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RUSSIA,
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.

BY
L. TIKHOMIROV.
Translated from the French by
EDWARD AVELING, D.Sc.

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BOOK VI.
THE INTELLECTUAL MOVEMENT.

VOL. II.

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CHAP. I. The "Intelligentia."—Its birth.—Its growth.—Its leaders persecuted by the Government.—The "Intelligentia" struggles in the name of the people.—Knowledge of its own strength.—Its idealism.—Theoretically, the "Intelligentia" and the revolutionists are one.

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APPENDIXES.

- A.* STATISTICS OF THE NATIONAL REVENUE.
- B.* THE TERM NIHILISTS.
- C.* SUBJECTS INTERDICTED BY THE CENSORSHIP.
- D.* PARTITION OF LANDS.
- E.* WORKS QUOTED.

APPENDIX A.

STATISTICS OF THE NATIONAL REVENUE.

IN spite of my wish to do so, in estimating the Russian national revenue, I have not been able to make use of the estimates to be found in the literature on this subject.

In most cases the figures are too much out of date, and frequently I do not agree with the authors,—not even with their system of reckoning; above all, I cannot endorse evident errors, such, for example, as those into which Schnitzler has fallen.¹ He estimates the national revenue at 16 milliards, but he only arrives at this figure by rating the silver rouble at 4 francs. This author, whose erudition is beyond question, apparently confounds the silver rouble,—which is simply the *name* of the *paper rouble*,—with the *metal rouble*. Russia is thus made at least 20 to 30 per cent. richer than she really is. Next, we frequently find in Schnitzler, as in the other statisticians, a two-fold enumeration of products; thus they reckon the *labour* of horses and cattle, forgetting that this

¹ J. H. Schnitzler: "L'Empire des Tzars au point de vue actuel de la Science." Paris, 1869.

labour is already estimated under the agricultural products, forests, and so forth.

Again, the statisticians try to reckon and include in the general sum of the national revenue the value given to products by commerce. Without denying the scientific interest of this question, I believe that in practice this method of calculation leads to confusion, and to a double estimate of the same product. In fact, if we estimate the product by its average price in the market, the value of the merchant's labour is already included. And if we estimate the product otherwise than by its price in the market, we must infallibly end in arbitrary hypotheses. The wish to avoid errors, of which I have here indicated only a small portion, and the necessity of conforming to the latest statistical reports, have induced me to make a calculation myself of the national revenue. Still I retain the older figures of the economists wherever the figures are in agreement with contemporary facts.

The greatest part of values in Russia is produced by rural economy. The following is the quantity of corn of the 1883 harvest, which I reckon according to the average market-price during the last few years (the cost of seed deducted) :—

1. *Wheat.*

28,602,000 tchetv., at 9 roubles
each = 257 million roubles.

2. *Rye.*

66,059,000 tchetv., at 7 roubles
each = 492 million „

3. *Oats.*

67,671,000 tchetv., at 4 roubles
each = 270 million „

4. *Barley.*

16,792,000 tchetv., at 5 roubles
each = 83 million roubles.

5. *Buck-wheat.*

9,442,000 tchetv., at 7 roubles
each = 66 million ,,

6. *Other grains* (millet, peas, beans, maize, etc.).

15,765,000 tchetv., at 6 roubles
each = 95 million roubles.

The official returns of the harvest of 1883 do not include the Northern Caucasus and Siberia. Yet we must estimate the crop there as at least 20 millions (these figures probably are below the actual ones), worth 120 million roubles. Thus the total amount of the grain harvest is 224 million of tchetv., worth 1,383 million roubles.

The potato crop, according to the same returns, was in European Russia, 32,351,000 tchetv. Estimating the Caucasian and Siberian crops at 1½ million tchetv., we have a total of 33,851,000 tchetv., yielding, at 1 rouble 50, a sum of 48 million roubles.

The quantity of *hay* and *straw*, according to the latest returns, is as follows :—

Hay.

4,000,000,000 pouds at 10 kop.
each = 400 million roubles.

Straw.

2,000,000,000 pouds at 5 kop.
each = 100 million ,,

Plants for spinning. ("Military Statistics Report," vol. iv.)

(a) Flax in yarn, 12,000,000
pouds at 4 roubles each . = 48 million roubles.

- (b) Flax in seed, 25,000,000
pouds at 1 rouble each . = 25 million roubles.
- (c) Hemp in tow, 6,000,000
pouds at 2 roubles each . = 12 million „
- (d) Hemp in seed, 25,000,000
pouds at 1 rouble each . = 25 million „

The returns for orchards and kitchen-gardens are so difficult to estimate, that I accept the old figures of Tengoborsky ("Studies of the Productive Forces of Russia"), 60,000,000 roubles.

Beetroot.—The sugar refineries alone absorbed (in 1883) 20,000,000 berkovets. This gives, reckoning the berkovet at 1 rouble, 20,000,000 roubles.

Tobacco.—According to the returns of 1878, 3,500,000 pouds were gathered in. This, at 2 roubles the poud, gives 7,000,000 roubles.

Grapes.—The quantity of wine in Russia is estimated at about 5,000,000 vedros, at 80 kop. the vedro, yielding 4,000,000 roubles.

Dyeing plants yield about 2,000,000 roubles.

The total products of agriculture may thus be reckoned at 2,130 million roubles.

In spite of the absence of any regular forest cultivation, the vast forests of Russia yield much produce to the population. In many places wood-rafting and the distilling of tar and resin are the principal occupations of the people. Moreover, the consumption of wood in Russia is very great. The majority of the population live in wooden houses, use wooden plates, dishes, and utensils; wood is used for firing, even in the factories, on railways, etc. The sum total of products derived by the Russians from their wood is, according to Bouchene, 750 million roubles. These figures are understated rather than exaggerated. But it should be re-

marked that in Russia the income from the woods is not a revenue of capital, but a consumption of capital. The destruction of the forests is making rapid strides, and gives rise to complaints all over Russia.

The other branch of rural economy, the breeding of cattle, is also of the utmost importance to Russia. According to the census of horses in 1882, their number in European Russia alone was estimated at twenty millions. There are not less than twenty-four million head of cattle in Russia, fifty million sheep, about 1,500,000 goats, over ten million pigs, and, in smaller numbers, camels, reindeer, buffaloes, etc. As to domesticated birds, their generally enormous number can only be guessed at. The products due to this immense number of animals are varied and abundant. Only, the value of the greater part of the products due to the breeding of cattle has already entered into the value of the agricultural produce; for example, everything created by the labour of horses and cattle. In the same way the value of manure, which brings in more to Russia than her gold mines, has been reckoned in that of the agricultural produce. We have at present, then, only to take into consideration that part of the produce of cattle-breeding whose value we have not yet estimated. Thus, of the general value of horses, we can set down only three million roubles for hides, meat, and milk.

Cattle produce a mass of value beyond their worth. Statistics give :

(a) Five million of hides, at five
roubles each = 25,000,000 roubles.

(b) Meat (according to Bouchene)	=	83,000,000 roubles.
(c) Fat	=	17,500,000 „
(d) Milk (according to Ianson)		
336 million vedros, at 30		
kop. the vedro	=	100,000,000 „
(e) Butter, over three million		
pouds, at eight roubles		
the poud	=	24,000,000 „
		<hr/>
Total (cheese not included)	=	<u>250,000,000 roubles.</u>

We cannot, however, include the whole of this sum in the national revenue, since the value of the fodder consumed by the animals evidently enters into it, and has already been considered in our calculation. What sum must we deduct from 250 million roubles for the sum that expresses the increase of value which the animals add to the fodder consumed? Under the conditions of Russian rural economy, the value of the fodder may be set down at 60 per cent. upon the general value of the products of breeding. I arrive at this sum by the study of many tables. Consequently the actual increase in the national revenue created by the animals must reach about 100 million roubles. The value of the products from the breeding of wool-bearing animals is as follows:—

(a) Sheep-skins, two millions, at		
one rouble apiece	=	2,000,000 roubles.
(b) Mutton, ten million pouds	=	30,000,000 „
(c) Fat, three million pouds	=	6,000,000 „
(d) Wool	=	42,000,000 „
		<hr/>
Total	=	<u>80,000,000 roubles.</u>

Deducting the value of the fodder (about 50 per cent.), we have 40 million roubles.

I believe about five million pigs are consumed in Russia; reckoning the average price per head at about five roubles, and the value of the fodder at about 30 per cent., we have a revenue of some 17,500,000 roubles.

The produce of bird-breeding is rated—quite arbitrarily—by Tengoborsky, at ten million roubles. I have no data by which to correct these figures, except that, taking into account the value of the grain, they must be diminished by 20 per cent., that is to say, they must be reduced to eight million roubles. The actual yield of bird-breeding is probably much greater.

Finally, Russia exports abroad nineteen million roubles' worth of cattle. Supposing that the value of the forage is 50 per cent. of this sum, we may add 9,500,000 roubles to the national revenue.

Altogether, the general sum of values added to the national revenue by the breeding of animals may perhaps be estimated at 176 million of roubles.

Bee culture and silk culture are not very important branches of rural economy in Russia.

In Russia, properly so-called, silk culture is little practised beyond the Caucasus, and does not enter into my calculations. Thus Russian silk culture cannot produce more than Tengoborsky supposes,—that is to say, about 1,200,000 roubles.

Bee culture, on the contrary, is a purely national branch of industry. At present in Russia nearly 700,000 pouds of honey are gathered, which, at five roubles the poud, give 3,500,000 roubles; and 200,000 pouds of wax, at ten roubles the poud, *i.e.* 2,000,000 roubles. As a whole, the yield of bee

and of silk culture cannot be less than 7,000,000 roubles.

The revenue from hunting is estimated at about four million roubles, that from the fisheries at twenty-four million roubles. These figures are both, especially the latter, much understated. Nevertheless, in the absence of data by which to correct them, they must be taken. It is, however, to be noted that Russian fisheries, which might in such well-stocked waters as the Sea of Azov and the Caspian become a very lucrative branch of commerce, have been for centuries carried on with a waste that is exhausting the supply with extraordinary rapidity.

Let us now pass to the working of the mines. Here again the natural riches are very badly turned to account.

	Pouids.	
(a) Gold	2,641	40 million roubles.
(b) Silver	616	more than $\frac{1}{2}$ million ,,
(c) Platinum	179	less than $\frac{1}{2}$ million ,,
(d) Lead	74,000	$2\frac{1}{3}$ million ,,
(e) Copper	190,000	2 million ,,
(f) Cast Iron	22,000,000 }	78 million ,,
(g) Iron & steel	30,000,000 }	
(h) Coal	120,000,000	8 million ,,
(i) Salt	47,000,000	24 million ,,
Total		<u>155$\frac{1}{3}$</u> million roubles.

As to naphtha, it is but little worked in Russia proper (Northern Caucasus). There are also large naphtha springs in the land beyond the Caucasus, but I do not include these in the Russian national revenue.

Let us pass on to *industry* proper.

According to recent official returns (1882), in European Russia (exclusive of Poland and Finland) there are 57,000 workshops and factories, producing a total of 1,126 million roubles. From these figures however, 78 million roubles, already considered by us under the preceding category, must be deducted. The value of the raw material is, according to Schnitzler, 23 per cent. of the value of the product. This figure differs absolutely from the returns of Russian statistics. To judge from the factories of Moscow, where the value of the raw material varies from 10 per cent. to 85 per cent. upon the value of the product, we may assume an average value for raw material of 60 per cent. Thus the industry of factories and workshops in European Russia adds about 420 million roubles to the national revenue of Russia. We must further add to this sum nearly three million roubles created by the Russian industries of the Caucasus and Siberia. Finally, a very considerable amount of value is produced by small industries, that of the koustars and artisans. Here the data of official statistics are even less reliable than for the great industry. If we took the figures put together in the "Summary of Military Statistics," and if we rated the value of raw material at sixty per cent. (although it must be less), the general increase of national revenue for this kind of industry would be about 80 million roubles.¹ Altogether, industry gives the national revenue 503 million roubles.

¹ I select this figure as the least disputed one ; but occasionally the production of the koustars is valued at three times this amount.

As a general total, we get for the national Russian revenue the sum of 3,740 million roubles, which is equal to about 11 milliard francs, if we reckon the rouble at three francs.

I regret, however, that these figures can only be considered as approximately accurate.

APPENDIX B.

THE TERM NIHILISTS.

THE militant section of the *intelliguentia*, that which I call the revolutionary, has in Europe received the strange name of *Nihilist*.

This title proves that the most erroneous notions on the subject of Russian revolutionists are current outside Russia. If, in fact, Europe understood the Russian revolutionary movement, and that which is going on among the *intelliguentia*, this word would certainly not have been used, any more than it is in Russia. The name, indeed, is only used among us in a bad sense, and only by persons capable of saying, "The anarchist party has at last attained to power in England; Mr. Labouchere is Prime Minister." In Russia there are journals capable of writing such a phrase; but if, relying on a telegram of this description, I were to call Mr. Labouchere an anarchist, it would prove only one thing—that I was totally ignorant of who Mr. Labouchere is, and of what anarchism is.

The name of Nihilist arose in Russia under those merely passing and fortuitous circumstances which accompanied the initial movement of the *intelli-*

guentia at the beginning of the reign of Alexander II.

Russia had just escaped from the yoke of the *régime* of Nicolas, and was preparing to throw off that of serfdom. Ideas, having burst their chains, began to work feverishly. All Russia cursed the past, and leaned out towards the future. A multitude of elements—but little enlightened, but little educated—elements that came straight from the streets, spontaneously gathered round the *intelliguentia*. All men began reasoning, criticizing, denying, inquiring.

The *fathers*—the older generation of Russia,—were frightfully corrupted by the reign of Nicolas; they felt themselves guilty towards Russia, towards their children, towards their conscience. How had they been able to bear the despotism of Nicolas? How had they been able to suffer,—and had they suffered alone,—and to participate in all the frightful abuses of serfdom? How had they allowed science to be persecuted for thirty-five years? Whither had all this led Russia? The *fathers* felt guilty; they would have liked to have made themselves scarce, to have sunk under the earth. The *children*—the younger generation—could cry out with perfect freedom, with all the force of a really honest indignation, of young enthusiasm, and of inexperience. Then certain sides of Russian general philosophy, certain characteristic traits of the *intelliguentia*, manifested themselves in the most ridiculous and most exaggerated fashion. The tendency towards democratic ideas manifested itself occasionally by the most exaggerated aversion from everything that was

aristocratic, from everything that smacked of the nobility, and consequently from all the formalities of superficial civilization. Uncleanly faces, dishevelled hair, dirty and fantastic clothes were to be seen. In conversation, to give proof of a wilful coarseness, the language of peasants was used. Contempt for the hypocritical and conventional formal morality, contempt for the ridiculous traditions which had so long been considered the expression of the wisdom of the State, indignation at the oppression borne by the individual—were expressed by an absolute negation of *authority* of all kinds, and in the most exaggerated tendency towards liberty.

All this certainly lent itself to caricature ; all this allowed prejudiced persons to formulate against the *intelligentia* the accusation of wanting to destroy everything, of admitting the sacredness of nothing, of being without heart, without morality, and so forth. Naturally the enemies of the *intelligentia* took advantage of this, and adopted with delight the nickname invented by Tourgéniev in his novel. Among the *intelligentia* a few, from a spirit of contradiction, and by way of provoking the reactionists, began to adopt this name. Thus in Niekrassov, a son, answering his father's reproaches, says : "Nihilist ; 'tis a foolish word. But if by it you understand a frank man, who does not care to live on the possessions of others, who works, who seeks after the truth, tries that his life may not be useless, who bites his thumb at every rogue and occasionally knocks one down, then I don't see any harm ; call me Nihilist. Why not ?"¹

¹ The works of Niekrassov. "The Library."

Nevertheless, only a small number among well-known persons, like Dmitri Pissarev, for example, accepted this nickname, and even then only, so to say, for the moment. Pissarev soon invented another title for himself and his co-religionists—the Realists, a name which however met with but little success. The absurdity of the word Nihilism was too palpable. Besides, the very facts which had called forth the nickname naturally disappeared very rapidly. The leaning towards outward manifestations gave way to positive work with redoubled energy, and soon all these childish things,—the women cutting their hair short, or exaggerated rudeness of manner,—became discredited. Thus the word Nihilism, which in earlier times had some meaning, at least as caricature, a few years later lost all definite significance. In Russia no serious writer, even though he were reactionary, would use it to designate the revolutionists. The word has passed for ever into the domain of pamphlets and of insults.

In Europe, on the contrary, the word Nihilism has the greatest vogue. The strangest thing is, this caricature is believed in as something real. Nihilism is considered a special doctrine, founded on personal negation of all positive ideals. This is repeated again and again, even in other works than those of Cheddo-Ferotti.¹ And this is not remarkable. But it is to be regretted that we do not find much more accuracy in a writer so conscientious and so erudite as M. Leroy-Beaulieu.

¹ "Nihilism and the Future of Russia," by Cheddo-Ferotti. This is a pseudonym under which a Russian who knows nothing about Russia hides himself.

What is nihilism? M. Leroy-Beaulieu asks himself. He answers that it is a *morbid fact*; he speaks of *gross materialism*, of *absurd negation*, of *immorality*. He is even ready to enter into an investigation of the question whether the climate of Russia has or has not influenced the development of nihilism. He is even ready to say, in concert with that poor old dotard of a prince, Mechtchersky, that nihilism is a sort of neurosis engendered by anæmia and the poor-bloodedness of the enlightened class, who have probably not the means to live well. A Russian, grateful to M. Leroy-Beaulieu for his fine work, excepting only a few mistakes, could only wish him from the bottom of his heart such health as was enjoyed by the apostles of nihilism quoted by him,—Hertzen, Bakounine, Lavrov, Tchernychevsky, Netchaïev, etc. M. Leroy-Beaulieu even sinks as low as giving the following definition of "the doctrine of nihilism." "Take the heavens and the earth, take the State and the Church, the kings and the gods, and spit upon them. That is our symbol."¹

We may certainly admit that if by nihilism we understand nonsense, nihilism and nonsense will have one and the same meaning. But it is equally true that with such methods of inquiry it is very difficult to succeed in understanding the real meaning of words and of facts. And if we begin to ask where in Russia is the "actual fact" that might correspond to the word nihilism, we shall find nothing but the general intellectual movement that I tried to describe in Books VI. and VII. This, as any one

¹ "Empire des Tzars," vol. i. p. 76.

can soon see for himself, has very little resemblance to the definition given by M. Leroy-Beaulieu. Assuredly the intellectual movement in Russia, as elsewhere, may in certain individual cases give rise to some ridiculous results, silly, lending themselves to caricature, sometimes perhaps even criminal. It is precisely from these special facts that the notion of nihilism has been built up, uniting them without any reason into one single idea, although they had no connection in reality. Thus in nature there are creatures who have tails, others that have the scales of lizards, others again with paws and claws like tigers, some finally with wings. When you combine all these attributes in a dragon, you have before you a creature of your imagination, and not a real being. But although the dragon plays a very useful part in stories with which to frighten children, it has no place in natural history. In a serious study of Russia, neither can nihilism as a doctrine or a special tendency have a place. This is why the reader will not find the word *nihilism* in my work.

I use in this work, the Russian terminology, which is certainly the most correct in this matter, and includes the following names: the *enlightened folk*, or *intelliguentia*, the whole civilized class, that bears within itself the ideas of light, of liberty, of democracy; the *revolutionists*—that portion of this social class that enters into an open struggle with the Government.

That which marks off the enlightened class is not a difference of opinion—there are only shades of difference—but rather the choice of methods of

action. Even quite recently, the Government itself has borne striking witness to the small *theoretical* difference between the revolutionists and the *intelligentia*. "The liberty granted the press (?) has been used by it," says the Government, speaking of the Liberal organs, "to preach theories found to be in evident opposition to the fundamental basis of the State and of society. . . . It was so formerly, and to our deep regret it continues so now. The columns of journals and reviews of a certain shade of opinion are always marked by this tendency, which has engendered incalculable ill, and whose connection with the criminal doctrines set forth in the clandestine publications, cannot be doubted." The similarity, not merely of ideas, but of tone and manner of expression, in the clandestine press and in a great many articles appearing in authorized periodical publications, is so great that it has induced the Government to suppose that in both cases the same persons had written them.

The ideas of the revolutionists are then far from being so criminal, so subversive, so nihilist. We find in the revolutionists no special negation. The enlightened class cannot deny, as a matter of principle. But how could it do otherwise towards a *régime* that weighs so heavily upon the people, and upon individuality itself? Under such circumstances the tendency towards negation cannot fail to find expression; and to understand it there is no need for fantastic arguments as to the influence of the Russian climate on *nihilism*. This negation has, moreover, very definite limits. Tourgénéiev, for example, has declared in the press that he agreed

in everything with Bazarov (his celebrated type of the nihilist), with the exception of his ideas upon æsthetics. Consequently, Tourgéniev must be considered a "nihilist" by those who use that word. But did Tourgéniev deny everything, wish to destroy everything? English readers know this writer well, and they know that to make such a statement would be simply ridiculous. It follows, then, that the violent words of Bazarov are not at all based upon an exclusively negative philosophy.

Let us turn, moreover, to the "apostles of nihilism" themselves. Could a man be found believing more ardently in Russia than Alexander Herzen? Who has defended our popular institutions with greater ardour than did Tchernychevsky and Dobrolioubov? These are by no means antagonistic to their country; on the contrary they see in it many points on which one can and does rely. It was so also with Bakounine, the apostle of anarchism in Russia. A little later the largest section of the Russian revolutionary party, the *narodniks* (democrats) considered it their chief aim to formulate the "aspirations of the people," and to realize the "demands of the people." Still later the programme of the party of the *Will of the People*, whose aim is the overthrow of the Government by means of a conspiracy, takes as its starting point the affirmation that the popular institutions of Russia contain the healthiest germs of a social *régime*, and that, in virtue of this fact, it will suffice to "give the people the possibility of living, and organizing themselves in conformity with their natural inclinations." The party expresses a conviction that then the history

of Russia would really take a true direction "in conformity with the national spirit."

To whom among these could we apply the name of nihilist, of one willing to acknowledge nothing but an implacable negation, of nihilist spitting upon earth and heaven ?

It is high time to end these empty, senseless phrases, and to renounce belief in the spirit of destruction as supposed to animate the intellectual and revolutionary movement of Russia. If, indeed, it has destroyed many superstitions, much brutality and grossness in certain strata of Russian society, it has given many healthy ideas, and has set forth in our society the bases of the development of equitable social conditions. All other nations, for example, may envy us the Russian family of our time. If the enlightened class finds itself forced to speak so much of destruction, of revolution, the fault lies, above all, with our absurd political *régime*, which impedes every creative work. The enlightened class has always devoted itself with the utmost eagerness to this creative work, as soon as it was at all possible. Tchernychevsky, for instance, joined ardently in the peasant reform, and wrote a series of sketches on the means of effecting the emancipation of the serfs. Certainly no one will consider these projects Utopian. Then Tchernychevsky set forth his conception of the political man : he is at once a Robert Owen and a Gladstone, who might in England be considered one of the greatest statesmen. Is it the fault of the *intelliguentia* if with us the activity of Gladstone is impossible ?

Recently the Executive Committee, in its letter

to Alexander III. demanding from him a constituent assembly, declares that in this event "the party would in the future permit no violent act of opposition towards the Government sanctioned by a national assembly. . . . The Executive Committee," continues the letter, "will spontaneously put an end to its existence, and the forces organized about it will disperse in all directions, to devote themselves to the civilizing work necessary to the salvation of the fatherland. The pacific struggle of ideas will replace the violence that inspires us with greater aversion than your followers, and that we only employ because of the sad impossibility of acting otherwise." The same Executive Committee, on the occasion of the murder of President Garfield, published a declaration openly disapproving political murder in a country where every opinion can be freely expressed, and where the choice of governor depends on the nation. "It is," says the committee, "an act of despotism analogous to that against which we are fighting in Russia."

I confine myself to these few examples. They prove sufficiently, I think, how unfounded is the idea of the existence of Russian nihilism. If we wish to study the true Russia, we must strike out from our dictionaries this word, to which a mass of false notions cling, and hardly one real fact.

APPENDIX C.

SUBJECTS FORBIDDEN BY THE CENSORSHIP.

THE circulars of the Minister of the Interior that prohibit the discussion of such or such a question, are not handed over to the journals; they are only "communicated," and then taken away again. Consequently we cannot find in editorial offices a collection of these curious documents; and it is no easy task to seek out the innumerable questions and events which, at some time or other, were forbidden public discussion. I am anxious, therefore, to collect here some fragments of these statistics, published in a supplement of *The Will of the People*. The reader must bear in mind that these deal only with a certain period of time, the year 1881-1882, and only with some of the "interdictions."

4th March, 1881.

Certain organs of the press, on the plea of the extraordinary circumstances of the moment, permit themselves to insert articles absolutely unbecoming, on the necessity of reforming our political order, and in which doubts are also expressed as to the existence of true patriotism in the highest circles of Russian society, which are indifferent, it is said, to the interests of the people. The insertion of articles of this nature will infallibly lead to the suspension of the journal.

25th March.

Considering the approaching trial for the villainous crime of the 1st March,¹ the general director of the press, in conformity with an order of his excellency the Minister of the Interior, again calls attention to the prohibition, on pain of suspension, of inserting non-official information on political trials in journals.

16th April.

Considering the *coup d'Etat* accomplished in Bulgaria, considering also the necessity of giving support to Prince Alexander, it is considered desirable for our own press to speak of the actual events at Sophia with prudence.

1st May.

It is considered necessary that the rumours as to the illness of the Minister of the Interior, of the War Minister, and of the Financial Minister, as well as those concerning the programme of Loris Mélikov, should find no echo in the journals. The publishing any reports as to the change of *personnel* of the high dignitaries of the State is also forbidden.

9th May.

Another circular explaining that, by the circular of the 29th April, it is in no wise prohibited to speak of the Bulgarian *coup d'Etat* "with sympathy."

18th May.

To refrain from publishing any kind of information on to-day's sitting of the *douma* (municipal council), at which the question of proffering Count Loris Mélikov the title of honorary citizen of St. Petersburg was discussed; reprinting the debates is also prohibited.

28th May.

To refrain from publishing any kind of information on the orders in council, or addresses of the *doumas* and the *zemstvos*, or from reprinting their minutes without the authorization of the authorities appointed by the law.

31st May.

The periodical press is beginning to publish untruthful or suggestive notes on the incidents that have occurred in secular or

¹ The murder of the Tzar.

Church schools. Morality will not permit us to transform schools into an arena for party struggles or journalistic polemics. The schools must not serve as an arena for the diversion of the public by means of amusing stories about the irritation of professors and scholars. To punish publications of this kind, par. 56 of the Supplement to par. 4 of the Code of Censorship may be applied.¹

31st May.

It is beyond dispute, and that more especially during the present difficult and unhappy circumstances, that the systematic publication of trenchant opinions, of information from private sources, and false rumours, whose principal aim is to excite discontent with the measures of the Government, cannot be permitted. Consequently his excellency the Minister of the Interior finds it necessary to make known that henceforth the exciting of passions by means of the press, or the diffusion of information likely to compromise public tranquillity, will no longer be allowed.

12th June.

The publication of rumours and sensational news on the relations of peasants and landlords, as well as articles like those which have been devoted to the trial of Lioutoritchi,² will entail the application of § 55 of the Supplement to § 4 of the Code of Censorship.

13th June.

The work of the commissions entrusted with the question of the diminution of the buying-in tax, to be spoken of only with the utmost prudence.

16th July.

The publication *beforehand* of the places or institutions which H. M. the Emperor and the members of the imperial family intend visiting, is prohibited.³

¹ The incidents referred to are the suicides of several scholars in consequence of the injustice of heads of schools; sometimes the schoolboys ill-using their professors in the same way from revenge; on two or three occasions preparing an explosion of powder-mines against them.

² The affair of the peasants in the village of Lioutoritchi, a revolting picture of the abuses of the noble proprietors and their stewards.

³ A reminder of the prohibition made in 1880.

17th August.

To refrain from any unfavourable allusion to the activity of the ex-prefect of St. Petersburg, General Baranov.

19th September.

It is considered indispensable to prohibit the publication of any measures of the Government on the subject of the inquiries into the economic relations of the Jews and the inhabitants of certain provinces.

4th October.

In some foreign journals there has appeared the news that Count Valoniev is to be prosecuted for the affair of the annexation of the lands of Orenburg. The general director of the press recommends that this information be not reproduced or quoted.¹

10th October.

His excellency the minister thinks it necessary to allow the press the freedom of speech indispensable to the thorough discussion of the question of migration, but it will be very regrettable if the unbecoming, improper conduct of certain organs of the press forces him to curtail this liberty. All reports and all communications touching the question of migration must be submitted to his excellency for revision.

13th November.

Nothing to be published as to the attempt on the life of General Tchernine.²

5th December.

In certain journals the grossest typographical errors in the title of his Majesty are allowed to pass, which gives rise to various rumours among the public as to the meaning of these errors. The general director recommends watching with special care the accuracy of the imperial name and title.³

¹ The annexation of the land at Orenburg is notorious; the functionaries of the place, in agreement with several dignitaries of the State, robbed the Bachkir population as well as the State.

² He was the chief of gendarmes.

³ Certain journals had published an appeal to subscribers for the monument of Alexander III. (instead of Alexander II.). An editor of the *Police Gazette*, who had been the first to make this mistake, was punished by a week's arrest in the guard room.

28th January, 1882.

Considering the approaching alterations in the statutes of the Real Schools, the publication of the discussions and the notices of the approaching inquiries is forbidden.

4th February.

No information as to the affairs of the family of the privy councillor, Markousse, is to be published.¹

17th March.

The insertion of correspondences mentioning the rumours current among the peasants on the partition of the land, the black partition, etc., is absolutely prohibited, as also articles speaking of the necessity or the justice of changing the agrarian condition of the peasants.

21st March.

The insertion of unofficial information on the trial of the assassins of General Strielnikov is prohibited.

20th April.

Nothing on the Jewish question is to be published.

30th May.

To refrain from all reflections on the Zemsky Sobor.

26th June.

Several journals are discussing, in a subversive and violent form, the affair of Prince Chtcherbatov with his peasants. Considering that such articles have an injurious effect on the relations of peasants and proprietors, reference to this affair is prohibited.

19th August.

With regard to the accident on the Kursk railway, certain articles have appeared, accusing, without grounds, the employés of the Ministry of the Means of Communication. From to-day onwards the publications of such subversive articles may necessitate the infliction of the severest administrative punishments.

¹ Markousse had committed suicide, as he had not strength to bear the insolent treatment of one of the imperial princes, and had no means of satisfaction.

29th October.

The insertion of any sort of reflections on the subject of the student Fougalevitch and his expulsion from college is prohibited.¹

1st November.

Nothing to be inserted on the disturbances at the University of Kazan.

25th November.

Nothing to be inserted on the misunderstanding between Vleigard and Kvatz.

25th November.

Nothing to be inserted concerning the secret society whose aim is to act against the Terrorists.

16th December.

The report on the tribunal at Kazan is not to be published, nor is any information to be inserted with regard to the affair of the ex-student Semionov, condemned to imprisonment for having offended the rector of the University.

As this work is passing through the press, I am receiving fresh documents to add to those which I have just quoted. These are from the *résumé* of a circular of the Department of General Business (the Minister of the Interior), dated 18th September, 1885, No. 3,188. This circular absolutely prohibits every discussion and the publication of any information on the subject of the approaching anniversary (September 25th) of the emancipation of the serfs.

¹ I have been unable to obtain any information about this affair, or about that which led to the circular of November 25th.

APPENDIX D.

PARTITION OF THE LAND.

SINCE the Act of Emancipation (1861) partition of the land had not for a long time been practised, especially in fertile regions. In the North, and in the central governments, where the value of the land is not great, and sometimes even hardly covers the taxes, the land, as a rule, was more equally distributed. In the South, and generally in the fertile regions, where land is very valuable, equal partition is, for the most part, rarely practised. The land remained divided among the households (families) as in 1861, in spite of the numerical changes naturally noticeable in each family. Thus the distribution of land became very unequal. Here is an example, the first that occurs to me :—

The commune Soukmanka (government of Zambov) has 5,338 inhabitants, and 13,376 déciatines of land. So that each inhabitant ought to have 2·5 déciatines. But in reality we find a number of peasants (945 men) in the commune who have only 1·2 déciatines per head; while, on the contrary, a happy minority (13 men) have on an average 3·6 déciatines per head. The rest of

the lots on the property balance between these two extreme poles of inequality.

Why, then, do the peasants not make equal division of the land? Very often this question has been answered by the supposition that the spirit of equality and of collectivism is dying out amongst the peasantry. But this supposition is not correct. Of course those peasants who have succeeded in accumulating in their own hands a great deal of land, did all in their power to postpone a new division. But these efforts of a privileged minority were only successful because the peasants were waiting for the census (*revisia*). They are accustomed to divide the land at the time of the official census; and, moreover, at that moment they were expecting that the census would be accompanied by a "*black division*,"—a general, national division of the land. But time passed, the patience of the peasants was exhausted, and then here and there the division was commenced.

This movement, like all popular movements, grew very rapidly, and to an extent almost unexpected even by very conscientious observers of the life of the people. It is not uninteresting to compare, for example, the opinions of the statisticians of the government of Zambov in the few years 1880–1882. In the year 1880 they think that among the peasant ex-serfs the commune is being slowly transformed into private property. A year later they already say: "If the statistical inquiry into the district of Kozlev had been made a little earlier, before 1879, for example,¹ we should only

¹ This opinion is based upon the inquiry into the district made by Borisghlishk, and concluded before the year 1880.

know that the peasants make no divisions of the land except at the time of the census. . . . Twenty years had passed since the last census, without the peasants beginning a new partition. But now there arose rumours among the peasants of the necessity of dividing the land 'for the new souls,' without waiting for the census. These rumours finally ended in 1880 and 1881 by several communes in the district of Kozlev making new and equal partitions." The movement manifests itself chiefly among the Crown peasants, but statisticians are already changing their opinion with regard to peasants formerly serfs. "Among the peasants who are ex-serfs," they say, "discussions are beginning on the subject of equal partition. *We cannot but believe that with them also these discussions will sooner or later lead to resolutions of the Communal Assemblies on the division of the land, just as was the case with the Crown peasants.*"

The next year, 1882, many partitions of land among the ex-serfs of the district of Morchansk¹ took place, and the statisticians are astonished to see that "the communes referred to carried out the equal partition of land, although they had quite paid off the supplementary sum for its redemption to the former lords." And this fact certainly deserves attention, for it is supposed that the redemption of the land once accomplished, the peasants would no longer be willing to re-divide it.

To give statistics of this movement is impossible, for after all we have only a very small amount of positive information. I therefore confine myself to

¹ All these districts are in the same government of Zambov.

a few examples, which I take from those fertile regions so long quoted as proof of the dying out of collective property.

The general outlines of the movement are everywhere the same. Everywhere the re-partition is preceded by a formidable agitation. The peasants begin the discussion in private conversations. The enemies of the re-partition try to prevent it by every kind of means. They declare that the partition without the official census is illegal. They invent fairy tales; for example, that after the re-partition each one of the "new souls" will have to pay a tax per head which at present is only paid by those inscribed in the census. Sometimes they spread the rumour that a *black partition* is about to take place, and that the peasants will get the supplementary lots of the Crown and manorial lands. One other method employed by the enemies of re-partition should be noted, as something quite new: they threaten—should the partition be decided upon—to immediately buy back their lots as private property (this being permitted by law). For a while all these tricks succeed. But the movement grows, gathers strength. The partisans of re-partition at last decide to put the question to the vote in the Assembly. At the first trial, however, they often do not get the two-thirds of the votes required by law. Still the agitation goes on. The proposition, although rejected, is brought forward in the assemblies again and again, till the partisans of re-partition get the upper hand—and the division takes place.

It is among the Crown peasants that the move-

ment begins in each locality, and moreover in the *large* communes. The small communes usually wait for the large ones to take the initiative; but the partition once accomplished, in no matter what commune, the example tempts all the neighbouring ones, and little by little the dividing up of land spreads right round the whole district. The ex-serf peasants let themselves be drawn into the movement later on, and sometimes even the *tchetvertniks* and other private proprietors, themselves join it.

In the above-mentioned districts of the government of Zambov, the first example of re-partition was set by the Crown peasants of the district of Morchansk. The first divisions were carried out there in the year 1875 (two communes of 1,800 inhabitants). The example was followed. In 1876-77 there were already several communes, with populations of 24,200 souls, who made re-partitions. In 1877-78 again, 11,120 souls; in 1878-79, 15,200; in 1880-81, 34,313 souls. Beyond this I have no information as to this locality. The total number of persons who had carried out the re-partition was, in the years 1880-81, a third of the population of the district. An immense majority of these belonged to the Crown peasants. The ex-serfs did not begin the movement until 1880, and in 1881 there were already 4,000 who had made a re-partition. As it spread among the ex-serfs, the movement was also carried into the neighbouring district (Kozlov), where the conditions were evidently favourable, for from 1880-81 a population of 37,068 souls had made a re-partition. This, too, was among the Crown peasants. As to the

ex-serfs, an agitation was started, and even in 1880 one commune had decided to divide its lands. In the district of Borisogeschsk the movement is growing more slowly; begun in 1880, so far only 12,516 souls have been drawn into it.¹

Unfortunately I have only reliable information as to the commencement of the movement. This holds also in regard to that in the government of Riazan. In the latter it began at the same time, but promised to assume colossal proportions. Of the 313 communes in the district of Ronnenbourg, concerning which we have reliable information, there are only 90 in which the question of re-partition is not being discussed. In the other 223 communes, it is occasionally discussed favourably (in 63 communes), but more frequently (in 160 communes) the debates are very heated. In the 63 communes the partisans of partition believe themselves strong enough to raise the question even in the assemblies of the mir, and very often (in 23 cases) only two or three votes were needed to secure the majority of two-thirds demanded by law. In 29 cases an absolute majority voted in favour of re-partition. Finally, in 12 communes all opposition was overcome, and the re-partitions were carried out during the years 1880 and 1881.

Such was the situation in the year 1882, as set forth by the Statistical Committee. It is almost identical in the district of Dankov. Here the movement was started a little earlier. There had been re-partitions even before 1876-77; since the year 1879 the movement has become very pronounced, concerning which we have some very precise details.

¹ The total number of communes in the district is 340.

But here the agitation is carried on with much greater difficulty. The reason for this lies in the distribution of the peasants, as may be seen from the following table :

	Ronnenbourg.	Dankov.
1. Crown peasants holding the land in common	42,297	19,817
2. Crown peasants, with semi-communal land	8,248	2,789
3. Tchetvertniks	2,740	12,131
4. Ex-serfs	40,614	63,787

Thus in Ronnenbourg the element of Crown peasants holding land in common predominates ; while, on the contrary, in Dankov, the ex-serfs and tchetvertniks are in a majority. This accounts for the difference.

However this may be, the movement spread in 1882 in 135 communes,¹ and 25 of these even carried out re-partitions during 1879-1882.

The population of these 25 communes (16,407) is about one-sixth of the entire population of the district. From this the reader can gather that these are large communes which are at the head of the movement. In fact, every commune in the district has, on an average, a population of 314 souls. The population of the communes that have carried out re-partitions is twice as large (631). The same holds with regard to Ronnenbourg, the average for all communes being 400 ; the average of the communes which have re-divided their lands, 652·7.

Let us now pass to the government of Veroněj, contiguous to the south and to that of Zambov,

¹ Of the 254 communes carefully examined, there still remain 59 communes in the district whose position is not clear.

The following is a table showing the number of communes, and of their inhabitants, who have divided their land :

Year.	Communes.	Population.
1878	2	489
1881	21	32,080
1882	13	15,500
1883	13	17,999
1884	8	13,798
1885 ¹	3	9,174
	60	89,040

The population of the district being 162,259, the number of partisans of re-partition is over one half. As in all other cases, it is the large communes that divide their lands. The average population per commune in this district is 500, of those that divided their lands, 1,520.

In the beginning of my work, the reader will find some details on analogous movements at Kursk and Ekaterinoslav. Prougatine has just published some very interesting facts on the government of Simbirsk. These refer to the year 1884.

Among the peasants of the government of Simbirsk, says Prougatine, a very important movement is going on in favour of re-dividing the land according to the "new souls" (*sic*). The movement is most pronounced in the districts of Alatyr, Ardatov, and Bouinsk; its centre is in Bouinsk. In 48 communes of this district decisions as to the re-partition have been come to, and in 38 of these communes they have already been put into execution. The rest

¹ The data here very incomplete.

are waiting to have their decisions ratified by the committee on peasant affairs. The agrarian discussions between the partisans and enemies of re-partition daily grow more violent and more hostile. The most powerful arm in the hands of the anti-re-partitionists is Article 54 of the General Statutes.¹ The expression "head of the family" being extremely vague, and the difficulty of getting together all the "heads of families" being insurmountable, there are always plenty of pretexts for declaring any decision illegal according to Article 54. Thus it happens that a decision for re-partition which is already being put into execution is suddenly annulled, because some votes required to make up the legal two-thirds are wanting. The committees on peasant affairs go over the counting of the votes several times, and very often the same decree is ratified in one case and annulled in another. Then the Communal Assembly again decrees the partition of the land, the counting of the votes is begun over again, and again the decrees are ratified or annulled. In the meantime the struggle within the commune grows more and more bitter, causing dissensions, menaces, and very often violence and murder.

But the re-partition of land is even more impeded by par. 164 of the statutes on the re-purchase of land. When, after long discussions and quarrels, the commune at last decides on dividing the land, the anti-re-partitionists oppose the collective decision, and begin re-purchasing their lots as private property. Moreover, this is not bad business for them, as to buy

¹ This declares that two-thirds of the votes of "heads of families" must be given for dividing land

back land they have to pay 18 roubles per déciatine, while the actual price of land in the government of Simbirsk fluctuates between 40 and 150 roubles. Several heads of families thus appropriate the lots of others by advancing the money for their re-purchase. Generally speaking, section 164 is largely put into practice here. Since the years 1877-81 there have thus been re-purchased (as private property) 11,000 déciatines. The struggles of the mir against some of the peasants are evidence of its apogee in the communes where this occurs. The hostility of the peasants is full of a hate that recalls that of the South Russian to the Jews.

APPENDIX E.

RUSSIAN WORKS AND PUBLICATIONS QUOTED.

<i>Novoi Vremia</i> (newspaper)	<i>The New Time.</i>
<i>Viestnik Narodnoi Voli</i> (review)	<i>The Messenger of the Will of the People.</i>
<i>Sievernii Viestnik</i> (review)	<i>The Messenger of the North.</i>
<i>Volnoi Slovo</i> (newspaper)	<i>Free Speech.</i>
<i>Rousskya Viedomosti</i> (newspaper)	<i>The Russian Gazette.</i>
<i>Pensenskya Eparkialnaya Viedomosti</i> (newspaper)	<i>The Diocesan Gazette of Penza.</i>
<i>Golos</i> (newspaper)	<i>The Voice.</i>
<i>Narodnaia Volia</i> (newspaper)	<i>The Will of the People.</i>
<i>Zemlia i Volia</i>	<i>Land and Liberty.</i>
<i>Grajdanine</i>	<i>The Citizen.</i>
<i>Zemskyi Obsor</i> (newspaper)	<i>The Review of the Zemstvos.</i>
<i>Iouriditcheskii Viestnik</i> (review)	<i>The Judicial Messenger.</i>
<i>Poliarnaia Zvezda</i> (collection)	<i>The Polar Star.</i>
<i>Moskovskya Viedomosti</i> (newspaper)	<i>The Moscow Gazette.</i>
<i>Rousskaia Mysl</i> (review)	<i>Russian Thought.</i>
<i>Otetchestvennaya Zapiski</i> (review)	<i>The Annals of the Fatherland.</i>
<i>Nabate</i> (newspaper)	<i>The Tocsin.</i>
<i>Obchtchina</i> (newspaper)	<i>The Commune.</i>
<i>Peterbourgskya Viedomosti</i> (newspaper)	<i>The St. Petersburg Gazette.</i>
<i>Kievianine</i> (newspaper)	<i>The Kievan.</i>
<i>Iskra</i> (newspaper)	<i>The Spark.</i>
<i>Moskovskiy Telegraf</i> (newspaper)	<i>The Moscow Telegraph.</i>

- Svistok* (supplement of the "Contemporary") *The Whistle.*
- Obchtchéé Dielo* (newspaper) *The General Cause.*
- Rousse* (Aksakov's newspaper) *Russia.*
- Studentchestvo* (review) *Students' Journal.*
- Strana* (newspaper) *The Country.*
- Viestnik Evropy* (review) *The Messenger of Europe.*
- SOKOLOVSKY. *Sbornika materialov* SOKOLOVSKY. *Collection of*
alia izoutchenia selsko pozemelnoi obchtchiny. *materials on the Agrarian*
Commune.
- Sbornik sotchinienii po soudebnói* *Collection of Works on Forensic*
Medicinié, etc., published by *Medicine, etc., published by*
the Meditsinskii Depertamente *the Medical Department.*
- Vperiéd* (review) *Forwards! Edited by P.*
LAVROV.
- Gromada* (in Ukrainian) *The Commune (in Ukrainian).*
Edited by DRAGOMANOV.
- Sravnitelnaia Statistika*, by IANSON. *Comparative Statistics, by IANSON.*
- Voenno-Statisticheski Sbornik* *Collection of Military Statistics.*
- SCHEIN. *Bielorousskia piesni* SCHEIN. *White Russian Songs.*
- SCHEIN. *Narodnyarousskia piesni* SCHEIN. *Great Russian Songs.*
- KOSTOMAROV. *Monografi* KOSTOMAROV. *Monographs.*
- KOSTOMAROV. *Istoria Novgoroda, Pskova i Viatki* KOSTOMAROV. *History of Novgorod, Pskov, and Viatka.*
- Vsenaoutchnyi Slovar*, by KLIOUCHNIKOV *Encyclopædic Dictionary, by*
KLIOUCHNIKOV.
- Kalendar* by SOUVORINE *Almanack by SOUVORINE.*
- Kalendar* by HOPPE *Almanack by HOPPE.*
- Boiarskaia Douma drevnei Roussii*, by KLIOUTCHEVSKY *The Council of Boyards of*
Ancient Russia. By
KLIOUTCHEVSKY.
- LORENTZ. *Istoria novieichiago, vremeni. Russian Translation, with supplement, by* LORENTZ. *Contemporary*
History. Russian translation, with supplement, by
MARKOV.
- ROMANOVITCH-SLAVATINSKY. *Dvorianstvo v Rossii* ROMANOVITCH-SLAVATINSKY. *The Nobility in Russia.*

- DITIATINE. *Istorii jalovannykh gramot (Rousskaia Myst)* DITIATINE. *Contributions to the History of Royal Grants. (In Russian Thought.)*
- SEMEVSKY. *Krestiane v Tzarstvovanié Ekateriny II.* SEMEVSKY. *The Peasants under Catharine II.*
- KOCHELEV. *Zapiski* KOCHELEV. *Memoirs.*
- KARNOVITCH. *Zamietchatelnyia bogatstva v Rossii* KARNOVITCH. *The Great Fortunes of Russia.*
- IVANIUKOV. *Padenié Kriepostnago prava* IVANIUKOV. *The Overthrow of Serfdom.*
- Zemskii "Sbornik statisticheskikh Svidenii" of provinces whose names are mentioned in the book.* *Collection of Statistical Information relating to the Zemstvos.*
- Otcherk dvijenia pozemelnoi sobstvennosti v Poltavskoi gubernii* *A Sketch of the Movement of Landed Property in the Government of Poltava.*
- Kak oplatchivaetsia trouid srednei krestianskoy semii v Tverskoi gubernii (pamphlet)* *How the Labour of an ordinary Peasant Family of the Government of Tver is paid.*
- Ejagodnik Ministerstva Finansov* *Annual Report of the Finance Ministry.*
- GOLOVATCHEV. *Istoria jelesnodorojnago diela v Rossii* GOLOVATCHEV. *History of Railways in Russia.*
- Doklady Vyssotchaiche outverjdenoi Komissii poizsledovaniou nyniechniago polojenia selskago choziaistva, etc.* *Report of the Commission appointed by Imperial Order to inquire into the present state of Agriculture.*
- PIESKOV. *Fabritchnyi byt Vladimirskei gubernii* PIESKOV. *Factory Life in the Government of Vladimir.*
- IANJOU. *Fabritchnyi byt Moskovskoi gubernii* IANJOU. *Factory Life in the Government of Moscow.*
- SOUCHTCHINSKY. *Jenchtchina vratch v Rossii* SOUCHTCHINSKY. *Medical Women in Russia.*
- IADRINTZEV. *Tiourma i ssylka.* IADRINTZEV. *Prison and Transportation.*
- Bachi-bouzouki Peterbourga (pamphlet)* *The Bazi-Bouzouks of St. Petersburg.*

- Oubustvo chefa jandarmov ghe-
neral adioutanta Mezentzeva*
(pamphlet) *The Assassination of the Chief
of Gendarmes, General
Mezentsov.*
- MALCHINSKY. *Obzor sotzialno-
revolioustsonnago dvijenja v*
Rossii (secret publication of
the third division of the Im-
perial Chancellorship) MALCHINSKY. *Survey of the
Socialist Movement in
Russia.*
- Kalenăar Narodnoi Voli* *Almanack of the Will of the
People.*
- IAKOUCHKINE. *Obyčnoe pravo.* IAKOUCHKINE. *The Common
Law.*
- Sbornik materialov dlja Istorii*
Tverskago Zemstva *Summary of the History of the
Zemstvo of Tver.*
- Sbornik Khersonskago zemstva* *Summary of the Zemstvo of
Kherson.*
- Mnienja Zemskikh sobranii o sov-
remennom položenii Rossii*
(pamphlet) *The Opinions of the Assemblies
of the Zemstvo on the Pre-
sent Situation of Russia.*
- Tchernyi perediel reform Aleks-
andra II.* (pamphlet) *The Fiasco of the Reforms of
Alexander II.*
- ORLOV. *Formy krestianskago*
zemlevladenia (Part I., vol.
IV. of the Statistics of the
Moscow Zemstvo) ORLOV. *Forms of Peasant
Land Tenure.*
- BLUMENFELD. *O formakh zem-
levladenia v drevnei Rossii* BLUMENFELD. *Forms of Land
Tenure in Ancient Russia.*
- IEFIMENKO. *Jasliedovania nar-
odnoi jizni* IEFIMENKO. *Inquiries into
the Life of the People.*
- CHTCHERBINA. *Otcherki iouj-
rouskich artielei* CHTCHERBINA. *Sketches of
the artels of Southern
Russia.*
- LOUTCHITZKY. *Sbornik materialov*
*dla istorii obchtchiny i obcht-
chestvennykh semel v lievob-
ejnoi Oukrainie XVIII*
vieka LOUTCHITZKY. *Collection of
Materials for the History
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