachery of Prince Poninski, who, stationed at no great distance with a body of 4,000 or 5,000 men, kept aloof, while his countrymen were bleeding in the cause of freedom. The conduct of Poninski, however, is susceptible of palliation, though it cannot be justified. No hope either could be or was entertained by thinking men, of final success, from the approach of the King of Prussia and of General Suwarroff. The State, too, was perfectly disorganized; every principle of union seemed annihilated. The views of Kosciusko and his party themselves were, I fear, too exclusive: for there can be no doubt that there were many who expected to gain nothing by his success. But the Spartan bravery which animated him and his little patriot-band deserves to be celebrated with the full trump of fame. This last effort was an effort of despair; but it was the glorious struggle of men who determined to live free, or die."

We pass over the imperfect revival of Poland under Napoleon and Alexander, men too selfish to do justice to this gallant republic, and we come to the present Czar.

The coronation of Nicholas took place at Moscow, in 1826, and in the subsequent year he was crowned King of Poland. During the ceremonies attending the latter event, he kneeled before the altar, and said, in a loud voice—"May my heart, O my God and Master, be in thy hand, and may I reign for the happiness of my people and for the glory of thy holy name, according to the charter granted by my august predecessor, and sworn to by me, in order that I may not fear to appear before Thee in the day of Thy eternal judgment."

After this solemn act, Constantine was confirmed Viceroy of Poland, and knowing the inclination of the people for amusement, he built a magnificent theatre, and engaged in various projects for their gratification. But these apparent acts of generosity were followed with the outbreak of violent passions and the indulgence of monstrous cruelties. The publicity of the Diet was suppressed, the freedom of the press destroyed, the sources of national wealth corrupted, monopolies and public treasure rewarded the vile agents, who by secrecy and provocation, calumny and espionage, had infected with their venom the freedom of private life, and converted the hospitality of the people into a snare for virtue and innocence. Abominable vices taught and practised in the public schools, led to the physical and moral deterioration of the noble youth; personal liberty was violated, the prisons were full to overflowing, and councils of war, composed of Russian officers, became the tribunals for the adjudication of private rights. Such was the state of affairs in Warsaw, when news of the revolution of July, expressions of sympathy and promises of assistance from certain patriots and politicians, urged the Poles to make one more effort for their country.

On the 29th of November, 1830, a number of cadets forced an entrance into the Palace of the Belvedere, the suburban residence

of Constantine. Several of the Aides-de-Camp of this prince were struck dead while defending the door of his chamber; with the assistance of another, an American, and a favourite, he escaped by a secret passage, and fled to the barracks of the Russian troops. These were ten thousand strong, and might at once have crushed the conspiracy; but Constantine was as remarkable for cowardice as for cruelty, and fled with his guards from Warsaw. In a few weeks afterwards the people of Poland were up in arms—in a few months victory followed victory over their ancient foes. Whole regiments were clothed and fed at the expense of private citizens, and young and old marched out to conquer or die, singing the long-forbidden airs and verses which breathed of liberty and their never-dying love of country. The memory of the power, glory, and heroism of those who stood prominent in the annals of the past, roused up an energy only to be satisfied on the field of battle. They did all that men could do—they fought, they bled, they died, they conquered. The mother, who placed the musket in the hands of her only child; the wife, who girded on the good sword of the husband of her love; those who offered all and everything upon the altar of their country made a vain and useless sacrifice.

For a moment the cause of a bleeding nation was triumphant. Diebitsch, mortified with repeated discomfiture and defeat, destroyed himself, or was destroyed by poison; and the madman, Constantine, died from the effects of constant debauchery. But all Europe looked upon the struggle without an effort in behalf of a people who had been the bulwark of Christendom when threatened with the despotism of the Turks, and who could again have been a bulwark against the despotism of the Russians.

Louis Philippe was intent upon maintaining his throne and the general peace; England saw no commercial advantage that would accrue to her by interference; and the star of Poland, shining brighter than it ever did before, illuminating the political firmament with an effulgence which, though it has passed away, can never be forgotten, was quenched in the darkness of northern night. The contest closed with the approach of Paskewitsch at the head of an overwhelming force. Seeing no succour at hand, a retreat or surrender was proposed. Those who recommended the latter course were shot dead by their infuriated countrymen. On the 29th of July, the Russians crossed the Vistula, and thousands of the Poles retired into Germany. The Countess P——, celebrated for her wit and beauty, and other ladies of rank and fortune, entered Dresden in the uniforms of the Royal Hussars of Poland—a dress which they had worn during the whole of this eventful period, and which they had adopted in imitation of their ancestors, the warlike women of Sarmatia. On the 6th of September Warsaw was assaulted, and after a desperate and hopeless resistance, yielded to Paskewitsch, who entered in triumph on the 8th. He spread the city. There was little to destroy, and few were left upon whom vengeance could be inflicted. The youth, the pride, and beauty of the capital had died upon the field of battle, or had fled; the little Paris, so gay nine months before, had become almost a desert. Order reigned in Warsaw. The revenge of the

Czar was terrible. Poland was declared a province, incorporated with the Russian empire and obliterated from the map of Europe; the Poles, innocent or guilty, were treated as criminals and sent in droves to Siberia and the Caucasus. Herds of Russians entered the country, and reaped, with the Jews, the remaining riches of the state.

All civil and military posts were filled by the most devoted officers of the Emperor, while legions of fanatical and ignorant priests of the Greek faith, tortured with ingenious cruelty the nuns and friars of the Roman convents. Those who were in affluence were reduced to poverty; those who possessed industry and enterprise fled, and the whole trade and commerce of the kingdom fell into a state of complete stagnation. An army of 150,000 men is quartered upon the inhabitants, and troops of wild Calmucks and savage Cossacks, badly clothed and badly paid, have been let loose upon the country, with *carte blanche* to persecute and plunder. The Polish population lament their woes in secret, and the youth, from fifteen to twenty years of age, constantly detected in conspiracy, or constantly denounced by secret spies and unknown agents of the police, are sent in numbers to the mines, or forced into the army. Such is the state of Warsaw and Poland.

We shall next proceed to a brief analysis of the geographical members of the ancient Republic of Poland, and the reader will obtain the clearest insight into the villany of the partition by a simple statement of facts. This matter will also help to throw a clear light on the intention of Russia with regard to the dismemberment of Turkey, a natural consequence of that of Poland.

The general population of Poland, prior to its dismemberment, has been stated at fifteen millions; or, what is more intelligible, as not exceeding four hundred inhabitants to a square league, including Polish Ukraine* and Lithuania; it was, however, much more.

Western Russia is composed of several provinces which were formerly Polish—namely, Lithuania, the Polish Ukraine, or Volhynia, and Podolia, which at the period of the partition of the kingdom of Poland, became the portion of Russia. It is watered by the Niemen, the Dwina, the Bug, the Dnieper, the Dniester, and the Bog. This last rises in Podolia and falls into the Dnieper, near where it empties itself into the Black sea. This country is very rich in corn, wood, cattle, and honey, and contains eight millions of inhabitants, amongst whom there are many Jews. It embraces the following Governments:—

The Government of Wilna, to the south of Courland. Wilna, at the confluence of the Wilia and the Wilenka, formerly the capital of Lithuania, is a very commercial town; it has a Catholic University, churches of three different Christian confessions, a Synagogue, and a Mosque. It contains 36,000 inhabitants. *Kowno* is a small town at the confluence of the Niemen and the Wilia; it

* Ukraine, inhabited by Cossacks, or Little Russians, reached from Poland to the Turkish frontier in Bessarabia, and by the Black Sea. All this region has been stolen by Russia.

trades in hydromel. *Polangen*, a small town on the Baltic, is chiefly inhabited by Jews.

The Government of Grodno.—*Grodno*, upon the Niemen and *Slonim*, towns, each of which contains 5,000 inhabitants. *Brzesk*, a small town on the Bog, and has an academy for Jews.

The Government of Bialystock.—*Bialystock*, a well-built town, situated on the Biala, and has 6,000 inhabitants. *Bielsk*, a small town.

The Government of Witepsk.—*Witepsk*, a commercial town on the Dwina, it contains 13,000 inhabitants. *Polozk*, a small town on the Dwina. *Dünabourg*, a fortress on the Dwina.

The Government of Mohilew.—*Mohilew*, upon the Dnieper, has a considerable trade in leather, of which it has manufactories; it contains 16,000 inhabitants. *Orscha* and *Mstislaw*, each of which contains 5,000 inhabitants. *Dubrowna*, with a large manufactory of stuffs, has 8,000 inhabitants.

The Government of Minsk.—*Minsk*, a small town. *Borischow*, upon the Bérésina, the passage over which was so fatal to the French army in 1812. *Sluyk*, upon the river of the same name; it contains 5,000 inhabitants. *Pinsk*, a town where good Russian leathers are manufactured. *Bobruisk*, a fortress on the Bérésina.

The Government of Volhynia, near the frontiers of Galicia.—*Schitomir* or *Zitomierz*, upon the Teteren, contains 5,000 inhabitants. *Berdyczew*, the largest town in Volhynia; it has 10,000 inhabitants. *Dubno*, has a fair which is much frequented; it contains 6,000 inhabitants. *Wlodimirz* or *Wladimir*, *Luzk*, *Ostrog*, and *Zaslawl*, are all small towns.

The Government of Podolia.—*Kaminiec*, a strong town not far from the Dniester; it has a strong castle built on a rock, and contains 5,600 inhabitants. *Mohilew*, upon the Dniester, and *Starogrod*, towns which contain each about 7,000 inhabitants. *Bar* and *Targowicz*, both celebrated in the history of Poland as the spots where two important national assemblies met.

The late Kingdom of Poland, formed in 1815, and destroyed in 1831, is situated between the 50° and 55° of latitude, and between the 36° and 42° of longitude, and is composed of parts of the ancient Kingdom of Poland. It is bounded by Russia, Galicia, the territory of the free city of Cracow, and the Prussian provinces, and contains 222 square leagues. It is, generally speaking, a level country* covered with numerous forests, and watered by the *Vistula*, which receives there the *Bug* with the *Nurew*; it is fertile in corn, hemp, flax, tobacco, and supports many cattle, and yields much honey. The population consists of about 3,700,000 inhabitants, amongst whom must be reckoned 250,000 Jews. Poland reckons 482 towns and 22,000 villages and hamlets. The Catholic religion is dominant there, but other religions are allowed the free exercise of their worship. Industry is still in its infancy, and its commerce is limited to the exportation of natural productions. This new kingdom, whose sovereign was the Emperor of Russia, who also assumed the title of King of Poland, had its own parti-

* The word *Pole* means, in Slavonic, a field or plain,

ular constitution, and formed a constitutional monarchy. We have seen that in 1831 Nicholas swept away all the liberties he had sworn to preserve. Poland is now a viceroyalty, under Field Marshal Paskewitsch, Prince of Warsaw. Poland is divided into eight governments, called *Woivodats*.

Warsaw, the capital of the kingdom, is situated upon the left bank of the Vistula, which separates it from the suburb of *Praga*. The town consists of a long, narrow, dirty street, into which side streets open; but in the suburbs the streets are large and clean. It contains large deserted palaces, churches and monasteries of handsome appearance. Amongst the buildings of this city we may remark the royal palace which was used as a place of reunion for the Diet; the palace of Saxony, with a vast garden; the palace formerly called *Krasinski*; the mint, the arsenal, and many other handsome buildings. Near the gate of Cracow stands the gilded bronze statue of King Sigismund III. upon a marble column. Warsaw possesses a university, a gallery of paintings, collections of works of art, many charitable institutions, various manufactories, of which those of Turkish carpets and carriages are the most important, and it carries on a considerable trade of the productions of Poland; it has about 117,000 inhabitants, 10,000 of whom are Jews. Its distance from Paris is 385 leagues north-east. Warsaw has not gained by Russian protection. The old palace in the Place de Saxe, the residence of Augustus, King of Saxony and Poland, has been purchased by a Russian tea dealer; and in the park in its rear stands an iron monument to commemorate the subjugation of Poland. It is an insult to a brave foe, but the disgrace rests with those who raised it. *Wola* is a village in the environs of Warsaw, where the Kings of Poland were formerly elected in the open air. *Willanow* is a superb chateau, upon an arm of the Vistula, two leagues from Warsaw, *Lowicz*, a small town on the Bzura, *Modlin*, a fortress on the Bug. *Kalisch*, upon the Proсна, has 7,800 inhabitants. *Peisern* and *Sieradz*, upon the Wartha, and *Potrikow*, are small towns. *Czenstochowa* is a small town near the Wartha, at the foot of the Klarenberg, upon which stands a fortified convent, whose miraculous image of the Holy Virgin attracts many pilgrims. *Kielce*, connected with the mines. *Sandomir*, is on the Vistula, with a strong chateau built on a rock. *Radom* and *Opatow* are small towns. *Lublin*, is the second town of the kingdom, and carries on a considerable commerce; three great fairs are held there annually; it contains 10,000 inhabitants. *Pulawy*, on the Vistula, with a superb chateau, and *Chelm*, are small towns. *Zamosc*, a strong town with arcades round the houses, has 6000 inhabitants. *Siedlec*, *Terespol*, and *Bialu*, are also small towns. *Plock*, upon the Vistula, has a considerable commerce; has 7000 inhabitants, *Pultusk* and *Ostrolonka*, small towns on the Narew, celebrated for the battles of 1806, 1807, and 1831. *Suwalki*, *Augustowo*, *Novemiasto*, and *Kalcarye*, all small towns.

We have said that Poland has been partitioned by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and since 1846 Austria has swallowed up Cracow, the last remnant of Polish nationality.

The late Republic of Cracow was a small state, formed in 1816,

under the protection of Austria, Russia, and Prussia; it is situated at the south of Poland, of which it formerly was a part, and is separated from Galicia by the Vistula. It extends over a territory of twenty square leagues, and has a population of 106,000 Catholic inhabitants, divided into four cities, and seventy-seven villages and hamlets.

As the capital of this recent little republic was once the ancient metropolis of Poland, and though its palaces and fanes, like those of Warsaw, have been polluted by Russian and Austrian banditti, it still remains one of the most interesting cities in the world, we shall devote a little longer space to a description of its venerable monuments.

Cracow stands on the river within this narrow territory—once the brilliant capital of a nation numbering 20,000,000, and of an empire that proudly stretched from the shores of the Baltic to the walls of Smolensk.

“Every age,” says Victor Hugo, “writes its history in stone.” If this remark be just, the former fortunes of the now subdued Sarmatian race must have been brilliant indeed; for in its architectural monuments which have yet outlived the barbarity of the uncivilized Russian, or the still more dangerous cupidity of the corrupt Austrian, we feel that we gaze on memorials of a period when a race of Pœasts and Jagellons, commencing with the Pœasant King, cast a splendour on the age they adorned, and raised their country to a degree of brilliancy which makes the heart of the exiled Pole sicken at its remembrance.

This is the very same Cracow which formerly numbered seventy-two churches within its precincts, of which no less than thirty-nine and twenty-eight chapels, with a vitality characteristic of the nation, defied the shocks of Time, and remain yet for the most part in excellent preservation. It is probable that no city ever contained so many sacred buildings within the same space of ground, and we have, in the exclamation of Thorwaldsen—the great Scandinavian sculptor, who in 1820 visited this city—the most imperishable evidence of the magnificence of its cathedral. Gazing on the gilded dome of St. Stanislaus, Thorwaldsen exclaimed, “Rome, thou dost not stand alone in the World.” Another curious and highly corroborative test of the feelings of veneration which are inspired by this building in a quarter where one would least expect to find them, may be discovered in the repeated overtures of some of the Jewish inhabitants to cleanse the exterior of its roof from the accumulated impurities of ages which now obscure its lustre; and not only to effect so patriotic and sacred an object entirely at their own cost and charges, but to pay into the exchequer the sum of 60,000 florins, being four ducats for each tile so cleansed, for such permission. It is not for us to say why those overtures were declined by the senate of Cracow; but there is some reason for supposing that had the object of the proposed purification been couched with any other metal less costly than *virgin gold*, no difficulty could have arisen. Perhaps it was the liberality of the offer kindled suspicion.

The expectations which the imposing exterior of this catho-

dral awaken, are more than justified by the splendour of its internal decorations, and the profusion of its architectural embellishments. Within it stands the rich canopy, beneath which the Kings of Poland were formerly crowned. First amongst the monuments of by-gone heroes we meet the Mausoleum of Casimir the Great, and the last of the Pœast dynasty, the contemporary of our Edward. He died without issue, consequently the crown of Poland became elective. He bore the enviable title of the *Peasant King* as long as he lived, in consequence of the protection he afforded that class of his subjects against the exactions of the nobles. Much of the favour which was shown during his reign to members of the Israelite community is supposed to have been owing to the influence which the fair Esther, a Jewish maid, exercised over the monarch. His zeal for the promotion of all the arts of peace was so great, that he is handed down to a distant posterity by tradition, as "having found Poland of wood, and having left it of stone." We pass from him to his successor, the first of the Jagellon dynasty, the Duke of Lithuania, who, on his intermarriage with Hedwig, the niece of the late monarch, ascended the Polish throne, and thus united the two realms of Lithuania and Poland. The inhabitants of Cracow find a malicious pleasure in relating how this fair Hedwig, although actually betrothed to the Austrian Duke William, abandoned her lover on the very day of their proposed marriage. In all this she only yielded to the entreaties of her Court, who seem to have had an instinctive jealousy of a nation, that was one day to play so disastrous a part in the ruin of their country. We are also told that the jilted Duke, in his feeling of disappointment and rage, scattered the jewels which he meant for a *cadeau* for his bride, through the streets of Cracow. We must also mention a rather curious punishment for slander, which it is said was inflicted on an asperser of the reputation of the patriotic Hedwig. The wretch—we hope he was a Russian—was compelled to place himself under a table in the attitude of a dog, and in that position to bark three separate times, and between each barking to declare that he "lied like a dog." We relate this anecdote for the especial benefit of all protecting diplomatists. We may also bear in mind that up to this time none of the great offices in the state were hereditary. We must now pass to the tombs of Siegmund I. and II., with the latter of whom the male line of the glorious Jagellon dynasty expired. The Polish Empire reached its zenith under these monarchs, and extended, as was mentioned in a recent page, from the Baltic to the Black Sea and the Carpathian Mountains, and from Silesia to Smolensk. At Cracow, during their reign, Prussia was acknowledged (1525) as a tributary dukedom. Within this period falls the Reformation, which in Poland, from the dissensions it provoked, was attended with the most direful consequences! There are few countries in which the new doctrine spread more rapidly; some attribute this to the excessive vanity of the nobles, who, from a desire of exclusiveness, wanted to possess creed separately from their vassals. There is one circumstance which well merits to be recorded, as indicative of an appreciation of the merits of toleration, which we fear was rarely carried in

practice, either here or elsewhere, at the period to which we allude. The nobles, in a spirit of liberality which in every way does them honour, solemnly declared when assembled in Diet, "that we, who differ in religious belief, promise mutually for ourselves and successors, never to arm for any difference of religion, nor to allow such difference to derogate from our common rights of citizenship." This promise was, however, more easily made than kept. Religious dissensions growing out of the conflict of the three creeds—the Roman Catholic, the Reformed, and the Greek Church, have been the most powerful agents in effecting the subversion of this once mighty empire. It was this that subsequently introduced the subtle poison of Russian and Prussian mediation, and first divided and then partitioned Poland. It is somewhat singular that Sigismund II. was prevented with difficulty from embracing the Protestant creed; and from a motive very similar to those of our own Henry, an anxiety to enjoy the liberty of a divorce. If he had taken this step, it would not be easy to foresee what might have been the career of Poland, and its position at the present moment. At the time of this monarch's death, literature had sufficiently extended to give employment to fifty printing presses in Cracow alone, and to ten times that number in eighty other towns of Poland.

We now pass to the handsome sarcophagus of Stephen Batory, who succeeded Henry of Valois on the abdication of the latter, after a reign of only a few months. The Frenchman had been elected to the crown on condition of granting religious toleration to his Protestant subjects. His disinclination to fulfil this pledge, and the desire to occupy the throne of France on the death of his brother, Charles IX., induced him to relinquish both crown and country. His successor occupies an exalted niche in the Polish Pantheon.

We now pass over several intervening monuments of obscure kings to pause before the tomb of John Sobieski. His immediate predecessor, Michael Koributh, had experienced all the turbulence of an absolute aristocracy, and was only induced to adopt the business of sovereignty by a declaration that left him but little choice. This rare and flattering expression of noble preference for the royal candidate was conveyed in the somewhat imperious phrase, which must sound strangely in modern ears: "Most serene King! you *shall* reign!" Poor Michael's end was worthy of his inauspicious beginning. He died of a gluttonous debauch, to be succeeded by the hero of the miraculous campaign—the Wallace of Poland. It is proper to state here that the *liberum veto*, so fatal to Poland, had been introduced into the deliberative assemblies of the nobles in 1652, under the weak administration of Vladislas. Notwithstanding the danger of disturbing the continuity of our sketch, we must allude to an incident which throws a strong light on the weakness that lamed the executive, and arrested the course of all real government from the time of the fatal adoption of the *liberum veto* by the nobles. At one of the first diets held under the new system, the nobles had erected their newly-acquired privilege, but were met by the unexpected firmness of Ladislas the 4th, who re-

fused to adjourn the session, until some definite conclusion had been arrived at, to the excessive disgust, we may justly suppose, of all the Brothertons of Sarmatia. The sitting had lasted the whole day, and evening still found the sovereign and his advisers duly assembled in conclave. As a wise provision for avoiding needless controversy, and checking the loquacious propensities of senators, existed in the constitutions of the kingdom, and forbade the introduction of artificial lights into the legislative chambers, there was no alternative but to await with patience the rising of that sun, which had, in a figurative sense, set for ever in Poland. During the tedious interval, historians inform us that perfect unanimity prevailed between the sovereign and his councillors, as all lay sound asleep on their respective benches.

John Sobieski's life and heroic achievements are too well known for us to delay over the details. He saved Europe and Vienna from the Asiatic Turks on the field of Chocim. At that period the Turks were regarded as the sole enemies of civilization, and an escape from their rule was considered by the Poles as something very desirable, as it then truly was. The hero's tomb is adorned with the trophies of his ill-fated victories, and his achievements are perpetuated in bas-reliefs of alabaster. The Gobelins (six in number), which the conquerors of the Asmans captured from the foe, still adorn the walls, and afford ample latitude of interpretation to the more imaginative vergers, as occasional difficulties are suggested by the scenes portrayed, as to the subjects being all taken from sacred history. The mundane character of the beatitude, held out by Mahomet as incentive to valour and sanctity, is sometimes found to contrast too glaringly with the spirituality of the Giaour's faith.

Not far from the grave of Sobieski stand two monuments to the memory of names, with which this generation is still more familiar, and the magic sound of which sends a thrill to the core of the coldest heart. Here, side by side, lie Sobieski, Kosciusko, and Poniatowski, the three great men of Poland. But Thaddeus Kosciusko has been justly considered worthy of a special monument—of one which seems likely to be co-eternal with his fame, and of which we shall shortly speak.

We will now leave this hallowed temple of kings and heroes, and glance at the stately building which abuts upon it—the palace in which old Poland's monarchs lived and ruled. The busy hands of Time and Austria have here done their work: what the former spared has become the prey of the latter. It is only when we look upon this palace and remember that its costly fittings—even to the very plate-glass of its windows in their marble frames—have been carried off to Vienna, that we fully comprehend the remark of Prince Metternich, "that Cracow had become a retreat for every kind of brigandage." The palace of the Jagellons is now the barrack of Austrian troopers; its noble carvings and decorations are hid by whitewash, or studiously effaced by the order of the paternal government. Austria justly fears their awakening, even in its own dull soldiery, feelings and recollections which, though they slumber long, are seldom wholly eradicated. Still the imposing

character of the ancient pile has not been wholly obliterated. A recent attempt to convert a portion of it into a senate-house, conjointly with its use as an Austrian barrack, is perpetuated by the inscription, now probably effaced—*Senatus populusque Cracoviensis restauravit.*

Our attention is next arrested by the *University*, which at one time was the great seat of learning in the North, and possessed some of the ablest men in its professors. The building is remarkable for its antiquity, and is in the Gothic style. Its library contains 300,000 volumes, and several thousand manuscripts, chiefly illustrative of Polish history. In 1817 the whole system was re-organized, but the most fatal change did not take place until the 15th of August, 1833, when a new organic statute was forced upon the University; by this statute the Government was deprived of its constitutional right of appointing professors, the nomination being for the future vested in the conference of residents. Each of the protecting powers took one particular faculty under its paternal care; medicine was assigned to Austria, law to Prussia; whilst, strangely enough, the appointment to the faculty of divinity was vested in Russia. To it was committed the charge of the Roman Catholic worship; and we have no difficulty in imagining what must have been the design and effect of such a distribution. In this manner the University of Jagellon, on which the subverter of the Ptolemaic system had for four years shed the light of his genius—the father of Copernicus, had been a surgeon in Cracow,—was transformed by the stroke of a pen into a nursery of political servility. That the protecting Sovereigns should, notwithstanding these changes, have still thought it necessary to interdict their subjects from studying at this University, may be considered as a measure of very needless precaution. The number of students has, of later years, ranged from 200 to 250. The professors are 28 in number. In all the schools in Cracow Russian is much taught, as it is felt to be the language likely to be soon needed. We have already alluded to the vast number of churches which adorn this city. Many of them have long since ceased to exist as places of public worship, and have been converted to secular purposes. The present theatre was formerly a church, and many of the smaller ones have been converted into magazines and warehouses.

GALLICIA.

The share of Poland that fell to Austria in 1772 was what is now called the Kingdom of Galicia. Situated east of Moravia it is separated from Hungary by the Carpathians. Its chief river is the Vistula, which receives the Bug in Galicia, after rising with the Dniester in the Carpathians.

Gallicia is commonly flat, being only mountainous to the south and east. It is, however, fertile in corn, and yields a great quantity of rock salt. It is divided into nineteen circles, has 1648 square leagues, 4,000,000 inhabitants, 95 towns, 193 boroughs, and 6020 villages. It contains many Jews, and its capital is Lemberg. The Austrian and Russian governments fomented the conspiracies at

Cracow in 1846 to justify their demoniacal intentions. The intelligence of the Polish nobles in Galicia was always a great obstacle to their wicked designs, and was removed by a heinous crime. The peasantry of Galicia were roused to arms by Austrian agents against their proprietors, who were represented as their oppressors, and whom they slaughtered with unrelenting cruelty. The pride of the Polish aristocracy were cut off in this Jacquerie, and the women suffered the most brutal outrages. One of the nobles who complained to the Austrian government, and who was promised justice and compensation, was murdered soon after. The work of extermination was carried on with fearful results throughout Galicia. Promiums in money were paid by the Austrian governors for the bodies of murdered masters, and their patriotism was acknowledged in a proclamation of the Emperor of Austria. Are not these things to make the angels weep? British diplomatists only smile at them.

Prussia received as her share of the partition of 1772 the Grand Duchy of Posen, containing two districts and 932,000 inhabitants, also some districts in Western Prussia, including Dantzic, the first commercial city of the monarchy, once a *free town* under Polish protection. In short, the whole of the lower course of the Vistula has been cut off from Poland and incorporated in Prussia, which, like a carrion crow, has fattened on the carcase of the fallen lion.*

Such was the dismemberment of Poland. Where facts speak so loud, comments would be misplaced. God save England from the protection and partition of Christian despots.†

* Prussia has risen in like manner on the ruins of the ancient monarchy of Saxony, whose crown was once united to that of Poland.

† Our space prevents us from giving a minute account of the religious persecutions of Poland under Catherine and Nicholas. The reader will find them fully detailed by the author of "Eastern Europe," by Ivan Golovin, and Prince Czartoryski, in the Secret Documents published by him. We shall here only refer to the case of the nuns of Minsk, persecuted by Siemaczko, related by one of the survivors, the superior, Irena Makrena Mieczyslawska. If we may trust this account, we can only find a parallel for their treatment under Diocletian and the Duke of Alva. Several of these women were actually killed by violent treatment, after suffering the brutality of the Russian soldiery. But the greatest torture was the salt herring diet, without water, to force them to apostacy. They were also knouted. On the 1st of April, 1845, Irena, the superior, and three survivors, escaped during the excessive intoxication of their jailors. Their history, when known in the west, excited the greatest animadversion against the perpetrators of these horrors. The author of "Eastern Europe," charitably insinuates that such cases are not unfrequent in Russia; *but they seldom circulate*. Numerous competent authorities attest also the severe oppression under Nicholas, of the Jews of Poland, who, previous to the partition, had received more charity and toleration than in any other country.

CHAPTER II.

CIRCASSIA.

Ancient Geography—Herodotus—Strabo—The Crimea—Southern Russia—
The Caucasus—Modern Geography—The Tribes—The War.

Russia pretends to have a right to the whole region between the Black and Caspian seas, the Kouban and Armenia. This region she calls the provinces of the Caucasus, containing 6029 square German miles, and 2,500,000 inhabitants, including 30,000 Cossacks. The provinces are 7 in number: 1, Caucasia; 2, Grusia or Georgia; 3, Daghestan; 4, Imeritia; 5, Schirwan; 6, Armenia; 7, Circassia. Of these the most important are, 1.—Georgia, quite subdued, containing 832 square German miles and 400,000 inhabitants, and divided into six circles. 2.—Daghestan, the home of Schamyl in the Eastern Caucasus, containing 4340 square German miles, and 180,000 inhabitants. And 3.—Circassia, placed in the Western Caucasus, with 1535 square German miles, and 600,000 inhabitants. The tribes peopling the two latter, and indeed all the gallant mountaineers of the higher Caucasus, offer an heroic and enduring resistance to Russian aggression, which has not the shadow of a protocol or precis, to shelter its nefarious attempt to bind those noble spirits to its slavish yoke. Long may they defy Russian charities, notwithstanding the misrepresentations of British diplomacy, and the cowardice or treachery of Downing Street and the Peace Society.

On the present occasion we shall confine ourselves to a brief survey of these mountains and their tribes, keeping chiefly to the Western Caucasus.

Herodotus appears to have been tolerably well acquainted with the Caucasus chain. He says, "the Caucasus runs away from the sea, where the Caspian inclines most to the west. It is the highest and widest mountain in circumference in this part of the world. The Caucasus is peopled by many races, most of whom live on the fruit of trees. They also make a fine durable dye with the leaves of some tree, mixed with water." Eichwald, a German professor at Moscow, says that this description is still applicable to the inhabitants of Baku, Schamachi, Elisabethpol, and also to the Persians of Talisch and Masanderan. It appears, however, that mineral dyes, chiefly vitriolic stones, are combined with the vegetable dye to produce this result.

Herodotus was also well acquainted with the Oural, and the gold miners at its foot, races of Mongolian, Turkish, and Finnic origin. He describes the whole of Southern Russia to the Oural as a plain, adding, that when you reach that chain you find a steep, rocky region. His description of the manners and customs, and of the physical characteristics of the people of those regions, whom he calls Scythians and Sauromats, *Σαυρομαται* is still perfectly applicable to

the Argippaisch Calmueks, whose language he correctly distinguishes from the Slave, the Finnic, and the Turk.

The acquaintance of Herodotus with the southern parts of Russia appears to have been still more accurate; and he enumerates so many rivers and peoples, that we might suppose that country more populous at that time even than now. It was inhabited then by a nomadic race of Scythians, of the Finnic race. They were called *αμαζόβιοι*, from their habits.

The population of Crim Tartary is distinguished from the Scythians and Slaves by Herodotus, and was identical with the Turans, or Turks. The sacrifice to Iphigenia, the goddess to whom the Tauridians offered those wrecked on their coast, is attested by Herodotus, and has been immortalized by Göthe. Eichwald describes the ancient population of the Kouban and Caucasus, as rivalling the Crims in thievish propensities; but he has the modesty to add, that in their plundering forays and sanguinary practices they resembled rude and barbarous nations in all periods of history and in all parts of the world, and he might have safely included his friends the Russians in the list, if he had dared. Strabo, who lived more than 400 years after Herodotus, has left a much more detailed, if not a more accurate account of the Euxine, Circassia, and the neighbouring regions, than the father of history. Eichwald, indeed, asserts that the statements of Strabo are much more minute and more correct, particularly as regards the Caucasus. The Romans, who, like the Russians, aspired to universal empire, but who, unlike them, blessed the nations whom they subdued, waged perpetual war with the highlanders of this chain. Herodotus only knew the west coast, where a considerable trade existed; but the interior of the region was quite unknown to him. Strabo himself visited Armenia at the time of the Roman campaign there, and was personally acquainted with the kingdom of Pontus, belonging to Mithridates, in the eastern part of Asia Minor. This remarkable man, after subduing the Crimean peninsula, and the shores of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, was attacked and subdued by Pompey, who subjugated the Iberians and Albanians of the Caucasus, but did not venture far into the mountains.

The war against the Parthians, under Crassus, extended the knowledge of Asia, and much trade was carried on under Augustus with Dioscurias, on the east coast of the Black Sea. A Roman colony arose at *Sinope*, which prosecuted this trade; and Agrippa, eighteen years before Christ, conquered the Cimmerian Bosphorus.

Strabo visited Iberia under Augustus and Tiberius, and published his account of it, which was full enough for the age in which he wrote.

He describes Dioscurias as the common trading centre of all the neighbouring tribes; some enumerating 70, and others 300, nations who met there, all having different languages, because their savage character prevented any amalgamation. Most of them were Sarmatians (Slavonians); but all the Circassian tribes came also to Dioscurias.

At the mouth of the Phasis was a town of that name, now Poti (Fasch, in Turkish), which carried on much trade with Sinope and

Asia Minor. He praises "this country for its fruits and honey, the bees feeding on rhododendrons. It also yields fine timber for shipping, flax, hemp, wax, pitch, and linen."

Among the people who came to Dioscurias, Strabo mentions the lice-eaters (Phthiriophagi), so called from their diet; also the Soani, not inferior to them in dirt, and much more powerful, possessing all the Caucasus around Dioscurias, including its highest points. They had a king, and it was said that they could collect an army of 200,000 men. Their rivers were said to bring down gold, and the tribe poisoned their arrows. The neighbouring people of the Caucasus inhabit an unfruitful, broken country; the Albanians and Iberians, who chiefly inhabit the passes, may also be included in these tribes, and dwell in a fine country. Eichwald says that these Soani inhabited the district now known as Suaneti, south-west of the Elbruz, the highest group of the Caucasus, where they border on the high valleys of ancient Colchium; and also to the north, on the lofty steppes of Sukhum Kaleh. He adds that, like all the Caucasian tribes, they are poor, wretched, and dirty, not being able to grow much grain, on account of the severity of the climate. We presume that the black bread and broth, and milk of Russian serfs, is sweet and savoury in the eyes and to the taste of this worthy doctor. "If the louse-eaters were Slavonians, the name was correctly applied," adds the ingenuous Eichwald, "as the Budines of Herodotus actually eat these vermin." He forgets that the same remark applies to Slavonians now.

The poison from their arrows he thinks they obtained from the *Veratrum Album L.*, from Aconite, *Nasutum*, *Fisch*, or *Anthora L.*, and *Orientalis Mill.*, perhaps from vipers, as Ovid relates of the Getes. (*Trist.*, lib. v., *eleg. vi.*, v. 15.) The gold-finding he considers a myth, describing the valuable trade of the Greeks on that coast, as the Caucasus cannot yield gold, in his opinion.

The country itself, peopled by the free tribes, and forming what the Russians please to call the province of the Caucasus, constituted formerly the so-called Little Abasia, or Abchasia, in the midst of which are situated some beautiful mineral springs. To the south-west it borders on the free state of Karatschai; south-east, on Great Kabarda; many of whose inhabitants also refuse the paternal sway of Russia: the whole of this southern region forming a wild mountain country intersected by many trachyte and clay-slate ridges, amongst which the gigantic Elbruz towers supreme, rising, according to Kupffer's measures, to 15,400 Parisian feet above the sea.

This trachyte rock, covered with ice, exceeding all the other trachyte domes of the Caucasus in height, celebrated for the fable of Prometheus even in ancient times, is the source of the largest torrents of the Caucasus, flowing in all directions. Thus, at its foot, is the source, in the country of the Abchasians and Karatschai, of the raging Kouban, so noted for the various and wild character of the people on its banks and its numerous tributaries. Not far from the Kouban, you meet the sources of the Little (Podkumok) and Great Kuma, which water Abasia with their tributaries; then, uniting north of Georgievsk, reach the Caspian, flowing through

the territory of the Nogais; whilst the Great and Little Selentschuk, the Urup, and the Laba, and many other raging tributaries of the Kouban, flow from the continuation of the Elbruz to the west, terminating in the promontory of the Suani, and increase its current with a large mass of water.

East of the Elbruz, on the other hand, in the country of the Abchasians, rise the Little and Great Malka, which, besides the Baksan and Tschegem, farther east, proceed from the Elbruz and from the principal tributaries of the Terek, in Great Kabardia. Finally, from the same trachyte ridge to the south, issues the raging Rion, the Phasis of the Greeks, with its equally impetuous tributaries, the Tzchenistzchale, or Hippus, of the Grecians.

• The boundaries of the Caucasian territory are now found between the 43rd and 45th N.L., and 35th and 45th E.L. To the north, the Kouban and Terek separate it from the land of the Tchornemorski and Grobentsi Cossacks; to the east it touches Daghestan, sometimes included in it; south on Imeritia Mingrelia and Georgia; west on the Black sea. It is thought to have been known by the name of Tour-an or Taur-an, signifying in the Chaldean and Phœnician languages, *mountainous country*. The Zend Avesta speaks of a King of Touran, named Ardjasp, who possessed a great country to the west of the Caspian. The Caucasus runs north-west by south-east through this country; it then turns east, rising like a great natural wall, and terminates in a gentle slope near the Caspian. Koh-Kaf in Persian means Mountain; Moses of Khorona calls it Kavkaz. Kaf, Kav, Tau, Too, Dagh, or Thaghaze, are Scythian, Turkish, and Tartar words, meaning mountain or summit. In the Circassian tongues, Azore, Azo, Azzi, and Ouas, mean snow. The Elbruz and Mkinvari are the highest points; the former, according to M. Viehenevski, being 16,700 feet above the sea; the second, 14,400, according to Engelhardt and Parrot. The Mkinvari in Russian is called Kazbek. The Russian pass to Georgia runs at the foot of this mountain; the Muscovites having carried it through the Ossetinians, the Kisti, the Ingousse, the Ghondamakari and the Touetschinsi. North of the Caucasus are lovely plains watered by murmuring rivers, which, after a short course, fall into the Kouban and Terek. Marigny, formerly Dutch Consul at Odessa, says that the Circassian soil is everywhere good, and would serve every kind of agriculture, but a great portion of the country is covered with immense forests of the finest timber. The coast offers the finest anchorage, the climate is hot in the valleys, but in the plains beyond the mountains the air is sharper and very cold in winter. The origin of the people is very obscure, according to the best authorities.

We shall now proceed to individualize rather more minutely the most characteristic natural features of the Caucasian provinces, and then pass to a brief consideration of the tribes that people them.

We shall first give a brief description of the Elbruz from the pen of a British traveller, and then advance some curious facts and opinions relating to proper names used by the Circassian tribes.

The author of "Letters from the Caucasus," writing from Stavropol, says: I have now the Elbruz before my eyes. That colossus

stands on this side Caucasus, overtopping all its extensive range. The huge masses, whose summits are capped with everlasting snow, look like mere hillocks by the side of lofty Elborus. It is called Chat or Chata Gora by the Slavonians, and was considered by the ancients one of the highest mountains on our globe. Colonel Boutschkoffsky lately measured it, and found the height to be 16,700 Paris feet; so that it is 2030 feet higher than Mont Blanc. Sherefedin styles the whole chain of Caucasus, Elbruz. The Circassian name of the river Kouban is Pshiz, and one appellation of the Elbruz, is Noghai-Huskha, or the mountain of the Nogais, which seems to imply that this people formerly possessed that portion of the country. Tcherkess (according to Klaproth, meaning *coupeur du chemin*, or brigand, though it is impossible to trace out its etymology), is also a Turkish name; that given by the people themselves to the whole race from the Eastern limit of Great Kabarda to the district on the coast called Vardan, being 'Adighé!' Another appellation, though not in such common use as Agujipse, the latter being applied to those who speak a dialect of the Adighe. The Circassian appellation of the Supreme Being is *Ta*, (*Ta-Shkho*)—(the Great God)—that in use among the Mitsjeghis, a great race in the mountains to the South East—*Da*, or *Daol*, seems to be an alteration of the sameword, or vice versa. The most probable derivation is from the same root as *Taût*, according to Pallas, used among the fire-worshippers near Baku, meaning even now God. It is far fetched to derive it from the Persian *Khoda*, one being the terminal and not the initiate syllable of the other.

1. Bougaze is 18 versts (12 miles) from Taman on the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and is a small assemblage of houses situated at the entrance of the Liman or estuary, which is formed by the waters of the Kouban. The name is Turkish and Tartar, and signifies *throat*, serving to distinguish all the mouths of rivers as well as straits. At the Bougaze there is a quarantine (of course) for persons arriving from Circassia (the healthiest country in the world); a custom house, some Cossacks, artillery-men, and infantry of the garrison of Taman. There was also an agent to *protect* Circassian trade with Russia, and *prevent* the introduction of ammunition into the Caucasus.

2. Other old markets of exchange on the Kouban, established by the Tchuronomorski Cossacks, are eight in number.

1. First. Talizini—2. Kara—Kouban—3. Velikolaghermoi,—situated opposite the Shapsook tribe, which having got rid of its tyrannical princes, is governed by elders and nobles only. The Abaseches bring from their mountains to these markets, furs, wax, honey, chesnuts, a variety of fruits, and above all fine oak and lime wood; they pay a duty in kind to the Shapsooks to pass through their country. 4. Ekaterinodar, opposite the tribe of Chudloks. 5. Malolaghernoi, opposite the tribe of Kirkinai. 6. Redoutskoï. 7. Ouste Labinskoi, at the confluence of the Kouban and Laba. 8. Konstantiuoskoi, opposite the tribe of Khatoukai. Save the Shapsooks, all these tribes paid their princes one-tenth to trade with the Tchernomorski. Salt is the only

object which the markets offer in exchange to the Circassians. It is sold fifteen to twenty copecks a pud.* The Cossacks get it from salt lakes and the sea of Azoff.

The treaty of Yassy established the Kouban as the limit of Russia. This river was the Greek Hypanis, Ptolemy's Vardan, and in the time of the Khazares, Oukroughe and Varsan; the Circassians give it the name of Psi-Skhe, i.e., *old water*. It has its source in the Caucasus, at the foot of the Elbruz, and is divided at twelve and at thirty two leagues from its mouth into two other branches, which join the sea of Azoff. The Liman, which has formed itself at its mouth, is about forty-eight miles in circumference; it formerly bore the name of Koro Kondamite; Strabo places on its right shore in the country of the Sinds, now Circassia, the towns of Ermonassa and Apatouros. Yerone, the city of Venus Gorghippia, of which we possess medals, was perhaps also there. The Liman abounds now in fish. The interior of the Liman only contains very small barks, and a bar outside has only 5 or 6 feet water over it.

Two necks of land three miles apart advance in the Liman towards the south coast of Taman (isle), within a space of three hours march, and six yards in width. At their extremity rises the table land of Djimaite, one league long, and three-quarters wide. Two tumuli mark perhaps the site of Ermonassa. Djimaite village is at the south side of the table land, commands the Liman, and is inhabited by Tartar adalis who cultivate corn, &c.

From Djimaite to Anapa you pass over alluvial soil, with pools and downs on the sea side. The Kouban must have had a second mouth at the foot of the table land of Djimaite. Two hours' march from Djimaite are some hillocks, the north boundary of the valley of Anapa, two hour's distant.

The following gives an account up to the present time of a fresh survey of the Russian position on the east coast of the Black sea or the coast line of Circassia on the Euxine.

The most northerly point upon the east coast of the Black sea is Anapa—a celebrated fortress—which the Turks established to protect their trade with the tribes of the Caucasus, and which Russia has made one of the most important military posts in Circassia.

The roadstead of Anapa is exposed and only made use of during the fine season. The real boundary of Russia is at Anapa, where the chain of the western Caucasus commences. The dreaded coasts of Circassia reach to the walls of this fortress, where the Russians, notwithstanding all their effort and sacrifices, have only succeeded up to the present time in establishing a few isolated forts, whose garrisons constantly shut up within the walls and also threatened with entire annihilation, are profoundly to be commiserated. This coast stretches in a south easterly direction from Anapa to Gagrui, a distance of about 180 miles. The mountains, which bound it, are only a lateral branch of the Caucasus, and are not above 500 yards in height. The coast between Anapa and Gagrui is rocky, intersected with valleys crowned with green hills, whose verdure offers a remarkable contrast to the white chalky cliffs

* 40 Russian pounds, or 36 English.

which form their base. The hills are covered with a rich vegetation and with thick impenetrable woods, in which the scattered villages of the Circassians, called Aouls, are situated.

The first harbour upon the Circassian coast is Sudchuk-Kale. The Russians have endeavoured to secure the possession of this place by means of three redoubts, one of which was originally an old fortress built by the Turks. It was in this harbour that the English ship "the Vixen," was captured by a Russian squadron in 1837—an occurrence which created so much sensation.

The bay of Gelendchik opens almost immediately below Sudchuk-Kale, and is decidedly the finest and the most secure of the whole coast. It is the most important station of the Russian war flotilla, which is intended to watch the movements of the Circassians. Next to this is the bay of Pchiat, at the entrance of which the Russians have possessed a fort since 1837; further on along the coast inhabited by the dreaded tribe of the Shapsooks are the little bays of Noulam—Djonhoubon, Kodos, Sudbaschi Nardan, and Mamai. This part of Circassia is distinguished by its rich cultivation and its numerous villages; it opposes the most obstinate resistance to Russian encroachments, and from the above mentioned bays, the Tscherkessians had free egress, until the coast was guarded by Russian forts.

Beyond Mamai the western chain of the Caucasus assumes a grander character. The rivers become insignificant, and the central chain of the Caucasus is visible in the distance. In this neighbourhood, which is inhabited by the tribes of the Oubiths, Saghis, and Ardinias, is situated the beautiful valley of Sutchali, the Fort Navakhinskoi, Cape Senghi, called in ancient times the promontory of Hercules, and the two bays of Kamonichelaz and Kintchuli. From both these latter points, the higher peaks of the Circassian Alps are visible. Not far beyond this, is the gloomy fortress of Gagrui, which protects the entrance of Circassia into Abchasia, and immediately behind this, rise almost perpendicular rocks, which form part of the principal elevations of the Caucasus.

After leaving behind the pass of Gagrui, the mountain region of Abchasia—which surrounds Gagrui, is reached. This slopes upwards from the coast, leaving between it and the sea extensive plains, which stretch beyond the boundaries of Mingrelia. The topographical position of this country is very advantageous to the Russian government, and the Abchasian princes have been forced to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Czar.

Pitzunda, celebrated for its church, supposed to have been founded by the Emperor Justinian, is the first place of importance in Abchasia. Then follow Bomborui, an important fortress whose garrison is constantly thinned by illness; the ramparts of the two castles of Anakopia and of Psuirste, where low hills form a kind of defile; Sukhum Kalé, which after Guebulschik, is the finest bay on that coast. The Russians possess here a fortress, built in 1675, by the Sultan Amurath,—and lastly Iskurias, beyond Cape Kodor, where modern scholars place the celebrated colony of Dioskurias, which in the time of the Romans was known under the name of Sebastopolis. About fifteen miles below Cape Iskurias,

the river Galazkha forms the boundary between Abchasia and the little principality of Zamurzakhan, which reaches to the banks of the Ingur, whose shores offer only one remarkable point, that on which the ancient town of Flori formerly stood.

Upon the left banks of the Ingur, at the mouth of which lies the Fort-Anaklia, (Heraclea), begin the alluvial plains of Mingrelia, which join those of Imeretia and Guria, about 91 miles inland. These magnificent plains are surrounded by the Caucasian mountains to the north, and the Akalzuk mountains to the South, and are watered by the rivers Khopi and Rion (Phasis). Redut-Kaleh and Poti, situated at the mouths of these rivers, are the chief places of embarkation. The sand banks at their entrances, prevent anything but sloops and small Turkish vessels from anchoring at Khopi and Rion. Large ships are obliged to remain some 600 yards from the shore; the slightest puff of wind being alone necessary to weigh anchor and to make out to sea. Since the destruction of the free trade of the Trans-Caucasian provinces, in 1832, both Redut-Kaleh and Poti, have lost all importance, and even the prospect of ever regaining any. The Russian government seem to leave both these towns in the melancholy situation in which the cessation of all trade and the marshy plains, whose pestiferous exhalations poison the atmosphere, have placed them.

About twelve miles and a half beyond the Phasis, the little river Nataneba (the Ifis, near Arrian), separates the Russian from the Turkish territory. In proportion as the Fort St. Nicholas, which is the last Russian military station in Guria, and which was taken from the Turks, is left behind, the lowlands forming a border between Mingrelia and the sea, gradually disappear, whilst the Akalzuk mountains stretch down towards the coast, and raise their huge masses almost perpendicular above the sea shore at Batoum. They take a south westerly direction until near the small town of Wizeh, which, like Batoum, affords only a very unsafe and an insignificant harbour.

From Wizeh the coast changes from an easterly to a westerly direction, with a slight inclination southward. The most westerly end of this bend is Cape Joros. Trebizond is situated towards the centre of the curve, and for some years, since the restrictions on trade by the Russians, has become one of the most important places on the Black sea—the general depôt of all the imports and exports of the north of Persia and of Asia Minor.

England has taken possession of the trade of Trebizond,* which amounts to fifty millions of francs yearly. A communication is kept up with Constantinople by means of two steamboats. English goods go to all parts of Asia through Trebizond.

Let us now cast a rapid glance at the original inhabitants of these countries, and we shall find that they belong chiefly to three or four principal tribes, which at different periods have dwelt in various portions of this chain, and of the neighbouring plains. Amongst them we shall especially distinguish the Karatschai, the

* Curzon says, in his "Armenia," that the bulk of its trade has now passed out of the hands of the English into those of the Greeks.

Tscherkesses, or Circassians,* the Abasians and Abchasians, (Russians and Georgians call them by the latter; they call themselves by the former appellation), and Nogai Tartars. All these dwell from the source of the Kouban downwards, chiefly on the left bank and on its tributaries, and are often described by the Russians under the common name of the Trans-Koubanians.

At the source of the Kouban, and about the icy Elbruz, or Osch-cha, especially on its north-west declivity, live the Karatschai, a free, unsubdued, and gallant people, who, like all mountaineers, are excellent shots, despise life, and make bravery the highest distinction. The Karatschai inhabit both banks of the river Dusch (thus they call the Kouban), at the foot of the Elbruz, where they have their huts, and lead their flocks on the banks of the rivers Chozoko, Chorsoko, Elbisduko, Eschkakon and Chasaut, as also the plains of the Kizergan. In winter they drive them lower down on the banks of the rivers Muschta and Lachran. They regard themselves as the descendants of the old inhabitants of the Kuma, who formed the once powerful race of Madshar, advanced thence along the Pontus, passed the Danube, conquered Pannonia, and settled there. In this case, they may possibly be the most southern tribe of Finns, which, having settled on the north slope of the Caucasus, eventually founded Hungary. A small part of the nation, according to this hypothesis, bearing the name of Kumans or Komans, may perhaps have retired afterwards as Karatschai, when attacked by the Zygs or Tcherkessians into the steepest country, where for many ages, and still, they remain independent in part, feeding their flocks or cultivating a little land; though a part of them have, according to Eichwald, been conquered and made tributary by Russia or the Tcherkessians. Their impregnable mountains and thick forests, and eternal ice and snow, afford them secure shelter against entire subjection, and will long help them to maintain their unshackled freedom; besides which they are brave hunters, have few wants, and despise European (by which the Doctor means Russian) culture. Yet they acknowledge the Mahometan faith, and listen often to the Turks, breaking their faith to the Russians, who never break it with any body. The first Russian who overcame them was General Emanuel.

1. The Circassians are gentle and susceptible of friendship, more especially the Noutakhaitsis, 5350 families in number, neighbours of the Shapsooks, 10,000 families, renowned for bravery.

A second principal tribe, says Eichwald, with numerous affiliated branches, is found in the Tcherkesses, or Adighè, as they style themselves, and who now inhabit Great and Little Kabarda, which are bounded by the Terek. The great and little Malka, the Backsan, the Tshegem, and many other tributaries of the Terek, water the high land of Great Kabarda; whilst Little Kabarda, situated much lower down, lies in the Great Steppe, which is bounded by

* The term Circassian is a corruption of the Russian and Turkish name Tcherkessian, applied to some of the tribes of the Western Caucasus, and extended by English and other writers to all the mountaineers of the chain.

the north east end of the Terek. The military roads to Georgia from Vladi Kaukas pass through this district, the new road to Jekaterinograd, the old one to Mosdok, and is bounded to the east by the Sundscha; where the Ingusches, Karakulaks, and Tschetschenzes are the neighbours of the Teherkessians. Formerly they spread over the Terek into the Steppe, but since the laying down of the Caucasian line in 1777, they have been pushed back over the Tevek, and often humiliated by the Russians. Yet, according to Eichwald, they do not regard their oath on the Koran, hostages or pledges; but always incited by their love of booty, they make new incursions. Perhaps, however, they do not pretend, like Russia, to protect the country that they plunder.

Our author adds, that being a warlike, semi-savage people, they obey no prince like the happy Russians; and considering freedom their greatest glory and happiness, they are always in a state of anarchy; hence he says, so small a Russian force (?) can keep the Caucasus in order. For the same reason, their forays are made in small bodies. Terror alone keeps them quiet. After being punished, he pretends that they tender in an oath of allegiance, and frequent the Russian markets to trade; but as soon as they have somewhat recovered, like ungrateful Poland, they show their ingratitude to the paternal protection of Russia, by insidious, nightly assaults on the unprotected Russians. This obliges them yearly to visit them in their homes, with arms in their hands, and to deter them from their thievish propensities by terror. Yet they say that example is better than precept; and so long as Russia steals her neighbour's goods, she must expect them to retaliate.

Many mild and paternal attempts have been made by the Muscovite government to draw them under its protection, such as gaining their elders by gold, giving them a maintenance, and encouraging trade with them, all to the evident loss of generous Russia, as their fir, honey, wax, and timber are, of course, worth nothing, being the growth of freedom. Fear alone can keep them in order, like the unruly Parisians. The Turks have also contributed to this, since, unlike the Russians, they have employed agents to stir up those of the same religion as themselves against their unlawful and usurping oppressors. Yet, since the capture of Anapa, Eichwald charitably hopes that these wild people will be led to yield to the influence of the Christian and enlightened sway of Russia, and to accept a government that keeps 40,000,000 of white slaves in bondage. The Emperor, who aims at nothing but the prosperity and spirituality of his subject races, has, in the simplicity and goodness of his heart, induced princes of these Circassian tribes to send forty of their sons as a body guard to Petersburg, to be instructed in European civilization, running the gauntlet and the knout. These young gentlemen are said to be enchanted with the blandishments of Muscovite tenderness, and to be resolved to lend their people into chains. The sincerity of this feeling is evidenced by the obstinate and remorseless continuance of the war in the Caucasus. May these benevolent efforts (says the noble German doctor) to civilize this barbarous people be crowned with success, and the posterity of the present free highlanders, reduced to slavery

in future ages, bless the memory of the gentle ruler of Russia, who reclaimed them from the error of their ways.

The greater part of the Tcherkessian tribes dwell on the Kouban, on its upper course, on its tributaries, and lower down on the left bank, where it flows westward to the Temrukian and Kubanian Limans. Many genuine Tcherkesses, who left great Kabarda after an insurrection against Russia in 1822, live on both banks of the Urup, which issues from the main chain of the Caucasus, on the borders of the Suanians, and flows north to the Kouban. West of them dwell the Mamchei, and near them the Beslenians, on both banks of the impetuous Laba, which rises near the Urup, and also flows into the Kouban. Farther on, the Temigoi, who live on the Selhwagwash, also flowing into the Kouban, and who named themselves *the peaceful* under the sway of their prince Missost Aitekoff. Farther west still, we meet the Abasesches, who inhabit a woody part of the main chain, on the rivers Fars, Shagwasha, and Spa, and are more numerous than the neighbouring tribes. They have tolerably large wooden dwellings, in impenetrable woods; but they are very poor. A little garden with Indian corn, and a field with peas, and dried wild fruit, feed a whole family for the year. They do not attend to pasturing cattle. The Abasech is free, jealous of rule, poor but brave; he inherits arms and love of plunder from his father, like the Romanoffs. Women and prisoners do all domestic work. From boyhood to old age, all the males are at the chase or at war. Bravery commands the respect of the other families; but self-love and treachery are common to this tribe as well as the Muscovites. If we may credit the German pensionary, peace with them is as unsafe as friendly intercourse—we presume, like the protection and promises of the Czar.

As brave warriors they endure every hardship, fight for their country with great fury, are handsome and well-built, believe in fatalism and omens, and care little about a future life. They are Mahometans, and admit polygamy, but do not know the doctrines of the Koran; they despise their neighbours (if he means the Russians, no wonder), and fear no enemy. Their country enjoys an agreeable climate, and the soil would bear rich harvests with little labour; but they return to the thickest woods and steepest rocks, amid aged oaks and acorns, in order to avoid the visits of strangers, like Muscovites, which is not very surprising. Yet, for the purpose of trade, they put up little land-marks, to show the way over the rocks. More than 30,000 of this tribe carry arms, but internal dissensions prevent their combining their force against the enemy; hence they only indulge in partial incursions. North of the Abasesches dwell other Tcherkessian tribes, on the left bank of the Kouban, who, before the Russians came there, lived also on the right bank. West of them you find the Hatukai, on the Ubin, and other tributaries of the Kouban. South of these again dwell on the Bugundur and other tributaries of the Atakum, as far as the mountains, the Shapsooks, who muster about 10,000 families, of the same race as the Tcherkessians of great Kabarda. This tribe receive refugees from all nations, and are so mixed like the Abasesches, that but little Tcherkessian blood can flow in their veins;

they dwell on the rivers, which, like the Ubin, fall into the Kouban, and which, like the Anticher, Bugundur, and Of, pour into the Attakum; but from that point, they live farther amongst the woody hills, running down as far as Anapa and Sudehukkale. Like their neighbours, the pensioned German describes them as thieves and receivers of stolen goods, in the shape of Russian prisoners, of whom there was a good market at Anapa, before it was stolen from the Turks by Muscovy. The boldest robber was their chief; but they never had a single autocrat like their aggressors. As they were often joined by other confederate tribes, they were more feared by Russia than the Tehetschenzians. The Cossacks of the Black sea in particular, suffered from them.

Finally, between the Kara Kouban and Attakum, and on the left bank of the Attakum, dwell the Natuchases, who commonly make common cause with the Shapsooks against the Cossacks of the Black sea, and on that account were severely punished by a razzia of General Wlassoff.

We have a third race in the Abasians, or Abchasians (as the Russians style them). They have an analogy in language and customs with the Tcherkessians, but many peculiar features and habits. Their territory is divided into Great and Little Abasia; the former alone is the genuine Abasia, extending from Anapa, or the river Bugur, along the Black sea to the Ingur; and north-east is bounded by the Caucasus, from the Suanin territory, to the extremest outlines of the ridge, on the coast at Anapa. Little Abasia, on the other hand, was on the north declivity of the Caucasus, north of the Karatehai, where its people mixed with Tcherkessians, lived on the Podkumok, and Kuma, till driven south by the Russians. These Abasians had been transplanted there by the Tcherkessians, to whom they were entirely subject, whilst the Turks for ages had exerted great influence on the other Abasia, and kept always a pasha at Sukhum-Kaleh to look after their interests. This clause appears inserted to justify Russian aggression in Circassia, as it is certain this people was always absolutely free. Marigny divides the people beyond the Kouban, as far as the Caucasus, into three tribes—Tcherkesses, the Abases, and the Tartars. He says there are none but Abases from the Kouban to Sukhum-Kaleh; their name is found in that of the ancient *Abassa*; that of the Tcherkesses he derives from that of Kerketes; and perhaps the Noutakhaitsi derive their origin from the Akheans, who were, according to Appian of Alexandria, Greeks returning from the siege of Troy, driven by a storm into the Euxine.

The territory of the Noutakhaitsi extends to the east eight leagues along the Kouban, as far as the stream Kondaka; south, it is bounded by Great Abasia, which commences beyond Pehiate, amongst the Noutakhaitsi; and on the left bank of the Kouban, the Tartars, or Tcherkesses, have established themselves. This is clearly an error, as the Tcherkesses are not Tartars, though Marigny says they once inhabited the isle of Taman till driven from it by the Russians, and that there are many sultans of the Crimea among them.

Mr. Klaproth's estimate of the population of the Caucasus isthmus to be divided thus:—

| | FAMILIES. |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| Tcherkesses | 851,130 |
| Abases | 53,898 |
| Noghai | 9,480 |
| Ossetinians | 33,915 |
| Mitsdjeghi | 35,850 |
| Lezghis | 138,700 |
| Turkish and Turcoman Tribes | 79,914 |
| Georgian countries | 125,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 1,327,887 |

The latter two lines describe tribes more or less subject to Russia.

The Circassians have always been free since the remotest times, forming scattered and distinct feudal republics under special denominations, with separate languages. The Turks alone, since the conquest of Byzantium, have maintained commercial relations with them; but, without attempting to subdue them, were satisfied with the fort of Anapa, eight leagues from the mouth of the Kouban, in 1829 the limit of the Russian empire. Anapa was the port and market for Circassian goods, *i.e.*, boys and girls; corn, wax, honey, hides, skins, &c., in exchange for goods from Stamboul and Anatolia.

An enthusiastic love of independence, and an heroic valour which nothing can subdue, renders them formidable to their neighbours. Always accustomed to athletic exercises and on horse-back, their only glory is conquest, and their only disgrace flight. Forays are a universal practice on the border. But the custom of konaks, makes it safe to visit them. Your host, on becoming konak to you, answers for your safety, and protects you. This is the guarantee of all their actions and movements.

Eichwald, an eminent German naturalist and traveller, describes the inhabitants of Daghestan and the Lesghians, as the most hostile neighbours of the surrounding Russian provinces, always laying waste the frontier with sword and plundering forays. He does not stop to consider the proper term, to apply to Russian encroachments, but he says that these obstinate tribes are countenanced in their contumacy by the nature of their country, which consists of impenetrable ravines, chasms, and unapproachable mountains. This region runs in a number of mountain domes, from the river Samur which separates them from the Dschar'schian Lesghians, along the east shore of Koissu, till beyond Tarki, consequently parallel with the west coast of the Caspian sea, the latter forming the east limit of northern and southern Daghestans. This chain of mountains running along the East bank of the Koissu, is only the beginning of the mountain region that follows it, which must be regarded as the Northern outliers and branch ridges of the great Caucasian main chain, running north-west and south-east, which extend along the rivers Atala, Akssai, Assa, and Sundsha, are broken by impassible hollows, and are

chiefly inhabited by the wild Avars and Tchetschenzian tribes. It is only to the impracticable nature of this country, that these highlanders have so long enjoyed the immunities of freedom and independence, or, as Eichwald words it, of carrying on robbery, thus emulating his patrons, the Muscovites. This unbounded taste for freedom, according to his admission, has given birth to eminent leaders; and keeps the people in a state of perpetual war. He adds, that being Mahometans, the Turks and Persians have secretly and perpetually stimulated them in disquieting the Russian frontier, and occupying the Russian troops in Daghestan. If the charge be true, what can the secret instigators of conspiracy in Poland and Turkey expect, but that their enemies should follow their enlightened examples.

The different provinces of Circassia present themselves under three grand divisions: First, those continually at war with Russia, comprising the whole of the coast from Sukhum Kaleh to Anapa, of which the southern part is called Abassa, and the northern, included in the province of Noutakhaitsi; the remaining part of the latter province occupying the north-western angle of the country, between the mountains and the Kouban, and to the east of this the province of Shapsook, extending also from the Kouban over a great part of the mountains, though not to the sea-coast. The populations of these districts amount, as nearly as can be ascertained, to 300,000, and furnish out of this number 50,000 well-armed and well-mounted warriors. The next division includes all the lowland and neutral provinces on the Kouban, and its tributary, the Laba. Its united population is, I believe, as great as that of the belligerent districts. The causes and consequences of their neutrality I shall enter into presently. The third division is the great province of Abassak, a mountainous region placed in the centre of the others, and whose population, amounting to about 400,000, though avowedly hostile to Russia, are rarely from their position, brought into collision with her troops. From the above estimates, it will be seen that some rate the population of the whole of independent Circassia at 1,000,000, out of which we may compute the adult males capable of bearing arms at 150,000. All speak the same language, at least with provincial differences, as slight as in any other country; and whatever difference may have existed in the origin of the races, has been effaced by fusion. The castes, however, of Pshee, Vork, and Tlofokoths, have been kept free from all intermixture.

A fourth division might be added to the foregoing, *i.e.*, Great and Little Kabarda, in the Kouban and Terek. These are no longer properly independent, and, though retaining their arms, give hostages to Russia, and allow free passage to her troops.

The neutral provinces on the Kouban and Laba occupies the plains between those streams and the mountains. Having no files or impregnable positions, like those of the Shapsook or Noutakhaitsi, to fall back on, but living under pshees, in large villages, with the highlanders of Abassak in their rear, they have been very open to the hostility of Russia, after a bloody struggle compelled to make peace, and now remain neutral. The free mountaineers

at first very indignant, plundered them on all sides, and, in self-defence, they were obliged to make common cause with the Russians, who were delighted at this. Soon finding their mistake, however, they were allowed to be neutral by the mountaineers behind, all whose sympathies were really in their favour. Their anticipations were confirmed, and the Kabardians have breathlessly watched the struggle, looking for England's intervention, and desiring no better than to be included in a scheme of pacification under her auspices. At the least spark, they were ready to fly into revolt. Zadoog is bounded to the south by the mountains of Abassak, and by Shapsook, with which it is conterminous to the west. Let us now examine the political constitution and social state of the tribes, together with their religion.

The circumstance, which of all others, is calculated to surprise the stranger in the Caucasus, is the general security of life and property. His imagination, on entering its defiles and forests, would people it with banditti. A journey of a few weeks will undeceive him. The name of his host or konag, for a passport, he will encounter little danger, and a hearty welcome everywhere. In some districts British travellers admit exceptions, the people being wilder.

The country has fundamental laws and institutions that have not been mentioned by Pallas, Klaproth, and Marigny. The two first were never there, and the last only saw the surface.

All these writers affirm, incorrectly, that whatever peace and order exists in the country is the work of the princes and chiefs. The inference would be unfounded. In the three provinces at war with Russia in 1840, the power of the Pshees or princes was null; and, when exerted, rather a cause of turbulence than of order. Their authority, like that of all feudal aristocracy, being founded on, can only be supported by, enterprise. The same disorders occurred in the time of Justinian (Procopius), the princes were forcing the children for the slave-market at Byzantium, till the people rose and put a stop to these abuses. The will of the Pshee is a law to his followers; war and plunder were their objects, and if the Caucasus has a bad name it owes it to their aristocrats. They appear of Kabardian descent. Order and peace were never their object wherever they came. Yet their vices were veiled by an exterior of bravery, courtesy, and generosity. Chivalric manners are still rife among them; and Pallas attributes the origin of the Kabardians to a Teutonic race of knights. In the plains their authority is more paramount and peaceful. The Vork or Ouzden (noble), who are the second class, have done little for the national prosperity. In wealth and prosperity they are in no way paramount to the Tocaos or Tlofokoths (freemen); and, though tenacious of their dignity, and not willing to ally themselves with the latter, they are reduced to the light of a superior caste, only because the freemen, without seeking to contaminate it by admixture, have refused a greater compensation for it than is given for their own. Other protection than this was wanted by the Circassians to secure peace, and they have found it in institutions unknown to the rest of the world. Voluntary associations

among the mountaineers have obtained mutual security against military chiefs. The bond is an oath; the obligations are of the most sacred character. The members all regard each other as brothers, so that their families are not allowed to intermarry, being incestuous. The married women do not scruple to unveil before any man of their tribe, though residing far off.

The religion of the Caucasian tribes falls under two heads. In the Western Caucasus, it appears to be a pure Theism, of an exalted and spiritual character; if we may credit Bell and Longworth. Secondly, In Daghestan, we meet with a mystical form of Mahometanism, which is derived from the Sofis or mystical sects of Persia. Schamyl, the warrior prophet of Daghestan, is admitted as an inspired messenger of heaven, by these Mahometan enthusiasts, who are called Murids, and who, whatever their errors, cannot be charged with hypocrisy, that sin against the Holy Ghost, which our Saviour pronounced the most deadly of all, and which has flourished in all Christian hierarchies. The doctrines of the Murids, though tinged with fanaticism, raise holiness and moral excellence to the first place in the spiritual development of man. In their doctrine of the constant operation of the Divine Spirit in believers, they approximate to the Quakers, but they depart widely from them in their encouragement of a military spirit.

Marigny asserts that at Anapa, one loses much of the horror which the word slave produces on our mind. A traveller saw many destined for Turkey and Egypt. The idea of this expatriation did not make them unhappy. They had lost none of their gaiety; and he witnessed songs and laughter. After this, let people talk with horror of the traffic of men carried on by the Turks, and pity the fate of their slaves. The Circassians never would understand, when he endeavoured to impress upon their minds that the sale of their children was a misfortune. They consider it on the contrary a means of providing for them, of securing to them a patron, and frequently the prospect of a brilliant career. Marigny was persuaded that "when Anapa shall belong to Russia, the abolition of this commerce will make the Circassians long regret the Turks." It is true, that a Pasha's harem is pleasanter banishment than Siberia or Cayenne. Accordingly, one of the wisest things Woronzoff has done, has been to permit the renewal of the slave trade in the Black sea. With regard to the war, all we can here say is, that the genuine Circassians, like the Poles, have exceeded the heroism of fabulous ages. For one hundred years have they defied the snares and blows of Muscovy; and if true to themselves, they will never yield their glaciers to Russia, though deserted by the charities of British diplomacy, like Poland. Schamyl is their hero in Daghestan, and uniting the character of warrior and prophet, stimulates his countrymen to resist Russia by the double impulse of faith and patriotism.

Imam, or priest, Schamyl is the absolute spiritual and temporal lord of the Eastern Caucasus. He was born in the Aoul or village of Himry, in the territory of the Koissubulins (a Lesghian tribe) in 1797. As a boy he was remarkable for his intelligence, pride, and ambition; and also for his love of nature and solitude. An old sage, named Dschelaleddin, infused into him the principles of

Murid Schamyl is a man of middle size, brown hair, grey eyes, a regular nose, and small mouth. His constitution is not naturally strong, but he is indefatigable and very temperate, and gives himself only five hours' sleep. His great characteristic is a marble immovability of feature and manner, showing his iron will and absolute conviction of the truth of his faith. He regards all his thoughts and decisions as immediately infused by Allah.

Schamyl, being a Mussulman, had three wives in 1844, the Harem being an Armenian of magical beauty, the Pearl of the (or Haremen). Fabulous stories are in circulation respecting the prodigies that he has performed during the war, and it is even pretended that on one occasion he fell in battle and came to life again. Though we may be allowed to doubt the accuracy of this story, sober facts are quite sufficient to establish the tremendous energy, glowing enthusiasm, and heroic valour of this chieftain, evident in many successive armies of the Russians. Even when worsted and reduced to the last extremity, he has shown an elasticity and determination that has finally brought over fortune to his banners once again. He is obviously a man of great ambition as well as enthusiasm, but fighting for his creed and pathies with the utmost prowess, he must command the sympathy and gallantry of his countrymen, and of freemen everywhere. May these Russian men never have to stoop to the knout or buy justice in important tribunals. May England learn in time to estimate their value and admire their valour. She has lavished her treasure off their just allegiance to the Sultan, for the protection of Russia; and she suffers Poland to fall and Circassia to wither, without a word of remonstrance. We trust that all Englishmen who retain their duty and honesty, will soon force the British government to do the same abroad as well as at home.

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